

*Designing for Luxury
on the Bay of Naples*

Villas and Landscapes
(c. 100 BCE–79 CE)

MANTHA ZARMAKOUPI

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD

UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,
United Kingdom

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of
Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

© Mantha Zarmakoupi 2014

The moral rights of the author have been asserted

First Edition published in 2014

Impression: 1

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in
a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the
prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted
by law, by licence or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics
rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the
above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the
address above

You must not circulate this work in any other form
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer.

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2013940855

ISBN 978-0-19-967838-9

Printed in Great Britain by
Clays Ltd, St Ives plc

Links to third party websites are provided by Oxford in good faith and
for information only. Oxford disclaims any responsibility for the materials
contained in any third party website referenced in this work.

This book is dedicated to the memory of my sister,
Alexia (14 March 1970–27 June 2004), and my father,
Andreas (13 January 1929–28 January 2006)

PREFACE

This study combines a design analysis of Roman luxury villa architecture with a cultural analysis of the Roman luxury villa lifestyle to shed light on the villas' design as a dynamic process related to cultural, social, as well as environmental factors. Roman villas articulated a novel architectural language that designers developed by appropriating the existing stylistic and thematic vocabularies of Hellenistic and Roman architecture. The present analysis seeks to describe and explain the ways in which architecture accommodated the lifestyle of educated leisure, the lifestyle *à la grecque*, and an appreciation of landscape; and how, in doing so, it became a cultural phenomenon and a crucial element in the construction of Roman cultural identity.

Five villas from around the bay of Naples (c. 100 BCE–79 CE) are the focus of this study, but examples are drawn from a wider corpus of evidence. The first chapter outlines the cultural phenomenon of the luxury villa, assesses previous scholarship, and addresses the study's scope. Chapter two introduces five case studies. Chapters three to six focus on four architectural structures and/or features within the villas, discussing them as generating spaces for the lives led in them, lives that were intertwined and became identified with the luxury villa trend: porticus and cryptoporticus (chapter three), porticoed gardens (chapter four), water features (chapter five), and dining facilities (chapter six). The final chapter analyses the architectural design concerns to which these architectural structures or features relate, and explicates the ways in which designers responded to them.

Earlier studies have identified the cultural phenomenon of Roman luxury villas, singled out their architectural traits, studied their distinguishing architectural elements, structures, or features, addressed their symbolism and cultural and intellectual affiliations, and examined their sculptures, décor, wall paintings, and pavements as parts of the villa environment. But architecture is much more than a matter of elements and their symbolism; and the spaces it creates are more than just a physical environment. Architecture is a culturally informed process, which forms living spaces.

This book moves beyond a formal analysis of architecture to expose the cultural factors that informed and shaped the architectural expression of the luxury villa trend, and address the ways in which contemporary ideas about landscape were integrated into the architectural design of Roman luxury villas.

In their effort to accommodate the Greek style, Romans created something completely unprecedented in the history of architecture. In designing for luxury, Romans shaped a sophisticated interplay of architecture and landscape, an interplay that Renaissance architects discovered and reinvented, and that persists to this day.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book began life as a DPhil thesis at St John's College, Oxford between 2003 and 2007, made possible by the Onassis Foundation, Leventis Foundation, and Michelis Foundation. My foremost debt is to Bert Smith, my supervisor, for his guidance and support at every stage of the project. Research fellowships at the Freie Universität (TOPOI Excellence Cluster), at the NYU Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, and the University of Cologne (Institute of Archaeology)—supported by the Humboldt Foundation—enabled me to turn the DPhil into the book in hand, while working on my project on Delos.

Numerous people have contributed to the preparation of this work. I am particularly indebted to Dimitris Filippidis, for his endless support, criticism, and inspiration from the early stages of my studies in Architecture and in our continuing discussions ever since. I would also like to thank Mirka Beneš and Sarah Williams Goldhagen for their encouragement and support when my research was in its nascent stages.

For my research time in Italy I must thank the Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei for providing access to the archaeological sites, Giuseppe Di Martino for helping in every possible way, and St John's College, the Craven Fund, the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, the Meyerstein Fund, the Tessa and Mortimer Wheeler Fund for supporting me financially. I am particularly grateful to Antonio De Simone, Maria Paola Guidobaldi, and Domenico Esposito for sharing and discussing the results of their work at the Villa of the Papyri. In addition, I would like to thank the Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei for granting permission to publish the photographs from the villas. For my research time in Los Angeles I must thank Diane Favro, Lisa Snyder, Chris Johanson, and Margo Reveil at the UCLA Experiential Technologies Center, Kenneth Lapatin and Barbara Furbush at the Getty Villa, as well as The Friends of Herculaneum Society. UCLA's Experiential Technologies Center has provided me with a unique view to my research for which I am grateful.

For the transformation of the thesis into a book, I would like to thank my DPhil examiners, Jas' Elsner and Greg Woolf, the editors of this series, as well as the external reader for the Press, who offered many helpful suggestions and comments. I am grateful to Domenico Esposito, David Saunders, and Jeremy Tanner for reading part or all of this work, in its various drafts. I have learned much from discussion of individual problems with Annalisa Marzano, Domenico Esposito, and Reinhard Förtsch. I am also grateful to Frieda Klotz for editing my prose.

X ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Finally, some personal thanks. Thanks to all my friends who have discussed these ideas and advised me. I am especially grateful to my parents, Andreas Zarmakoupis and Eirini Kefala, my brother, Theodoros Zarmakoupis, and my husband, Spyros Triantafyllos, whose support has known no bounds.

Cologne
August 2012

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>List of Figures and Tables</i>	xv
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xxi
1. Roman luxury villas: Introduction, historiography, and scope	I
The cultural phenomenon of luxury villas	3
Historiography	8
Scope and methodology of this study	13
The architectural language of luxury villas	17
2. Case studies	25
Villa of the Papyri	28
Villa Oplontis A	45
Villa Arianna A	54
Villa Arianna B	66
Villa San Marco	68
Conclusion	74
3. Porticus and cryptoporticus	75
Porticus in public architecture	80
Terminology	85
A daily life of educated leisure	88
Practicalities: circulation and access	94
Conclusion	101
4. Porticoed gardens	103
Peristylum–garden: architectural vocabulary	104
A new architectural language: peristylum structure + pleasure garden	114
A new design language of architecture, art, and landscape	122
Table 1	140
Table 2	140

5. Water features: Euripi, natationes, and nymphaea	141
Water supply and water-mania	141
Water as luxury	146
The architectural embodiment of water's mythological and symbolic associations	152
The nymphaeum	152
Nile and Euripus	157
Water as a stage for swimming, bathing, and sunbathing	163
Water as a stage for reality: the pools (natationes?)	165
Water as a stage for mythology: decoration of water settings	174
Conclusion	177
6. Triclinia and dining facilities	179
The 'ingredients' of the luxury dinner parties	180
Transformation of the dining facilities: staging the entertainment	189
Dining and bathing	198
Staging the landscape	203
Conclusion	211
7. Designing for luxury	213
Approaches to the architectural design of the roman luxury house	214
Analysis of the architectural design of roman villas	220
No 'core'	220
Perforated architectural body	223
Architecture of the senses	229
The connective tissue	235
Conclusions	240
Appendix: Porticoed gardens in the five villas	245
A. Villa of the Papyri	245
A.1. Square peristylum-garden	245
A.2. Rectangular peristylum-garden	247
B. Villa Oplontis A	249
B.1. Peristylum-garden 32	250
B.2. Porticus-garden 40-59	251
B.3. Porticus-garden 60-80-92-96-98	251
B.4. Porticus-garden 33-34-56	253

C. Villa Arianna A	254
C.1. Peristylum-garden H-Z	255
C.2. Central porticus-garden	256
C.3. Peristylum-garden W22	257
D. Villa Arianna B	257
D.1 Peristylum-garden 1	258
E. Villa San Marco	258
E.1. Peristylum-garden 20-5-3-9	258
E.2. Peristylum-garden 1-2	262
E.3. Entrance peristylum-garden	263
<i>Bibliography</i>	265
<i>Figure Acknowledgements</i>	303
<i>Index Locorum</i>	305
<i>General Index</i>	308

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

All photographs are taken by the author unless otherwise stated. Plans are also drawn by the author unless otherwise stated. The full reference of the cited work is given at the first instance. For references, see Bibliography.

1.1	Campania and the bay of Naples.	2
2.1	Villa of the Papyri, plan.	29
2.2	Villa of the Papyri, redrawn version of Weber's plan by Domenico Comparetti and Giulio De Petra (1883).	31
2.3	Getty Villa, view of the rectangular peristyle.	32
2.4	Villa of the Papyri, view of digital model.	33
2.5	New excavations at the Villa of the Papyri, Insula I and the northwest Insula (Insula nord-occidentale): overall plan.	34
2.6	Villa of the Papyri, new excavations around the atrium area.	34
2.7	Villa of the Papyri, the areas of the new excavations in Weber's plan.	35
2.8	Villa of the Papyri, new excavations: plan of atrium area and lower terrace.	35
2.9	Villa of the Papyri, new excavations: plan of lower terrace.	36
2.10	Villa of the Papyri, lower terrace and access from the seaside (VPSO area), view from the atrium level.	36
2.11	Villa of the Papyri, lower terrace; panoramic view of the lower terrace area from the south: a) monumental hall; b) terrace; c) swimming pool; d) unidentified room; e) staircase; f) ramp.	37
2.12	Villa of the Papyri, digital model with indication of heights.	38
2.13	Villa of the Papyri, view of the accessible area from the southwest.	39
2.14	Villa of the Papyri, first lower level of the <i>basis villae</i> : room I at the end of the new excavations. View of the southeastern part of the room.	39
2.15	Villa of the Papyri, first lower level of the <i>basis villae</i> : room I at the end of the new excavations. View of the northwestern part of the room	40
2.16	Villa Oplontis A, plan.	46
2.17	Villa Oplontis A, plan.	47
2.18	East wall of the great oecus 15—view from the south.	51
2.19	View of the villa at Oplontis from the north; in the foreground the great propylon of room 21.	52
2.20	West wall of atrium 5—view from the south.	53
2.21	Villa Oplontis A, atrium 32: view from the west porticus towards the south porticus showing 'zebra' patterns.	54
2.22	Villa Oplontis A, view from passage 46 towards atrium 32.	55
2.23	Plan of ancient Stabiae.	56

XVI LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

2.24	Villa Arianna A and Villa Arianna B, plan.	57
2.25	Villa Arianna A and Villa Arianna B, plan made by the Restoring Ancient Stabiae Foundation in collaboration with the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologica di Napoli e Pompei.	58
2.26	Villa Arianna A, plan.	61
2.27	Villa Arianna A, view from porticus 73 to the south and southwest (Gragnano hill to the left, Monte Faito to the right).	62
2.28	Villa Arianna, plan of garden Z.	63
2.29	Villa Arianna A, ramps leading to the sea.	64
2.30	Villa Arianna A, view of the cliff with indications of heights.	64
2.31	Villa Arianna A, view of the ramps leading up to the villa from the seaside.	65
2.32	Villa Arianna B, plan.	67
2.33	Villa San Marco, plan.	69
2.34	Axonometric drawing of the final phase of Villa San Marco.	70
2.35	Villa San Marco, first phase of the villa.	73
3.1	Wall painting representing villas with long porticus, now in Naples Museum (NM 9505).	76
3.2	Sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon, view of model in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin.	77
3.3	Sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon, reconstruction drawing by I. Arvanitis.	78
3.4	Villa Oplontis A, view inside cryptoporticus 24 towards porticus 40.	95
3.5	Villa Oplontis A, exit door from cryptoporticus 24 to porticus 40 (passing the 'scytale' to porticus 40).	96
3.6	Villa Oplontis, view from cryptoporticus 24 through corridor 37 to atrium 32.	96
3.7	Villa Oplontis A, view of the porticus 40 enclosing garden 59.	97
3.8	Villa Oplontis A, view inside the north wing of porticus 40.	97
3.9	Villa Oplontis A: view from passage 81, towards room 79 and reception room 78.	98
3.10	Villa Oplontis, atrium 32, view from the north porticus towards passages 45 and 46.	99
3.11	Villa Oplontis: upon exiting cryptoporticus 46, view of porticus 60 and pool garden complex 80, 96, 98.	100
3.12	Villa Fusco, or Villa del Pastore, plan.	100
4.1	Hellenistic palace in Aigai, plan.	105
4.2	Hellenistic palace in Aigai. Reconstruction of the main palace.	106
4.3	Palaestra in Olympia, plan.	109
4.4	Palaestra in Olympia, view of digital model reconstructing the stoai in Olympia	110
4.5	Villa San Marco, peristylum-garden E.1, view of pool 15—at the far end the neo-attic crater.	115

4.6	Villa Oplontis A, porticus–garden B.4, view from north towards room 21.	116
4.7	Villa Oplontis A, porticus–garden B.3. View from area 92 towards the pool with some of the sculptures replaced in their findspots.	117
4.8	Villa at Nennig (Rhineland), plan.	121
4.9	Villa Oplontis A, room 15, detail of east wall.	124
4.10	Villa Oplontis A, north wall of caldarium 8.	124
4.11	Villa Oplontis A, porticus–garden B.3, wall paintings of porticus 60.	125
4.12	Villa Oplontis A, porticus–garden B.3, landscape panel in wall painting of porticus 60.	126
4.13	Villa Oplontis A, view of propylon in front of room 21 from porticus 60.	128
4.14	Villa San Marco, peristylum–garden E1, detail of wall painting in porticus 20.	129
4.15	Villa Oplontis A, porticus–garden B.4, view of porticus 34 from the north.	130
4.16	Villa Oplontis A, porticus–garden B.2, close view of the wall paintings of porticus 40.	131
4.17	Villa Arianna B, peristylum–garden D1, southeast wall of porticus 1.	132
4.18	Villa of the Papyri, northeast ala e, reconstruction.	132
4.19	Villa of the Papyri, northeast wall of room i, reconstruction.	133
4.20	Villa of the Papyri, fragment of wall painting from room g.	134
4.21	Villa of the Papyri, room I of the first lower level of the <i>basis villae</i> . Detail of the vaulted stuccoed ceiling.	135
5.1	The ‘pool complex’ in the Hasmonean winter palaces at Jericho: the two pools (each: 18 × 13.4 m, 3.7–3.2 m deep) created a monumental approach to the central ‘Pavilion’.	148
5.2	Herod’s palace at Caesarea.	150
5.3	Domus Aurea, plan.	151
5.4	Villa San Marco, view of south corner of garden 9, facing room 12 with big openings. To the left, nymphaeum 65 and at the lower left, the beginning of the arch-shaped shallow basin in front of it. In front of room 12, the facing of the shallow canal in front of the room that stretches around the garden.	155
5.5	Villa Minori on the Amalfi coast, plan.	156
5.6	Villa Oplontis A: yellow generic Nilotic scenes on the east wall of triclinium 14 (c.50–40 BCE).	158
5.7	Reconstruction of the Canopus canal in Villa Adriana.	160
5.8	Villa Oplontis A, porticus–garden B.3, view of porticus 60 along the pool.	167
5.9	Herculaneum palaestra, axonometric view.	169
5.10	Villa Oplontis A porticus–garden B.3, view across the pool through room 69 towards the north garden (B.4).	170
5.11	Villa San Marco, E1: the two southernmost niches of nymphaeum 64–65.	170

5.12	Villa San Marco, E1: plan of the nymphaeum with iconographic indications. The niches and podia are numbered 1 to 8 from the south to the north end.	171
5.13	Villa San Marco, view from room 16 to the bay of Naples.	171
6.1	Villa Oplontis A, triclinium 14, basket of figs on the north wall (on the right).	182
6.2	Villa Oplontis A, oecus 23, the veiled basket of fruits and the glass cup containing fruits in the north wall.	183
6.3	Villa Oplontis A, oecus 15, peacock in the east wall.	184
6.4	Villa Arianna A, view through ramp 76 towards the sea.	188
6.5	Villa at Piazza Armerina (Sicily), plan.	193
6.6	Villa Oplontis A, oecus 15, carbonized folding doors.	195
6.7	Villa Oplontis A, threshold of room 21 (north central opening).	196
6.8	Villa Oplontis A, view from room 73/74 through lightwell 70, room 69, lightwell 68 to room 64/65.	197
6.9	Villa Oplontis A, view from passage 71 towards the south: through passage 67 (straight ahead) and into room 69 and lightwell 68 (left side of viewpoint) and through lightwell 68 into room 64/65.	198
6.10	Villa Oplontis A, view from passage 88 towards the south: through room 74, passage 72, room 69, passage 75, and room 65, and into room 63—notice the doorstep.	199
6.11	Villa Oplontis A, view from passage 71 towards the south: through room 69 passage 67, room 64/65, and into room 63—notice the doorstep.	200
6.12	Villa Oplontis A, view of portico (60) towards the south from the entrance to room (69).	201
6.13	Villa Oplontis A, view of east porticus—garden B.3 from space 92.	201
6.14	Villa Oplontis A, view from space 69 towards the west to the north garden.	202
6.15	Villa Oplontis A, view from space 69 to the east garden, over the pool to the backdrop of trees (in front of them statue bases have been found).	202
6.16	Villa at Settefinestre (Etruria) plan.	204
6.17	Villa Oplontis A, room 21, looking towards the north garden.	205
6.18	Villa Oplontis A, room 21, view of enclosed garden 20 to the south.	206
6.19	Villa Arianna A, room A, view from southwest of room A towards the north.	207
6.20	Villa Arianna A, room A, view from southwest of room A towards the south.	207
6.21	Villa Arianna A, room A, view from southwest of room A towards Gragnano hill at the south (room A is to the left).	208
6.22	Villa Arianna A, room A, view from porticus 54 into room A.	208
6.23	Villa Arianna B, room 13, view towards peristylum—garden 1 (D.1) towards the northeast.	209

6.24	Villa of the Papyri, reconstruction model, view from room 28 towards big peristylum-garden (A.2).	209
6.25	Villa of the Papyri, reconstruction model, view from square peristylum-garden through room 28 towards big peristylum-garden (A.2).	210
6.26	Villa San Marco, diaeta 12-14-8, view towards garden 9 (diaeta 53-50-30 is over garden 9 to the right).	210
6.27	Representations of villas in wall paintings (Archaeological Museum of Naples, inv. no. 9406).	211
7.1	Félibien des Avaux's reconstruction of Pliny's Laurentine villa, 1699.	216
7.2	Robert Castell's reconstructions of Pliny's Laurentine villa, 1728.	217
7.3	Léon Krier's reconstruction of Pliny's Laurentine villa, painting by Rita Wolf.	217
7.4	Villa Medici at Fiesole, approaching the villa from the east.	218
7.5	Villa Medici at Fiesole, view from the east garden through the house to the west.	218
7.6	Pierre Koenig's Stahl House (Case Study House n. 22, 1959-60). View of the living room looking south.	223
7.7	Frank Lloyd Wright's Kaufmann house ('Fallingwater'), 1936. View from southwest.	224
7.8	Le Corbusier's Villa Stein-de Monzie, 1926-7. Front view.	225
7.9	Villa San Marco, view from corridor 32 towards the west. Lightwell 19 on the far end and lightwell 28 on the right-hand side.	226
7.10	Villa Arianna A, view inside porticus 54 towards the southwest where peristylum-garden H-Z is.	227
7.11	Villa Arianna A, view inside porticus 54 facing the window that overlooks the peristylum-garden H-Z at its southwest end. The window to the right also looked over the peristylum-garden H-Z.	227
7.12	Villa Arianna A, view from porticus 54 to the stairs that lead to the ramps below.	228
7.13	Daniel Libeskind's Jewish Museum in Berlin, 1999. View inside the museum.	228
7.14	Villa Arianna A, view from northeast corner of peristylum-garden H-Z towards porticus 54.	229
7.15	Villa San Marco, E.1: view from porticus 20 towards the garden 9.	230
7.16	Villa San Marco, E.1: view from the entrance to diaeta 12-14-8 over garden 9 towards diaeta 53-50-30.	230
7.17	Paley Park, 5 East 53 rd Street in midtown Manhattan.	231
7.18	Fountain of Diana of Ephesus in Villa d'Este (Pirro Ligorio, 1550-72).	233
7.19	La Fontaine Stravinsky in Place Igor Stravinsky next to Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris (Jean Tinguely and Niki de Saint-Phalle, 1983).	234
7.20	Villa of the Papyri, reconstruction model. View of the villa from the southwest.	238

XX LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

7.21	Villa of the Papyri, reconstruction model. View of the villa from the west.	239
App.1.	Villa of the Papyri, plan with indications of peristylum-garden A.1 and peristylum-garden A.2.	245
App.2.	Villa Oplontis A, plan with indications of peristylum-garden B.1, and porticus-gardens B.2, B.3, and B.4.	250
App.3.	Villa Arianna A, plan with indications of peristylum-garden C.1, porticus-garden C.2, and peristylum-garden C.3.	255
App.4.	Villa Arianna B, plan with indication of peristylum-garden D.1.	257
App.5.	Villa San Marco, plan with indications of peristylum-gardens E.1, E.2, and E.3.	259

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1	Areas of porticoed gardens in m ²	140
TABLE 2	Areas of the individual porticoed gardens in relation to overall area of villas	140

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Barbet and Miniero* Barbet, A., and Miniero, P. (eds) *La Villa San Marco a Stabia* (Naples, Rome, and Pompei 1999).
- CDP* Comparetti, D. P. A., and de Petra, G. *La villa ercolanese dei Pisoni i suoi monumenti e la sua biblioteca* (Turin 1883; reprint Naples 1972).
- CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
- Förtsch* Förtsch, R. *Archäologischer Kommentar zu den Villenbriefen des jüngeren Plinius*, Beiträge zur Erschliessung hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlicher Skulptur und Architektur 13 (Mainz am Rhein 1993).
- Mattusch* Mattusch, C. C., with Lie, H. *The Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum: Life and Afterlife of a Sculpture Collection* (Los Angeles 2005).
- Neudecker* Neudecker, R. *Die Skulpturenausstattung römischer Villen in Italien*, Beiträge zur Erschliessung hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlicher Skulptur und Architektur 9 (Mainz am Rhein 1988).
- Stabiae: Storia e architettura* Bonifacio, G., and Sodo, A. M. (eds) *Stabiae: Storia e architettura: 2500 anniversario degli scavi di Stabiae 1749–1999: Convegno internazionale, Castellammare di Stabia, 25–27 marzo 2000*, Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei 7 (Rome 2002).
- Wojcik* Wojcik, M. R. *La Villa dei Papiri ad Ercolano: Contributo alla ricostruzione dell'ideologia della nobilitas tardorepubblicana* (Rome 1986).
- Zarmakoupi* Zarmakoupi, M. (ed.) *The Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum: Archaeology, Reception, and Digital Reconstruction*, *Sozomena: Studies in the Recovery of Ancient Texts* 1 (Berlin and New York 2010).

Roman luxury villas

Introduction, historiography, and scope

Luxurious country houses were one of the most important features of the Roman elite lifestyle from the end of the second century BCE to the fourth century CE, both in Italy and the provinces; they were effectively at the centre of Romans' cultural negotiations. The cultural phenomenon of luxury villas flourished in the Italian peninsula from the middle of the first century BCE to the end of the second century CE. It mainly developed along the coast near Rome and especially around the bay of Naples, where rich senators would retreat from their public obligations to their private luxury villas in order to enjoy a sophisticated life of leisure. Even if the purpose of these places was to be a retreat from political affairs, they participated in the social staging of their senatorial and newly enriched equestrian owners. This cultural phenomenon was inextricably linked to an influx of resources into Italy after the conquest of the Hellenistic East in the second century BCE. Romans, wishing to display their wealth in the private sphere, transformed their plain country houses into sumptuous edifices. An appreciation of the life of leisure (*otium* as opposed to *negotium*) and of the qualities of landscape informed and shaped the luxury villa lifestyle. Moralists of the period criticized the display of wealth in the private realm of country houses, driven as much by political considerations as by ethical ones.

The present study is concerned with the ways in which Romans conceptualized the architectural design of luxurious villas in order to accommodate a life of educated leisure in the countryside. Five villas from around the bay of Naples (c.50 BCE–79 CE) are the focus of this study, but examples are drawn from a wider corpus of evidence. I analyse the cultural factors that informed and shaped the architectural expression of the Roman luxury villa trend, and address the ways in which contemporary ideas about landscape were integrated into the architectural design of Roman luxury villas. I combine a design analysis of Roman luxury villa architecture with a cultural analysis of Roman luxury villa lifestyle to shed light on the buildings' architecture as a dynamic process that related to cultural, social, and environmental factors.

Roman luxury villas articulated a novel architectural language, which designers developed by appropriating the existing stylistic and thematic vocabularies of Hellenistic and Roman architecture. What becomes apparent from the present study is that in their effort to accommodate the Greek style Romans created something completely unprecedented in the history of architecture. Indeed, in designing for luxury, Romans shaped a sophisticated interplay of architecture and landscape, an interplay that Renaissance architects discovered and reinvented, and that persists to this day.¹

THE CULTURAL PHENOMENON OF LUXURY VILLAS

The cultural phenomenon of Roman luxury villas is unique compared with later luxury country house trends; there is no precedent either in Italy or in the Hellenistic East. As Lauter has pointed out, the Roman villa was a product of specific social and economic Italian conditions between the late Republic and the Imperial period, and as such there can be no discussion of precedents.² Grand farmhouses had existed since the sixth century BCE in the Italian countryside (for example the Auditorium site just outside Rome),³ but the emergence of the country house as a symbol not only of agricultural production, but also of luxurious leisure, occurred after the second century BCE, and was in tune with contemporary constructions of Roman cultural identity.⁴

Latin authors used the term *villa* to refer to various types of building over time and not only to single structures, but also to a complex of buildings, or both to the complex of buildings and the land of a country estate (Columella, *Rust.* 1.6.21;

¹ W. L. MacDonald and J. A. Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa and its Legacy* (New Haven and London 1995) 266–85 (ch. 10) and 306–30 (ch. 12); J. S. Ackerman, *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses*, A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts: 1985, Bollingen series 35: 34 (Princeton 1990).

² H. Lauter, 'Hellenistische Vorläufer der römischen Villa', A. Frazer (ed.), *The Roman Villa: Villa Urbana: First Williams Symposium on Classical Architecture held at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, April 21–22, 1990*, University Museum Monograph 101, University Museum Symposium Series 9 (Philadelphia 1998) 21–7, at 21.

³ On the Auditorium site, with earlier bibliography: N. Terrenato, 'The Auditorium Site in Rome and the Origins of the Villa', *JRA* 14 (2001) 5–31. Another example is the Villa delle Grotte at Grottarossa: J. A. Becker, 'The Villa delle Grotte at Grottarossa and the Prehistory of Roman villas', *JRA* 19 (2006) 213–20. On the early stages of the villa: M. Torelli, 'La formazione della villa', in A. Momigliano and A. Schiavone (eds), *Storia di Roma: 2, L'impero mediterraneo: 1, La repubblica imperiale* (Turin 1990) 123–32.

⁴ A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'The Villa as a Cultural Symbol', in A. Frazer (ed.), *The Roman Villa: Villa Urbana: First Williams Symposium on Classical Architecture held at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, April 21–22, 1990*, University Museum Monograph 101, University Museum Symposium Series 9 (Philadelphia 1998) 43–53.

Cato *Agr.* 6.1).⁵ The evolution of the meaning of the term from the middle Republican to the early Imperial periods, as attested in the agricultural treatises of Cato (234–149 BCE), Varro (c.116–27 BCE), and Columella (first century CE), points to the creation of a new building type that could accommodate not only agricultural activities, but also a new lifestyle of leisure and luxury in the countryside. The *villa* was the symbol of this lifestyle and as such it became the contested subject in discussions about the way in which a Roman citizen should behave and live.⁶

In texts of the first half of the second century BCE, for example the agricultural treatise of Cato the Elder, the term *villa* described a farmstead that produced certain commodities and provided its owners with basic shelter and minimal comforts (Cato *Agr.* 1.1–7). Examples of such farmsteads are the site of Giardino Vecchio and the Villa Sambuco in Etruria, dating to the end of the third and beginning of the second century BCE.⁷ Both farmsteads featured big storerooms, had moderate dimensions (around 500 m²), and were constructed with simple techniques (wooden frames that were filled with sun-dried clay). Around the middle of the second century BCE the literary sources refer to villas whose appearance exceeded the simplicity of a farmstead (Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus in *ORF* 20 [= Aul. Gell. 2.20.6]; Cato in *ORF* 185 [= Festus, 282,4]).⁸ In these references the adjective *expolita* or simply *polita* was used to describe luxuriously furnished villas with no particular definition of a villa ‘type’. Archaeological evidence from this early period of luxury villas is scarce. Some of the earliest examples are the villas in the *ager Tiburtinus* and *Sabinus*, for instance

⁵ J. H. D’Arms, ‘Ville rustiche e ville d’otium’, in F. Zevi (ed.), *Pompei 79: Raccolta di studi per il decimonono centenario dell’eruzione vesuviana* (Naples 1984) 65–86, at 65–6; J. Percival, *The Roman Villa: An Historical Introduction* (London 1988) 13–15. See also: P. Leveau, ‘La ville antique et l’organisation de l’espace rural: Villa, ville, village’, *AnnÉconSocCiv* 38 (1983) 920–42.

⁶ N. Purcell, ‘The Roman Villa and the Landscape of Production’, in T. J. Cornell and K. Lomas (eds), *Urban Society in Roman Italy* (New York 1995) 151–79; Wallace-Hadrill, ‘The Villa as a Cultural Symbol’.

⁷ On the site of Giardino Vecchio: I. Attolini, et al., ‘Ricognizione archeologica nell’ager Cosanus e nella valle dell’Albegna. Rapporto preliminare 1981’, *Archeologia Medievale* 9 (1982) 365–86, at 383–5. On the Villa Sambuco: C. E. Östenberg, ‘Luni and Villa Sambuco’, in *Etruscan Culture, Land and People: Archaeological Research and Studies Conducted in San Giovenale and its Environs by Members of the Swedish Institute in Rome* (New York 1962) 313–28, at 313–20.

⁸ *Verba ex oratione eius contra Claudium Asellum quinta haec sunt: ‘ubi argos optime cultos atque villas expolitissimas vidisset, in his regionibus excelsissimo loco grumam statuere aiebat; inde corrigere viam, aliis per vineas medias, aliis per roborarium atque piscinam, aliis per villam.’* *ORF* 20 (= Aul. Gell. 2.20.6). *dicere possum, quibus villae atque aedes aedificatae atque expolitae maximo opere citro atque ebore atque pavimentis Poenicis sient.* ‘I can say that their town and country houses are greatly embellished with citrus wood, ivory, and Punic pavements (floors laid with Numidian marble, i.e., the marble of Chemtou).’ *ORF* 185 (= Festus, 282,4). J. H. D’Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples: A Social and Cultural Study of the Villas and their Owners from 150 B.C. to A.D. 400* (Cambridge 1970) 15–31.

the so-called Villa of Quintilius Varus dating to the end of the second or beginning of the first century BCE, which had terraced gardens featuring large *piscinae*.⁹

It was almost a century later that Varro, writing about 55–37 BCE, felt the need to distinguish between two ‘types’ of villas: the luxurious *villa urbana* and the frugal *villa rustica*, which he emphatically opposed to one another regarding the kind of life that one led in them. The former was the equivalent of Cato’s simple farmstead, a productive agricultural unit that was in tune with ancestral Roman values, while the latter was a comfortable countryside leisure retreat, a product of the corrupting influences of Greek culture, which epitomized the extravagances of the moderns.¹⁰ We should not, however, fall for the moral antithesis that Varro draws between the luxurious *villa urbana* and the frugal *villa rustica*. Varro builds up a dichotomy between luxury and frugality, which he parallels with other contrasting concepts (town and country, Greek and Roman), in order to construct an argument about Roman identity in the turbulent period of the late Republic.¹¹ His distinction between the *villa rustica* and the *villa urbana* is ideological rather than typological. Luxurious villas were attached to productive estates no matter how much the Romans themselves wished to conceal it in their writings. This combination of luxurious houses with agricultural facilities should not surprise us. The villas’ agricultural fertility could itself be an element in the display of wealth and status.¹²

Varro and his contemporaries used the term *villa urbana* to describe villas on a sumptuous scale, and associated this type of villa with an extravagant and over-the-top lifestyle—a life of *voluptas* (enjoyment, satisfaction, pleasure), *amoenitas* (pleasantness), *luxuria* (luxury), and *otium* (leisure), and filled with *voluptariae*

⁹ C. F. Giuliani, *Forma Italiae: Regio I: Tibur, pars prima* (Rome 1970) 299–302; Z. Mari and F. Bonelli, ‘La villa di Quintilio Varo’, *Bollettino di archeologia* 10 (1991) 37–50.

¹⁰ *Fundanius, fructuosior, inquit, est certe fundus propter aedificia, si potius ad anticorum diligentiam quam ad horum luxuriam derigas aedificationem. Illi enim faciebant ad fructum rationem, hi faciunt ad libidines indomitas. Itaque illorum villae rusticae erant maioris preti quam urbanae, quae sunt pleraque contra. (...) Item cetera ut essent in villa huiusce modi, quae cultura quaereret, providebant. Nunc contra villam urbanam quam maximam ac politissimam habeant dant operam ac cum Metelli ac Luculli villis pessimo publico aedificatis certant.* ‘‘An estate is undoubtedly more profitable, so far as the buildings are concerned,’’ said Fundanius, ‘‘if you construct them more according to the frugality of the ancients than the luxury of the moderns; for the former built to suit the size of their crops, while the latter build to suit their unrestrained luxury. Hence their agricultural facilities (*villae rusticae*) were of more value than their housing facilities (*[villae] urbanae*), while now the opposite is usually the case. (...) In like manner they took care in that the country house (*villa*) should have everything else that was required for agriculture; while in these times, on the other hand, the effort is to have a housing facility (*villa urbana*) as large and handsome as possible; and they vie with the villas of Metellus and Lucullus, which they have built on a great damage of the state’’. Varro, *Rust.* 1.13.6–7. Trans. H. B. Ash, Loeb edn (adjusted). Cf. Varro, *Rust.* 1.2.10, 2.1–3.

¹¹ Wallace-Hadrill, ‘The Villa as a Cultural Symbol’; A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome’s Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge 2008) 196–208.

¹² N. Purcell, ‘The Roman Villa and the Landscape of Production’, 162–3.

possiones (possessions and properties relating to pleasure and enjoyment).¹³ When the luxury villa trend began in Varro's time, the different names employed to describe villas—*villa rustica*, *urbana*, *pseudo-urbana*, *suburbana*, and *maritima*—served to distinguish villas on the basis of their sumptuous character and their location in the countryside rather than their function.¹⁴ Columella, who wrote sometime during the middle of the first century CE, provides a less biased description of the *villa*. Instead of opposing the *villa rustica* to the *villa urbana*, he describes different parts of the *villa* on the basis of their function: the *pars urbana* was the dwelling house, the *pars rustica* was the production quarter, and the *pars fructuaria* was the store-house (Col. *Rust.* 1.6.1). The villa at Settefinestre in Etruria (late second/early first century BCE–second century CE) is a prime example of the ways in which these different aspects of the life in the villa were housed.¹⁵ A large number of villas do not provide evidence of agricultural activities. But this is the result of selective excavation and does not prove that they did not have a *pars rustica* at one point.¹⁶

Although villas were not the main source of income for their owners they made a considerable contribution to it.¹⁷ In addition to horticulture, animal, bird, and fish breeding—Varro's *pastio villatica* (Var. *Re Rust.* 3.2.13–16)—were prominent activities which occurred at the villas and brought considerable financial benefits. In the villa at Settefinestre, the excavated remains suggest that the polygonal enclosure to the south of the main building was used for aviary upbringing and that pigs were kept in rooms around a courtyard that was added at the southwest.¹⁸ Many seaside as well as inland villas had installations for pisciculture, a lucrative business that also served the purposes of display.¹⁹ For example, the villa on Punta della Vipera had a fishpond dug into the existing coastal rock formations, measuring approximately 55 by 34 m; the villa of Quintilius Varus housed a fishpond on one of its large terraces, which was supplied by two aqueducts bringing water from the river Anio.²⁰ The pool in the square peristyle

¹³ D'Arms, 'Ville rustiche e ville d'otium'.

¹⁴ For an assessment of the terms: D'Arms, 'Ville rustiche e ville d'otium'; X. Lafon, *Villa maritima: Recherches sur les villas littorales de l'Italie romaine (IIIe siècle av. J.-C. / IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.)*, BÉFAR 307 (Rome 2001) 10–12, 41–62.

¹⁵ A. Carandini (ed.) *Settefinestre: Una villa schiavistica nell'Etruria romana*, 3 vols. (Modena 1985).

¹⁶ Carandini (ed.) *Settefinestre*, vol. 1, 126; A. Marzano, *Roman Villas in Central Italy: A Social and Economic History*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 30 (Leiden and Boston 2007) 102–24.

¹⁷ Marzano, *Roman Villas in Central Italy*, 47–81.

¹⁸ Carandini (ed.) *Settefinestre*, vol. 1, 160–3, vol. 2, 182–8.

¹⁹ J. Higginbotham, *Piscinae: Artificial Fishponds in Roman Italy*, Studies in the History of Greece and Rome (Chapel Hill 1997) 55–64; A. Marzano and G. Brizzi, 'Costly Display or Economic Investment? A Quantitative Approach to the Study of Marine Aquaculture', *JRA* 22 (2009) 215–30.

²⁰ Higginbotham, *Piscinae*, 97–101 (villa on Punta della Vipera), 122–5 (villa of Quintilius Varus).

of the Villa of the Papyri was probably a fishpond, as it had recesses where fish could escape from light, which was necessary for their survival.²¹

This 'landscape of production' was not contradictory to the life of leisure that is so prominently attested in lavishly decorated Roman villas.²² The residential part of the villas, the *pars urbana*, looked over farmland, a fishpond, or a pigsty, as well as an ornamental garden, as the Villa at Settefinestre did. Delicate interiors offered masterful views of surrounding landscapes of all kinds, and all of them were equally important to villa owners. Landowning and agriculture were considered to be secure investments, and indeed were the primary source of income for wealthy Romans. In the realm of the villa the economic concerns of the land were combined with an appreciation of the aesthetic qualities of the landscape and lifestyle *à la grecque*, to serve the purposes of self-fashioning. In fact, to quote Nicholas Purcell, Romans used both agriculture and elegance as 'alternative forms of display'.²³

The emergence of luxury villas occurred during the period of conquest of the Hellenistic East, which brought an abundance of resources to both the Roman aristocracy and the equestrian orders. The wish to display this wealth in the private sphere—as opposed to doing so in the public sphere, such as in triumphal processions and public benefactions—led to the conceptualization of villas as luxurious retreats. Complaints about *villae expolitae*, or luxury villas, begin in the period after the defeat of Perseus at Pydna in 168 BCE, which is one of the traditional dates assigned to the introduction of foreign wealth in the form of booty, slaves, and luxury to Rome. This date has been associated with the rise of the luxury villa trend.²⁴ Roman moralists point to the conquest of the Hellenistic East, with all its corrupting influences, as the source of this lifestyle of luxury and its associated expressions, such as the luxury villa. Morals were inextricably related to material interests and political power.²⁵ Indeed the sumptuary legislation of ancient Rome appears to have been customized to satisfy vested interests that were effectively 'spun'—if we were to use the modern terminology of public relations.²⁶ While Cato and Cicero criticized the luxurious lifestyle of their times, they also indulged in it, to a certain extent, as the numerous estates and villas

²¹ Higginbotham, *Piscinae*, 94–6.

²² Purcell, 'The Roman Villa and the Landscape of Production?'; Marzano, *Roman Villas in Central Italy*, 82–101.

²³ Purcell, 'The Roman Villa and the Landscape of Production', 152.

²⁴ D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples*, 15–31; T. Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome: Volume 1: Rome and Italy of the Republic* (Baltimore 1933) 208–14, 295–9. Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, 315–55.

²⁵ C. Berry, *The Idea of Luxury: A Conceptual and Historical Investigation* (Cambridge 1994) 83–4.

²⁶ F. Millar, 'Politics, Persuasion and the People before the Social War (150–90 B.C.)', *JRS* 76 (1986) 1–11; A. Lintott, 'Electoral Bribery in the Roman Republic', *JRS* 80 (1980) 1–16.

that they owned indicate. Cicero owned around nine villas between 59 and 45 BCE.²⁷

In the political turmoil of the period following the Second Punic War, the ruling elite, worried about the socio-economic foundations of their class, criticized material manifestations of luxury in an attempt to stall the fragmentation of wealth.²⁸ Luxury was relative to the owner's social status: 'what might be perfectly proper for a consul could be seen as luxurious for one whose status was not authenticated by ancestry or public office.'²⁹ Seneca's criticism of luxurious building fashions is revealing of the preoccupations of moralists with social status (*Ep.* 86.6–7). Seneca juxtaposed the frugal character of the baths in the second-century BCE villa of Scipio in Campania with the marble-clad baths of his time. He particularly underlines the extravagance of the baths owned by freedmen, which, in addition to an enormous number of statues, had 'an enormous number of columns that support nothing, but are built for decoration, with the sole purpose of spending money!' (*quantum columnarum est nihil sustinentium, sed in ornamentum positarum impensae causa!*).³⁰ Here the absurdity of the impractical columns is paralleled with the absurdity of the new-made men, who had money but no status, and who aimed to climb the social ladder. For Seneca both the columns and the freedmen were pointless, the former regarding the building structure, the latter in terms of society. As Catharine Edwards has shown, such parallels between building and social hierarchy were evoked in criticisms of luxury from the second century BCE to the second century CE.³¹ In a society where villas, together with houses, were markers of social status and indicators of political aspirations, the cultural phenomenon of luxury villas was partially a product of contemporary socio-political games and became an effective part of their making.³²

HISTORIOGRAPHY

It is only in the past forty years that luxury villas have been identified as a distinct cultural phenomenon. Previously, studies in the architecture of the villas

²⁷ O. E. Schmidt, *Cicero's Villen* (Leipzig 1899). Republished in: F. Reutti (ed.), *Die Römische Villa* (Darmstadt 1990) 13–40. Lafon, *Villa maritima*, 181–3, and fig. 32 on p. 183.

²⁸ D. Kienast, *Cato der Zensor: Seine Persönlichkeit und seine Zeit* (Heidelberg 1954) 94–100; Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, 319–38.

²⁹ C. Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge 1993) 153.

³⁰ Trans. Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality*, 155.

³¹ Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality*, 137–72 (ch. 4). See also S. Hales, *The Roman House and Social Identity* (Cambridge 2003) 29–39.

³² See also: J. Bodel, 'Monumental Villas and Villa Monuments', *JRA* 10 (1997) 5–35.

addressed distinct architectural elements and other qualities, the most influential contributions being Swoboda in 1919 and Drerup in 1959.³³ However, villas were seen as part of a homogenous phenomenon until the 1970s, when two contributions marked a shift in the field. John D'Arms, in his seminal work *Romans on the Bay of Naples*, pointed to the cultural significance of the luxury villa trend in that region,³⁴ and in his article 'Ville rustiche e ville d'otium', singled out luxury villas as distinct from other, non-luxury, country residences.³⁵ Additionally, Paul Zanker, in his influential article 'Die Villa als Vorbild des späten Pompejanischen Wohngeschmacks', convincingly argued that the houses in Pompeii and Herculaneum, which had for so long been admired by scholars as the most prized instances of architecture and art in the Roman world, were in fact emulating the style of luxury villas in the countryside.³⁶ Both D'Arms and Zanker wrote social and cultural history drawing on a remarkable breadth of material (literary, epigraphic, and archaeological) from the ancient world. Their studies effectively paved the way for more refined readings of villa life and architecture, although it took some years before scholarship acknowledged their contribution.³⁷ A major addition to the study of luxury villas came from Harald Mielsch, although luxury villas were not the intended focus of his work.³⁸ Mielsch was the first to single out the distinguishing architectural elements of luxury villas, and to address their precedents and discuss them in their cultural context. After that, a series of influential contributions by Andrew Wallace-Hadrill facilitated a general development in the field of Roman domestic architecture studies. He analysed the social structures of Roman houses and addressed their cultural significance,³⁹ in doing so changing the way in which students of Roman domestic architecture viewed the archaeological material.⁴⁰

³³ H. Drerup, 'Die römische Villa', *MarbWPr* (1959) 1–24; K. M. Swoboda, *Römische und romanische Pälaste: Eine architekturgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Vienna 1919).

³⁴ D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples*.

³⁵ D'Arms, 'Ville rustiche e ville d'otium'.

³⁶ P. Zanker, 'Die Villa als Vorbild des späten Pompejanischen Wohngeschmacks', *JdI* 94 (1979) 460–523. Later published in: P. Zanker, *Pompeii: Stadtbild und Wohngeschmack*, *Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt* 61 (Mainz am Rhein 1995). English translation: P. Zanker, *Pompeii: Public and Private Life*, *Revealing antiquity* 11 (Cambridge, MA 1998).

³⁷ The collection of articles in Reutti's edited volume attempted to show the state of the field in villa studies by 1990: F. Reutti (ed.), *Die römische Villa* (Darmstadt 1990).

³⁸ Mielsch, *Die römische Villa: Architektur und Lebensform* (Munich 1987). See also: R. J. A. Wilson, 'Review of: *Die römische Villa: Architektur und Lebensform* by H. Mielsch', *JRS* 78 (1988) 244–5.

³⁹ A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'The Social Structure of the Roman House', *PBSR* 56 (1988) 43–97; A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum* (Princeton 1994).

⁴⁰ Followers: R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds), *Domestic Space in the Roman world: Pompeii and Beyond*, *JRA Supplement* 22 (Portsmouth, RI 1997); J. T. Smith, *Roman Villas: A Study in Social Structure* (London 1997); S. Hales, *The Roman House and Social Identity*; G. W. Adams, *The Suburban Villas of Campania and their Social Function*, *BAR-IS* 1542 (Oxford 2006).

A significant advance in the understanding of the Roman luxury villa phenomenon was achieved in the field of architectural history, with the work of James Ackerman who brought a broad perspective to the study of luxury villas. Ackerman offered a comprehensive treatment of the buildings' cultural history, presenting the ancient Roman villa as the starting point not only of a building type but also of an ideal, or ideology, of countryside living as a retreat from the city. Drawing on Marxist conceptualizations of the Renaissance country houses, Ackerman's study showed that a confluence of social and economic factors created the necessary conditions for the life and myth of leisure that underlies the ideology of these structures.⁴¹

Ancient historians, who were primarily concerned with the broad social and economic role of Roman villas, had addressed questions of ideology from the beginning of the twentieth century. Rostovtzeff, for example, who made a significant contribution to the study of the villas' relationship to landscape,⁴² focused on the social status of their owners and compared the phenomenon with the emergence of the social class of the nouveaux riches during the twentieth century.⁴³ Broad conceptualizations of the villa phenomenon were attempted:⁴⁴ but the sheer number of the buildings surfacing all over the Roman empire led ancient historians to explore more specifically the economic significance of the phenomenon;⁴⁵ to focus on the economic activities that occurred in villas;⁴⁶ and to conceptualize their social significance.⁴⁷ In the 1970s and the 1980s historians were concerned with the 'villa system' and the economic model of slavery, and intensive agricultural exploitation that it implied, for which the Villa at Settefinestre provided a well-articulated model.⁴⁸ The 'villa schiavistica' type has more recently been complemented by nuanced readings of literary and

⁴¹ J. S. Ackerman, 'The Villa as a Paradigm', *Perspecta* 22 (1986) 10–31; J. S. Ackerman, *The Villa*, 9–61. Relying on: R. Bentmann and M. Müller, *Die Villa als Herrschaftsarchitektur: Versuch einer kunst- und sozialgeschichtlichen Analyse* (Frankfurt am Main 1970).

⁴² M. Rostovtzeff, 'Pompeianische Landschaften und römische Villen', *JdI* 19 (1904) 103–26.

⁴³ M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 2 vols, 2 edn revised by P. M. Fraser, 1st edn 1926 (Oxford 1957) 551–3, n. 26, and 564–5, n. 23. Followed by: R. C. Carrington, 'Studies in the Campanian "Villae Rusticae"', *JRS* 21 (1931) 110–30. For further discussion look at: D'Arms, 'Ville rustiche e ville d'otium', 66.

⁴⁴ P. Leveau, 'La ville antique et l'organisation de l'espace rural'.

⁴⁵ T. W. Potter, *The Changing Landscape of South Etruria* (London 1979).

⁴⁶ J. Rossiter, 'Wine Processing at Roman Farms in Italy', *Phoenix* 35 (1981) 345–61; W. Rinkewitz, *Pastio villatica: Untersuchungen zur intensiven Hof-tierhaltung in der römischen Landwirtschaft* (Frankfurt am Main and New York 1984).

⁴⁷ A. L. F. Rivet, 'Social and Economic Aspects', in A. L. F. Rivet (ed.), *The Roman Villa in Britain* (London 1969) 173–216; K. Painter (ed.) *Roman Villas in Italy: Recent Excavations and Research* (London 1988); Percival, *The Roman Villa*.

⁴⁸ A. Giardina and A. Schiavone (eds), *Società romana e produzione schiavistica* (Bari 1981); Carandini and S. Settis, *Schiavi e padroni nell'Etruria romana: La villa Settefinestre dallo scavo alla mostra* (Bari 1979).

archaeological records.⁴⁹ Nicholas Purcell transformed the way in which the phenomenon was understood by noting that conflicting discussions on agricultural productivity and conspicuous luxury were a part of the self-fashioning of villa owners.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the recent significant study of Annalisa Marzano on the socio-economic role of elite Roman villas in central Italy gives a comprehensive assessment of both archaeological and documentary sources, and shows that elite villas were not mere status symbols but were intended to generate considerable wealth for their owners.⁵¹

Over the past thirty years, luxury villas have finally been treated as distinct from the non-luxury buildings in handbooks of architecture,⁵² in historical studies,⁵³ and in typological studies.⁵⁴ Förtsch's analysis of Pliny the Younger's 'villa letters' enriched our understanding of the luxury villa phenomenon by singling out and making 'archaeological annotations' on the architectural elements that Pliny mentioned.⁵⁵ But it is not merely the architecture that we now understand better. Since the middle of the twentieth century the significance of Roman copies of Greek sculptures has been assessed,⁵⁶ there have been systematic studies of sculptural groups found in villas, and sophisticated readings of their ideological programmes have taken place.⁵⁷ Combined with the discovery of shipwrecks filled with cargos for villa destinations,⁵⁸ and economic studies of the marble trade,⁵⁹ all

⁴⁹ See Marzano, *Roman Villas in Central Italy*, 125–53, ch. 4, 'The "Villa Schiavistica" Model'.

⁵⁰ Purcell, 'The Roman Villa and the Landscape of Production'.

⁵¹ Marzano, *Roman Villas in Central Italy*.

⁵² Gros, *L'architecture romaine du début IIIe siècle av. J.-C. à la fin du haut-empire II: Maisons, palais, villas et tombeaux*, Les manuels d'art et d'archéologie antiques (Paris 2001) 289–313 (ch. 9).

⁵³ X. Lafon, 'À propos des villas de la zone de Sperlonga: Les origines et le développement de la villa maritima sur le littoral tyrrhénien à l'époque républicaine', *MÉFRA* 93 (1981) 297–353; X. Lafon, *Villa maritima*.

⁵⁴ L. Romizzi, *Ville d'otium dell'Italia antica: (II sec. a.C.–I sec. d.C.)*, Aucnus 10 (Naples 2001).

⁵⁵ R. Förtsch, *Archäologischer Kommentar zu den Villenbriefen des jüngeren Plinius*, Beiträge zur Erschließung hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlicher Skulptur und Architektur 13 (Mainz am Rhein 1993). Henceforth: Förtsch.

⁵⁶ R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture: A Handbook*, World of Art (London 1991); R. R. R. Smith, 'Kings and Philosophers', in A. Bulloch, E. S. Gruen, A. A. Long, and A. Stewart (eds), *Images and Ideologies: Self-Definition in the Hellenistic World*, Hellenistic Culture and Society 12 (Berkeley and London 1993) 202–11. Up-to-date bibliographies on Roman copying: in special issue of *Art History* 2006 (volume 29, issue 2) and C. H. Hallett, 'Emulation Versus Replication: Redefining Roman copying. Review of *The Ancient Art of Emulation: Studies in Artistic Originality and Tradition from the Present to Classical Antiquity*', *JRA* 18 (2005) 419–35.

⁵⁷ R. Neudecker, *Die Skulpturenausstattung römischer Villen in Italien*, Beiträge zur Erschließung hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlicher Skulptur und Architektur 9 (Mainz am Rhein 1988). Henceforth: Neudecker.

⁵⁸ W. Fuchs, *Der Schiffsfund von Mahdia*, Bilderhefte des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Rom 2 (Tübingen 1963); G. Hellenkemper Salies (ed.), *Das Wrack: Der antike Schiffsfund von Mahdia*, 2 vols, Kataloge des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Bonn 1 (Köln 1994).

⁵⁹ H. Dodge and B. Ward-Perkins (eds) *Marble in Antiquity: Collected Papers of J. B. Ward-Perkins*, Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome 6 (London 1992); M. Maischberger, *Marmor*

of this has added greatly to our understanding of the underpinnings, conceptualization, range, and mechanics of the luxury villa equipment. The structures were filled with marble and bronze decorative objects, such as marble candelabra and craters, and bronze figure lamps.⁶⁰ Neudecker's study, which contextualized the villas' sculptural groups in their environments, discussed the programmatic use of sculpture, and the conceptualization and mechanics of collecting sculptures.⁶¹ Furthermore, systematic studies of wall paintings and mosaics from Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Stabiae⁶² have facilitated cultural and social readings of villas' interior decoration as an environment, beyond Mau's four styles.⁶³

Finally, the burgeoning field of landscape and garden studies has made a major contribution to our understanding of villas' interior and exterior landscapes. Pierre Grimal's research on Roman gardens in the 1940s has been complemented by Wilhelmina Jashemski's pioneering work during the 1970s.⁶⁴ Jashemski's studies have shed light on the ways in which the interiors of the villas were embellished, and have facilitated sophisticated readings of the villas' landscapes,

in Rom: Anlieferung, Lager- und Werkplätze in der Kaiserzeit, Palilia 1 (Wiesbaden 1997); P. Pensabene, 'Il fenomeno del marmo nella Roma tardo-republicana e imperiale', in P. Pensabene and A. Alvarez i Pérez (eds), *Marmi antichi II: Cave e tecnica di lavorazione, provenienze e distribuzione*, StMisc 31 (Rome 1998) 333–73.

⁶⁰ H.-U. Cain and O. Dräger, 'Die Marmorkandelaber', in G. Hellenkemper Salies (ed.), *Das Wrack: Der antike Schiffsfund von Mahdia*, 2 vols, Kataloge des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Bonn 1 (Köln 1994) 239–57; D. Grassinger, 'Die Marmorkrater', in G. Hellenkemper Salies (ed.), *Das Wrack: Der antike Schiffsfund von Mahdia*, 2 vols, Kataloge des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Bonn 1 (Köln 1994) 259–83; H. Hiller, 'Zwei bronzene Figurenlampen', in G. Hellenkemper Salies (ed.), *Das Wrack: Der antike Schiffsfund von Mahdia*, 2 vols, Kataloge des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Bonn 1 (Köln 1994) 515–30.

⁶¹ Neudecker. For an assessment: P. G. Warden, 'The Sculptural Program of the Villa of the Papyri', *JRA* 4 (1991) 257–61.

⁶² I. Bragantini (ed.), *Pitture e pavimenti di Pompei*, 3 vols (Rome 1981–92); M. S. Pisapia, *Mosaici antichi in Italia. Regione prima, Stabiae* (Rome 1989); G. Pugliese Carratelli and I. Baldassarre (eds), *Pompei, pitture e mosaici*, 10 vols, (Rome 1990–2003); M. Aoyagi and U. Pappalardo (eds), *Pompei (regiones VI–VII): Insula occidentalis* (Naples 2006).

⁶³ J. R. Clarke, *The Houses of Roman Italy 100 B.C.–A.D. 250: Ritual, Space, and Decoration* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1991); R. A. Tybout, *Aedificiorum figurarum: Untersuchungen zu den Architekturdarstellungen des frühen zweiten Stils*, Dutch monographs on ancient history and archaeology 7 (Amsterdam 1989); R. A. Tybout, 'Roman Wall-Painting and Social Significance', *JRA* 14 (2001) 33–56; E. M. Moormann (ed.), *Functional and Spatial Analysis of Wall Painting: Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress on Ancient Wall Painting, Amsterdam, 8–12 September 1992*, BABesch Supplement 3 (Leiden 1993); E. W. Leach, *The Social Life of Painting in Ancient Rome and on the Bay of Naples* (Cambridge 2004). The important precedents of these studies are: H. Drerup, 'Bildraum und Realraum in der römischen Architektur', *RM* 66 (1959) 147–74; D. Scagliarini Corlàita, 'Spazio e decorazione nella pittura pompeiana', *Palladio* 23–5 (1974) 3–44.

⁶⁴ P. Grimal, *Les jardins romains à la fin de la république et aux deux premiers siècles de l'empire: Essais sur le naturalisme romain*, BÉFAR 155 (Paris 1943); W. M. F. Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii: Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius: Volume I* (New Rochelle, NY 1979); W. M. F. Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii: Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius: Volume II: Appendices* (New Rochelle, NY 1993); W. M. F. Jashemski and F. G. Meyer, *The Natural History of Pompeii* (Cambridge 2002).

both painted and real—one such reading is the important series of articles by Bettina Bergmann.⁶⁵ Kathryn Gleason, building on the work of Jashemski, has developed methodological analyses of the archaeology of gardens and landscapes, and provided nuanced cultural interpretations of their meaning.⁶⁶ And more recently, Katharine von Stackelberg and Diana Spencer have analysed the conceptualization, together with the experience of gardens and landscape, to give a socially sensitive reading of Roman gardens and landscapes.⁶⁷

SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY OF THIS STUDY

Earlier studies have identified the cultural phenomenon of Roman luxury villas, singled out their architectural traits, studied their distinguishing architectural elements, structures, or features, addressed their symbolism and cultural and intellectual affiliations, and examined their sculptures, décor, wall paintings, and pavements as parts of the villa environment. But architecture is much more than a matter of elements and their symbolism; and the spaces it creates are more than just a physical environment. Architecture is a culturally informed process, which forms living spaces. My aim is on the one hand to address the cultural factors that informed the architectural design of luxury villas. On the other, I wish to analyse the ways in which the design of individual architectural structures and/or features of luxury villas accommodated the lifestyle that was intertwined and became identified with the luxury villa trend. Roman luxury villas articulated a novel architectural language, which designers developed by appropriating the

⁶⁵ B. Bergmann, 'Painted Perspectives of a Villa Visit: Landscape as Status and Metaphor', in E. K. Gazda and A. E. Haeckl (eds), *Roman Art in the Private Sphere: New Perspectives on the Architecture and Decor of the Domus, Villa, and Insula* (Ann Arbor 1991) 49–70; B. Bergmann, 'Exploring the Grove: Pastoral Space on Roman Walls', in J. D. Hunt (ed.), *The Pastoral Landscape*, Studies in the History of Art 36 (Washington DC 1992) 21–48.; B. Bergmann, 'The Roman House as Memory Theatre: the House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii', *ArtB* 76 (1994) 225–56; B. Bergmann, 'Meanwhile, Back in Italy', in S. Alcock, J. Cherry, and J. Elsner (eds), *Pausanias. Travel and Memory in Roman Greece* (Oxford 2001) 144–66; B. Bergmann, 'Art and Nature in the Villa at Oplontis', in McGinn et al., *Pompeian Brothels, Pompeii's Ancient History, Mirrors and Mysteries, Art and Nature at Oplontis, The Herculaneum "Basilica"*, JRA Supplement 47 (Portsmouth, RI 2002) 87–120.

⁶⁶ K. L. Gleason, 'Porticus Pompeiana: A New Perspective on the First Public Park of Ancient Rome', *JGH* 14 (1994) 13–27; K. L. Gleason, 'Constructing Nature: The Built Garden. With Notice of a New Monumental Garden at the Villa Arianna, Stabiae', in M. Dalla Riva (ed.), *Meetings between Cultures in the Ancient Mediterranean: Proceedings of the 17th International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Rome 22–26 Sept. 2008*, Special Volume of *Bollettino di Archeologia Online* 1 (Rome 2010). Online publication: <http://151.12.58.75/archeologia/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=52&Itemid=52>

⁶⁷ K. T. von Stackelberg, *The Roman Garden: Space, Sense and Society*, Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies (London and New York 2009); D. Spencer, *Roman Landscape: Culture and Identity, Greece & Rome: New Surveys in the Classics* 39 (Cambridge 2011).

existing stylistic and thematic vocabularies of Hellenistic and Roman architecture. I argue that the architectural expression of luxury villas was instrumental in the construction of the character of the cultural phenomenon itself, and that it became an agent of Roman cultural identity.

My study focuses on five representative and well-preserved luxury villas on the bay of Naples, which date from between the end of the second century BCE and the end of the first century CE: the Villa of the Papyri on the outskirts of Herculaneum, Villa Oplontis A at Torre Annunziata, and Villa Arianna A, Villa Arianna B, and Villa San Marco at Stabiae.⁶⁸ These villas are Varro's *villae urbanae*. They may have had agricultural facilities or have been surrounded by rich agricultural estates but their residential unit accommodated a lifestyle of luxurious leisure. The emphasis on these five villas allows me to examine the entirety of their design ensemble and to conduct a close analysis of the experience of their spaces. However, I draw examples from a wider body of evidence in order to address the full expression of the architectural language of Roman luxury villas—especially when other examples provide more outstanding samples of the design concept or schemes under discussion.

Chapter two presents the five case studies, and readers who would like to follow the argument of the book may wish to move directly to chapter three. In chapters three to six I examine the distinctive architectural structures or features of luxury villas. In order to examine the unique character of the architectural language of luxury villas, I address the ways in which architects appropriated existing Hellenistic and Roman architectural repertoires, employing monumental *porticus* (chapter three) and porticoed gardens (chapter four) in their designs. I explore the cultural significance of these structures by analysing the decorative choices that they embody as well as the literary and visual representations relating to them. Chapter five dwells on water structures and features in the villas' gardens, investigating the ways in which designers used water's associations with luxury and mythology, along with its physical properties, to embellish the villas' interior landscapes, animate the architectural forms, and diffuse cultural references into the life led in the villas. Chapter six discusses *triclinia* and dining facilities as stages for the socio-political games played by the owners and their guests. I analyse how their design accommodated theatrical and musical entertainments and how at the same time their architecture framed the landscapes around them. The process of design, which created characteristic architectural structures and features, was culturally informed by a contemporary appreciation and praise of the qualities of landscape and by a wish to accommodate a notional lifestyle of luxury *à la grecque*. The final chapter draws on the analyses of the villas'

⁶⁸ Index of the villas in the area: V. Kockel, 'Archäologische Funde und Forschungen in den Vesuvstädten', *AA* (1985) 495–571.

characteristics to offer an overview of the architectural composition of the villas as a whole, and to assess the ideas underpinning their architectural expression. The interaction of socio-economic and cultural circumstances facilitated the birth and development of this trend; but I argue that the architectural expression and its producing spaces were its defining elements.

While the five case studies enable me to identify the design and decorative mannerisms of the early stages of the cultural phenomenon of the luxury villa, the discussion of other examples allows me to show that these preferences shaped the character of the villa phenomenon as it developed in the Italian peninsula and the provinces of the Roman empire. Monumental colonnades dressed the façades of the villas and together with the *peristylum*-garden and its variations remained markers of luxurious villa life across the empire. Designers employed water structures and features to embellish the villas' gardens, and the mythological associations of water continued to inform the decorative repertoire of the villas. Elite dining practices complemented elite bathing habits and remained the main occasion for the villa owners' performance of their social status; while the spaces accommodating them became all the more central in the organization of the villas. The luxury villa had a lasting influence on both the provinces of the Roman empire and on the Italian peninsula.⁶⁹ Although the architectural expression of the villas was transformed to fit the changing requirements of the upper classes,⁷⁰ its striking continuity attests to the persistence of the cultural phenomenon.⁷¹

In my discussion of Roman luxury villas I use the term 'architectural language' to express 'the constant form—and sometimes the constant elements, qualities, and expressions—in the art of an individual group'.⁷² I employ the term 'language' in lieu of the term 'style', which by promoting a connoisseurship approach that isolates form from content has proved problematic in the analysis of Roman art and architecture.⁷³ By using this term, I do not seek to introduce the debate familiar from architectural history, about similarities and

⁶⁹ D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples*, 117.

⁷⁰ K. Bowes, *Houses and Society in the Later Roman Empire*, Duckworth Debates in Archaeology (London 2010); S. P. Ellis, 'The End of the Roman House', *AJA* 92 (1988) 565–76. For the transformation of the dining practices in late antique villas see: J. Rossiter, 'Convivium and Villa in Late Antiquity', in W. J. Slater (ed.), *Dining in a Classical Context* (Ann Arbor 1991) 199–214; K. M. D. Dunbabin, 'Triclinium and Stibadium', in Slater (ed.), *Dining in a Classical Context*, 121–48.

⁷¹ Mielsch, *Die römische Villa*; Marzano, *Roman Villas in Central Italy*, 199–233 (ch. 8).

⁷² M. Schapiro, 'Style', in A. L. Kroeber (ed.), *Anthropology Today: An Encyclopedic Inventory*, Inventory papers (Chicago 1953) 137–44, at 137; J. S. Ackerman, 'Style', in J. S. Ackerman and R. Carpenter (eds), *Art and Archaeology* (Engelwood Cliffs, N.J. 1963) 164–86. Reprinted with postscript in: J. S. Ackerman, *Distance Points: Essays in Theory and Renaissance Art and Architecture* (Cambridge, MA 1991) 3–22.

⁷³ C. S. Wood, *The Vienna School Reader: Politics and Art Historical Method in the 1930s* (New York and Cambridge 2000) 9–53; J. S. Ackerman, 'Toward a New Social Theory of Art', *New Literary History* 4 (1973) 315–30, at 316–20.

differences between architecture and language as semiotic or semantic systems of communication.⁷⁴ Architecture might be a system of communication but architectural signs are perceived differently from those of speech or text. I define architecture as a structural language, and draw parallels between architectural composition and the syntax of sentences. Summerson articulated his famous analysis of *The classical language of architecture* using just such a parallel.⁷⁵ In Summerson's analogy, the 'grammar' of the classical orders gave architects from the Renaissance onwards a set of rules for the combination of architectural parts into the architectural composition—the equivalent of syntax. In my analysis of luxury villa architecture, the 'words' are the Greek structures, such as *gymnasium*, *palaestra*, and *xystus*, which architects altered, appropriated, and combined, changing their governing rules or 'grammar', and redefining their meaning within the architectural composition of the villas. The result was a new language of architecture, whose customized rules conformed with the needs of the luxury villa lifestyle.

There is, however, another dimension in the relationship between architecture and language that this study employs: the descriptions of villas.⁷⁶ In my analysis of the architectural language of Roman villas I use roughly contemporary descriptions of villas and references to life in those villas—mainly the letters of Cicero, Pliny the Younger, and Seneca, the architectural treatise of Vitruvius, and the poems of Statius. Although these writings present a highly self-conscious self-representation that implicitly theorizes villa life in order to fit the sociopolitical ambitions of the authors in question, they allow us to understand not only the design concerns and priorities of villa owners but also the ways in which villa architecture was used in elite owners' self-fashioning.⁷⁷ Pliny the Younger, for

⁷⁴ U. Eco, *La struttura assente: Introduzione alla ricerca semiologica* (Milan 1968) 191–249; U. Eco, 'Linguaggio architettonico', in P. Portoghesi (ed.), *Dizionario enciclopedico di architettura e urbanistica*, vol. 4 (Rome 1969) 397–9. There is a vast literature in history and theory of architecture. For an overview of the arguments see: M. Donoghue, 'The Language of Architecture', *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 21 (1987) 53–67; P. Crossley and G. Clarke, 'Introduction', in P. Crossley and G. Clarke (eds), *Architecture and Language: Constructing Identity in European Architecture, c. 1000–c. 1650* (Cambridge 2000) 1–20, at 2–7.

⁷⁵ Sir J. Summerson, *The Classical Language of Architecture*, rev. and enlarged edn (London 1980).

⁷⁶ For methodology see: Förtsch.

⁷⁷ On classical epistolography: R. Morello and A. D. Morrison (eds), *Ancient Letters: Classical and Late Antique Epistolography* (Oxford 2006). On Pliny the Younger: M. Ludolph, *Epistolographie und Selbstdarstellung: Untersuchungen zu den 'Paradebriefen' Plinius des Jüngeren*, *Classica Monacensia* 17 (Tübingen 1997); S. E. Hoffer, *The Anxieties of Pliny the Younger*, *American Classical Studies* 43 (Atlanta, GA 1999); J. Henderson, *Pliny's Statue: The Letters, Self-Portraiture and Classical Art* (Exeter 2002); J. Henderson, 'Portrait of the Artist as a Figure of Style: P.L.I.N.Y.'s Letters', in R. Gibson and R. Morello (eds), *Re-Imagining Pliny the Younger, Arethusa* 36 (2003) 115–25; A. M. Riggsby, 'Pliny in Space (and Time)', R. Gibson and R. Morello (eds), *Re-Imagining Pliny the Younger, Arethusa* 36 (2003) 167–86; I. Marchesi, *The Art of Pliny's Letters: A Poetics of Allusion in the Private Correspondence* (Cambridge 2008). On Seneca: J. Henderson, *Morals and Villas in Seneca's Letters: Places to Dwell* (Cambridge 2004). On Vitruvius: I. K. McEwen, *Vitruvius: Writing the Body of Architecture* (Cambridge, MA 2003). On Statius: C. E. Newlands, *Statius' Silvae and the Poetics of Empire* (Cambridge and New York 2002).

instance, portrays his villas as utopias where opposites—such as artifice and nature, indoor and outdoor, Greek and Roman—are united and the life of wealth is justified as supporting the life of literature.⁷⁸ Statius, on the other hand, uses the shaping of nature by the architecture of villas as a metaphor for imperial dominion.⁷⁹ Such architectural ekphrasis modelled architecture in a language of political and social power. My emphasis in using these texts will be less on their instrumentality as vehicles of self-fashioning and more on the ways in which they elucidate the archaeological record and enable us to unpack the architectural language of the villas.

Finally, in my discussion of the architectural language of the villas I employ a comparison with modern architecture in order to elucidate the ways in which the ancient architecture served to mark a new era in the Roman empire. Modern architects had used villas, the emblem of bourgeois life, to showcase the technological advances of the industrialized twentieth century. Similarly, Roman designers and their patrons employed monumental colonnades, marble-clad interiors, and flowing water in their villa designs in order to express a sense of a new era of technological achievements, structural innovations, and supply of goods. In using this comparison with modern architecture, I do not wish to draw a comparison between the two cultural phenomena—Roman versus modern villas—but to shed light on the ways in which the architectural expression of the cultural phenomenon of the luxury villa was intertwined with and took part in the formation of the character of the cultural phenomenon itself.

THE ARCHITECTURAL LANGUAGE OF LUXURY VILLAS

The Roman luxury villa trend resulted from a confluence of socio-political circumstances: an abundance of economic resources that stirred the wish to display private wealth, and a stable political environment and secure countryside which allowed the formulation of a lifestyle of educated leisure away from the constraints of the city. These factors created favourable circumstances for responding to the overwhelming incoming cultural stimuli of the conquered

⁷⁸ Hoffer, *The Anxieties of Pliny*, 29–44 ('Villas: factories of literature'). Pliny's villa in *Tuscia* has been identified with the site at S. Giustino (late first century BCE–first/second century CE): P. Sáez Braconi and J. Uroz Sáez, *La Villa di Plinio il Giovane a San Giustino: Primi risultati di una ricerca in corso* (Perugia 1999). Various sites have been suggested as Pliny's Laurentine Villa. Villa Plinio or Palombara at Castel Fusano (first–third century BCE): A. M. Ramieri, 'La villa di Plinio a Castel Fusano', *Archeologia Laziale 12: Dodicesimo incontro di studio del Comitato per l'archeologia laziale (Quaderni del Centro del Studio per l'Archeologia Etrusco-Italica 24)* (Rome 1995) 407–16; Villa Grotte di Piastra or Villa Magna at Castelporziano (late first century BCE–third century CE): E. Salza Prina Ricotti, 'La Villa Magna a Grotte Di Piastra', in *Castelporziano I: Campagna di scavo e restauro 1984* (Rome 1985) 53–66.

⁷⁹ Newlands, *Statius' Silvae*, 154–98 ('Dominating Nature: Pollius' villa in *Silvae* 2.2').

Hellenistic East. The architectural expression of the luxury villa accommodated an imagined lifestyle *à la grecque* and was informed by contemporary appreciation of and praise for the qualities of landscape. Architects and patrons, the senatorial elite, and newly equestrian landowners whose public image depended greatly on the appearance of their houses, were inspired by the 'modern' architectural tropes and decorative fashions, and they shaped their villas after Greek architectural exempla. The social status of Roman architects themselves is unclear, and was certainly different from that of architects today. It seems that villa owners were happy to assume the architect's role when it came to certain responsibilities, such as inspecting a site (cf. Cic. *Q. fr.* 3.1).⁸⁰ The aristocratic fascination with and participation in architecture, as evidenced in the letters of Cicero and later in the activities of Hadrian, related to the arrival of impressive Hellenistic styles and new building materials, as well as the structural capabilities that the technological advances of the period facilitated.⁸¹

It has been widely accepted that Hellenistic influences were inextricably linked to the formation of Roman villa architecture and culture,⁸² as they were in all fields of Italian material culture in the last two centuries BCE. This process of cultural change has been conveniently called 'Hellenization'; however the term merely describes the range of processes through which Roman culture came into being. 'Hellenization' was an aspect of 'Romanization', a process by which Roman identity was formed by absorbing, imitating, appropriating, and creating

⁸⁰ On epigraphic evidence for the activity of Roman architects see: M. Donderer, *Die Architekten der späten römischen Republik und der Kaiserzeit: Epigraphische Zeugnisse*, Erlanger Forschungen 69 (Erlangen 1996). On the social status of architects in the Hellenistic and Augustan period: P. Gros, 'Statut social et rôle culturel des architectes (période hellénistique et Augustéenne)', in P. Gros, *Architecture et société de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la république romaine: Actes du Colloque international par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique et l'École française de Rome: Rome 2-4 décembre 1980*, CÉFR 66 (Rome and Paris 1983) 425-50. See also Werner Eck's review of Donderer, addressing the issue of the social status of architects: W. Eck, 'Auf der Suche nach Architekten in der römischen Welt', *JRA* 10 (1997) 399-404. Note that there are no demonstrable connections between the employment of the cognomen 'architectus' and the profession of the architect: H. Solin, 'Analecta Epigraphica. CLXVII. Architectus', *Arctos* 31 (1997) 135-47. The study of architects' signatures in the Greek-speaking world during the archaic, classical, and Roman periods shows that the conception of ancient architects as geniuses and creators is a modern one: M.-C. Hellmann, 'Les signatures d'architectes en langue grecque: Essai de mise au point', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 104 (1994) 151-78.

⁸¹ On Roman architects: M. Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture* (New Haven and London 2000) 19-30; J. C. Anderson, *Roman Architecture and Society* (Baltimore 1997) 3-67, especially 3-39 on Cicero and architects; R. M. Taylor, *Roman Builders: A Study in Architectural Process* (Cambridge 2003) 9-12.

⁸² D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples*, 161-3; F. Rakob, 'Hellenismus in Mittelitalien: Bautypen und Bautechnik', in P. Zanker (ed.), *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien: Kolloquium in Göttingen vom 5. bis 9. Juni 1974* (Göttingen 1976) 366-86; K. Fittschen, 'Zur Herkunft und Entstehung des 2. Stils: Probleme und Argumente', in P. Zanker (ed.), *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien* (Göttingen 1976) 539-63, at 549-56.

in opposition to Greek culture.⁸³ The architecture of luxury villas was indeed formed by the absorption and appropriation of Greek architectural exempla. The verbal vocabulary used to designate various spaces of the villa—for example, *gymnasium*, *palaestra*, and *xystus*—points to what was almost an obsession with ‘Greek things’, and which the architectural vocabulary reiterates. Roman designers, however, did not merely reproduce Greek architecture. They appropriated Greek architectural vocabulary in order to ask, and answer, different kinds of design questions and concerns. In doing so, Roman designers transformed it and created a novel architectural language. The architecture of luxury villas was stylistically informed by the civic, religious, and royal architecture of the Hellenistic East. During their studies and travels to the Hellenistic East as well, of course, as during their military expeditions, Romans had encountered monumental colonnaded architecture which they sought to emulate in their villas and, on a smaller scale, in their city houses.⁸⁴ The peristyle courtyards of Hellenistic palaces and training grounds (the *palaestrae* of the *gymnasia*), such as those of the palace at Aigai and the *palaestra* in Olympia, informed the structure of the peristyle garden; and the monumental terracing of colonnaded sanctuaries and royal capitals, such as the sanctuary of Asklepios on Kos and the Acropolis of Pergamon, was emulated in the substructures of the villas (*bases villae*).⁸⁵

While the contact with the Hellenistic East and the idealization of Greek culture influenced the architecture and culture of Roman luxury villas, it seems that the defining factor in their architectural expression was a relation to the landscape. Villas were part of a common cultural language, prominently attested in contemporary literary and visual sources, which was concerned with an appreciation of nature in its pictorial aspect as landscape.⁸⁶ In the Roman period, for

⁸³ Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, 14–28.

⁸⁴ Mielsch, *Die römische Villa*, 120–5. On the miniature villa phenomenon in Pompeii: Zanker, ‘Die Villa als Vorbild’.

⁸⁵ Förtsch, *Archäologischer Kommentar*, 28, n. 224, 9–93; Gros, *L'architecture romaine II*, 296–9. On the palace at Aigai: I. Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces: Tradition and Renewal*, Studies in Hellenistic Civilization 5 (Aarhus 1999) 81–94. On the palaestra in Olympia: J. Delorme, *Gymnasion: Étude sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce (des origines à l'empire romain)*, BÉFAR 196 (Paris, 1960) 102–14, fig. 21; C. Wacker, *Das Gymnasion in Olympia: Geschichte und Funktion*, Würzburger Forschungen zur Altertumskunde 2 (Würzburg 1996) 13–19, fig. 4, 121–31. On the sanctuary of Asklepios on Kos and the Acropolis of Pergamon: H. Lauter, *Die Architektur des Hellenismus* (Darmstadt 1986) 106–9, 122, 290–301.

⁸⁶ Literature: E. W. Leach, *The Rhetoric of Space: Literary and Artistic Representations of Landscape in Republican and Augustan Rome* (Princeton 1988). Gardens: Grimal, *Les jardins romains*; Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*; Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii II*; Jashemski and Meyer, *The Natural History of Pompeii*. Wall paintings: C. M. Dawson, *Romano-Campanian Mythological Landscape Painting*, YCS 9 (New Haven and London 1944); W. J. T. Peters, *Landscape in Romano-Campanian Mural Painting* (Assen 1963); Bergmann, ‘Painted Perspectives of a Villa Visit’; Bergmann, ‘Exploring the Grove’; Bergmann, ‘Art and Nature in the Villa at Oplontis’; E. La Rocca, *Lo spazio negato: Il paesaggio nella cultura artistica greca e romana* (Milan 2008). Art and politics: G. Sauron, *L'histoire végétalisée: Ornement et politique à Rome*, Antiqua (Paris 2000).

the first time in Western culture, landscape was singled out as a theme in its own right: the qualities of landscape were praised in the pastoral poetry of Virgil, and its idealized and symbolic representations permeated the public and private spheres: the garden paintings from the underground dining room of the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta and the sculpted reliefs of lush floral and vegetable elements on the altar enclosure of the Ara Pacis Augustae are but two of many examples.⁸⁷ This Roman 'romanticism' of landscape found an architectural expression in Roman luxury villas. In the realm of villa designs, landscapes could be represented in wall painting and realized in architectural design at the same time. Interior landscapes were elaborately embellished with water and sculptures, and were surrounded by views of painted, sculpted, and real landscapes; the perforated architectural body of the villa opened up its spaces to engage with both inner and exterior scenery; the sprawling architectural elements of the villas responded to the landforms and adorned them with masonry walls; and the visually potent connecting elements of this fluid architecture marked the position of the villas in their physical setting.

Instrumental in the development of this new visual language was the technique of *opus caementicium*. It enabled Roman designers to build on a monumental scale and with unprecedented rapidity. Designers significantly enlarged the size of the terracing structures of villas, or *bases villae*, which until then had limited dimensions due to the restrictions of polygonal masonry,⁸⁸ and began to use landscaping in the layout of the villas. Such technological achievements were praised in Pliny's villa letters and Statius' *Silvae* (c.89–96 CE). For instance, in *Silv.* 2.2 Statius described the ways in which 'architecture imposes order on the land and nature is shaped into perfect views' in Pollius' estate in Surrentum.⁸⁹ 'Nature provides space' (*dat natura locum*, *Silv.* 2.2.15) for the villas' spaces, which enjoyed commanding views over the bay of Naples (*Silv.* 2.2.72–83). And while in some cases nature was already sufficiently beautiful, in others she had to be cultivated (*Silv.* 2.2.52–9. Trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Loeb edn):

⁸⁷ On the garden paintings in the underground room of the Villa of Livia: S. Settis and F. Donati, *Le pareti ingannevoli: La Villa di Livia e la pittura di giardino* (Milan 2002); B. A. Kellum, 'The Construction of Landscape in Augustan Rome: The Garden Room at the Villa ad Gallinas', *ArtB* 76 (1994) 211–24. On the Ara Pacis: P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, Jerome Lectures, Sixteenth Series, trans. A. Shapiro (Ann Arbor 1988) 179–83; Sauron, *L'histoire végétalisée*; R. Förtsch, 'Ein Aurea-Aetas-Schema', *RM* 96 (1989) 333–45.

⁸⁸ Z. Mari, *Forma Italiae. Regio I: Tibur, pars quarta* (Florence 1991) 31–9; M. Tombrägel, 'Überlegungen zum Luxus in der hellenistischen Wohnarchitektur: Das Bild der römischen Otiumvillen', in S. Ladstätter and V. Scheibelreiter (eds), *Städtisches Wohnen im östlichen Mittelmeerraum 4. Jh. v.–1. Jh. n. Chr.: Akten des Kolloquiums von 24.–27. 10. 2007 an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, DenkschrWien 397, *Archäologische Forschungen* 18 (Vienna 2010) 605–20.

⁸⁹ Bergmann, 'Painted Perspectives of a Villa Visit', 66.

*His favit Natura locis, hic victa colenti
cessit et ignotos docilis mansuevit in usus.
Mons erat hic ubi plana vides, et lustra fuerunt
quae nunc tecta subis; ubi nunc nemora ardua cernis,
hic nec terra fuit: domuit possessor, et illum
formantem rupes expugnantemque secuta
gaudet humus. Nunc cerne iugum discentia saxa
intransesque domos iussumque recedere montem.*

Some spots nature has favoured, in others she has been overcome and yielded to the developer, letting herself be taught new and gentler ways. Where you see level ground, there used to be a hill; the building you now enter was wilderness; where now you see lofty woods, there was not even land. The occupant has tamed it all; the soil rejoices as he shapes rocks or expels them, following his lead. Now behold the cliffs as they learn the yoke, and the dwellings as they enter, and the mountain bidden to withdraw.

In addition, the construction of aqueducts and the development of water management techniques allowed villa owners to bring salt water into *piscinae* (Varro *Rust.* 3.17.1–9; Col. *Rust.* 8.17.1–11) and facilitated the ornamental use of water in this new design language. In *Silv.* 1.3, Statius praises the ability of Roman workers to build Manlius Vopiscus' twin mansion over Anio (1.3.1–6) and to tame his 'swollen rage' (20–3. Trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Loeb edn):

*ipse Anien (miranda fides!) infraque superque
saxeus hic tumidam rabiem spumosaque ponit
murmura, ceu placidi veritus turbare Vopisci
Pieriosque dies et habentes carmina somnos.*

Anio himself, wondrous to tell, full of rocks above and below, here rests his swollen rage and foamy din as though loath to disturb Vopiscus; Pierian days and song-filled slumbers.

While the 'daring lead' (*audaci plumbo*) of the Marcia aqueduct ran across the flow of the river Anio (64–9. Trans. C. E. Newlands):

*Quid referam alternas gemino super aggere mensas
algentesque lacus altosque in gurgite fontes,
teque, per obliquum penitus quae laberis amnem,
Marcia, et audaci transcurris flumina plumbo,
ne solum Ioniis sub fluctibus Elidis amnem
dulcis ad Aetnaeos deducat semita portus?*

What shall I say of the matching dining tables on the twin banks, the clear lakes, the deep-pooled springs, and you, Marcia, who glide underground across the depths of the stream, traversing the river with audacious lead, so that the channel which draws the river of Elis under the Ionian waves to a Sicilian harbour is not alone in its fresh, sweet water?⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Newlands, *Statius' Silvae*, 134.

The Roman villa and its spaces boasted not only of technological mastery and an ability to dominate nature but also of imperial control of natural treasures. The imperial network of marble supply enabled architects to adorn villas' spaces in exotic coloured marbles from all parts of the empire.⁹¹ Statius enumerates seven varieties of marble from the Greek world that adorned the *diaeta* of the villa of Pollius Felix in Surrentum: Egyptian, Phrygian, Spartan, Numidian, and Thasian (*Sily.* 2.2.82–94). Additionally, gardens featured imported trees from the territories of the growing empire, making a statement of territorial appropriation. As Pliny the Elder tells us, whereas at the beginning of the first century BCE plane trees were considered to be exotic, by his time they were common in Italy and could be found as deep within the empire as Morini, at the narrowest part of the channel between Gaul and Britain (*fretum Morinorum*) (*HN* 12.3. Trans. J. Bostock and H. T. Riley, Taylor and Francis edn (1855)):

Sed quis non iure miretur arborem umbrae gratia tantum ex alieno petitam orbe? platanus haec est, in mare Ionium Diomedis insula tenuis eiusdem tumuli gratia primum inventa, inde in Siciliam transgressa atque inter primas donata Italiae et iam ad Morinos usque pervecta ac tributarium etiam detinens solum, ut gentes vectigal et pro umbra pendant.

But who is there that will not, with good reason, be surprised to learn that a tree has been introduced among us from a foreign clime for nothing but its shade? I mean the plane, which was first brought across the Ionian Sea to the Isle of Diomedes, there to be planted at his tomb, and was afterwards imported thence into Sicily, being one of the very first exotic trees that were introduced into Italy. At the present day, however, it has penetrated as far as the country of the Morini, and occupies even a tributary soil; in return for which those nations have to pay a tax for the enjoyment of its shade.

Here, as elsewhere in Pliny's narrative of collecting, the tension between *luxuria* and Roman *mores* is resolved by the inclusion of *luxuria* in imperial conquest.⁹² Similarly, in the realm of the villas, luxury was acceptable as it was included in claims of imperial dominion, such as those expressed in the ekphrastic exercises of Statius.⁹³

The impressively designed and marble-clad spaces of the villas became flagships of the technological and economical achievements of the Roman empire. In the lavish spaces decorated with marbles and art works coming from the Greek world, villa owners could 'play the emperor' by exploiting the economic and

⁹¹ Dodge and Ward-Perkins (eds), *Marble in Antiquity*; Maischberger, *Marmor in Rom*; Pensabene, 'Il fenomeno del marmo'; M. De Nuccio and L. Ungaro, *I marmi colorati della Roma imperiale*. Exhibition catalogue (Venice 2002).

⁹² S. Carey, *Pliny's Catalogue of Culture: Art and Empire in the Natural History*, Oxford Studies in Ancient Culture and Representation (Oxford 2003) 75–101 ('The Problem of Totality: Collecting Greek Art, Wonders, and Luxury').

⁹³ Newlands, *Statius' Silvae*, 154–98.

technological advances of the period and emulating the monumentality of public architecture.⁹⁴ The design of luxury villas with their use of the new material and techniques epitomized for Roman architects and patrons the ‘new era’ of the Roman empire—just as modern villa styles symbolized for modern architects and their patrons the technological progress embodied in reinforced concrete in the new industrialized era of the twentieth century.

⁹⁴ Newlands, *Statius' Silvae*, 183–4.

Case studies

During the second century BCE, the Campanian cities profited generally from the expansion of Roman power (see Figure 1.1).¹ The first *villae rusticae* began to appear in Campania after the Second Punic War, when Rome started to expropriate large portions of the *ager Campanus*. Campania was long known to the senatorial aristocracy as a rich source of cereals. At this point, Romans acquired estates with the aim of cultivating them and profiting from their agricultural produce. An interest in the edifices adjacent to the lands came slightly later; as Cato's treatise shows, it had its origins in the buildings' practical and agricultural uses.²

The Campanian and Sperlonga-Gaeta coastlines saw the first concentrations of luxury villas spring up along the Italian peninsula.³ The bay of Naples had attracted distinguished Romans to build seaside residences there since the early second century BCE. Cornelia, the second daughter of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior, wife of Ti. Sempronius Gracchus and mother of the Gracchi, owned the first attested seaside villa at Misenum (Plut. *Gaius Gracch.* 19.1–2; Val. Max. 4.4.1).⁴ The first luxurious villa mentioned in the literary sources belonged to C. Marius, a *novus homo*, at Misenum, on the northwest corner of the bay of Naples, built before 88 BCE (Plut. *Mar.* 34.2; Sen. *Ep.* 51.11).⁵ The villa under the Aragonese Castle of Baiae (the so-called Villa of Caesar), which was transformed from a simple house into a luxurious edifice at the beginning of the first century BCE, is another early example from this area.⁶

¹ M. Frederiksen, 'Republican Capua', *PBSR* 14 (1959) 80–130, at 124.

² *De agr.* 3. D'Arms, 'Ville rustiche e ville d'otium', 70–1.

³ D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples*; Lafon, *Villa maritima*, 41–62. Villa Prato at Sperlonga dating from the end of the second century BCE is a notable example of an early monumental villa on the Sperlonga-Gaeta coastline, which combined the luxury of bathing facilities with the practicalities of pisciculture. H. Broise and X. Lafon, *La villa Prato de Sperlonga*, CÉFR 285 (Rome 2001).

⁴ D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples*, 8–9.

⁵ D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples*, 10–15.

⁶ P. Miniero, 'La villa romana tardo-repubblicana nel Castello Aragonese di Baia', in B. Perrier (ed.), *Villas, maisons, sanctuaires et tombeaux tardo-républicains: Découvertes et relectures récentes: Actes du colloque international de Saint-Romain-en-Gal en l'honneur d'Anna Gallina Zevi: Vienne, Saint-Romain-en-Gal, 8–10 février 2007* (Rome 2007) 157–76.

There were many imperial properties on the bay of Naples, but the social scene was mixed. Illustrious Roman dignitaries familiar from contemporary authors, municipal magistrates who might have been descended from important local families, and descendants of former slaves of an emperor or Roman senator mingled together in a life of leisure and luxury.⁷ During the first century BCE, the northern bay of Naples became such a centre for affluent Romans that Cicero called Cumae a ‘Rome in miniature’ (*Ad Att.* 5.2.2).⁸ The bay of Naples was indeed an ideal place for luxury villas, and it became a major pole of attraction for the upper class of Rome, so that Cicero spoke of their ‘springtime migration’ in 54 BCE (*Planc.* 65. Trans. N. H. Watts, Loeb edn):

At ego cum casu diebus iis itineris faciendi causa decedens e provincia Puteolos forte venissem, cum plurimi et lautissimi in his locis solent esse...

It happened that on my way back from the province I had arrived at Puteoli, intending to make the journey thence by land, just at the season when the place was thronged with fashionable people...

By the end of the century, villas were built so densely around the maritime front of the bay that they were said to resemble a single city (Strabo 5.4.8), while luxurious seaside residences sprouted across all parts of Italy (Trans. J. H. L. Jones, Loeb edn):⁹

Μέχρι μὲν δεῦρο ἔχει τέλος ὁ κόλπος ὁ Κρατῆρ προσαγορευόμενος, ἀφοριζόμενος δυὸν ἀκρωτηρίοις βλέπουσι πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, τῷ τε Μισηνῷ καὶ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ. ἅπας δ' ἐστὶ κατασκευασμένος τοῦτο μὲν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἃς ἔφαμεν, τοῦτο δὲ ταῖς οἰκοδομίαις καὶ φυτεαῖς, αἱ μεταξὺ συνεχεῖς οἶσαι μιᾶς πόλεως ὄψιν παρέχονται.

Here, then, the gulf that is called the ‘Crater’ comes to an end, being marked off by two capes that face the south, namely Misenum and Athenaeum. And the whole of the gulf is garnished, in part by the cities which I have mentioned, and in part by the residences and the plantations, which since they intervene in unbroken succession, present the appearance of a single city.

Both the literary and the archaeological evidence indicates that luxury villa buildings initially extended between Cumae and Neapolis. It was only at a later phase that they became dispersed across the whole bay of Naples. While they were appearing on the northern side of the bay of Naples, in the territories around Pompeii the villas were still working farms (*villae rusticae*) of medium

⁷ D’Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples*; J. H. D’Arms, *Commerce and Social Standing in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge, MA 1981) 72–96, ‘Luxury, Productivity, and Decline: Villa Society on the Bay of Naples’ (ch. 4).

⁸ D’Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples*, Catalogue I, 171–201; Lafon, *Villa maritima*, 89–95.

⁹ Lafon, *Villa maritima*, 95–112.

dimensions, specializing in the production of wine and oil.¹⁰ It was only after Pompeii became *Colonia Cornelia Veneria Pompeianorum* that elite residences came to be situated in this area.¹¹ Although there is no archaeological evidence of luxury villas dating from this period, the fact that the largest and finest houses, some of which are superimposed on earlier older structures (e.g. the House of Pansa, House of Sallustius, House of the Faun) in Pompeii date to the middle of the second century BCE, supports the idea that there was a rapid increase in wealth at this time.¹²

Our knowledge of the owners of villas in this area is mostly based on literary sources. For example, a friend of Pliny the Elder, Pomponianus, had a villa in Stabiae (cf. Plin. *Ep.* 6.16) and it is possible that a friend of Cicero, Marcus Marius, had a villa there too (cf. Cic., *Ad Fam.* 7.1).¹³ We have forty names of villa owners for the period between 75 and 31 BCE,¹⁴ Cicero and Calpurnius Piso amongst them, and forty-seven names for the period between 30 BCE and 400 CE.¹⁵ From the time between Augustus and 400 CE, thirty names are known from literary sources, ten owners have been identified from lead water-pipes (the *fistulae aquariae*), three from inscriptions, and three from a combination of inscriptions and literary sources. In only one case has the literary and epigraphic evidence combined been associated with an excavated villa—that of M. Vipsanius Agrippa.¹⁶

Several potential owners exist for the villas that are the focus of this study. The Villa of the Papyri seems to have been owned by a member of the senatorial elite, perhaps L. Calpurnius Piso Caesonius (Julius Caesar's father-in-law),¹⁷ and the Villa Oplontis A might have been owned by Poppaea Sabina, a member of a wealthy family of Pompeii and the consort of Nero from 62 CE.¹⁸ No names have

¹⁰ For an assessment of the villas of the area: E. M. Moormann, 'Villas Surrounding Pompeii and Herculaneum', in J. J. Dobbins and P. Foss (eds), *The World of Pompeii* (London 2007) 435–54 (ch. 28).

¹¹ D'Arms, 'Ville rustiche e ville d'otium', 72–3.

¹² D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples*, 28. Compare: Frank, *An Economic Survey*, 208–14 and 295–9.

¹³ For a discussion of possible villas owners in Stabiae see: F. Senatore, *Stabiae: Dalla preistoria alla guerra greco-gotica* (Pompei 2003) 79–84.

¹⁴ D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples*, 165–91.

¹⁵ D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples*, 193–219.

¹⁶ J. H. D'Arms, 'Proprietari e ville nel golfo di Napoli', *Atti dei Convegni Lincei* 33 (1977) 347–63, at 347–8.

¹⁷ Capasso, M. 'Who Lived in the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum—A Settled Question?', in *Zarmakoupi*, 89–113.

¹⁸ Two painted inscriptions on amphorae found in the villa, [SE]CVNDO POPPAEA (i.e., to [Se]cundus, slave of Poppaea), and L. ARRIANI [A]MPHIONIS (referring to the *figlinae Arrianae* belonging to Poppaea), and a graffito *MNHCΘHI/BHPYAAOC* ('may Beryllus be remembered') encourage the hypothesis that the owner was Poppaea Sabina. In addition we know from Flavius Josephus that Nero had a Greek teacher called Beryllus (*Ant.* 20.182–4). A. De Franciscis, 'Beryllus e la villa "di Poppea" ad Oplontis', in M. B. Moore and G. Köpcke (eds), *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology: A Tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen* (New York 1979) 231–3.

yet been proposed for the owners of Villa Arianna A and B. Judging from their scale and the quality of their furnishings they would have been members either of the senatorial or the newly enriched equestrian orders.¹⁹ The two obsidian cups with Egyptian-like scenes that were found in Villa San Marco suggest that the owner had a long and distinguished lineage.²⁰ In addition a lead water-pipe with the stamp NARCISSI/AVGVSTI L. has been recently found in the adjacent thermal complex to the north of the villa.²¹ The stamp refers to Narcissus the *libertus ab epistulis* of the emperor Claudius, whose name is also on a stamped tile in Villa San Marco (NARCI[SSI]/AVGVSTI L).²² The architectural and decorative similarity between Villa San Marco and the thermal complex encourage the hypothesis that both were part of an imperial *praedium* administered by Narcissus.²³

In the next section I present the five case studies, and in doing so highlight the unique insights they give into luxury villa architecture and culture.

VILLA OF THE POPYRI

The Villa of the Papyri is suburban and lies on the northwest outskirts of Herculaneum, about 100 m west of the theatre. It is perhaps most famous for its library of papyrus texts, the only intact library to survive from Graeco-Roman antiquity—and from which it receives its modern name.²⁴ Excavations at

¹⁹ M. M. Magalhaes, *Stabiae romana la prosopografia e la documentazione epigrafica: Iscrizioni lapidarie e bronzee, bolli laterizi e sigilli* (Castellammare di Stabia 2006). Magalhaes proposed that the Villa of the Faun, or Villa of Anteros and Heraclio, was property of the Julio-Claudian family: M. M. Magalhaes, 'La cd. Villa del Fauno: Un possedimento imperiale a Stabiae?', in D. Camardo and A. Ferrara (eds), *Stabiae, dai Borbone ai ultime scoperte* (Castellammare di Stabia 2001) 105–8.

²⁰ The cups, encrusted with semi-precious stones and encased in gold filament, that were found in room 37, featured Egyptian-like scenes of the Hellenistic Alexandrine tradition. They are dated to the Augustan period on the basis of their shape. E. Leospo, 'Le coppe stabiane: Un pregevole esempio di stile egittizzante in ambito culturale romano', in *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano: 1. centenario del Museo greco-romano: Alessandria, 23–27 novembre 1992: Atti del 2. Congresso internazionale italo-egiziano* (Rome 1997) 343–7; E. Leospo, 'I reperti della villa: 5. Le coppe di ossidiana', in *Barbet and Minierno*, 333–41; M. Vallifuoco, 'Oggetti in ossidiana di Stabiae: Materiale e tecnica', in A. Corralini (ed.), *Vesuviana: Archeologie a confronto: Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Bologna, 14–16 gennaio 2008* (Bologna 2010) 485–96.

²¹ F. Ruffo, 'L'insula sud-occidentale del cosiddetto "impianto urbano" di Stabiae. Nuovi dati dalla recente campagna di scavo (2009)', *Oebalus: Studi sulla Campania nell'Antichità* 5 (2010) 177–239, at 190.

²² The name of [VE]RNA CLAVDI C. S (Verna Clavdi Cai servus) is also on four brick stamps from the villa: P. Minierno, 'L'architettura: 4. Produzione laterizia', in *Barbet and Minierno*, 63–71, at 64–6.

²³ D. Esposito, 'Su un possibile *praedium* imperiale a Stabiae', *Oebalus: Studi sulla Campania nell'Antichità* 6 (2011) 143–63.

²⁴ M. Gigante, *Philodemus in Italy: The Books from Herculaneum*, trans. D. Obbink (Ann Arbor 1995); D. Sider, *The Library of the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum* (Los Angeles 2005); S. Sider, 'Herculaneum's Library in 79 A.D.: The Villa of the Papyri', *Libraries and Culture* 25 (1990) 534–42.

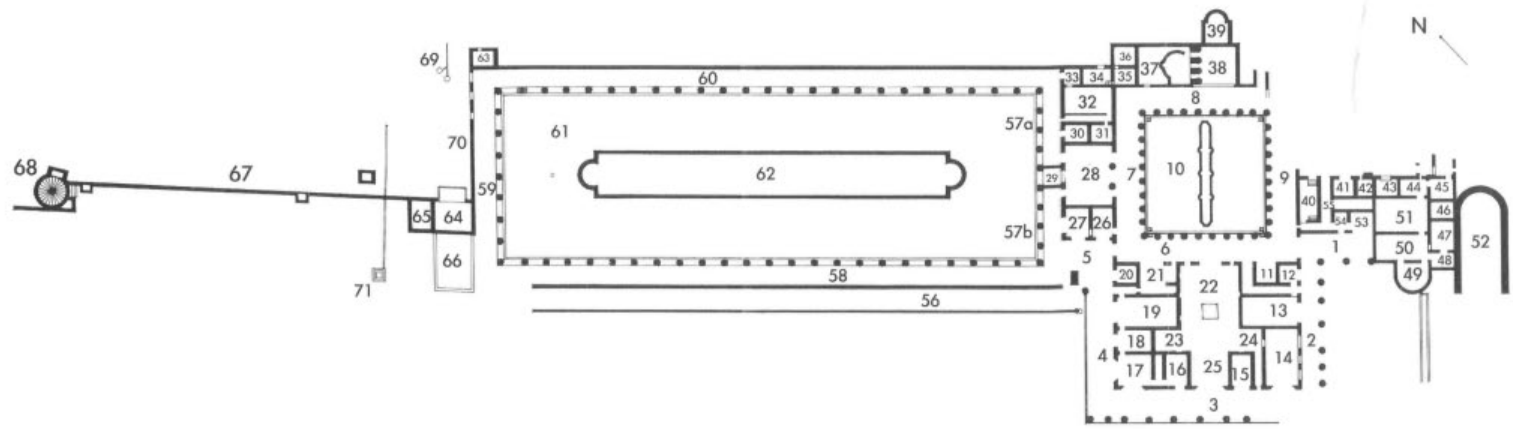


FIG. 2.1 Villa of the Papyri, plan based on Weber's plan published in *Wojcik*, pl. 1.

the villa began in May 1750 by Karl Weber with the site foreman, Miguel de Çiria. They continued for eleven years up to 1761, and resumed briefly between 1764 and 1765.²⁵ The villa's known measurements are approximately 250 × 80 m (20,000 m²). However, since it was never fully excavated we do not know its full extent. It still lies largely beneath about 30 m of consolidated mud—the result of the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE as well as the deposition of material over time and several subsequent eruptions. Though the villa cannot be seen, the detailed plan, drawn by Karl Weber in 1752, and redrawn with annotations of the findings by Comparetti and de Petra in 1883,²⁶ gives a clear idea of the villa's vast size (see Figure 2.2). The reconstruction of the villa for the museum of J. Paul Getty in Malibu (the Getty Villa), highly accurate in scale and design, provides an impression of its grandeur and scale (see Figure 2.3).²⁷ Additionally, digital reconstructions by Gaetano Capasso (Capware) and by the present author have visualized the villa in the virtual realm; the former aimed at the 'edutainment' industry and the latter for use as a research and teaching tool (see Figure 2.4)²⁸ Over the past two decades, Antonio De Simone and Fabrizio Ruffo resumed excavations (the so-called Infratecna excavations).²⁹ More recently, work has been continued by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei led by Maria Paola Guidobaldi (see Figure 2.5).³⁰ These studies have confirmed the accuracy of

²⁵ M. Ruggiero, *Storia degli scavi di Ercolano, ricomposta su' documenti superstiti da M. Ruggiero* (Naples 1885); C. C. Parslow, *Rediscovering Antiquity: Karl Weber and the Excavation of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiae* (Cambridge 1995) 77–106 (ch. 3).

²⁶ D. P. A. Comparetti and G. de Petra. *La villa ercolanese dei Pisoni i suoi monumenti e la sua biblioteca* (Turin 1883; repr. 1972) pl. 24. Henceforth CDP.

²⁷ N. Neuerberg, *Herculaneum to Malibu: A Companion to the Visit of the J. Paul Getty Museum Building: A Descriptive and Explanatory Guide to the Re-Created Ancient Roman Villa of the Papyri Built at the Wishes of J. Paul Getty in Malibu, California, 1970–1974* (Malibu, CA 1975); M. True and J. Silveti, *The Getty Villa* (Los Angeles 2005); K. Lapatin, 'The Getty Villa: Recreating the Villa of the Papyri in Malibu', in *Zarmakoupi*, 129–38.

²⁸ G. Capasso, *Journey to Pompeii: Virtual Tours Around the Lost Cities*, 3rd edn (Naples 2005); G. Capasso, *Viaggio a Pompei* [digital video], 2nd ed. (Naples 2002); M. Zarmakoupi, 'The Digital Model of the Villa of the Papyri: Issues of Reconstruction', in *Zarmakoupi*, 181–93. For a discussion of virtual and real reconstruction of the Villa of the Papyri see: D. Favro, 'From Pleasure, to "Guilty Pleasure", to Simulation: Rebirthing the Villa of the Papyri', in *Zarmakoupi*, 155–79.

²⁹ A. De Simone, 'La Villa dei Papiri: Rapporto preliminare: Gennaio 1986–marzo 1987', *CronErcol* 17 (1987) 15–36; A. De Simone and F. Ruffo, 'Ercolano 1996–1998: Lo scavo della Villa dei Papiri', *CronErcol* 32 (2002) 325–44; A. De Simone and F. Ruffo, 'Ercolano e la Villa dei Papiri alla luce dei nuovi scavi', *CronErcol* 33 (2003) 279–311; A. De Simone, 'Rediscovering the Villa of the Papyri', in *Zarmakoupi*, 1–20. See also overview of the Infratecna excavations at: C. C. Mattusch with H. Lie, *The Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum: Life and Afterlife of a Sculpture Collection* (Los Angeles 2005) 33–54 (henceforth: *Mattusch*).

³⁰ M. P. Guidobaldi and D. Esposito, 'Le nuove ricerche archeologiche nella Villa dei Papiri di Ercolano', *CronErcol* 39 (2009) 331–70; M. P. Guidobaldi, D. Esposito, and E. Formisano, 'L'Insula I, l'Insula nord-occidentale e la Villa dei Papiri di Ercolano: Una sintesi delle conoscenze alla luce delle recenti indagini archeologiche', *Vesuviana* 1 (2009) 43–180 (accessible at: <<http://www.libraweb.net/articoli.php?chiave=2765&rivista=103>>). English translation of the first publication: M. P. Guidobaldi and D. Esposito, 'New Archaeological Research at the Villa of the Papyri in Herculaneum', in *Zarmakoupi*, 21–62. References will refer to the English translation.

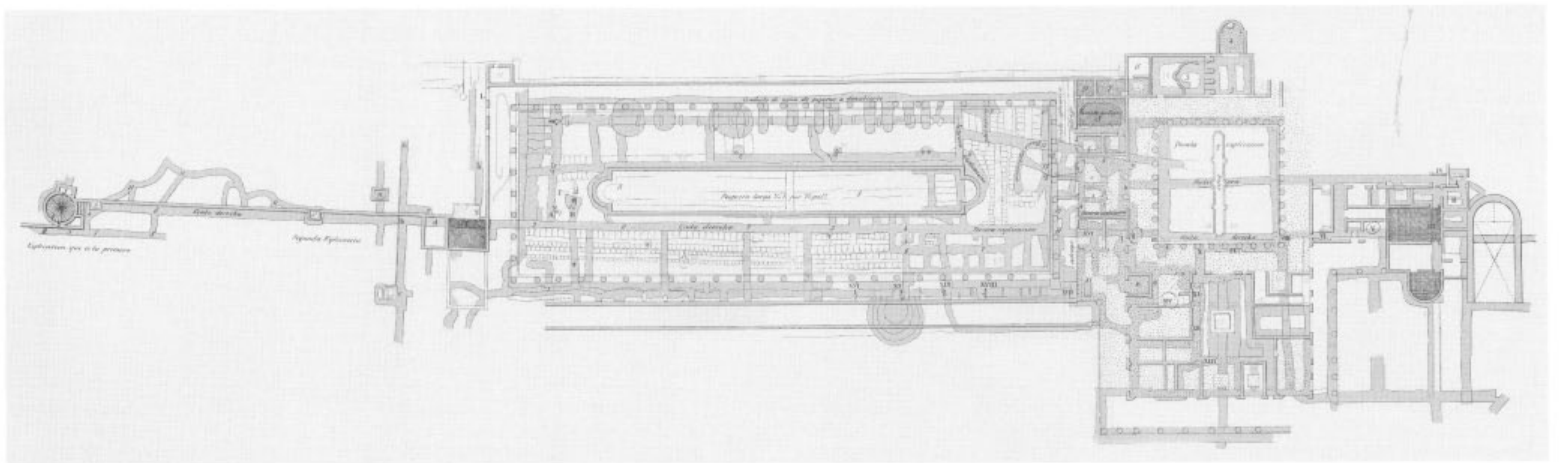


FIG. 2.2 Villa of the Papyri, redrawn version of Weber's plan by Domenico Comparetti and Giulio De Petra (1883). In the original plan, black numbers are from Weber's original plan; red numbers are additions by Comparetti and De Petra (Source: *CDP*, pl. 1).



FIG. 2.3 Getty Villa, view of the rectangular peristyle. © Mantha Zarmakoupi.

Weber's plan (cf. Figures 2.6 and 2.7), and have revealed the structures that provided access from the sea (see Figures 2.8–11; VPSO area).³¹ They also give information about the dating and overall height of the villa (see Figure 2.12), and have confirmed the existence of more sculptures as well as luxurious wooden furniture lined with ivory in the lower terrace area.³² The exploration of the area further to the south has uncovered new buildings that belong to Insula I and the so-called northwest Insula (Insula nord-occidentale) of Herculaneum: a big residential complex bearing similarities to the House of the Relief of Telephus in Herculaneum (Insula I [areas ISAD–ISAB–ISAH–ISAE]), and a thermal

³¹ This area was labelled VPSO (Villa dei Papiri Sud-Ouest) during the Infratecna Excavation.

³² On the two new sculptures from the VPSO area: A. De Simone, 'Rilievo con satiri e ninfa: Testa di Amazzone', in A. Pagano (ed.), *Gli antichi ercolanesi: Antropologia, società, economia: Guida alla mostra*, exhibition catalogue (Naples 2000) 22–3; C. Gasparri, 'Due nuove sculture da Ercolano', in P. G. Guzzo (ed.), *Storie da un'eruzione: In margina alla mostra*, exhibition catalogue (Pompei 2005) 51–74, at 51–9; V. Moesch, 'La Villa dei Papiri', in M. P. Guidobaldi, (ed.), *Ercolano: Tre secoli di scoperte* (Milan 2008) 70–9, at 74–5 (cat. nos 6–7, cat. entries on p. 249 with earlier bibliography). On the wooden furniture lined with ivory: M. P. Guidobaldi, 'Arredi di lusso in legno e avorio da Ercolano: Le nuove scoperte della Villa dei Papiri', *LANX: Rivista della Scuola di Specializzazione in Archeologia* 6 (2010) 63–99. Online publication: <<http://riviste.unimi.it/index.php/lanx>>; Guidobaldi and Esposito, 'New Archaeological Research', 51–5.

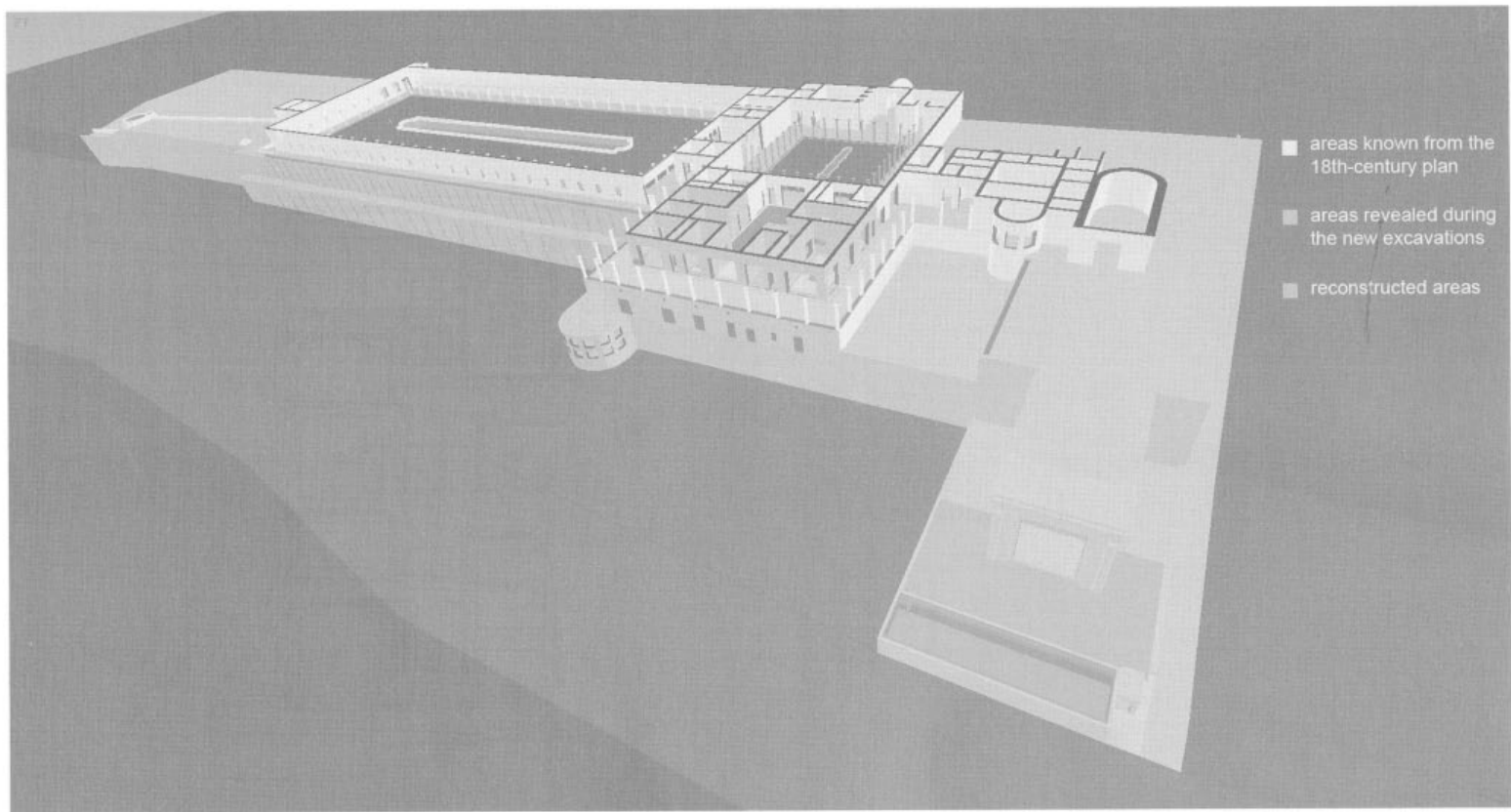


FIG. 2.4 Villa of the Papyri, view of digital model (© Mantha Zarmakoupi. Modelling undertaken at the Experiential Technologies Center, University of California, Los Angeles). The model reconstructs and distinguishes the following areas of the Villa of the Papyri: (1) areas known from the 18th-century plan, (2) areas revealed during the new excavations by Infratecna and the Archaeological Superintendency of Pompeii that are accessible today, and (3) restoration proposals.

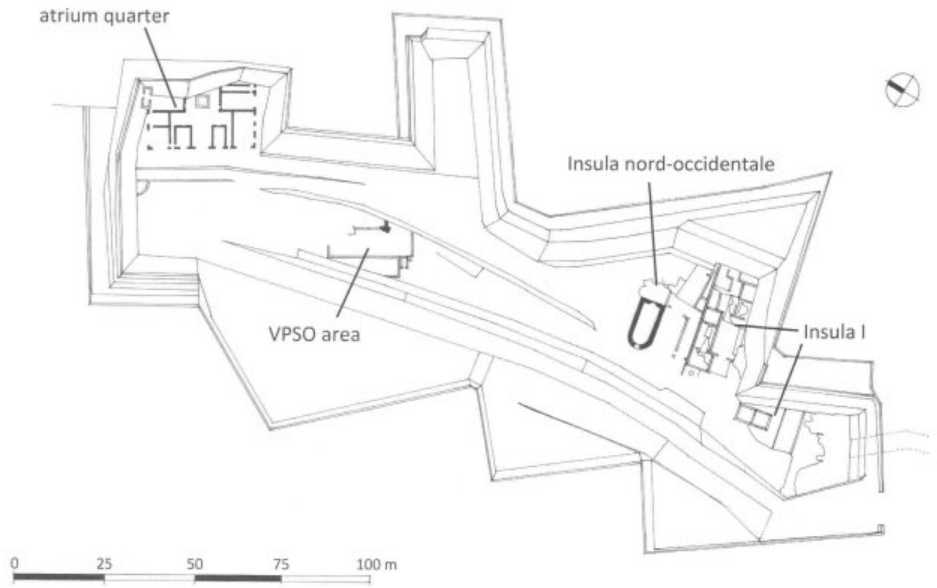


FIG. 2.5 New excavations at the Villa of the Papyri, Insula I and northwest Insula (Insula nord-occidentale): overall plan (plan based on: De Simone and Ruffo, 'Ercolano 1996–1998', 282, fig. 2). © Mantha Zarmakoupi.

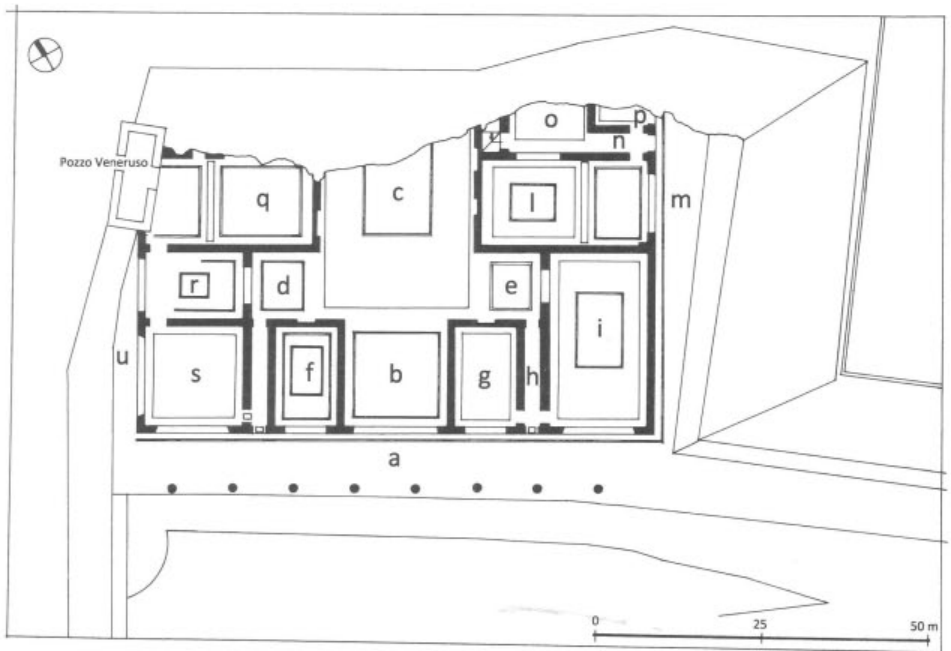


FIG. 2.6 Villa of the Papyri, new excavations around the atrium area (plan based on: Guidobaldi and Esposito, 'New Archaeological Research', fig. 2). © Mantha Zarmakoupi.

FIG. 2.7 Villa of the Papyri, the areas of the new excavations in Weber's plan. Part of Karl Weber's plan. Redrawn version of Weber's plan by Domenico Comparetti and Giulio De Petra (1883).

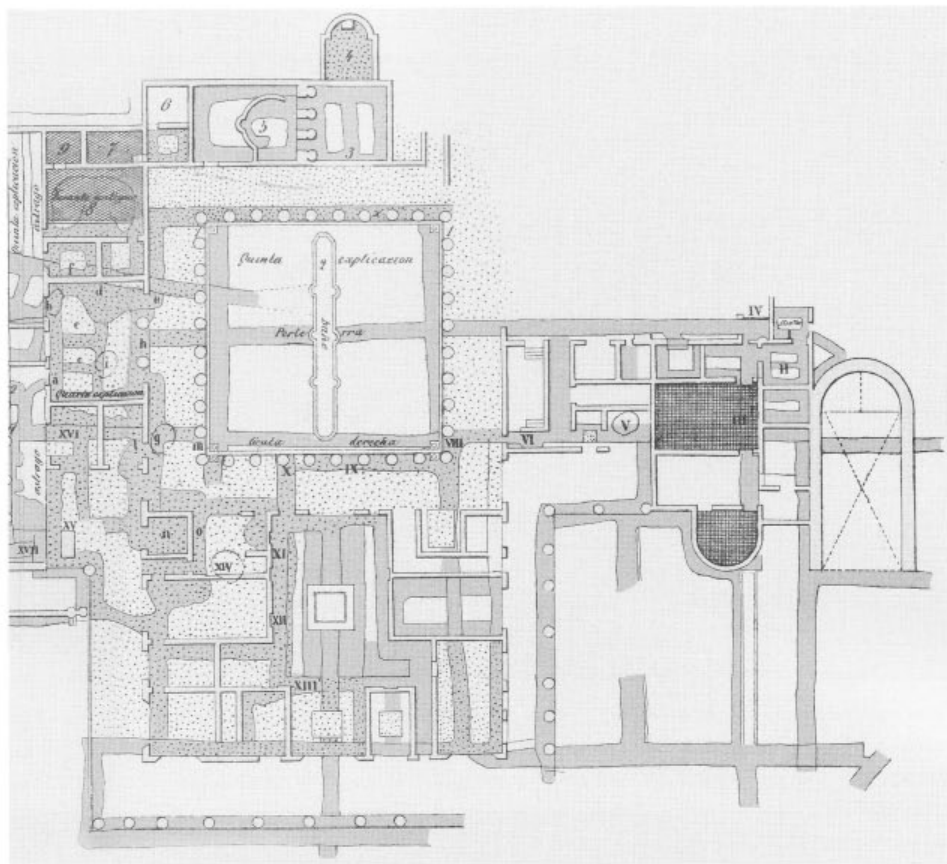
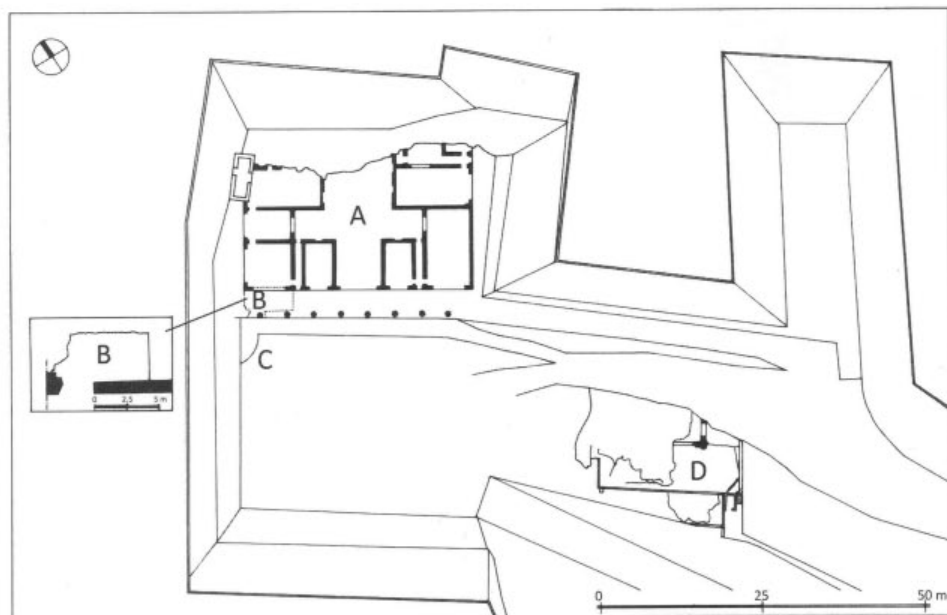


FIG. 2.8 Villa of the Papyri, new excavations: plan of atrium area and lower terrace (Plan based on: De Simone and Ruffio, 'Ercolano e la Villa dei Papiri', 286, fig. 7; and Guidobaldi and Esposito, 'New Archaeological Research', fig. 1). © Mantha Zarmakoupi.



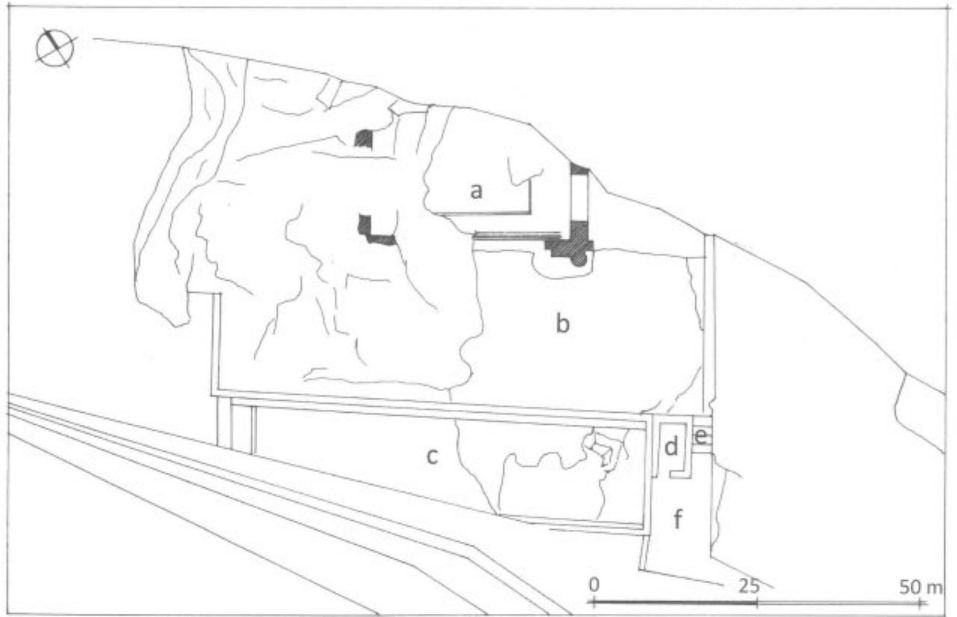


FIG. 2.9 Villa of the Papyri, new excavations: plan of lower terrace (Plan based on: Guidobaldi and Esposito, 'New Archaeological Research', fig. 35). © Mantha Zarmakoupi.



FIG. 2.10 Villa of the Papyri, lower terrace and access from the seaside (VPSO area): view from the atrium level. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archaeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



FIG. 2.11 Villa of the Papyri, lower terrace; panoramic view of the lower terrace area from the south: a) monumental hall; b) terrace; c) swimming pool; d) unidentified room; e) staircase; f) ramp (Photo taken in 2008, after the new excavations by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei) (Source: Guidobaldi and Esposito, 'New archaeological research', fig. 36). Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archaeologic di Napoli e Pompei.

complex with a large apsidal room that contains a *piscina calida* along with a nymphaeum and some smaller rooms (Insula nord-occidentale [areas ISAA–ISAC–ISAF–ISAG–ISAN]) (see Figure 2.5).³³

Today only the southwestern part of the villa is accessible (see Figures 2.6, 2.8, 2.13): the area around the atrium on the main level of the villa (area A in Figure 2.8, level 11.34 m in Figure 2.12), a room (room I), on the first lower level (level 6.211 m in Figure 2.12, indicated as B in Figure 2.8; see Figures 2.14–15), and the structures that provided access from the sea (level 2.30 m in Figure 2.12; area D in Figure 2.8; see Figures 2.10–11). To the northeast of the atrium and in axis with it lies the square peristylum–garden, in which a pool traces this northeast–southwest axis. A larger, rectangular peristylum–garden lies on a northwest–southeast axis perpendicular to this part of the building, stretching the length of the façade to about 250 m, the length of the town's decumanus. It features a pool, lying on the northwest–southeast axis, and its grounds must have been planted.

³³ Guidobaldi, Esposito, and Formisano, 'L'Insula I, l'Insula nord-occidentale e la Villa dei Papyri', 44–128. During the Infratecna Excavation the structures were labelled on a combination of IS, standing for *Insulae Settentrionali*, and the progressive letters of the alphabet. The current excavators under the direction of Maria Paola Guidobaldi have kept this labelling but they use the expression '*Insulae nord-occidentali*' instead of '*Insulae Settentrionali*'.

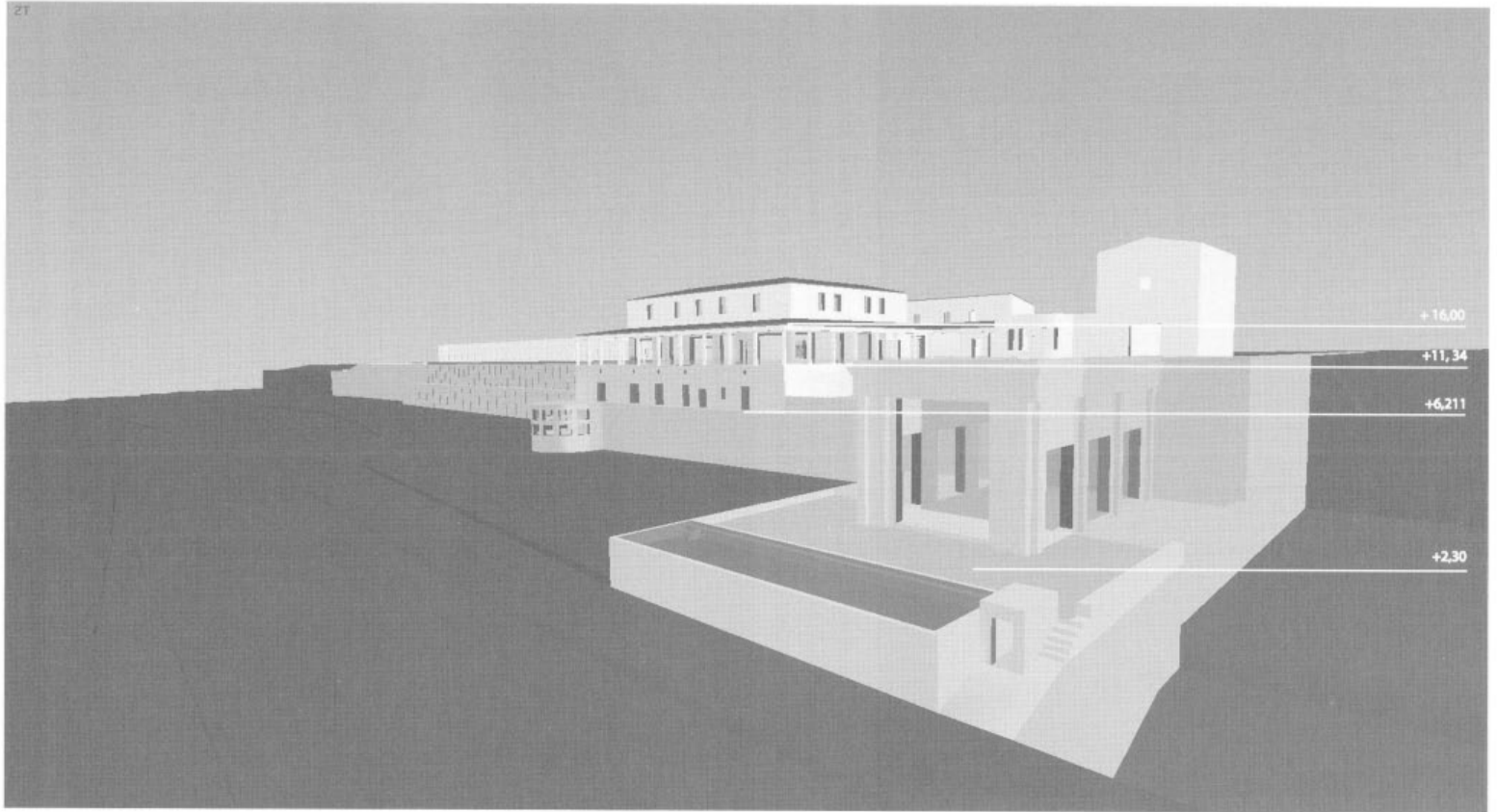


FIG. 2.12 Villa of the Papyri, digital model with indication of heights (© Mantha Zarmakoupi. Modelling undertaken at the Experiential Technologies Center, University of California, Los Angeles).

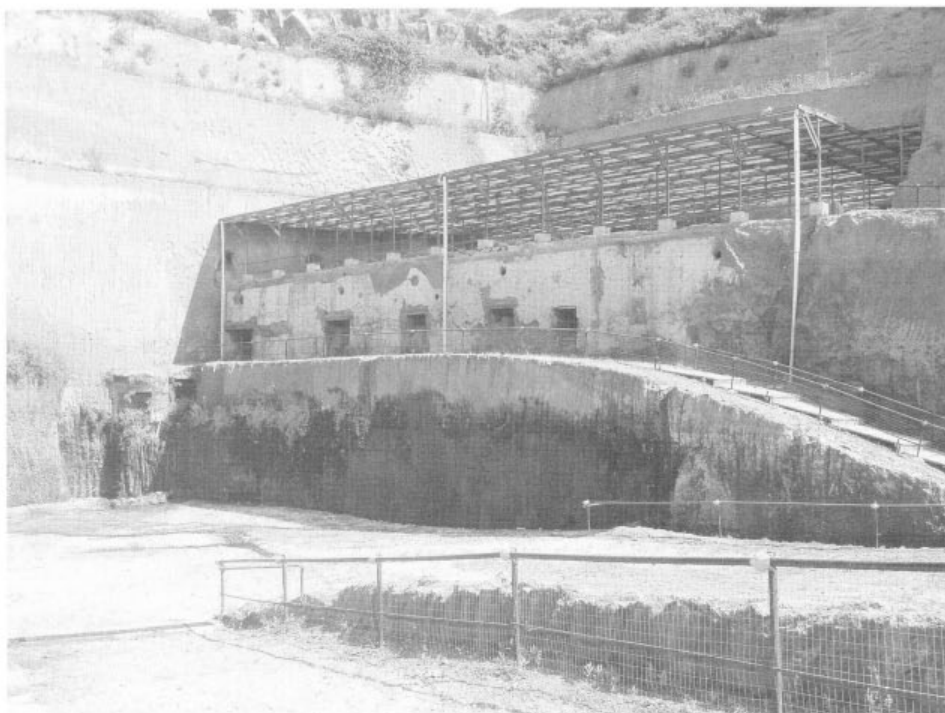


FIG. 2.13 Villa of the Papyri, view of the accessible area from the southwest. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

FIG. 2.14 Villa of the Papyri, first lower level of the *basis villae*: room I at the end of the new excavations. View of the southeastern part of the room (Source: Guidobaldi and Esposito, 'New archaeological research', fig. 25). Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



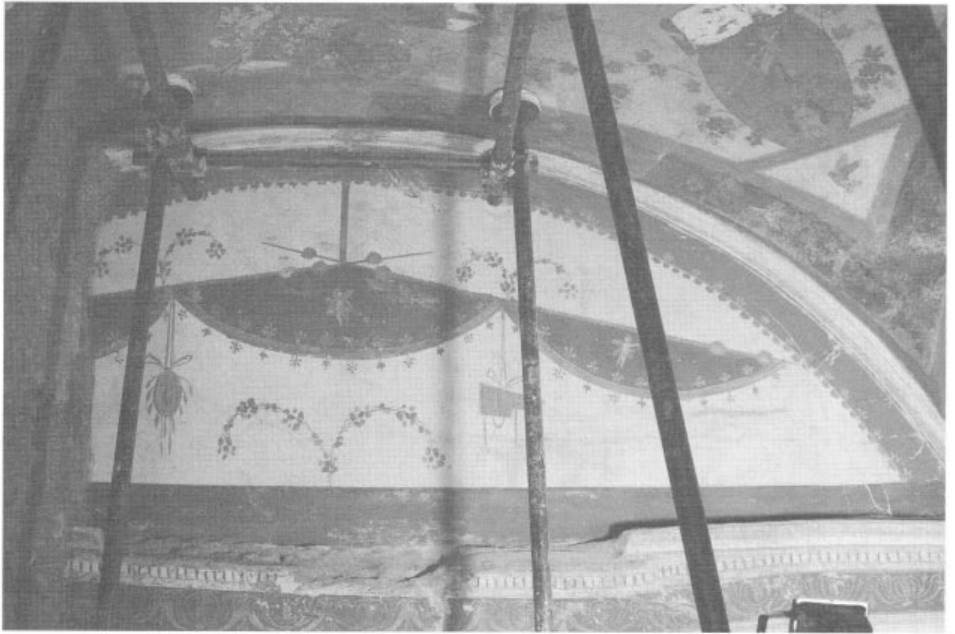


FIG. 2.15 Villa of the Papyri, first lower level of the *basis villae*: room I at the end of the new excavations. View of the northwestern part of the room (Source: Guidobaldi and Esposito, 'New archaeological research', fig. 27). Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archaeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

These two peristylia–gardens are visually and physically connected, and the rooms of the villa are organized around them. From the northeast part of the peristylum–garden a footpath grants access first to a room with a veranda looking to the southwest and then to a circular belvedere. The footpath must have led to the beach. The area around the footpath was embellished with three fountains and a grotto, and was probably also adorned with plants (69–71 in Figure 2.1).³⁴ It seems that the villa was situated along an embankment above the bay of Naples. Below was a beach with private docks and embankments, from which stairs or ramps ascended by terraces to the level of the villa (see Figure 2.4, cf. Figures 7.20–1). The level of the circular belvedere has not been confirmed but it must have stood approximately on the same level as the lower terrace at the south of the villa. The villa's regular entrance must have been from both the northeast end of the square peristylum–garden and from the south coastal structures (VPSO area).³⁵ A monumental and sumptuously decorated building (a in Figure 2.11) stood on the lower terrace (b in Figure 2.11), overlooking a swimming pool that formed the southwest limit of the terrace (c in Figure 2.11). These structures—a monumental vaulted room and a large terrace—marked the entrance from the seaside.

³⁴ CDP, 294.

³⁵ M. R. Wojcik, *La Villa dei Papiri ad Ercolano: Contributo alla ricostruzione dell'ideologia della nobilitas tardorepublicana* (Rome 1986) 37–8 (henceforth: Wojcik); Neudecker, 106.

The villa's architectural history is in part obscure but new excavations have shed light on its chronology. The earliest building phase was initially thought to have taken place in the first half of the first century BCE—the plan of the atrium and the square peristylum–garden conforms to the basic formula of Campanian buildings constructed in this period and the fragments of the so-called Second Style wall paintings recovered from the atrium appeared to support this date³⁶—while the long rectangular peristylum–garden was conjectured to have been a later addition, probably before the end of the first century BCE.³⁷ The new excavations, however, have revealed that the atrium quarter, together with the *basis villae*, was planned as a whole; it has been dated to the third quarter of the first century BCE (c.40–25 BCE) on the basis of the mature second phase of the Second Style wall paintings and the stylistic analysis of the pavements (both still in situ).³⁸ Domenico Esposito has suggested that the atrium quarter and the rectangular peristyle were a unified project, but this hypothesis may be proved only by excavating this area. The recently excavated coastal structures to the south (VPSO area) have been dated, on the basis of their building technique and the *opus sectile* pavement in hall VPSO (a), to sometime between the late Augustan period and the first half of the Julio-Claudian period.³⁹

The sculptural decoration of the building, recovered during the excavations of the 1700s, made a significant impact on the study of classical art, and contributed to Winckelmann's aesthetic theories. The sculptures are still key to modern art historical and archaeological studies.⁴⁰ Furthermore, they form the largest and most complete collection of statuary yet recovered from a Roman villa, and are the basis of any synthetic study of the roles of 'villa sculpture'.⁴¹

³⁶ Wojcik, 13–38, e.g., cat. no. 16, pl. XIII and cat. no. 17, pl. XIV.

³⁷ D. Mustilli, 'La villa pseudorurbana ercolanese', *RendNap* 31 (1956) 77–97, at 95 (reprinted in: *La Villa dei Papiri*, Second Supplement to *CronErcol* 13 [Naples 1983], 7–18); followed by Wojcik: *Wojcik*, 35–6.

³⁸ Domenico Esposito has studied the construction technique together with the wall paintings of the atrium quarter and lower level of the *basis villae*: Esposito in Guidobaldi and Esposito, 'New Archaeological Research', 25–8, 33–42, and esp. 55–62. De Simone and Ruffo had proposed a slightly larger chronological span (60–40 BCE) for the atrium quarter: De Simone and Ruffo, 'Ercolano 1996–1998', 342 n. 30; De Simone and Ruffo, 'Ercolano e la Villa dei Papiri', 307, n. 57; De Simone, 'Rediscovering the Villa of the Papyri', 11. On the mosaics of the atrium quarter: A. De Simone and F. Ruffo, 'I mosaici della Villa dei Papiri ad Ercolano (Na): Il quartiere dell'atrio', in C. Angelleli (ed.), *Atti del X colloquio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico: Lecce, 18–21 febbraio 2004* (Tivoli 2005) 161–82. On the wall paintings see also: E. M. Moormann, 'Wall Paintings in the Villa of the Papyri: Old and New Finds', in *Zarnakoupi*, 63–88, at 67–71 and 78.

³⁹ Esposito in Guidobaldi and Esposito, 'New Archaeological Research', 45–50, and 59.

⁴⁰ *Mattusch*.

⁴¹ T. Lorenz, *Galerien von griechischen Philosophen- und Dichterbildnissen bei den Römern* (Mainz am Rhein 1965) 1–15; *Neudecker*; S. Dillon, 'Subject Selection and Viewer Reception of Greek Portraits from Herculaneum and Tivoli', *JRA* 13 (2000) 21–40. The most recent assessment of the villa's sculptures: *Mattusch*; Moesch, 'Villa dei Papiri', 70–9. Reproduced with more complete catalogue of the sculptures in: V. Moesch (ed.), *La Villa dei Papiri* (Verona 2009) 9–25 (cat. nos 17–84). These publications present parts of the results of the Ph.D. dissertation of V. Moesch: *Sculture in marmo dalla Villa dei Papiri ad Ercolano: Contributo alla conoscenza delle botteghe di scultori di età romana in Campania*, Ph.D. diss., Università degli Studi di Napoli 'Federico II' (Naples 2009).

Sculptures were discovered in four main areas of the villa: the big peristylum-garden, the so-called tablinum (n. 28 in Figure 2.1), the square peristylum-garden, and the atrium. A few statues were found in rooms 32, 53, 64, and 65 (Figure 2.1). A total of 103 objects, including eighty-nine sculptures were recovered from the villa. Sixty-five of the sculptures—thirty-three busts and thirty-two statues—are in bronze. Of the busts, twenty-five are roughly life-size (two are herms) and seven are smaller. The bronze statues comprise eleven large bronze figures (a fragmented arm may be attributed to a twelfth), four bronze animals, and seventeen small bronze figures. Twenty-three works in marble have been found—fifteen herms and eight large sculptures. Weber's plan, from the excavation that took place during the 1700s, is the primary source of information about the locations of these items (see Figure 2.2). However, not all of them are marked on the plan and other spots must be assembled from complementary sketches by Weber, and from excavation reports.⁴² The documentation provides a fairly secure sense of the overall arrangement, even though some find spots remain uncertain.⁴³

The sculptures—an evolving collection made in local workshops, and a few imports—appear to have been commissioned for the villa.⁴⁴ Wojcik argued that the furnishing took place in two phases, although there is no archaeological evidence to support this.⁴⁵ If it were true, the installation of the sculptures in the galleries would correspond to a period of remodelling, when the big rectangular peristylum-garden was built, towards the end of the first century BCE;⁴⁶ the portraits in room 28 would have been added later. Neudecker dated the statuary to between the early Augustan to Tiberian period, with the bulk of it coming from the Augustan era, and furnishing finalized in late Julio-Claudian times.⁴⁷ Himmelmann, Smith, and Dillon date the portraits of the Hellenistic kings to the late Republican period.⁴⁸ In fact, the display of royal portraits of Hellenistic rulers (which is very rare amongst Roman copies)—as the

⁴² See detailed catalogue in *Wojcik*, 285–8.

⁴³ Neudecker's findspots (insert 1), based on Comparetti and De Petra's plan, are in turn based on Weber's plan, and differ from Wojcik's concordance. *Neudecker*, 285–8. For a comparison of the numbering systems and assessment of the organization of the collection: *Mattusch*, 128–9, 353–9. I use Wojcik's concordance.

⁴⁴ *Mattusch*, 182–5, 332–4; C. Mattusch, 'Programming Sculpture? Collection and Display in the Villa of the Papyri', in *Zarmakoupi*, 79–88.

⁴⁵ *Wojcik*, 37.

⁴⁶ Sauron agrees with this time frame. G. Sauron, 'Templa serena: À propos de la "Villa des Papyri" d'Herculanéum: Contribution à l'étude des comportements aristocratiques romains à la fin de la république', *MÉFRA* 92 (1980) 277–301, at 281, n. 22.

⁴⁷ *Neudecker*, 105–14; *Mattusch*, 12–20.

⁴⁸ N. Himmelmann, 'Hellenistische Herrscher und Bürgerliche Ehrenstatuen', in N. Himmelmann (ed.), *Herrscher und Athlet: Die Bronzen vom Quirinal*, exhibition catalogue (Milan 1989) 100–25 (cat. no. 5, 207–10), esp. 106; R. R. R. Smith, 'Die Skulpturenausstattung römischer Villen in Italien (review article)', *JRS* 82 (1992) 270–2, at 272; Dillon, 'Subject selection', 29.

Macedonian painting cycle from Boscoreale, the Alexander Mosaic from Pompeii, and the Second Style paintings from Oplontis—would make more sense as a phenomenon of the mid- to late first century BCE rather than later, when Augustus discouraged expressions of a desire for kingly power and influence by the aristocracy.⁴⁹ In a recent, comprehensive study, Valeria Moesch dated the core of the sculptures to the third quarter of the first century BCE, arguing that only in a few cases would a lower chronology be possible.⁵⁰

In order to decipher the ideological programme underlying sculptural display, scholars have examined the contents of the rolls of papyri found in the villa. These came from the southwest side of porticus 7 of the square peristylum (at g in Weber's plan; see Figures 2.3, 2.7), from 'tablinum' 28 (at b and i in Weber's plan), from room 21 (Weber's room XIV), and from the library room 53 (Weber's room V).⁵¹ More than a thousand papyrus rolls with text written in Greek, and some sixty written in Latin, were unearthed, some placed in boxes and some in a chest. They form the only intact library to survive from Graeco-Roman antiquity,⁵² and have been significant in the identification of the villa's owner. Philodemos of Gadara, an Epicurean philosopher, was the author of many of them. Therefore, the owner was assumed to be a man with Epicurean ideals, possibly L. Calpurnius Piso Caesonius, a patron of Philodemos—the sculptures have been seen as representing his Epicurean tastes.⁵³

Pandermalis interpreted the four inscribed small busts found in room 32 (8 in Weber's plan; see Figures 2.3, 2.7) as symbolizing the opposing values of *negotium* and *otium*. Specifically, the busts of the two statesmen, Zeno (F2) and Hemarchos (F3), embodied the values of *negotium*, and those of the Epicurean philosophers, Epicures (F4) and Demosthenes (F5), those of *otium*. To this end, Pandermalis proposed a contrapuntal layout, designed to communicate the Epicurean distinction between *res publica* and *res privata*.⁵⁴ Sauron agrees with the notion of underlying Epicurean values but viewed the garden as offering an escapist, pastoral setting, modelled on Hellenistic philosophers' gardens and gymnasia.⁵⁵ Wojcik, on the other hand, agrees in part with Pandermalis' reading,

⁴⁹ Dillon, 'Subject selection', 29–30; W. Eck, 'Senatorial Self-Representation: Developments in the Augustan Period', in F. Millar and E. Segal (eds), *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects* (Oxford 1984) 129–67.

⁵⁰ Moesch, 'Villa dei Papiri', 79.

⁵¹ M. Capasso and F. Longo Auricchio, 'I rotoli della villa ercolanesi: Dislocazione e ritrovamento', *CronErcol* 17 (1987) 37–47.

⁵² M. Gigante, *Catalogo dei papiri ercolanesi* (Naples 1979). On the library see also: Sider, *The Library of the Villa dei Papiri*; D. Sider, 'The Books of the Villa of the Papyri', in *Zarmakoupi*, 115–27.

⁵³ Gigante, *Philodemos in Italy*, 115–21; S. Adamo Muscetolla, 'Il ritratto di Lucio Calpurnio Pisone Pontefice da Ercolano', *CronErcol* 20 (1990) 145–55. See a summary of the arguments at: Capasso, 'Who Lived in the Villa of the Papyri?'

⁵⁴ D. Pandermalis, 'Statuenausstattung in der Villa dei Papiri', *RM* 86 (1971) 173–209, at 176–7 and 196–7.

⁵⁵ Sauron, 'Templa serena'.

but observed that an interest in Epicurean philosophy and *otium* was widespread amongst the elites of the period. She proposes Appius Claudius Pulcher, who had ties with Herculaneum, as the owner of the villa.

Epicurean philosophy and the balance of *otium* and *negotium* were contemporary elite concerns. It is possible, and seems likely in this case, that these concerns would be reflected in sculptural display. However, the evidence does not support these high-level, literal readings. As Smith notes, ‘a pattern or programme may have been intended, but it is now hard to discern.’⁵⁶ Neudecker suggests a more balanced view, recognizing the prime functions of the furnishings to be the generation of a congenial atmosphere. It would have fulfilled the requirements of splendour, and alluded to the ‘cultured’ interests of a wealthy owner, within a space designed for *otium*.⁵⁷ The display of wealth and culture was a preoccupation of elites during the late Republic. They were caught between a desire to flaunt their status and to maintain the traditional Roman *mores*, the ancestral way of a virtuous and self-controlled life of austerity.

The references to Epicurean philosophy and *otium* have been played down in more recent interpretations, which instead underline the collection’s variety. In her seminal study of the sculptures, Mattusch examines the materials and methods used in the sculpture industry, an industry that supplied the market of the bay of Naples in the first century BCE and first century CE. Mattusch stresses that we should not look for a unifying programme, but rather suggests that the collection was created to cater to more than one person’s tastes.⁵⁸ Instead of dwelling on the collection’s possible philosophical undertones, Dillon, in turn, points to the unusual interest in the representation of Hellenistic rulers that it evinces. Dillon argues that the combination of kings and philosophers was meant to evoke the historical role of philosophers as tutors and advisors to Hellenistic kings. She argues that these sculptures were meant to elevate the owner to a kingly status, articulating a belief that a man needed to be both an accomplished military commander and an educated, cultured individual.⁵⁹ Indeed, the relationship between spatial design and the subject matter of the statuary has established the Villa of the Papyri as the best example of the design mannerisms inherent in the décor of this period.

The sculptures and papyri found there have established the Villa of the Papyri as the prime example of a Roman luxury villa. However the inaccessibility of its architectural structures elevates the villa itself to ideal or imaginary realms and makes this important site rather elusive. In response to this issue, I have created a

⁵⁶ R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology (Oxford 1988) 71.

⁵⁷ Neudecker, 113.

⁵⁸ Mattusch, 182–5, 332–3; Mattusch, ‘Programming Sculpture?’.

⁵⁹ Dillon, ‘Subject Selection’, 27–8. Followed by Moesch: Moesch, ‘Villa dei Papi’, 79.

digital model of the Villa of the Papyri, which proposes alternative sets of reconstruction for the villa's architecture on the basis of the new information, and provides a template and 'playground' for the study of the villa's sculptural programme (see Figures 2.4, 2.12, 6.24–5, 7.20–21).⁶⁰

VILLA OPLONTIS A

The Villa Oplontis A is situated in the modern town of Torre Annunziata, on the bay of Naples. Its east part was partially explored in the nineteenth century by means of tunnels.⁶¹ The excavation of the villa began in 1964 under the supervision of Alfonso De Franciscis.⁶² Between 1974 and 1977, Wilhelmina Jashemski examined the gardens at the north and east of the villa, where a considerable corpus of sculptures was found.⁶³ More recently, *The Oplontis Project*, led by Michael L. Thomas and John R. Clarke, sank small trenches in order to ascertain the villa's chronological span. That group is preparing a full publication of the villa.⁶⁴ Nowadays we can see almost half of the overall complex, since the rest either lies under modern streets or has been destroyed by the building of the

⁶⁰ Zarmakoupi, 'The Digital Model of the Villa of the Papyri'. The model will be available online through the Cologne Digital Archaeology Lab at the University of Cologne (CoDArchLab: <<http://codarchlab.uni-koeln.de/>>) and the German Archaeological Institute (<<http://www.dainst.org/>>).

⁶¹ M. Ruggiero, *Scavi di antichità nelle provincie di terraferma* (Naples 1888) 99ff. (20 April 1833; 2 March 1839–9 October 1840).

⁶² A. De Franciscis, *FA* 18–19 (1963–4) 7420; A. De Franciscis, 'La villa romana di Oplontis', *PP* 33 (1973) 453–66; A. De Franciscis, *Die Pompejanischen Wandmalereien in der Villa von Oplontis* (Recklinghausen 1975).

⁶³ Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, 289–314; Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii II*, 293–301; W. M. F. Jashemski, 'Recently Excavated Gardens and Cultivated Land of the Villas at Boscoreale and Oplontis', in E. B. MacDougall (ed.), *Ancient Roman Villa Gardens*, *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium Series in the History of Landscape Architecture* 10 (Washington DC 1987) 31–75, at 71–76. On the sculptures: S. De Caro, 'Sculpture dalla villa di Poppea ad Oplontis', *CronPomp* 2 (1976) 184–225; S. De Caro, 'The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea at Oplontis: A Preliminary Report', in E. B. MacDougall (ed.), *Ancient Roman Villa Gardens*, *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium Series in the History of Landscape Architecture* 10 (Washington DC 1987) 79–133.

⁶⁴ *The Oplontis Project*: <<http://www.oplontisproject.org/FieldWork01.html>>. M. L. Thomas and J. R. Clarke, 'The Oplontis Project 2005–6: Observations on the Construction History of Villa A at Torre Annunziata', *JRA* 20 (2007) 223–32; M. L. Thomas and J. R. Clarke, 'The Oplontis Project 2005–2006: New Evidence for the Building History and Decorative Programs at Villa A, Torre Annunziata', in P. G. Guzzo and M. P. Guidobaldi (eds), *Nuove ricerche archeologiche nell'area vesuviana (scavi 2003–2006)*, *Studi della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei* 25 (Rome 2008) 465–71; M. L. Thomas and J. R. Clarke, 'Evidence of Demolition and Remodeling at Villa A at Oplontis (Villa of Poppaea) after A.D. 45', *JRA* 22 (2009) 355–64; M. L. Thomas and J. R. Clarke, 'Water Features, the Atrium, and the Coastal Setting of Oplontis Villa A at Torre Annunziata', *JRA* 24 (2011) 370–81; J. R. Clarke, 'The Oplontis Project (2005–2008)', in A. Corolini (ed.), *Vesuviana: Archeologie a confronto: Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Bologna, 14–16 gennaio 2008* (Bologna 2010) 427–30.

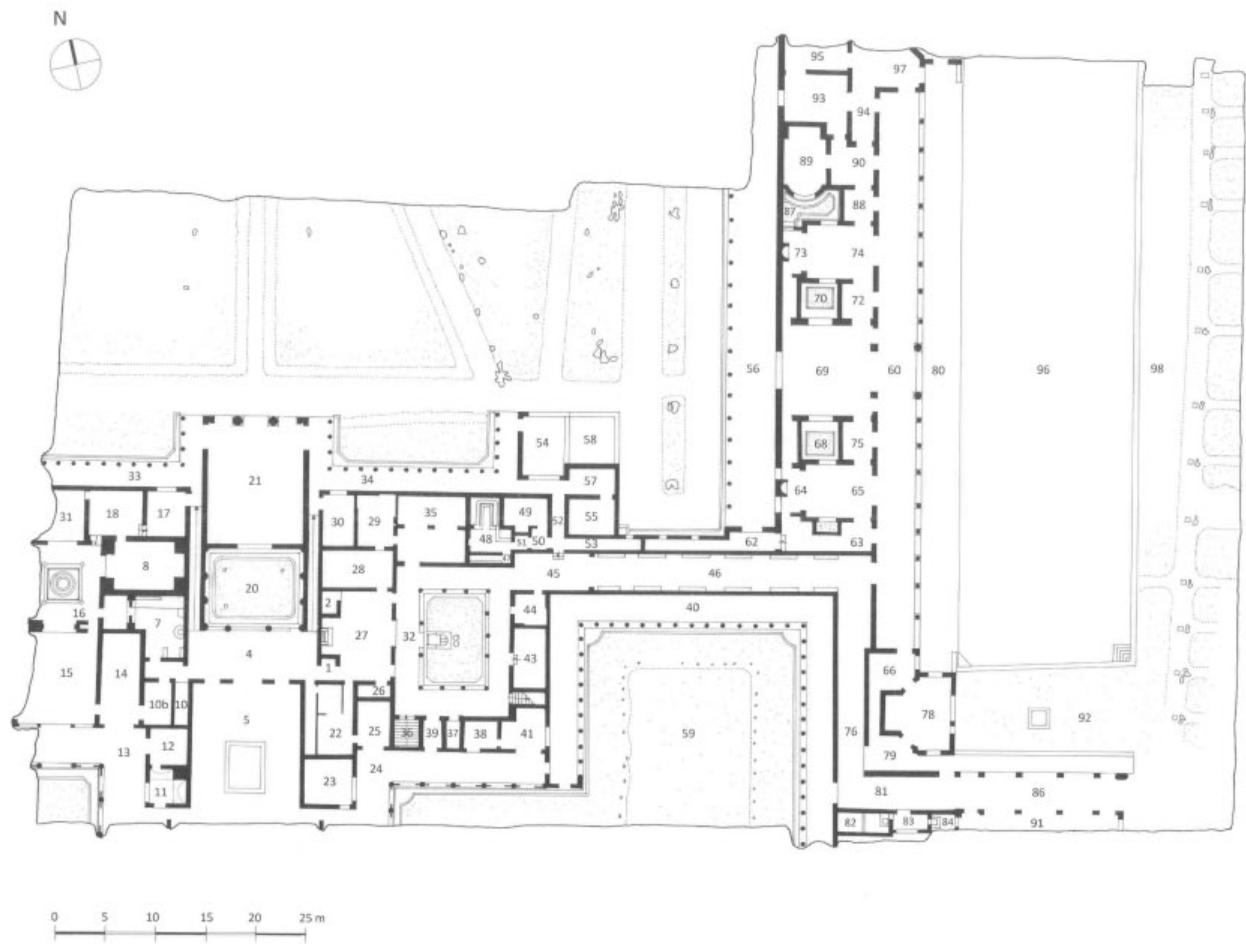


FIG. 2.16 Villa Oplontis A, plan. © Mantha Zarmakoupi.

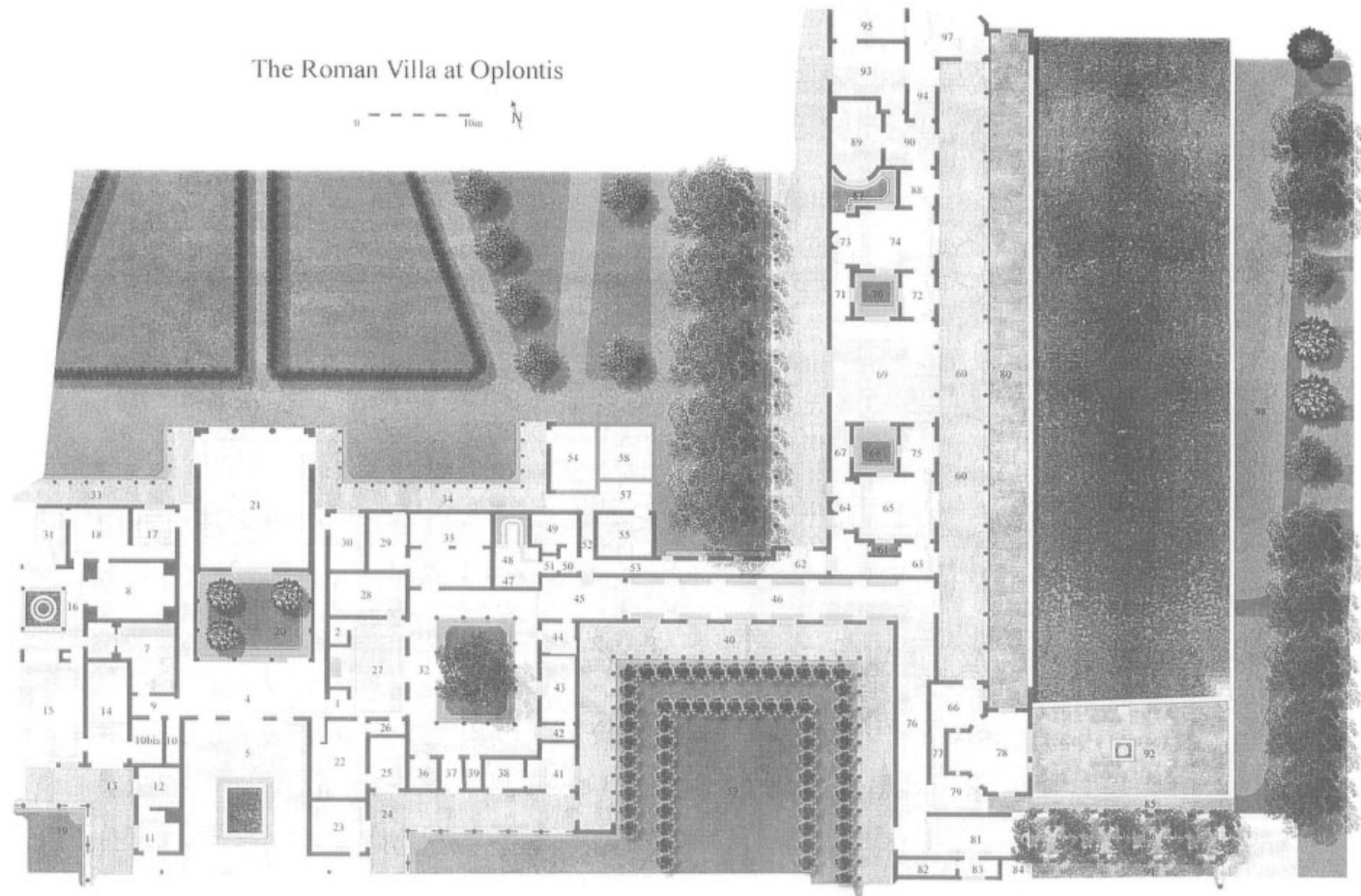


FIG. 2.17 Villa Oplontis A, plan (© James Statton-Abbott and Victoria I; Bergmann, 'Art and Nature', pl. 1).

sixteenth century Sarno Canal. Two hundred and fifty metres to the east of Villa Oplontis A, another villa, Villa Oplontis B, was unearthed in 1974. A small porticus lying between Villa Oplontis A and Villa Oplontis B has indicated the existence of another villa, which has been called Villa Oplontis C.⁶⁵

The villa receives its name from the site of ancient Oplontis, a toponym on the Peutinger Table—a thirteenth-century version of a Roman road map. A building with a square portico flanked by two towers signals the toponym. It looms large between Herculaneum and Pompeii, not far from the sea, marking a significant stopping point on a major thoroughfare between Vesuvian villas and towns.⁶⁶ The building seems to be located approximately on the villa's site, and it has been thought that the two are identical. It is not clear from the excavations how close the villa was to the water, but the geological study to the south of the villa has indicated that it was on the edge of a cliff about 13 m above a beach.⁶⁷

After the conquest and the establishment of the Roman colony of Pompeii by Lucius Sulla, the road that leaves Pompeii through the Herculaneum gate and goes in the direction of Oplontis was rearranged and improved.⁶⁸ The new road was probably financed by the new colony, and undoubtedly related to the investments of the Roman ruling classes in the Campanian coast.⁶⁹ The new road and the size of the villa in its first phase support the view that it was a Roman property from the start.⁷⁰

The first phase of the villa dates from about the middle of the first century BCE, when it consisted of a compact plan with several rooms around atrium 5, including triclinium 14, oeci 15 and 23, and cubiculum 11. In the Augustan period, a kitchen complex with plumbing (room 7), and a bath complex (rooms 8, 17, 18) were added or rebuilt to the west of the N–S oriented atrium core (rooms 5, 20, 21), and the villa was surrounded with porticoes to the north and south sides, adapting it to the landscape. The new rooms were decorated with Third Style wall paintings, and this phase has been termed the 'Third Style renovation'. During the middle of the first century CE the villa was expanded again (probably in two distinct phases), and a wing was added to the east. It extended towards the north of the older core, and created an enclosure for the large park-like garden at

⁶⁵ L. Fergola, 'La Villa di Poppea a Oplontis', in M. R. Borriello (ed.), *Pompei: Abitare sotto il Vesuvio* (Ferrara 1996) 135–41. For an overview of the villas at Oplontis: L. Fergola and M. Pagano, *Oplontis: Le splendide ville romane di Torre Annunziata: Itinerario archeologico ragionato* (Torre del Greco 1998); L. Fergola, *Oplontis e le sue ville* (Pompei 2004).

⁶⁶ K. Miller, *Itineraria romana* (Stuttgart 1915); A. C. Levi and M. A. Levi, *Itineraria picta: Contributo allo studio della Tabula Peutingeriana*, Studi e materiali del Museo della civiltà romana 7 (Rome 1967) scgm. VII.

⁶⁷ Thomas and Clarke, 'Water Features, the Atrium, and the Coastal Setting', 378–80, fig. 12.

⁶⁸ De Caro, 'The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea', 79.

⁶⁹ D'Arms, 'Ville rustiche e ville d'otium', 74.

⁷⁰ De Caro, 'The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea', 80.

the north. On the basis of the symmetrical arrangement of the villa's north garden, it has been assumed that a symmetrical west wing existed, parallel to the east one. However the dissimilarity in the arrangement of the rooms to the east and west of the atrium raises questions about this hypothesis. The new east wing has portico façades on both its west and east sides, looking onto the garden and onto a 17 × 60 m long pool (a *natatio*?), situated at the east end of the complex, as well as towards the north garden at its west. A gallery (46), a service passage (42), and a portico (40) at its southern side connect it with the villa's older nucleus. The dating of the villa has been primarily based on the style of the wall paintings and mosaics.⁷¹

New excavations have added greatly to our knowledge of the site's chronology and the changes that it underwent. Further information has become known about the first phase and the Third Style renovation period of the villa. An earlier colonnaded structure under the interior open area 16 was found, which must date from the first phase of the villa and which was completely rebuilt during the Third Style renovation.

In addition, more information has emerged about the final phases of the villa. The niche at the east end of room 8 was renovated in the Fourth Style (45–55 CE), at which time its west entrance was enlarged. Thomas and Clarke have suggested that this last refurbishment was in order to change the function of the room from a bath to a heated triclinium. Repairs (in *opus mixtum*) in the Third Style mosaics in room 21 must have taken place at this time. Although the room dates to the second phase of the villa (Third Style renovation), it was significantly altered, probably with the intent to add a monumental façade to the north gardens of the villa.

In the east garden an earlier version of pool 96 was buried and replaced by pool 96 some time after 45 CE. The earlier version of the pool was wider towards the west and its south end extended originally down corridor 91. Furthermore, several water features of the villa, including a fountain in viridarium 20 and a

⁷¹ On the wall paintings: A. De Franciscis, *Die Pompejanischen Wandmalereien*; J. R. Clarke, 'The Early Third Style at the Villa of Oplontis', *RM* 94 (1987) 267–94; N. Blanc, 'Au-delà des styles: Les entablements peints et stucés', in E. M. Moormann (ed.), *Functional and Spatial Analysis of Wall Painting: Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress on Ancient Wall Painting, Amsterdam, 8–12 September 1992*, BABesch Supplement 3 (Leiden 1993) 51–8; J. R. Clarke, 'Landscape Paintings in the Villa of Oplontis', *JRA* 9 (1996) 81–107; B. Andreae, 'Die neronischen Wandmalereien in der Villa der Poppaea von Oplontis', in L. Castagna and G. Vogt-Spira (eds), *Pervertete: Ästhetik der Verkehrung: Literatur und Kultur neronischer Zeit und ihrer Rezeption* (Munich 2002) 59–62. On the mosaics: M. S. Pisapia, 'I pavimenti di II stile della Villa A di Oplontis', in R. M. Carra Bonacasa and F. Guidobaldi (eds), *Atti del IV Colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico* (Palermo 1996) 555–64; M. S. Pisapia, 'I pavimenti a mosaico di III e IV stile della villa romana di Oplontis', in F. Guidobaldi and A. Paribeni (eds), *Atti del V Colloquio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico, Roma, 3–6 novembre 1997* (Ravenna 1998) 371–84.

canal in the north garden, went out of use well before the eruption. The excavators have suggested that an earthquake, possibly that of 62 CE, damaged the villa's water systems and the connection to an aqueduct, which subsequently led to the changes in the villa's water features. To this end, Thomas and Clarke suggest at least four stages of construction: first in c.50 BCE (original nucleus), second in c.1 CE (Third Style renovation), and at least two stages around the middle of the first century CE (rooms 8 and 21, and changes in the villa's water features).

Five rooms of the villa's older nucleus contain extensive remains of so-called Second Style wall painting: atrium 5, cubiculum 11 at the southwest corner of the atrium, room 23 at the southeast corner of the atrium, and triclinium 14 and the great oecus 15 both located at the west of the atrium. The discovery of the villa at Oplontis in the 1960s and the related illustrated publication in the 1970s cleared up some misconceptions about the function and meaning of Second Style wall paintings.⁷² For example, on the east wall of oecus 15 we see through the 'apertures' of a grandiose propylon a double-tiered porticus of regal proportions (see Figure 2.18). The central arch of the propylon frames a tripod set in a garden. The wall painting is approximately 7.5 m long and 4.5 m high. The representations of architectural compositions in perspective in the oecus were not intended to invite the viewer (owner or visitor) to illusionist architectural or landscape vistas. The villa at Oplontis, with its huge park-like garden, pool, and porticoed galleries is a good illustration of how this was not the point of these representations (see Figure 2.19). Furthermore, the Second Style wall paintings in atrium 5 help us to understand that Second Style architectural representations, like the atrium space in Roman homes, were a means of accentuating the owner's social status (see Figure 2.20). After Oplontis it became clear that Second Style wall paintings reflect the political and social desire of members of the late Republican aristocracy to represent themselves as inheritors of Hellenistic culture.⁷³

Finally, atrium 32, the rooms around it (rooms 44, 45, and staircase 42 leading to the floor above), and passages 45, 46, and 76 were decorated in so-called zebra

⁷² Specifically Lehmann's and Engemann's arguments that the paintings represent wishful views of landscape and architecture were completely overturned by the fact that the large villa at Oplontis, situated in the midst of an estate outside the city, had no need to represent either illusionary views of landscape from the grounds of an ideal villa, or perspectival architectural enlargements of its interior. The villa at Oplontis was big and already had such views. P. W. Lehmann, *Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Cambridge MA 1953) 91, n. 23; J. Engemann, *Architekturdarstellungen des frühen 2. Stils: Illusionistische römische Wandmalerei der ersten Phase und ihre Vorbilder in der realen Architektur*, RM-EH 12 (Heidelberg 1967) 39–55, 154–65.

⁷³ Tybout, *Aedificiorum figurae*, 5–13. See also: G. Sauron, *La peinture allégorique à Pompéii: Le regard de Cicéron*, *Antiqua* 10 (Paris 2007) 55–66 (atrium) and 98–123 (oecus 15).



FIG. 2.18 East wall of the great oecus 15—view from the south. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali—Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

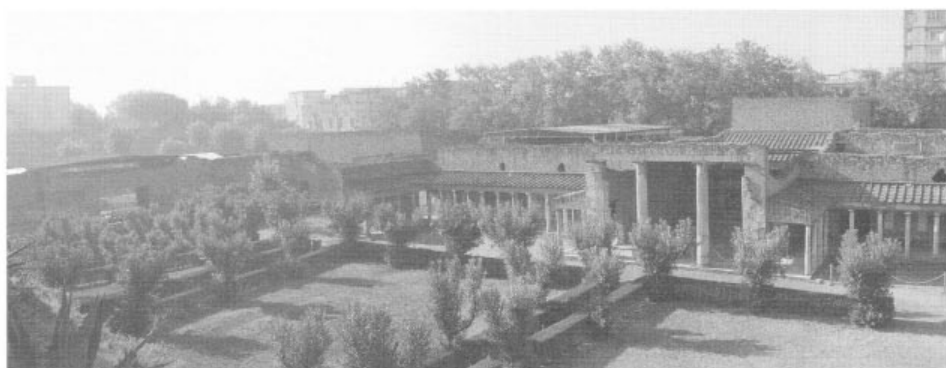


FIG. 2.19 View of the villa at Oplontis from the north; in the foreground the great propylon of room 21. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

patterns, which were common in the Vesuvius area during the second half of the first century CE (see Figures 2.21–2, 3.10). The zebra patterns mainly appear in passage rooms and they have generally been considered as secondary decoration signifying service areas;⁷⁴ but recent studies indicate that instead they were employed to signify public or commonly used spaces.⁷⁵ Thus the zebra patterns in the area extending to the east of the atrium indicated that this was another public part of the house, which guests would have accessed from the atrium area through lararium 27. The use of zebra patterns on the lower level of the Fourth Style decoration in space 4, located between peristylum 20 and atrium 5 in the Villa Oplontis A, supports this argument. More recently, Sandra Joshel made the case that the zebra stripes operated as directional markers for the slaves—to signal the areas that they could enter without permission from their owners, as well as to direct their movement for effective service.⁷⁶ While her reading is persuasive for the passages of the east wing, the use of zebra patterns on the lower level of the Fourth Style decoration in the large passage 46, leading to the east wing, calls for a less rigid interpretation. The zebra stripes could have operated as directional markers for owners, guests or clients, and slaves.

⁷⁴ Aesthetic dismissal: H. Eschebach, *Die Stabianer Thermen in Pompeji*, *Denkmäler antiker Architektur* 13 (Berlin 1979) 22; Clarke, *The Houses of Roman Italy*, 25; Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society*, 39. Association to service areas: V. M. Strocka, 'Pompejanische Nebenzimmer', in B. Andreae and H. Kyrieleis (eds), *Neue Forschungen in Pompeji und den anderen vom Vesuvausbruch 79 n. Chr. verschüttet Städten* (Recklinghausen 1975) 101–13; De Caro, 'The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea', 85; Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society*, 39.

⁷⁵ C. Corrado Goulet, 'The "Zebra Stripe" Design: An Investigation of Roman Wall Painting in the Periphery', *RStPomp* 12–13 (2001) 53–94; L. Laken, 'Zebra patterns in Campanian Wall Painting: A Matter of Function', *BaBesch* 78 (2003) 167–89.

⁷⁶ S. Joshel, 'Geographies of Slave Containment and Movement', in M. George (ed.), *Roman Slavery and Material Culture* (Toronto 2013) 99–128, at 115–7.

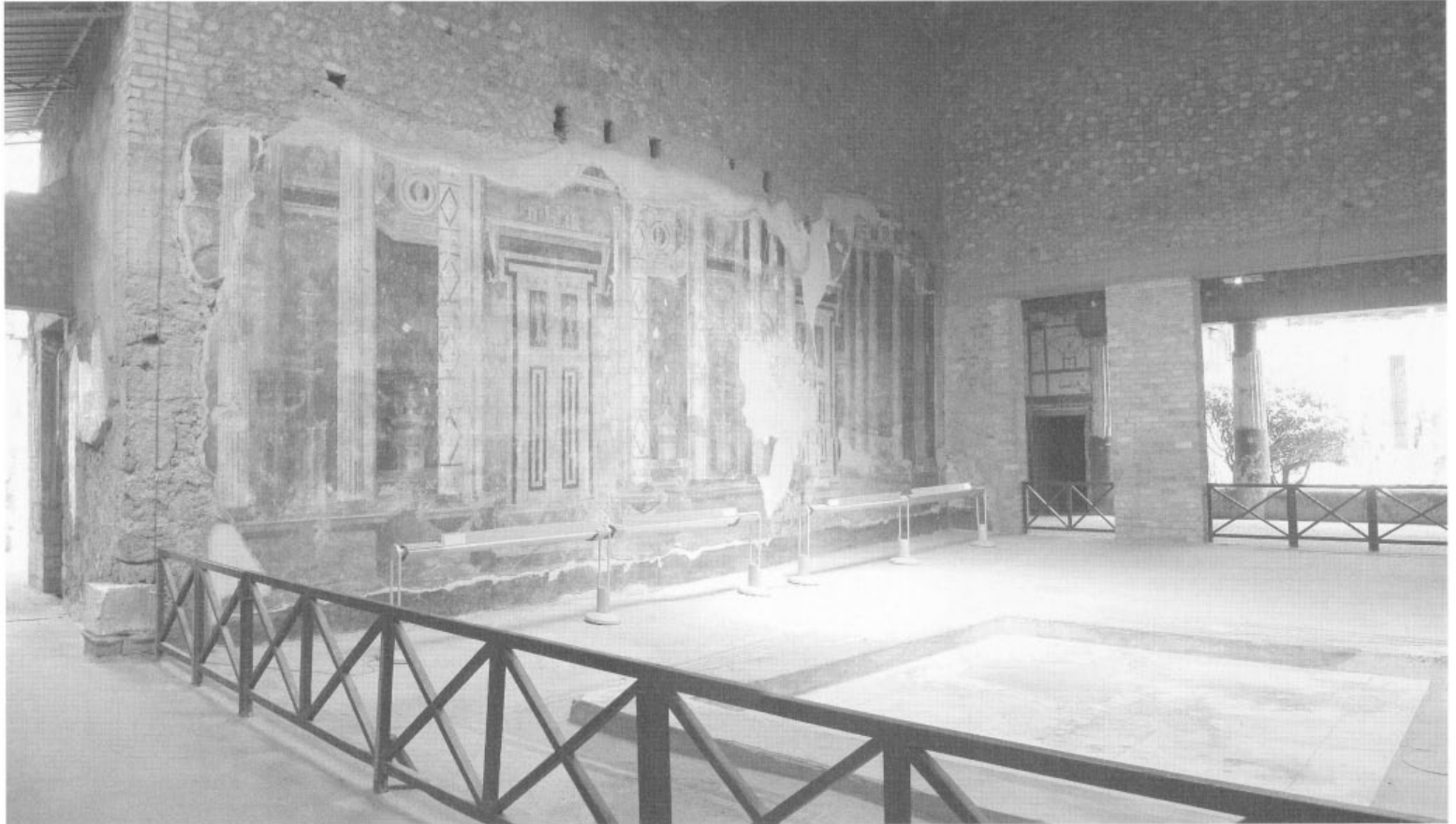


FIG. 2.20 West wall of atrium 5—view from the south. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali—Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

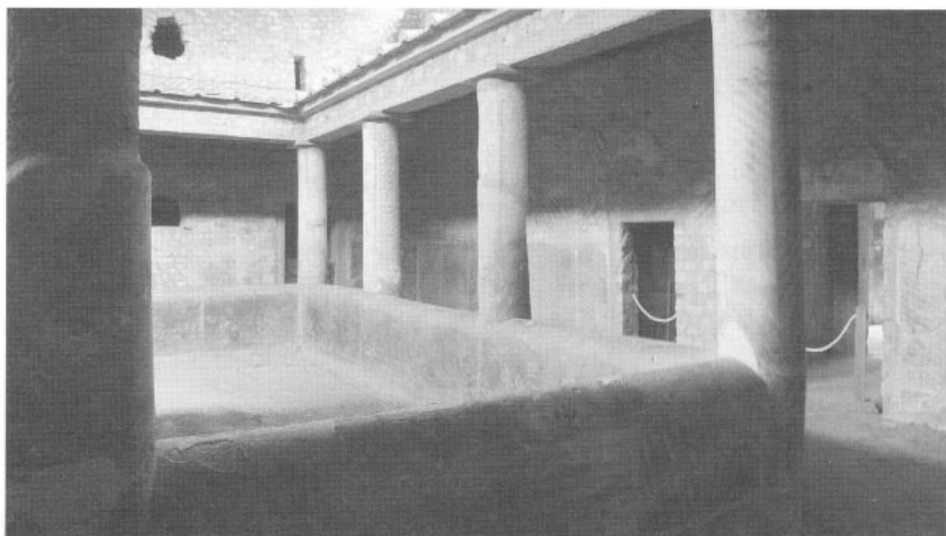


FIG. 2.21 Villa Oplontis A, atrium 32: view from the west porticus towards the south porticus showing 'zebra' patterns. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

VILLA ARIANNA A

Villa Arianna A is located at the edge of the Varano hill, in Stabiae, at the south end of the bay of Naples. From the late Republican period onwards, following the end of the Social War when Stabiae became Roman, the region around the urban settlement became developed—as the numerous luxurious villas that have been found around Varanno hill attest.⁷⁷ Villa Arianna A together with Villa Arianna B, Villa San Marco, the newly excavated villa next to Villa San Marco, Villa of the Faun, or Villa of Anteros and Heracleo, and Villa Fusco, or Villa del Pastore, lined the cliff and looked down upon the bay of Naples towards the northwest (see Figure 2.23).

Villa Arianna A and Villa Arianna B (see Figures 2.24–5) have been treated as a single complex but they are in fact two distinct residences separated by a small road (18). They were first excavated between 1757 and 1762 under the direction of Karl Weber.⁷⁸ The excavations were conceived as a systematic removal of the most valuable furnishings and the best-preserved wall paintings, which were sent to the Museum near the Palazzo Reale in Portici. Poorly preserved wall paintings and those of lower quality were left on site. To avoid the fragmentation of

⁷⁷ Senatore, *Stabiae: Dalla preistoria alla guerra greco-gotica*, 67–98; A. Ferrara, 'Stabiae: Storia dell'insestimento', in G. Bonifacio, A. M. Sodo, and G. C. Ascione (eds), *In Stabiano: Cultura e Archeologia da Stabiae, la città e il territorio tra l'età arcaica e l'età romana: Catalogo della mostra, Castellammare di Stabia, Palazzetto del mare, 4 novembre 2000–31 gennaio 2001* (Castellammare di Stabia 2001) 13–32.

⁷⁸ M. Ruggiero, *Degli scavi di Stabia dal 1749–1782* (Naples 1881) 63.



FIG. 2.22 Villa Oplontis A, view from passage 46 towards atrium 32. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

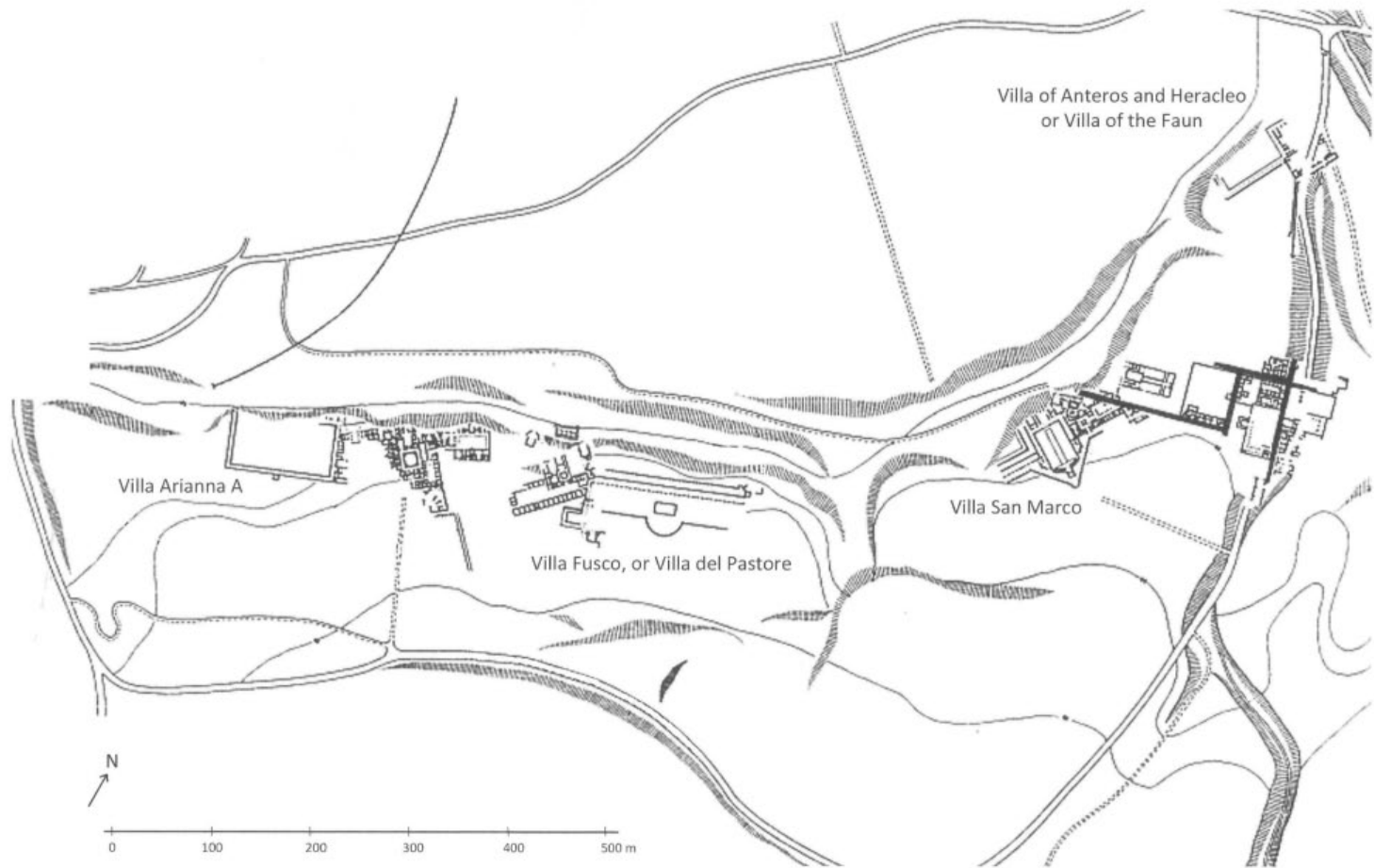


FIG. 2.23 Plan of ancient Stabiae (plan based on: Kockel, 1985).



FIG. 2.24 Villa Arianna A and Villa Arianna B, plan. © Mantha Zarmakoupi.

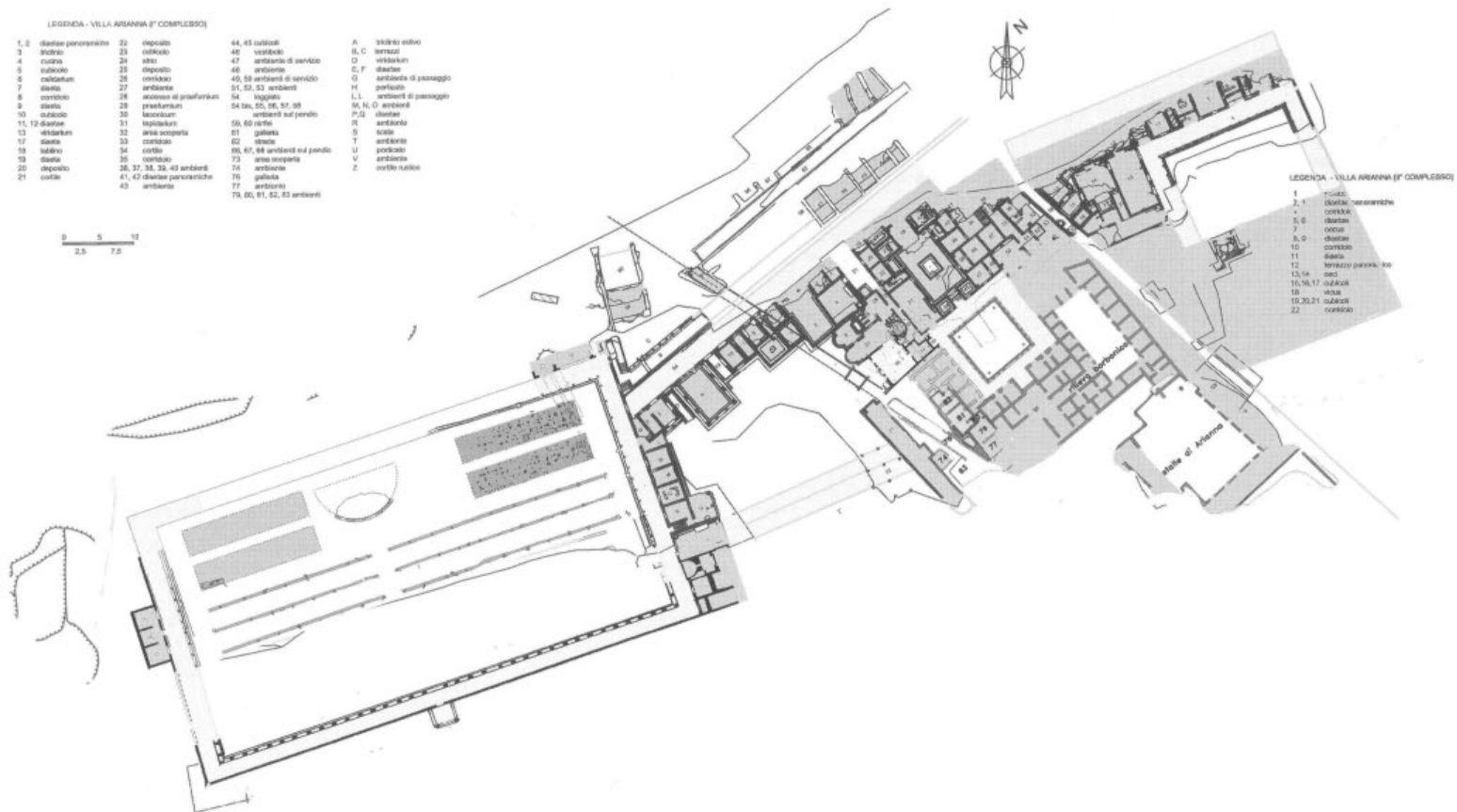


Fig. 2.25 Villa Arianna A and Villa Arianna B, plan made by the Restoring Ancient Stabiae Foundation in collaboration with the Soprintendenza Speciali per i Beni Archeologica di Napoli e Pompei (Source: Howe, Sutherland and Gleason, 'Stabia, Villa Arianna').

artefacts that they considered to be property of the Bourbons, the excavators themselves destroyed them.⁷⁹ The excavators made no precise plan of the positions of the findings, as in the Villa of the Papyri. However, Weber's plan, dated 21 February 1760, included a lengthy and detailed inventory of mosaic pavements and small paintings.⁸⁰

In 1950 the excavations were resumed by Libero d'Orsi. D'Orsi brought to light new parts of the villa along the edges of the Varano hill and discovered anew the parts of the villa excavated by the Bourbons, which had been well preserved and bore wall paintings that had been neglected. The more precious wall paintings were removed and transported to the Antiquario Stabiano. Weber's documentation, Ruggiero's publication of the 1700s excavations, and D'Orsi's excavation reports of the 1900s provide information about the early excavations.⁸¹ Excavations resumed after the 1980s to examine the terracing substructures of both villas (1986–8) as well as the unexcavated area between the large peristyle and peristyle W22 of Villa Arianna A (1992).⁸² More recently, the *Restoring Ancient Stabiae* Foundation, a collaboration between the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali and the Regione Campania led by Thomas Noble Howe, has initiated a comprehensive project for the restoration, documentation, and excavation of the Stabian villas, and has mounted an exhibition that toured in the USA (see Figure 2.25).⁸³ The newest set of excavations at Villa Arianna A have complemented and led to adjustments in the plan of the villa, and have given important insights into the garden design of the large peristyle.⁸⁴ While we await the publication of these new investigations, the archaeological guides to the Stabian villas published in 1998 and 2001 remain the most comprehensive accounts available of both Villa Arianna A and Villa Arianna B.⁸⁵ A number of publications give information about the villas' architecture, wall paintings, and

⁷⁹ D. Camardo, 'Villa Arianna', in D. Camardo and A. Ferrara (eds), *Stabiae: Le ville* (Castellammare di Stabia 1984) 17–40, at 17; A. Allroggen-Bedel, 'Gli scavi borbonici nelle ville stabiane: Pitture antiche e gusto settecentesco', in *Stabiae: Storia e architettura*, 101–7.

⁸⁰ Parslow, *Rediscovering Antiquity*, 182–5.

⁸¹ Ruggiero, *Degli scavi di Stabia*; A. Carosella (ed.) *Libero d'Orsi: Gli scavi di Stabiae: Giornale di scavo*, Monografie (Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei) 11 (Rome 1996).

⁸² A. De Simone, 'Villa Arianna: Configurazione delle strutture della basis villae', in *Stabiae: Storia e architettura*, 41–52; S. Ciro Nappo, 'Villa Arianna: Configurazione della villa verso il pianoro', in *Stabiae: Storia e architettura*, 56–63.

⁸³ The *Restoring Ancient Stabiae* Foundation was constituted in 2001. It continues the work of the previous collaboration between the School of Architecture of the University of Maryland and the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei, which was established in 1998 and subsequently extended through further collaborative agreements with the American Academy in Rome (1999), the Comune di Castellammare di Stabia (2000), and the Comune di Gragnano. See: < <http://stabiae.org/> >

⁸⁴ Gleason, 'Constructing Nature'.

⁸⁵ P. G. Guzzo, *Stabiae: Guida agli scavi* (Castellammare di Stabia 1998); G. Bonifacio and A. M. Sodo, *Stabiae: Guida archeologica alle ville* (Castellammare di Stabia 2001), 89–166 (Villa Arianna A), 167–82 (Villa Arianna B).

mosaics,⁸⁶ and some of the results of the new excavations have been published in collected volumes on Stabiae.⁸⁷

The plan of the Villa Arianna A (Figure 2.26), the excavated area of which extends to 3,000 m², is complex because it is the product of successive building activity at the edge of the hill. The first nucleus of the villa dates to between 60 and 50 BCE.⁸⁸ It consists of a group of rooms around a nearly northwest–south-east axis formed by the entrance (W13), the four-sided peristylum (W22), and the atrium (24). This area bears similarities to contemporary villas such as the first phases of Villa Oplontis A (about the middle of the first century BCE), Villa San Marco (first half of the first century BCE), and the Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii (from the early decades of the first century BCE), and to slightly later villas such as the Villa of the Papyri (third quarter of the first century BCE).⁸⁹ Its particular arrangement—an entrance, then a four-sided peristylum preceding a Tuscan atrium—follows Vitruvius' dictum that a suburban villa is organized around a peristylum and then an atrium (*De Arch.* 5.5.3). An *ergastulum* (W6), or workhouse, preceded by a forecourt where animal wagons were found ('cortile D'), located at the west and southwest of peristylum W22, probably belong to this phase of the villa, supporting the supposition that it was a simple productive estate during this period.⁹⁰ Ramp 76 gave direct access from this nucleus of the

⁸⁶ A. Alloggen-Bedel, 'Die Wandmalereien aus der Villa in Campo Varano (Castellammare di Stabia)', *RM* 84 (1977) 27–89; Pisapia, *Mosaici antichi in Italia*; P. Miniero Forte, *Stabiae: Pitture e stucchi delle ville romane* (Naples 1989); De Simone, 'Villa Arianna'; M. Grimaldi, 'La fase repubblicana della Villa di Arianna a Stabia', in B. Perrier (ed.), *Villas, maisons, sanctuaires et tombeaux tardo-républicains: Découvertes et relectures récentes: Actes du colloque international de Saint-Romain-en-Gal en l'honneur d'Anna Gallina Zevi: Vienne, Saint-Romain-en-Gal, 8–10 février 2007* (Rome 2007) 177–94.

⁸⁷ D. Camardo and A. Ferrara (eds), *Stabiae: Le ville* (Castellammare di Stabia 1984); G. Bonifacio, A. M. Sodo, and G. C. Ascione (eds), *In Stabiano: Cultura e archeologia da Stabiae, la città e il territorio tra l'età arcaica e l'età romana: Catalogo della mostra, Castellammare di Stabia, Palazzetto del mare, 4 novembre 2000–31 gennaio 2001* (Castellammare di Stabia 2001); D. Camardo and A. Ferrara (eds) *Stabiae, dai Borbone alle ultime scoperte* (Castellammare di Stabia 2001); G. Bonifacio and A. M. Sodo (eds), *Stabiae: Storia e architettura: 2500 anniversario degli scavi di Stabiae 1749–1999: Convegno internazionale, Castellammare di Stabia, 25–27 marzo 2000*, Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei 7 (Rome 2002); A. Pesce, (ed.), *In Stabiano: Exploring the Ancient Seaside Villas of the Roman Elite* (Castellammare di Stabia 2004).

⁸⁸ Grimaldi, 'La fase repubblicana della Villa di Arianna'.

⁸⁹ A. Maiuri, *La villa dei Misteri*, 2nd edn (Rome 1947). Contrary to Maiuri's interpretation, Domenico Esposito has shown that the Villa of the Mysteries was built as a single project in the first decades of the first century BCE and not earlier: D. Esposito, 'Pompei, Silla e la Villa dei Misteri', in B. Perrier (ed.), *Villas, maisons, sanctuaires et tombeaux tardo-républicains: Découvertes et relectures récentes: Actes du colloque international de Saint-Romain-en-Gal en l'honneur d'Anna Gallina Zevi: Vienne, Saint-Romain-en-Gal, 8–10 février 2007* (Rome 2007) 441–65.

⁹⁰ D'Arms had suggested that such villas were turned into productive estates after 62 CE but according to Miniero the construction technique suggests an earlier date, in the Augustan period. It is possible however that this area was built during the first phase of the villa. D'Arms, 'Ville rustiche e ville d'otium', 83; P. Miniero, 'Studio di un carro romano della villa c.d. di Arianna a Stabia', *MÉFRA* 99 (1987) 171–209, at 177 for the dating. On the wagons see also: L. Rega, 'Progetto di ricostruzione del carro della Villa di Arianna', *RStPomp* 5 (1991) 228.



FIG. 2.26 Villa Arianna A, plan. © Mantha Zarmakoupi.

villa through the terraces to the seacoast (see Figure 6.4). The racks that mark the sides of the ramp suggest that it was used to carry supplies to and from the coast.

In the Augustan period a bath complex was fitted at the east side of the villa, with a *caldarium* (6), *laconicum* (30), and a small *peristylum* (W29). During this time the rooms (77, 79, 81, 83, 74), lining corridor 76 (that descended to the seacoast), *cryptoporticus* 71, and *porticus* 73 were built. *Cryptoporticus* 71 and *porticus* 73 opened up into a garden, or *viridarium*, to the southwest. The area between *porticus* 73 and the northeast rooms (e.g., U, S, T, and R) of the *peristylum*–garden has not yet been excavated, but soil analysis indicates that it was a richly vegetated area.⁹¹ *Peristylum* W29 stood approximately 1 m above *cryptoporticus* 71 and *porticus* 73, and looked onto the *viridarium* that stood over them; all three spaces enjoyed views of Gagnano hill and Monte Faito to the south and southwest (see Figure 2.27). During the Julio-Claudian period, an additional quarter was created towards the west, which aligned the north side of the cliff (rooms I–I3, A, E, F, and *porticus* 54 in Figure 2.26) and an enormous *quadriporticus* (108 × 58 m)—all decorated with Fourth Style wall paintings. Rooms A, E, and F looked onto the *viridarium* to the southwest and the sea to the northeast. A staircase (G) led to a second floor above rooms A, E, and F, which enjoyed an even better view. The big *quadriporticus* was situated approximately 1.5 m below the level of *porticus* 54 and it effectively doubled the area of the villa (H–Z in Figure 2.26). An *exedra* (60), or an *ephebeum* (cf. Vitr. *De Arch.* 5.11.2), was located in the middle of its long south side—this part of the villa came to light during the excavations of the Bourbons and is now covered. Its northeast side opened onto a series of rooms decorated with Fourth Style wall paintings (N, M, O, R) as well as a staircase (S) that led through *porticus* (U) to the *viridarium*, located at the northeast (see Figure 2.26).⁹² The southwest side of the *quadriporticus*, and the garden area, was excavated in November 2007. The southwest side had a series of rooms with Fourth Style decoration that were not

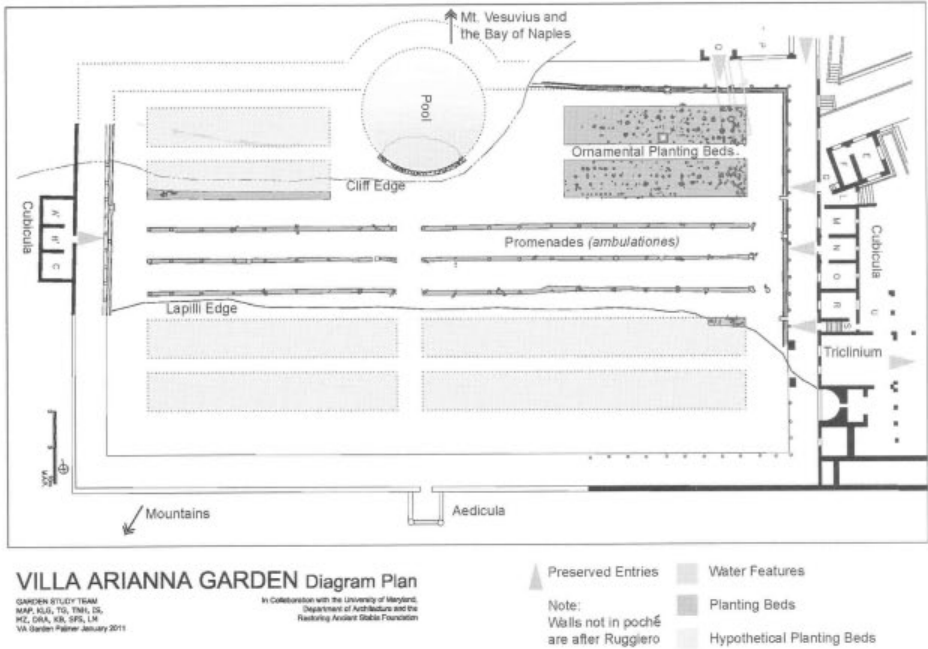


FIG. 2.27 Villa Arianna A, view from *porticus* 73 to the south and southwest (Gagnano hill to the left, Monte Faito to the right). Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

⁹¹ Ciro Nappo, 'Villa Arianna', 56, 58, fig. 8.

⁹² A. M. Sodo, 'I rinvenimenti recenti: Nuovi ambienti in luce a Villa Arianna', in D. Camardo and A. Ferrara (eds), *Stabiae, dai Borbone alle ultime scoperte* (Castellammare di Stabia 2001), 85–7.

FIG. 2.28 Villa Arianna, plan of garden Z (© Kathryn Gleason and Michele Palmer. Source: Gleason, 'Constructing Nature', 12, fig. 3).



indicated in Weber's plan. The garden featured four walks running northeast and southwest, parallel to planted beds that were embellished with a variety of trees and small water basins as well as an 'opus signinum' lined semicircular pool roughly in its middle (see Figure 2.28). Unfortunately, the long northwest side of the quadriporticus is too badly destroyed to allow for a reconstruction of its arrangement—landslides on the cliff edge (one as late as January 2009) have eliminated about 10 m of the garden as well as the outer retaining walls of the garden terrace for about two-thirds of the length of the garden.⁹³

The two terraces (B and C) at the west side of the villa and their substructures leading downhill also date from the Imperial period. From terrace C a series of ramps led from the villa through two intervening platforms to sea level, some 42 m below (see Figures 2.29–31). The ramps had an inclination of about 80° and 120° (zones 1 and 2 respectively in Figure 2.30) and opened onto a series of vaulted rooms (zones 3 and 4 in Figure 2.30). The monumental 'Grotta di S. Biagio', located in zone 1 (between 13 and 26 m above sea level today) marked the ascending point of the villa (n. 16 in Figure 2.29). The Grotta di S. Biagio is known for its pictorial cycle dating between the fifth and the tenth centuries CE,

⁹³ Gleason, 'Constructing Nature'; T. N. Howe, K. L. Gleason, and I. Sutherland, 'Stabiae, Villa Arianna: Scavi e studi nel giardino del Grande Peristilio, 2007–2011', *RStPomp* 22 (2011) 205–209.

FIG. 2.29 Villa Arianna A, ramps leading to the sea (Source: De Simone, 'Villa Arianna', fig. 4).

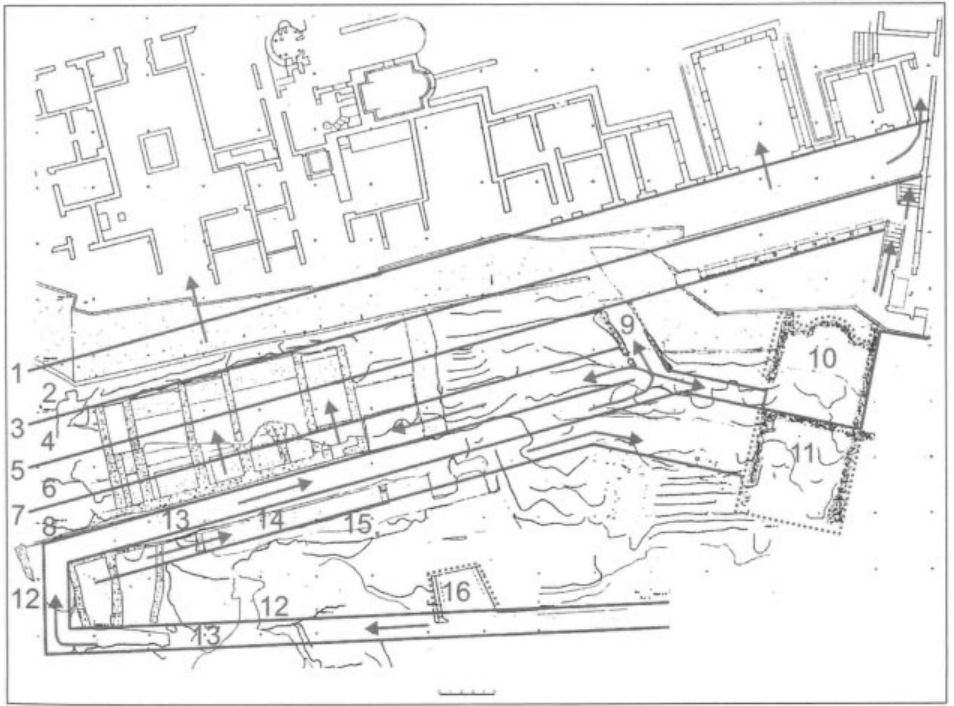


FIG. 2.30 Villa Arianna A, view of the cliff with indications of heights (Source: De Simone, 'Villa Arianna', 45, fig. 3).

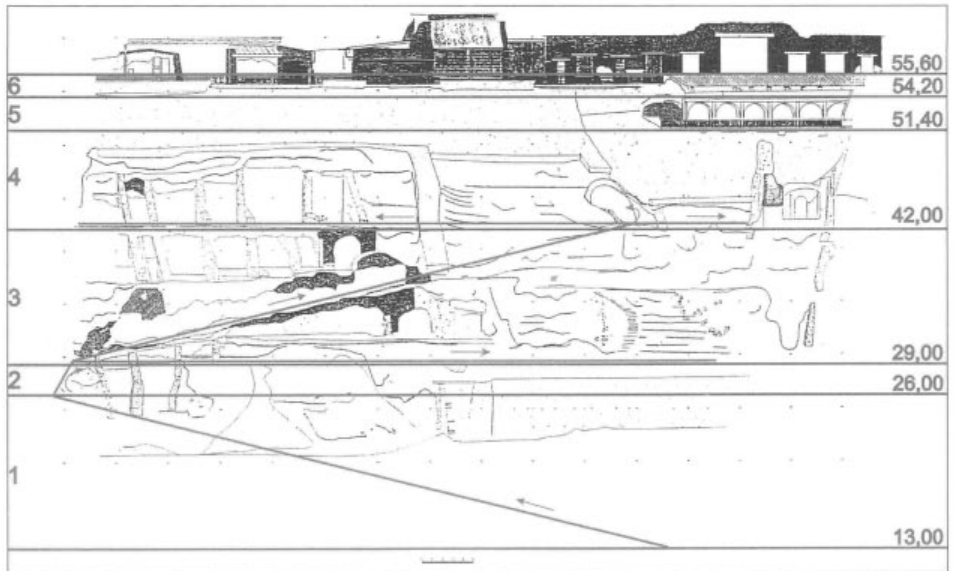
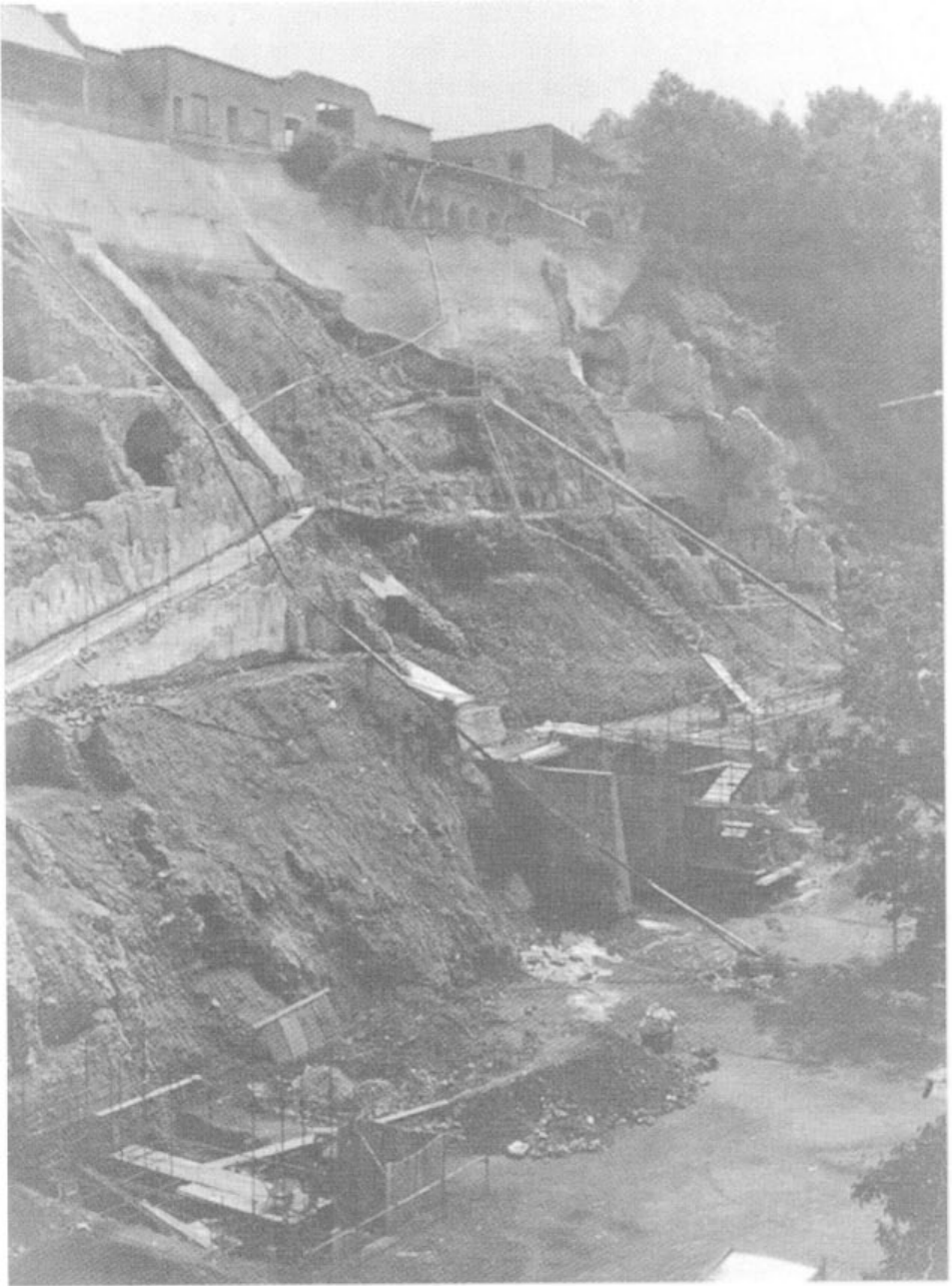


FIG. 2.31 Villa Arianna A, view of the ramps leading up to the villa from the seaside (Source: Förtsch, pl. 20.3).



but the original grotto structure dates from the Imperial period and was abandoned after the eruption. At level 29 m, at the west end of the platform, nymphaeum 1 ('ninfeo inferiore', n. 11 in Figure 2.29) could be accessed; and above it, from level 42 m, nymphaeum 2 ('ninfeo superiore', n. 10 in Figure 2.29). Antonio De Simone, who excavated this area, suggested that the vaulted rooms opening into zone 3 (in between 29 and 42 m) were designed for the owners, whereas those opening into zone 4 (at level 42 m) were for servants. The latter conclusion was drawn on the basis of the 'popolareggiante' character of the wall painting in this area, which features a funerary scene on a lararium.⁹⁴ The purpose of these rooms is difficult to discern, but the rooms opening at level 42 m are more grandiose in scale than those in zone 3, which would seem inconsistent with the hypothesis that the former were for servants and the latter for the owners. A number of functions may be suggested for these rooms, for example, guest-rooms, dining rooms, or private study rooms. In any case, the rooms along with the nymphaea formed part of a monumental façade facing the shore, comparable to the big vaulted room that marks the entrance to the Villa of the Papyri from the seaside.⁹⁵

VILLA ARIANNA B

Villa Arianna B is situated to the east of and next to Villa Arianna A. Weber excavated the villa in 1762, and Francesco La Vega worked there in 1775.⁹⁶ The area of the villa that has been investigated is limited (about 1,000 m²): the northern part of the peristylum with a porticus triplex (1), and a series of rooms at its north side, one of which is an ample oecus (7) with a panoramic view to the bay of Naples. Some of these rooms collapsed because of landslides and the erosion of the hill. From the general plan of the villa, made during the excavations of La Vega, we see that the south part of the portico was closed and represented a porticus by means of attached half-columns. The bath complex extended along the back of this wall. The villa was richly adorned with *opus sectile* and *opus tessellatum* mosaics,⁹⁷ which were removed and transported to Portici during the eighteenth century in order to decorate the Museo Ercolanese.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ De Simone, 'Villa Arianna', 46.

⁹⁵ For a discussion of the villas' maritime façades: E. Salza Prina Ricotti, 'Sistemazione paesaggistica del fronte a mare nelle ville marittime di epoca romana', in *Stabiae: Storia e architettura*, 9–19. For a discussion on the Stabian littoral: M. Pagano, 'Ricerche archeologiche subacquee lungo il litorale stabiano', in *Stabiae: Storia e architettura*, 163–5.

⁹⁶ Ruggiero, *Degli scavi di Stabia*; Carosella (ed.), *Libero d'Orsi: Gli scavi di Stabiae*; Parslow, *Rediscovering Antiquity*, 182–5.

⁹⁷ Pisapia, *Mosaici antichi in Italia*, 51–73.

⁹⁸ M. S. Pisapia, 'I mosaici del secondo complesso al Museo Nazionale di Napoli', in *Stabiae: Storia e architettura*, 109–17.

FIG. 2.32 Villa
Arianna B, plan.
© Mantha
Zarmakoupi.



The northwest side of the villa (rooms 1–11), which is organized around porticus 1, dates from the late Republican period, and was redecorated in the Augustan period. The villa's west side (rooms 16–19), located between porticus 1 and road 18, was built slightly later in the Julio-Claudian period, as the transitional phase of Third to Fourth Style of the wall paintings indicates.⁹⁹ Villa Arianna B is separated from Villa Arianna A by road 18, which runs on a clear northwest–southeast orientation. Although the northeast side of the villa is orthogonal and regular with a slight northwest orientation, in the junction between the two villas it changes direction to run parallel with the orientation of road 18. Rooms 17, 15, and 19 are parallel to road 18—and rooms 16 and 20 adjust the angle between the preceding rooms 17, 15, 19 and the following rooms 14 and 21. It seems that the change of orientation and the non-canonical shapes of rooms 16 and 20 were part of an architectural solution employed to allow for the inclusion of a bath complex (in both villas a bathing complex was added during the Julio-Claudian period). The rooms of Villa Arianna A adjacent to road 18 (36, 53, 52, 43, 33) date from the early phase of the villa. Their design takes into account

⁹⁹ Bonifacio and Sodo, *Stabiae: Guida archeologica*, 167–8; Guzzo, *Stabiae: Guida agli scavi*, 14; Miniero Forte, *Stabiae: Pitture e stucchi*, 21.

the limitations of the property and spans the angles between the terminal rooms (e.g., rooms 36, 33). The fact that road 18 is not parallel with the main orientation of either Villa Arianna A or Villa Arianna B (which are not parallel to each other) and that the rooms of both villas adjacent to the road are from a later date, implies that the road existed between the two properties before the villas were built.

In both Villa Arianna A and Villa Arianna B there is a departure from the rectangular plans of Villa Oplontis and Villa of the Papyri. The architectural layout of these two structures shows the ways in which factors, like topography (the hill and its limits), orientation and views, and pre-existing urban conditions (the road), affected design and resulted in non-canonical forms, which are not found elsewhere.

VILLA SAN MARCO

The Villa San Marco at Stabiae is situated at the northern extremity of the Varano high grounds, the last of a series of fertile hill terraces that progressively descend from the Lattari Mountains towards the sea.¹⁰⁰ The terrace that the villa lies on is a formation of lava and alluvial deposits. It dominates the plain of Castellammare with an abrupt slope of some 40 m and is some 50 m above today's sea level.¹⁰¹ The ancient coastline was approximately 200 m away from this abrupt slope. The villa is at the edge of the slope: ramps, stairs, and curved paths led to the lower level 40 m below. The building had a commanding view of the whole gulf of Naples on a northwest-southeast orientation.¹⁰²

Work at the site of the Villa San Marco in ancient Stabiae started in June 1749 following the six-month investigation of the Villa of the Faun, or the Villa of Anteros and Heracleo (see Figure 2.23), under the supervision of Karl Weber. Weber's excavation ceased some time in mid-1757 but work on the villa continued until 1782.¹⁰³ Systematic excavations of the villa were begun again two centuries later, in November 1950, by Libero d'Orsi and they continued until the end of 1962.¹⁰⁴ After the earthquakes of November 1980, which damaged the building, Paola Miniero, a new inspector of the site, Alix Barbet, and Agnes Allroggen-Bedel, collaborated on the extensive documentation and study of the site.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ P. Miniero, 'Presentazione storica: 1. La villa nel contesto dell'ager Stabianus', in *Barbet and Miniero*, 15–20, at 15.

¹⁰¹ J. Rougetet, 'L'architettura: 1. Construction et architecture', in *Barbet and Miniero*, 41–58, at 41.

¹⁰² Miniero, 'Presentazione storica: 1. La villa nel contesto dell'ager Stabianus', 15.

¹⁰³ Parslow, *Rediscovering Antiquity*, 177–81.

¹⁰⁴ Carosella (ed.), *Libero d'Orsi: Gli scavi di Stabiae*, 53–8, 351–8.

¹⁰⁵ A. Barbet, 'Introduction', in *Barbet and Miniero*, 13–14, at 13.

FIG. 2.33 Villa San Marco, plan. © Mantha Zarnakoupi.

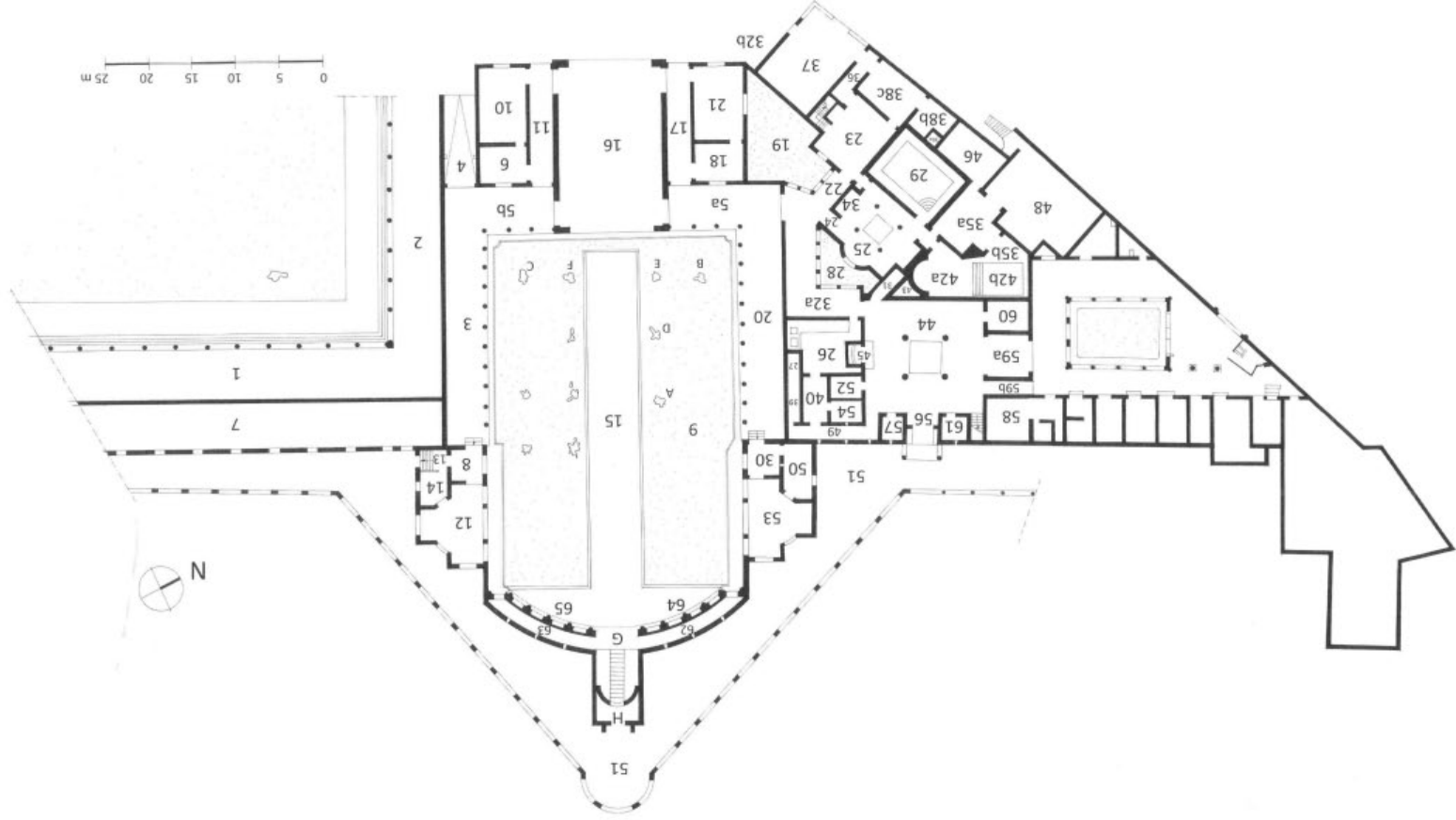
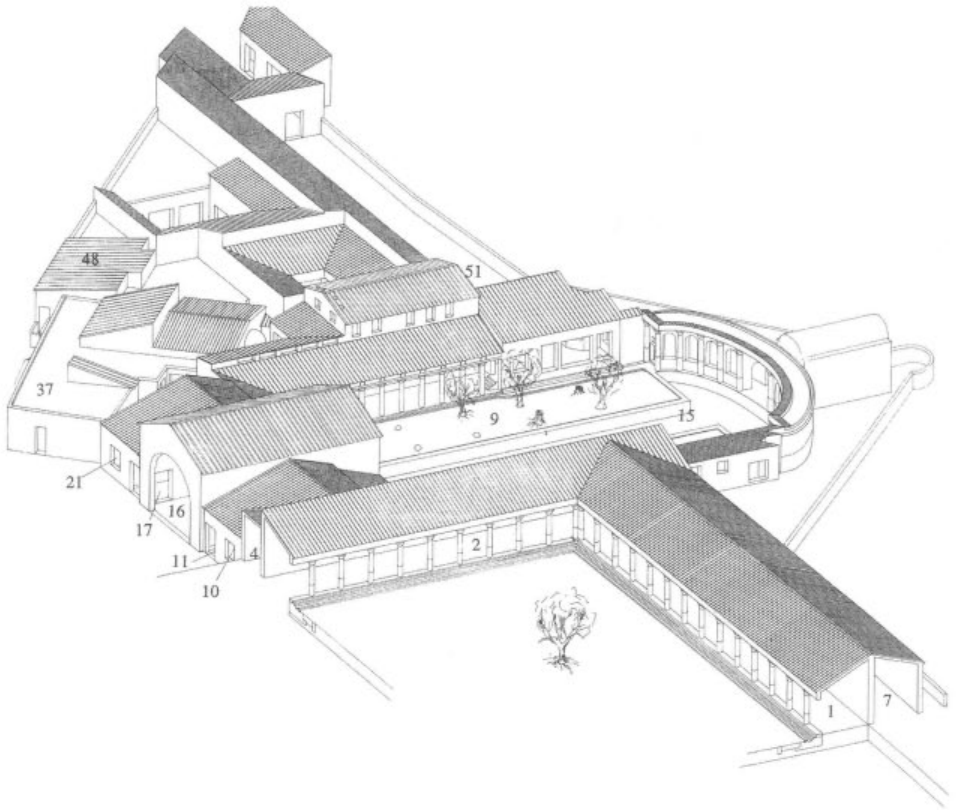


FIG. 2.34
Axonometric
drawing of the
final phase of Villa
San Marco Jacques
Rougetet. Source:
Barbet and
Miniero, fig. 112.



Their research led to the 1999 publication of a three-volume archaeological study on the villa, which is the most complete study of a luxury villa that we have.¹⁰⁶

Only an area of about 10,750 m² of the villa is visible today (see Figure 2.34), but the recent surveys and limited excavations show that it had a total area of about 14,100 m².¹⁰⁷ A geophysical survey conducted by Meg Watters for the RAS Foundation in 2002 indicated that the southern limit of the upper peristylum–garden (1–2) was further south than had previously been thought. In 2006, the Soprintendenza sank fourteen sondages, including one that located the southern column of this peristyle as well as the wall of yet another complex adjacent to it. These investigations revealed that the length of the peristylum–garden was about 113 m. The width of the peristyle is now 50 m but we do not have a firm

¹⁰⁶ A. Barbet and P. Miniero (eds), *La Villa San Marco* (Naples, Rome, and Pompei 1999). Abbreviated: *Barbet and Miniero*.

¹⁰⁷ Rougetet, 'L'architettura. 1: Construction et architecture', 41.

indication precisely where the front was, due to landslides at the cliff edge. The structures at the southeast are covered but Weber's plan of 1759 permits us to reimagine them,¹⁰⁸ while at the northwest, landslides have destroyed a part of the villa and its gardens. Starting in 2008, a new round of excavations by the Soprintendenza unearthed the peristyle at the north end of the villa, which was known from Weber's plan.¹⁰⁹ In 2011 a team from Columbia University, led by Francesco de Angelis, Marco Maiuro, and Taco Terpstra, joined them to investigate the pre-Sullan phase of this part of the villa.¹¹⁰ This peristyle formed another entrance from the road located at the end of the villa descending towards the sea crossing an arched gate, and it can be still seen today. It is thought that it was one of the east–west crossroads of the ancient city of Stabiae.¹¹¹ Beyond this, yet another villa complex has been uncovered, which was also known from Weber's plan.¹¹² In addition, Weber's plan indicates an urban orthogonal grid of streets following the orientation of cardinal points at the northeast of the site. Numerous excavations by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei have confirmed Weber's suppositions.¹¹³ A grand public bath complex was situated some hundred metres to the south;¹¹⁴ and Villa del Pastore, Villa Arianna A, and Villa Arianna B, follow one another further to the south.

Topographical limits imposed two orientations on the plan of the villa. The northeast–southwest alignment that organizes the major part of the villa follows the hill's natural configuration. The second orientation adjusts to the urban grid, which has formed a triangular plot at the junction of the east–west road and the limits of the hill. This second orientation concerns only the organization of the bath complex attached to the villa.¹¹⁵ The villa has four parts, which are closely joined together: 1, the entrance peristyle and the rooms around it; 2, the atrium complex, the atrium (44), and a series of rooms arranged around it like a Pompeian house; 3, the two big peristylia–gardens (1–2 and 3–5–20) and the spaces distributed around them; and 4, the bath complex, situated higher and organized around a big caldarium (29).¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁸ Ruggiero, *Degli scavi di Stabia*, pl. 1.

¹⁰⁹ F. Ruffo, 'Stabiae: Villa San Marco e l'impianto urbano alla luce delle recenti indagini archeologiche (2008). Osservazioni preliminari', *RStPomp* 20 (2009) 87–102; F. Ruffo, 'Sulla topografia dell'antica Stabiae. Osservazioni sulla Villa San Marco e sul cosiddetto impianto urbano alla luce delle recenti indagini archeologiche (2008–2009)', *Oebalus: Studi sulla Campania nell'Antichità* 4 (2009) 235–71.

¹¹⁰ T. T. Terpstra, 'The 2011 Field Season at the Villa San Marco, Stabiae: Preliminary Report on the Excavations', *The Journal of Fasti Online* 259 (2012). Online publication: <<http://www.fastionline.org/docs/FOLDER-it-2012-259.pdf>> T. Terpstra, L. Toniolo and P. Gardelli, 'Campagna di Scavo APAHA 2011 a Villa San Marco, Stabiae: relazione preliminare sull'indagine archeologica', *RStPomp* 22(2011), 199–204

¹¹¹ Rougetet, 'L'architettura: 1. Construction et architecture', 41.

¹¹² F. Ruffo, 'L'insula sud-occidentale'.

¹¹³ Miniero, 'Presentazione storica: 1. La villa nel contesto dell'ager Stabianus', 17–18.

¹¹⁴ Ruggiero, *Degli scavi di Stabia*, Valetudinario, pl. 3, 4.

¹¹⁵ Rougetet, 'L'architettura: 1. Construction et architecture', 41.

¹¹⁶ Rougetet, 'L'architettura: 1. Construction et architecture', 41.

The entrance peristyle and the atrium complex were built in the late Republican period. The organization of the villa at this time—first peristyle and then atrium—exemplifies Vitruvius' description of a suburban villa (*De Arch.* 5.5.3), as Villa Arianna A, Villa Oplontis A, and the Villa of the Papyri also do.¹¹⁷ During the Augustan period the peristylum–garden (3–5–20) and a bath complex were attached (see Figure 2.35). In Julio-Claudian times some modifications were made to the villa's arrangement and circulation plan. The villa was completely restructured, enlarged, and embellished during the Claudio-Neronian period. The peristylum–garden (3–5–20) was expanded, two diaetae (12, 53) were constructed at the southeast, one at each side of the pool (15), and plane trees were planted in the garden (see Figure 2.33). The baths were reshaped, with the creation of a big caldarium (29), and space 46 went out of use. The kitchens were modified, and another lararium was added and furnished. The southwest peristylum–garden (1–2), which as a structure dates from the Augustan period, was added to Villa San Marco from the neighbouring villa at this time.¹¹⁸

After the earthquake of 62 CE the villa underwent a period of repair. During this period the nymphaeum was constructed and furnished at the apsidal head of the garden (9 and 15) and the marble basin of the pool (15) in the middle of the garden was added.¹¹⁹ After the eruption of 79 CE the villa was extensively looted.¹²⁰

One of the most remarkable finds from the villa comes from garden 9 with pool 15 in the interior of the porticus triplex (3–5–20). The garden was planted with twenty plane trees; eleven of the roots have been moulded. Arranged in two rows on each side of the pool they cover the space between the pool and the porticus. The trunks of six plane trees have been studied. The diameter of four of them (B, D, E, F in Figure 2.33) ranges from 0.56 to 0.7 m, and the diameter of two (A, C in Figure 2.33) ranges from 0.825 to 0.9 m. Their diameters indicate that the ages of the former were between 70 and 82.5 years and the ages of the latter were between 104 and 113 years at the time of the eruption. According to contemporary literature, plane trees that were grown for cutting needed to be

¹¹⁷ Rougetet had suggested that this atrium quarter with the entrance peristyle dated to the same period: Rougetet, 'L'architettura: 1. Construction et architecture', 56. This proposition has been confirmed by the recent excavations: Ruffo, 'Stabiae: Villa San Marco'; Ruffo, 'Sulla topografia dell'antica Stabiae'.

¹¹⁸ The corridor ramp 4 that connects the two porticus is paved with white tessellatum mosaics (Neronian period). M. S. Pisapia, 'I mosaici: 1. Pavimenti secondo la classificazione di Pisapia 1989', in *Barbet and Miniero*, 79–84, at 82. Below the final pavement slab, corridor ramp 4 had black tessellatum mosaics similar to the ones in room 23 and corridor 22, which belong to the Augustan period. Rougetet, 'L'architettura: 1. Construction et architecture', 51; Pisapia, 'I mosaici: 1. Pavimenti secondo la classificazione di Pisapia 1989', in *Barbet and Miniero*, 79–84, at 79.

¹¹⁹ N. Blanc, 'Le nymphée de la Villa San Marco à Stabies', in *Stabiae: Storia e architettura*, 81–91.

¹²⁰ For a detailed description of the architectural history of the villa: Rougetet, 'L'architettura: 1. Construction et architecture'.

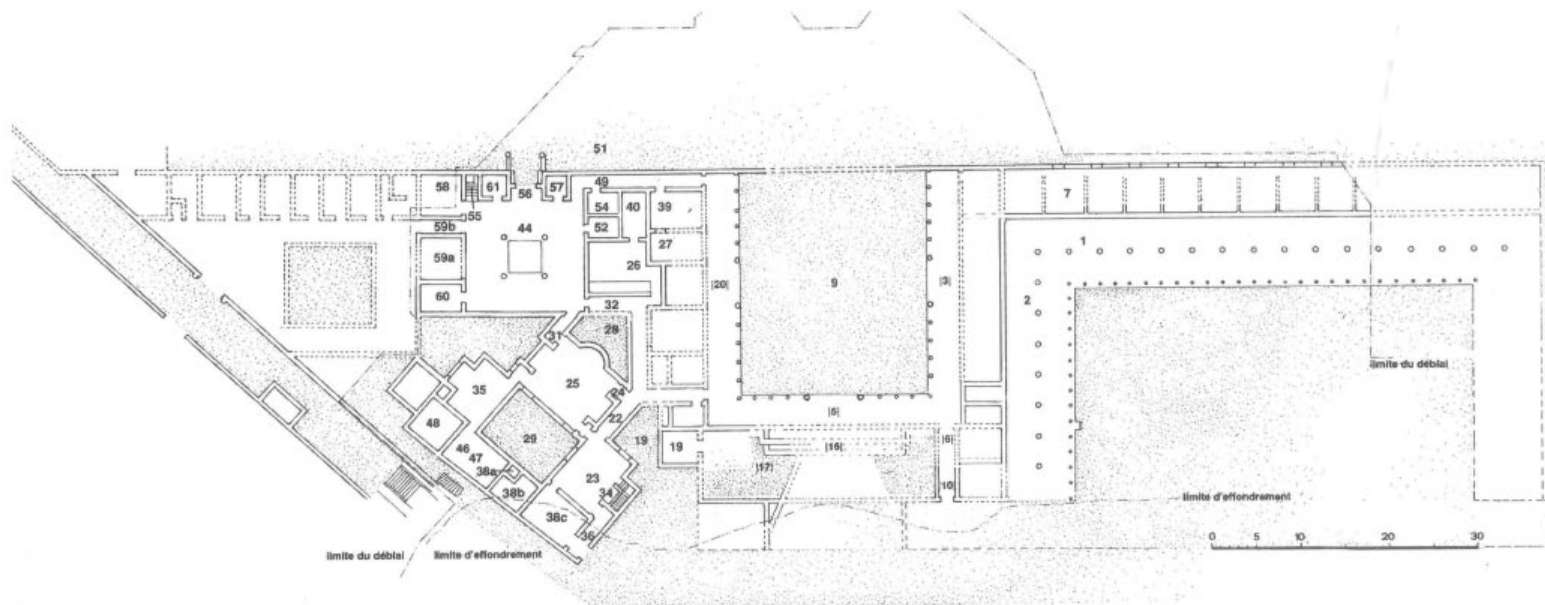


FIG. 2.35 Villa San Marco, first phase of the villa. S Jacques Rougetet, Source: Barbet and Miniero, fig. 65a.

about three years old, and were then left to grow in nurseries for two to three years before being replanted at the age of five or six (Plin. *HN* 17.65–6; Columella, *De Arboribus* 17, 19, 20). Thus the younger plane trees must have been planted around 5 CE and the older trees around 20 BCE.¹²¹ The nymphaeum, pool, and plane trees were part of a single intervention that followed the trend of designing water works and nymphaea with seashells; the excitement derived from the importation of plane trees from Greece.

CONCLUSION

The five villas examined here form a unique corpus of evidence for the study of Roman culture and luxury villa architecture in Italy. In addition to being the best-preserved and/or most-thoroughly documented examples of early imperial luxury villas that we have, they offer exceptional insights into architecture, art, and culture at the villas. We can analyse the ways in which garden design complemented the villas themselves on the basis of the well-documented gardens of Villa Oplontis A, Villa San Marco, and Villa Arianna A. The unique ensemble of the Stabian villas enables us to investigate the role played by factors such as ground morphology and pre-existing urban grids in the architectural planning of the villas, while the changes that Villa Oplontis A, Villa San Marco, and Villa Arianna A underwent between their late Republican and early Imperial phases facilitate the study of the architectural development of luxury villas. Finally, the exceptional decorative collections at the Villa of the Papyri and Villa Oplontis A allow us to explore villa architecture in relation to sculptural and wall painting tastes of the period.

¹²¹ A. Ciarallo, 'L'architettura: 3. Osservazioni sui platani dei portici', in *Barbet and Miniero*, 61.

Porticus and cryptoporticus

Porticus and cryptoporticus were among the most, if not the most, characteristic architectural elements in Roman luxury villa architecture. These structures gained such powerful associations with luxury villa life and architecture that their representation in front of a building set in the landscape or seascape—for instance, in the panels of the late Third and Fourth Styles (see Figure 3.1)¹—was enough to allude to a luxury villa and the life led in it. As contemporary authors inform us, the appropriation of porticus and cryptoporticus in luxury villa architecture emulated the grandeur of public architecture (*Stat. Silv.* 2.2.30; *Plin. Ep.* 2.17.16), which was in turn informed by the Hellenistic East.² Their use in the repertoire of luxury villa architecture is in fact indicative of the reception of Hellenistic culture in the Roman private sphere.³ The large scale and monumental character of the sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon and of the theatre in Aigai, where long stoa lines visually link the entrance to the main building, are a chief example of how luxury villa architecture imitated the public style (see Figures 3.2–3).⁴ By incorporating these monumental public structures into domestic architecture Roman designers wished to assimilate both the *luxuria* of the Hellenistic East and the grandiose character of Roman public architecture.⁵ As Mielsch and Zanker have pointed out, the emulation of public structures in the private realm satisfied cultural practices that were intertwined with social and political resonances.⁶

* An earlier version of this chapter has been published as ‘Porticus and cryptoporticus in luxury villa architecture’, in E. Poehler, M. Flohr, and K. Cole (eds), *Pompeii: Art, Industry and Infrastructure* (Oxford 2011) 50–61.

¹ Peters, *Landscape in Romano-Campanian Mural Painting*, 110–18 (late Third Style), 155–66 (Fourth Style).

² Förtsch, 28 (n. 224), 92–3 (ch. 7.5.4); Gros, *L’architecture romaine du début du IIIe siècle av. J.-C. à la fin du haut-empire I: Les monuments publics*, Les manuels d’art et d’archéologie antiques (Paris 1996) 95–9.

³ Rakob, ‘Hellenismus in Mittelitalien. Bautypen und Bautechnik’, 374; Fittschen, ‘Zur Herkunft und Entstehung des 2. Stils’, 549–56; J. McKenzie, *The Architecture of Alexandria and Egypt, c. 300 B.C. to A.D. 700*, Pelican History of Art (New Haven and London 2007) 96–112.

⁴ J. J. Coulton, *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa*, Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology (Oxford 1976). South stoa in sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon: 273, fig. 101, n. 4. South stoa leading to the theatre at Aigai: 213, fig. 47, n. 4, 5.

⁵ M. Tombrägel, ‘Überlegungen zum Luxus in der hellenistischen Wohnarchitektur’.

⁶ Mielsch, *Die römische Villa*, 120–25; Zanker, *Pompeii: Public and Private Life*, 136–42.

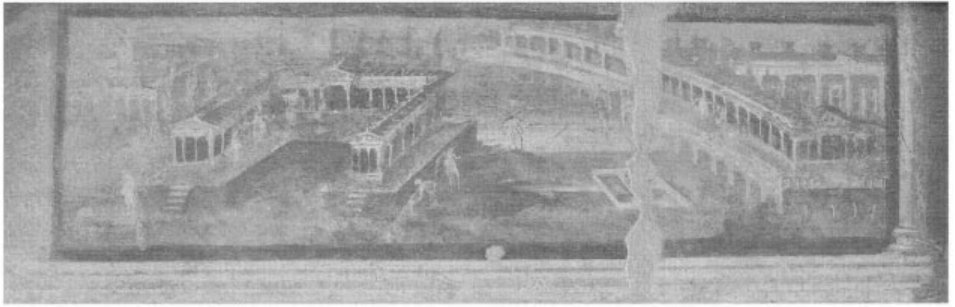


FIG. 3.1 Wall painting representing villas with long porticus, now in Naples museum (Archaeological Museum of Naples, inv. no. 9505). Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

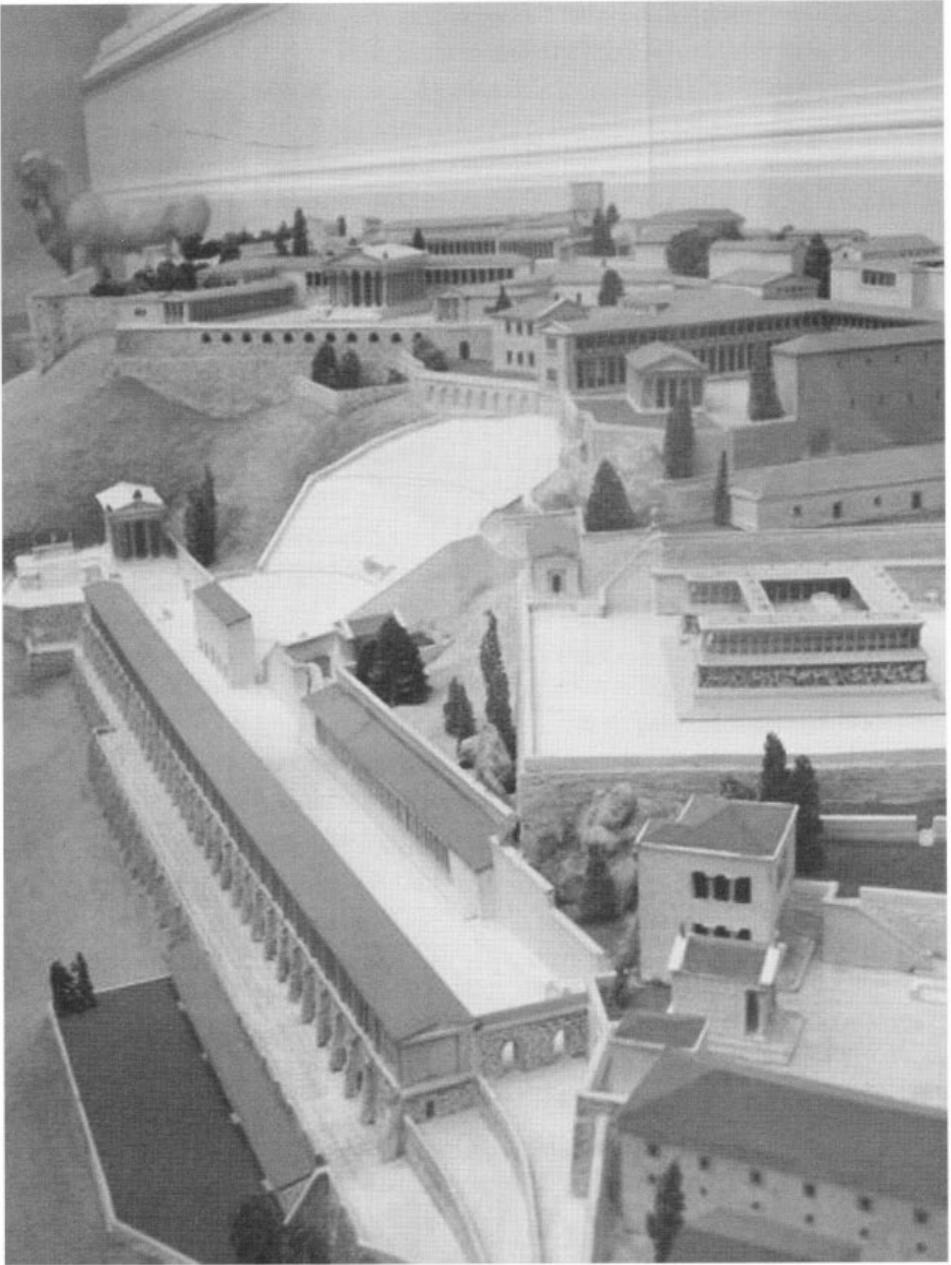
Cicero's *De Oratore*, written in 55 BCE, presents a philosophical dispute on eloquence, taking place at L. Licinius Crassus' Tusculan villa in 91 BCE. At one point Crassus expresses concern that by following the Socratic style of question-and-response, they might pick up some of the bad habits of the Greeks, who were willing to debate any point, any time, anywhere, *ad nauseam*. Q. Lutatius Catulus (consul with Marius in 102 BCE) disagrees, for the best Greeks, by whom he means politically active Greeks, confined their philosophical disputation to their free time, their *otium*.⁷ In order to support his argument he appeals to their surroundings, drawing particular attention to the portico of Crassus' villa in which they are walking as especially appropriate for philosophical conversation (2.20. Trans. O'Sullivan):

Ac si tibi videntur, qui temporis, qui loci, qui hominum rationem non habent, inepti, sicut debent videri, num tandem aut locus hic non idoneus videtur, in quo porticus haec ipsa, ibi nunc ambulamus, et palaestra et tot locis sessiones gymnasiorum et Graecorum disputationum memoriam quodam modo commovent? Aut num importunum tempus in tanto otio, quod et raro datur et nunc peroptato nobis datum est? Aut homines ab hoc genere disputationis alieni, qui omnes ei sumus, ut sine his studiis vitam nullam esse ducamus?

Yes, but even if you find these people rude who take no account of time or place or company—and so you should—surely you don't think that this is an inappropriate place [sc., for conversation]? Here, where this portico in which we now stroll, and this palaestra, and so many places to sit evoke somehow the memory of the gymnasia and the philosophical disputes of the Greeks? Surely you don't think that this is the wrong time, in this moment of leisure, which we are so rarely given and which has been given to

⁷ T. M. O'Sullivan, *The Mind in Motion: The Cultural Significance of Walking in the Roman World*, Ph.D. diss., Harvard University (Cambridge, MA 2003) 37; T. M. O'Sullivan, *Walking in Roman Culture* (Cambridge 2011) 77.

FIG. 3.2
Sanctuary of
Demeter at
Pergamon, view
of model in the
Pergamon
Museum in
Berlin.



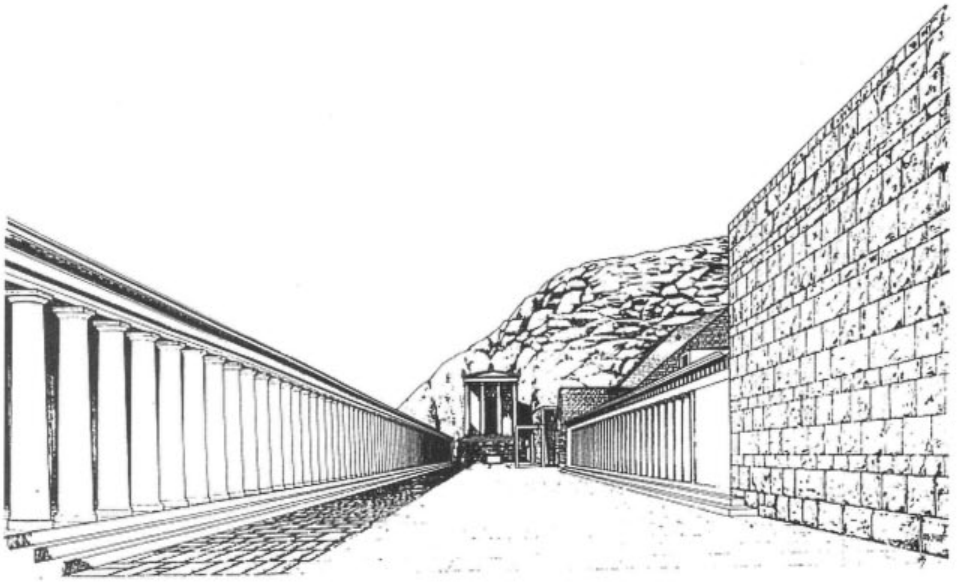


FIG. 3.3 Sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon, reconstruction drawing after I. Arvanitis (Source: G. Gruben, *Ιερά και Ναοί των Αρχαίων Ελλήνων* (Athens 2000) 481, fig. 354a).

us just when we wanted it so badly? Surely you don't think that people like us should be strangers to this type of discussion, we who think life nothing without these pursuits?⁸

As Timothy O'Sullivan noted, 'Catulus' phrasing highlights the temporal, physical, and social boundaries of *otium*: for a respectable leisure, one must have the right time, the right place, and the right company (*temporis . . . loci . . . hominum*). The right place, of course, is the Roman villa.⁹ The appropriate architectural setting, I will add, is the porticus. In this and other dialogues of Cicero, the factual words *ambulatio* and *porticus* are metaphorically assimilated to features of the Greek institutions of learning, the gymnasium and the palaestra, and assume the symbolic role of a bridge between the private and public spheres (also: *Rep.* 1.9.14, 1.12.18; *De Orat.* 1.7.28).¹⁰

Engagement in intellectual activities, particularly in the villa setting, was related to an increasing awareness of landscapes amongst the Roman elite, as both bucolic poetry and landscape paintings, emerging in the same period, indicate. All three art media—that is, villa architecture, bucolic poetry,¹¹ and

⁸ O'Sullivan, *The Mind in Motion*, 38; O'Sullivan, *Walking in Roman Culture*, 77–8.

⁹ O'Sullivan, *The Mind in Motion*, 38; O'Sullivan, *Walking in Roman Culture*, 78. See also: Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, 171–3.

¹⁰ See: Leach, *The Social Life of Painting*, 37–40.

¹¹ Also in part an appropriation of Greek traditions.

landscape painting—are concomitant facets of the preoccupation with landscape that arose between the first century BCE and the first century CE. The fact that porticus and cryptoporticus became emblematic icons of luxury villa architecture is part of a process that began with the representation of colonnades of regal proportions in the Second Style wall paintings, which date from around the first century BCE. In these, the grandiose architectural representations were a means of accentuating the social status of the owner by associating his private milieu with that of state architecture and with the architectonic *magnificentia* that was brought into Italy from the recently conquered Greek East—either through the know-how of Greek architects, such as Hermodorus of Salamis, working in Rome, or by the transportation of actual architectural items directly from Greece.¹² These representations point to the political and social desire of members of the late Republic aristocracy to represent themselves as the inheritors of Hellenistic culture.¹³

Villa A at Oplontis preserves an impressive example of a painted monumental colonnade on the east wall of Room 15 dating from the earlier phase of the villa (c.50 BCE; phase 2B of the Second Style). In the representation, we see through the intercolumniations of a grand propylon a double-tiered portico—Ionic order above and Doric below—enclosing a garden. In the following building phases of the Oplontis villa (as well as many other villas) similar porticoes were built around it. At Oplontis, porticoes 13, 24, 33, and 34 were added, or remodelled, around the end of the first century BCE; and porticoes 40 and 60 were built around the middle of the first century CE. It is as though the porticoed structures migrated from the two-dimensional representations on painted walls inside the villas to being built around them. At the same time, representations of villas surrounded with porticus and cryptoporticus began to appear in small pinakes (painted framed pictures) inserted in wall paintings of the late Third Style, which may be termed the Augustan style. If the Second Style indicates the first step of internalization of Hellenistic architecture within the domestic space of the villa or the domus,¹⁴

¹² The Mahdia shipwreck (c.80–60 BCE) found off the coast of Tunisia in 1907 with a cargo of marble and bronze sculptures, high-quality furniture fittings, and architectural elements: Fuchs, *Der Schiffsfund von Mahdia*; Hellenkemper Salies (ed.), *Das Wrack*. For Greek architects working in Rome during the second and first centuries BCE see: P. Gros, 'Hermodoros et Vitruve', *MÉFRA* 85 (1973) 137–61; P. Gros, 'Les premières générations d'architectes hellénistiques à Rome', in A. Balland (ed.), *Italie préromaine et la Rome républicaine: Mélanges offerts à Jacques Heurgon*, 2 vols, CÉFR 27, vol. 2 (Rome 1976) 387–410.

¹³ Fittschen, 'Zur Herkunft und Entstehung des 2. Stils', 549–56; Tybout, *Aedificiorum figurae*, 5–13, 46; H. von Hesberg, 'Publica magnificentia. Eine antikklassizistische Intention der frühen augusteischen Baukunst', *JdI* 107 (1992) 125–47; A. Kuttner, 'Prospects of Patronage: Realism and Romanitas in the Architectural Vistas of the 2nd Style', in A. Frazer (ed.), *The Roman Villa: Villa Urbana: First Williams Symposium on Classical Architecture held at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, April 21–22, 1990*, University Museum Monograph 101, University Museum Symposium Series 9 (Philadelphia 1998) 93–107.

¹⁴ A. H. Borbein, 'Zur Deutung von Scherwand und Durchblick auf den Wandgemälden des zweiten pompejanischen Stils', in B. Andreae and H. Kyrieleis (eds), *Neue Forschungen in Pompeji und den anderen vom Vesuviusbruch 79 n. Chr. verschütteten Städten (Internationales Kolloquium Essen 11. –14. Juni 1973)* (Recklinghausen 1975) 61–70; Fittschen, 'Zur Herkunft und Entstehung des 2. Stils'; H. Mielsch, *Römische Wandmalerei* (Darmstadt 2001) 33–40; I. Baladassare, *Pittura romana: Dall'ellenismo al tardo antico*. (1st Italian edn) (Milan 2002) 91–2.

then the porticus and the cryptoporticus that start to envelope the villa façades, as well as their contemporary reception as emblematic images, show another. As their representations in wall paintings indicate, porticus and cryptoporticus not only dominate villa architecture but are also conceptualized by contemporary society as important markers of villa life.

PORTICUS IN PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE

Monumental porticus had entered the realm of public architecture in the second century BCE—a notable example is the colonnaded Porticus of Metellus in the Circus Flaminius in Rome (after 146 BCE).¹⁵ Their form derived from Eastern Mediterranean architectural types that the victorious generals of the late Republic had encountered in the cities of the successors of Alexander, such as the double-storey, double-aisled L-shape portico that Eumenes II built in the 180s BCE around the north and east side of the Temple of Athena Nikephoros (c.330–320 BCE) on the Acropolis of Pergamon.¹⁶ The Greek tradition of displaying spoils of war in these stoai—for example, in the Stoa of the Athenians in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi (fifth century BCE)—must have appealed to victorious generals of the late Republic.¹⁷ The stoa that Eumenes II built around the Temple of Athena Nikephoros concretized allusions to the victories of Eumenes and his predecessors: the parapets of the second storey of the stoa bore sculptural reliefs that featured Galatian booty and Macedonian weapons.¹⁸

In the Hellenistic city, the stoai had gained the principal position in the formation of urban and religious space.¹⁹ During the third and second centuries

¹⁵ M. G. Morgan, 'The Portico of Metellus: A Reconsideration', *Hermes* 99 (1971) 480–505; A. Nünnerich-Asmus, *Basilika und Portikus: Die Architektur der Säulenhallen als Ausdruck gewandelter Urbanität in später Republik und früher Kaiserzeit*, Arbeiten zur Archäologie (Cologne 1994) 203–205; A. Viscogliosi, 'Porticus Metelli', in *LTUR* 4 (1999), 130–2.

¹⁶ Coulton, *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa*, 276; V. Kästner, 'Das Heiligtum der Athena', in R. Grüßinger, V. Kästner, and A. Scholl (eds), *Pergamon: Panorama der antiken Metropole*, exhibition catalogue (Petersberg 2011) 185–93.

¹⁷ When Pausanias (10.11.5) described the display of booty in this stoa, he assumes that the inscription refers to the naval victories of Phormion in 429 BCE. In the basis of the epigraphic style of the stoa's inscription and the architecture Armandry proposed an earlier date, more specifically the Athenian victory over the Persians at the battle of Mykale in 479 BCE at the end of the Persian War: P. Armandry, *La colonne des Naxiens et le portique des Athéniens*, FdD 2, Topographie et architecture 11 (Paris 1953) 108–15. For a discussion of the Greek precedent for the display of spoils of war see: J. R. Senseney, 'Adrift Towards Empire: The Lost Porticus Octavia in Rome and the Origins of the Imperial Fora', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 70 (2011) 421–41, at 430–2.

¹⁸ H. Mielsch, 'Die Bibliothek und die Kunstmmlung der Könige von Pergamon', *AA* (1995) 765–79.

¹⁹ Coulton, *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa*; M.-C. Hellmann, *Architecture grecque vol. 3: Habitat, urbanisme et fortifications*, Les manuels d'art et d'archéologie antiques (Paris 2010) 267–72.

BCE, Hellenistic leaders monumentalized the outlook of agorai and sanctuaries with their euergetism, and dedicatory inscriptions operated as the monumental signposts of their beneficiary actions—for instance, the 189.20 m inscription on the porticus that the future Antiochos I financed for the east side of the south agora of Miletus.²⁰ Stoai were not the only kind of benefaction granted by Hellenistic sovereigns; but certainly they shaped the cityscape of Hellenistic cities. Hellenistic architects, such as Hermodorus of Salamis (the architect of the *Porticus Metelli* (Vitr. *De Arch.* 3.2.5)), appropriated these Eastern architectural types in their commissions in Rome during the second and first centuries BCE.²¹ The architectural fashion of monumental porticus flourished during the first century BCE. The victorious generals of the late Republic, seeking to celebrate their deeds and promote their political ambitions, emulated the Hellenistic sovereigns and started constructing *ex manubii* monumental porticus in the city of Rome.²² The porticus of Pompey (c.55 BCE)—a quadriporticus 135 m wide and 180 m long—was one such ambitious building project. It had a novel design.²³ A grove was incorporated within the porticus and formed the stage backdrop, or *scaenae frons*, to the adjacent theatre complex—the first permanent stone theatre in Rome—which was topped by a temple to Venus Victrix, to whom Pompey credited his victories in the East. The long colonnaded enclosure featured a central avenue, which was defined by two lines of thickly planted plane trees (Prop. 2.32.20) and led from the Curia to the theatre complex. The elongated trunks of the plane trees visually accentuated, on the one hand, the direction of the central avenue towards the theatre complex and, on the other, the paratactic disposition of the columns in which they were enclosed. The following contemp-

(Temples et portiques dur les agoras hellénistiques); H. von Hesberg, 'Platzanlagen und Hallenbauten in der Zeit des frühen Hellenismus', in *Akten des XIII. internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988* (Mainz am Rhein 1988) 231–41.

²⁰ In general see: K. Bringmann and H. von Steuben (eds), *Schenkungen hellenistischer Herrscher an griechische Städte und Heiligtümer 1, Zeugnisse und Kommentare* (Berlin 1995); K. Bringmann (ed.), *Schenkungen hellenistischer Herrscher an griechische Städte und Heiligtümer 2, Historische und archäologische Auswertung 1, Geben und Nehmen. Monarchische Wohltätigkeit und Selbstdarstellung im Zeitalter des Hellenismus. Mit einem numismatischen Beitrag von Hans-Christoph Noeske* (Berlin 2000); B. Schmidt-Dounas (ed.), *Schenkungen hellenistischer Herrscher an griechische Städte und Heiligtümer 2, Historische und archäologische Auswertung. 2. Archäologische Auswertung. Geschenke erhalten die Freundschaft* (Berlin 2000). For the dedicatory inscription of the porticus of Antigonos I in Miletus see: Bringmann and von Steuben, *Schenkungen hellenistischer Herrscher*, no. 281.

²¹ Gros, 'Hermodoros et Vitruve'; Gros, 'Les premières générations d'architectes hellénistiques à Rome'.

²² E. S. Gruen, *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome* (Ithaca, NY 1992) 84–130 ('Art and civic life').

²³ Gleason, 'Porticus Pompeiana'; A. Kuttner, 'Culture and History at Pompey's Museum', *TAPA* 129 (1999) 343–73; P. Gros, 'Porticus Pompei', in *LTUR* 4 (1999) 148–9.

orary passage by Lucretius is indicative of the visual impact that the paratactic disposition of columns made during this period (4.426–31. Trans. H. A. J. Munro):²⁴

*Porticus aequali quamvis est denique ductu
stansque in perpetuum paribus suffulta columnis,
longa tamen parte ab summa cum tota videtur,
paulatim trahit angusti fastigia coni,
tecta solo iungens atque omnia dextera laevis
donec in obscurum coni conduxit acumen.*

Although a portico runs parallel lines from one end to the other and stands supported by equal columns along its whole extent, yet when from the top of it is seen in its entire length, it gradually forms the contracted top of a narrowing cone, until uniting roof with floor and all the right side with the left it has brought them together into the vanishing point of a cone.²⁵

Lucretius used the visual experience of the porticus to establish the presence of perspective in vision in his Epicurean theory of sense perception.²⁶ His discussion shows not only an awareness of this phenomenon but also an aesthetic appreciation of the visual impact of the colonnade when seen in perspective. The extensive building of colonnaded structures in the city of Rome certainly sharpened writers' awareness of the impact of perspective in the impression of architectural forms on the eye, as well as the ways in which architectural design can manipulate it. The optical argument that Cicero uses to defend the choice of his architect Cyrus to have narrow as opposed to wide windows in one of his villas shows that the visual perception of space was considered in architectural design (Cic. *Att.* 2.3.2).²⁷

²⁴ See: Gleason, 'Porticus Pompeiana', 13, n. 4.

²⁵ H. A. J. Munro (ed.), *T. Lucreti Cari De rerum natura libri sex*, 3 vols, (London 1866) vol. 3, 94.

²⁶ For a discussion of the analogies used by Lucretius in the discussion of physical phenomena see: A. Schiesaro, *Simulacrum et imago: Gli argomenti analogici nel De rerum natura* (Pisa 1990).

²⁷ *Fenestrarum angustias quod reprehendis, scito te Κύρον παιδείαν reprehendere. Nam cum ego idem istuc dicerem, Cyrus aiebat viridarium διαφάσεις latis luminibus non tam esse suavis; etenim ἔστω ὄψις μὲν ἡ α, τὸ δὲ ὀρώμενον β, γ, ἀκτῖνες δὲ δ καὶ ε. Vides enim cetera. Nam si κατ' εἰδώλων ἐμπτώσεις videremus, valde laborarent εἶδωλα in angustiis. nunc fit lepide illa ἐκχυσίς radiatorum. cetera si reprehenderis, non feres tacitum, nisi si quid erit eius modi quod sine sumptu corrigi possit.* 'In finding fault with the narrowness of my windows, let me tell you, you are finding fault with the Education of Cyrus: for when I made the same remark to Cyrus, he said that the view of gardens was not so pleasant if the windows were broad. For, let *a* be the point of vision, and *b, c* the object, and *d, e* the rays—you see what follows. If our sight resulted from the impact of images the images would be horribly squeezed in the narrow space: but as it is, the emission of rays goes on merrily. If you have any other faults to find you will find me ready with an answer, unless they are such as can be put to rights without expense.' Cic. *Att.* 2.3.2. Trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Loeb edn. L.-A. Constans, 'Observations critiques sur quelques lettres de Cicéron', *RPhil* 57 (1931) 222–50, at 231–3.

During the first century BCE and the first century CE the use of four-sided porticus and their variations became the *mise en scène* of power in the building projects of the emperors in the city of Rome. The porticus of the Imperial Fora created not only visually impressive marble-clad backdrops to statues and temples but also an ‘architecture of connection and passage’.²⁸ Constructed successively, one next to the other, the Imperial Fora formed a densely colonnaded cityscape, while in the Roman Forum the colonnaded façades became stage-sets for entertainment spectacles.²⁹ The dense urban landscape of Rome led designers to appropriate the form of the porticus in order to fit the existing urban space—for instance, the Forum Transitorium (built under Nerva) ‘squeezed’ in between the Forum Iulium at the west and the Forum Augusti at the northwest. Porticus assumed more open arrangements that followed the contours of existing buildings or open spaces, and effectively operated as passages and shelters in architectural design (cf. *De Arch.* 5.9.1)³⁰ that would serve both transport and leisure.³¹ This design became the formative element of the urban passage and characterized the cityscape of the Roman empire including urban centres like Jerash, Ephesus, and Perge.³² They dressed the façades of major thoroughfares, and in their cumulative and evolving interrelationship with the life of the city became an ‘urban armature’, to use the famous expression of William MacDonald. The Roman porticus both operated as monumental markers of the urban landscape and signifiers of the benefactors who financed them—following the precedent of the Greek stoa—and as the connective tissue of the city, intermediary spaces between interiors and exteriors and commercial spaces.³³

²⁸ W. L. MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire, II: An Urban Appraisal*, Yale Publications in the History of Art 35 (New Haven and London 1986) 29.

²⁹ Imperial Fora: C. Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare* (Florence 1991); P. Gros, ‘Forum Iulium: Venus Genetrix, aedes’, *LTUR* II, 306–7; C. Morselli, ‘Forum Iulium’, *LTUR* 2 (1995), 299–306; C. Morselli and E. Tortorici, *Curia, Forum Iulium, Forum Transitorium* (Rome 1989); V. Kockel, ‘Forum Augustum’, *LTUR* 2 (1995) 289–95; E. La Rocca, ‘Il Foro di Traiano ed i fori tripartiti. Appendice: Porticus e basiliche nel Foro di Augusto’, *RM* 105 (1998) 169–72. Roman Forum: N. Purcell, ‘Rediscovering the Roman Forum’, *JRA* 2 (1989); N. Purcell, ‘Forum Romanum’, in *LTUR* 2 (1995) 325–41. For the experience of these cityscapes see: D. Favro, *The urban image of Augustan Rome* (Cambridge and New York 1996).

³⁰ Vitruvius mentions that the placement of the porticus behind the stage of the theatres served as a place of refuge for audiences when sudden showers occurred.

³¹ E. Macaulay Lewis, ‘The City in Motion: Walking for Transport and Leisure in the City of Rome’, in R. Laurence and D. J. Newsome (eds), *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space* (Oxford 2011) 262–289.

³² MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire, II*. For an insightful discussion of the experience of the streets of Ephesus see: F. K. Yegül, ‘The Street Experience of Ancient Ephesus’, in Z. Celik, D. G. Favro, and R. Ingesoll (eds), *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London 1994) 95–110. For Perge see: M. Heinzlmann, ‘Städtekonkurrenz und kommunaler Bürgersinn. Die Säulenstraße von Perge als Beispiel monumentaler Stadtgestaltung durch kollektiven Euergetismus’, *AA* (2003) 197–220.

³³ For Perge on this point see: Heinzlmann, ‘Städtekonkurrenz und kommunaler Bürgersinn’.

Inspired by the impressive building projects in the city of Rome, the Roman aristocracy first and emperors later integrated porticus into their residences on the Palatine. A late second century BCE house, which was subsequently incorporated in Augustus' house and might have been the house of Q. Lutatius Catulus, featured a peristyle.³⁴ The porticus that dressed the northwest façade of Augustus' house—possibly the Porticus of the Danaids³⁵—not only united several houses that were incorporated into it and created a monumental backdrop to the temple of Apollo, but also gave his house a desirable public outlook (Vell. Pat. 2.81).³⁶ As the imperial palaces extended on the Palatine hill and, in the case of Nero, beyond it, peristyles formed monumental entrance and reception areas while porticus were used to unite their façades and create the sense of a monumental exterior. The Domus Augustiana/Augustana, for instance, is formed around a series of rectangular peristyles on two levels,³⁷ while the northeast and northwest façade of the Domus Flavia's reception rooms is dressed with a porticus (c.92–96 CE).³⁸ The south façade of the Oppian wing—part of the monumental terraced complex of Nero's Domus Aurea (c.64 CE)—featured a long porticus that adorned its entire length (see Figure 5.3),³⁹ which must have been about 400m,⁴⁰ and presented a monumental backdrop to the artificial lake below (*stagnum*). It has been likened to a seaside villa,⁴¹ and Champlin argues that this was in fact Nero's intention.⁴²

³⁴ Located to the south of the House of Livia. For the association with Lutatius Catulus see: W. Allen, 'Cicero's house and *libertas*', *TAPA* 75 (1944) 1–9, at 2; B. Tamm, *Auditorium and Palatium* (Lund 1963) 30. The house extended in the direction of the Scalae Caci. The early Second Style paintings are similar to those in the House of Griffins and date probably soon after the fire of 111 BCE. F. Coarelli, *Rome and Environs: An Archaeological Guide*, Joan Palevsky Imprint in Classical Literature (Berkeley 2007) 140; M. Morricone (ed.), *Mosaici antichi in Italia. Regione prima, Roma: Reg. X: Palatium* (Rome 1967) 33–8 and 40–2; G. Carettoni, 'Roma (Palatino). Scavo della zona a sud-ovest della casa di Livia. Prima relazione: La casa repubblicana', *NSe* (1967) 287–319; A. Carandini, *Le case del potere nell'antica Roma*, Grandi opere (Bari 2010) 125–8.

³⁵ P. Pensabene, 'Elementi architettonici dalla casa di Augusto sul Palatino', *RM* 104 (1997) 149–92.

³⁶ M. Royo, *Domus imperatoriae: Topographie, formation et imaginaire des palais impériaux du Palatin (IIe siècle av. J.-C.–Ier siècle ap. J.-C.)* (Rome 1999) 161–71. For reconstruction see: Carandini, *Le case del potere*, 211–24, figs. 75–7.

³⁷ L. Sasso D'Elia, 'Domus Augustana, Augustiana', *LTUR* 2 (1995) 40–5. For a discussion of the naming see: S. Panciera, 'Domus Augustana', *LTUR, Supplementum* 4 (2007) 293–308.

³⁸ H. Finsen, *Domus Flavia sur le Palatin: Aula Regia-Basilica*, *AnalRom Supplement* 2 (Hafniae 1962) 31–2, pl. 2; Royo, *Domus imperatoriae*, 310.

³⁹ L. Fabbri, 'Domus Aurea: Il piano superiore del quartiere orientale', *RendPontAcad* 14 (1982) 5–24, at 13–17.

⁴⁰ I. Iacopi, *Domus Aurea* (Milan 1999) 11.

⁴¹ A. Boëthius, *The Golden House of Nero: Some Aspects of Roman Architecture* (Ann Arbor 1960) 114.

⁴² E. Champlin, 'God and Man in the Golden House', in M. Cima and E. La Rocca (eds), *Horti romani: Atti del Convegno internazionale, Roma, 4–6 maggio 1995*, *BullCom Supplement* 6 (Rome 1998) 333–44.

Contemporary developments in public architecture, and the new construction technique of *opus caementicium*, informed the ways in which porticus was integrated into the design vocabulary of Roman houses and villas. As literary sources make clear, the porticus and cryptoporticus were modelled after contemporary public architecture (Plin. *Ep.* 2.17.16. Trans. B. Radice, Loeb edn, adapted):

Hinc cryptoporticus prope publici operis extenditur.

Here begins a cryptoporticus, nearly as large as a public one.

and (Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.30–5. Trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Loeb edn):

*Inde per obliquas erepit porticus arces,
urbis opus, longoque domat saxa aspera dorso.
qua prius obscuro permixti pulvere soles
et feritas inamoena viae, nunc ire voluptas:
qualis, si subeas Ephyres Baccheidos altum
culmen, ab Inoo fert semita tecta Lechaeo.*

From that point a colonnade creeps zigzag through the heights,
a city's work, mastering the rugged rocks with its lengthy spine.
Where formerly sunshine mingled with foggy dust
and the path was wild and ugly, 'tis pleasure now to go;
like the covered way that leads from Ino's Lechaeum
if you climb the lofty height of Bacchis' Ephyre.

Here Statius underlines not only the public quality of the porticus but also the technological advances that allowed designers to master the land. Throughout the poem architecture is a metaphor for human technological mastery over nature, and the porticus is the first of these metaphors.⁴³ The porticus is the 'starting point' in Statius' praise of human skill and imperial power over natural resources that the villa boasted: indeed the porticus is the most prominent architectural element in shaping the physical organization of the villa and in marking its presence on the landscape.

TERMINOLOGY⁴⁴

References to walkways by contemporary authors suggest that a variety of terms were used for the same structures. Cicero, for example, writing around the middle of the first century BCE, used 'gymnasium' to name colonnaded structures, but he was the only author to use this term in descriptions of Roman villas

⁴³ Newlands, *Statius' Silvae*, 154–98 ('Dominating Nature: Pollius' villa in *Silvae* 2.2').

⁴⁴ For a more detailed discussion of the terminology see M. Zarmakoupi, 'Porticus and cryptoporticus', 52–5.

(*Att.* 1.5.7, 1.6.2, 1.7, 1.8.2).⁴⁵ Both Cicero and Pliny the Younger used the term *xystus* to describe an open-air walk planted with trees (*Cic. Att.* 1.8.2; *Brut.* 3.10; *Plin. Ep.* 2.17.17, 5.6.19, 9.7.4, 9.36.3).⁴⁶ Cicero's dialogues suggest that Greek names such as *xystus* and *gymnasium* recalled the traditions of philosophy in Athenian life; these areas were meant to assume a symbolic role, bridging the private and public spheres (*Rep.* 1.9.14, 1.12.18; *De Orat.* 1.7.28, 2.20).⁴⁷

Modern misapplication of ancient terminology is a well-known issue.⁴⁸ The study of material remains sheds more light on our understanding of the ways in which spaces were used in the Roman house.⁴⁹ In the case of walkways (such as *porticus* and *cryptoporticus*), however, the material remains do not provide sufficient information for analysing the meaning and function of these architectural structures as passages within the house.⁵⁰ In order to define the walkways in Roman luxury villas I will explore references to them by villa owners of the period examined here (first century BCE–first century CE), mainly Cicero and Pliny the Younger, and their description by Vitruvius.

The meaning of the term *porticus* has subtle variations in passages that describe villa architecture. Vitruvius used the term *porticus* to signify the row of columns—for example, of the *peristylum* or *peristylum* (e.g., *Vitr. De arch.* 6.7.3). Pliny the Younger, however, used the term to signify both the row of columns and the colonnaded space they define—for example, the row of columns screening a *façade* (e.g., *Plin. Ep.* 5.6.14–15).⁵¹ It is clear, however, that

⁴⁵ Gros, *L'architecture romaine II*, 296–7. See also: O. E. Schmidt, 'Ciceros Villen', in F. Reutti (ed.), *Die Römische Villa* (Darmstadt 1990) 13–40, esp. 23–30.

⁴⁶ For a discussion of these terms see: *Förtsch*, 66–7, ch. 6.1.3–6 (*xystus*), 69–72, ch. 6.3.1–5 (*gymnasium*), 73–4, ch. 6.3.2.1–2 (*xystus*).

⁴⁷ Leach, *The Social Life of Painting*, 37.

⁴⁸ E. W. Leach, 'Oecus on Ibycus: Investigating the Vocabulary of the Roman House', in S. E. Bon and R. Jones (eds), *Sequence and space in Pompeii*, Oxbow Monograph 77 (Oxford 1997) 50–72; P. M. Allison, 'How Do We Identify the Use of Space in Roman Housing?', in E. M. Moormann (ed.), *Functional and Spatial Analysis of Wall Painting: Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress on Ancient Wall Painting, Amsterdam, 8–12 September 1992*, BABesch Supplement 3 (Leiden 1993) 1–8; P. M. Allison, 'Using the Material and Written Sources: Turn of the Millennium Approaches to Domestic Space', *AJA* 105 (2001) 181–208.

⁴⁹ Allison, P. M. 'Artefact Distribution and Spatial Function in Pompeian Houses', in B. Rawson and P. Weaver (eds), *The Roman Family in Italy: Status, Sentiment, Space* (Canberra and Oxford 1997) 321–54; ead., *Pompeian households: An analysis of material culture* (Los Angeles 2004); P. M. Allison (ed.) *The Archaeology of Household Activities* (London 1999); A. M. Riggsby, 'Public and Private in Roman Culture: The Case of the Cubiculum', *JRA* 10 (1997) 36–56.

⁵⁰ The material remains found in walkways enable us to address the multivalent character of these spaces, such as their use as temporary storage spaces of sculptures (for example, in *porticus* 34 in Villa Oplontis A Herm, Inv. no. Op. 1455; De Caro, 'The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea', 94).

⁵¹ For an overview of Pliny the Younger's use of the term *porticus*, *Förtsch*, 59 (ch. 4.1, ch. 4.4.1), 61 (ch. 5.3).

contemporary authors used the term porticus in relation to an open-air walkway that was bordered by a colonnade at least on one side.

The term cryptoporticus was in fact used only in villa architecture. It is first attested in Pliny the Younger's letters and no other author used it until Sidonius Apollinaris in the fifth century CE (Plin. *Ep.* 2.17.16–17, 2.17.19–20, 5.6.27–31, 7.21.2, 9.36.3; Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* 2.2.10).⁵² Pliny uses the word to describe an above-ground or semi-underground covered and enclosed passageway, which had sidewalls instead of a row of columns (Plin. *Ep.* 2.17.16–19, 5.6.30).⁵³ It led to various spaces along its way and had windows on one or both of its sides, through which light and temperature could be regulated. In Pliny's Laurentine villa the cryptoporticus' windows offered views of the sea on one side and a garden on the other, and retained the warmth and coolness of the enclosed walkway (*Ep.* 2.17.16–19).⁵⁴ It seems that a cryptoporticus could be a vaulted semi-underground or underground structure, although these attributes were not exclusively definitive. However, when Sidonius Apollinaris used the term again in the fifth century CE, he conflated it with *crypta* or *crupta*, which meant an underground vaulted passage. This has led to the modern confusion about its meaning: some scholars have argued that a cryptoporticus meant not only a walkway which had side walls, instead of columns, with window-openings, but also a covered or subterranean passage.⁵⁵

The cryptoporticus⁵⁶ provided an alternative architectural solution to open-air walkways, such as porticus (a colonnade)⁵⁷ or xystus (an open-air walk aligned with trees),⁵⁸ in which light, air, and ventilation could be regulated. The descriptions make clear that Pliny was interested in the effects that view, temperature, and wind had on the cryptoporticus.⁵⁹ Since only Pliny the Younger uses the term in the first century CE it was probably not very common. It is possible that Pliny

⁵² Förtsch, 41–8, ch. 2; on the history of the term: F. Coarelli, 'Crypta, cryptoporticus', in R. Etienne (ed.), *Les cryptoportiques dans l'architecture romaine: École Française De Rome, 19–23 Avril 1972*, CÉFR 14 (Rome 1973) 9–21; E. M. Luschin, *Cryptoporticus: Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte eines multifunktionalen Baukörpers*, Ergänzungshefte zu den Jahresheften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes 5 (Vienna 2002) 15–23.

⁵³ Förtsch, 41–3 (ch. 2.1–3); Luschin, *Cryptoporticus*, 17–19.

⁵⁴ See quotation in ch. 7 under the heading 'The Connective Tissue'.

⁵⁵ For example: R. Etienne (ed.), *Les cryptoportiques dans l'architecture romaine: École Française De Rome, 19–23 Avril 1972*, CÉFR 14 (Rome 1973). For a discussion of the misinterpretation of the term see Luschin, *Cryptoporticus*, 15–23. However, confusion about the term cryptoporticus is still dominant in the field of ancient studies. Although the architectural structure of the above-ground cryptoporticus has been identified (Förtsch, 41–4, ch. 2.1–3) it has not been critically examined.

⁵⁶ Förtsch, 41–2 (ch. 2.1–2).

⁵⁷ Förtsch, 60–1 (ch. 5.1–3).

⁵⁸ A. Gieré, *Hippodromus und Xystus: Untersuchungen zu römischen Gartenformen*, PhD diss., Universität Zurich (Zurich 1986) 80–110; Förtsch, 66 (ch. 6.1.3–6), 73–4 (ch. 6.3.2.1–2).

⁵⁹ See also: Riggsby, 'Pliny in Space (and Time)', 172.

the Younger invented it to describe what was until then known by the generic word *crypta*. The covered hallway that runs around the north, east, and south sides of the building of Eumachia in Pompeii and features windows looking into the internal courtyard was described as a *crypta* in the dedicatory inscription of the building (*CIL* X, 810 = *ILS* 3785, c.2 BCE).⁶⁰

Here I use both terms as Pliny the Younger did—that is, porticus as a walkway delimited by columns (for example, 20–5–3 in Villa San Marco, Figure 2.33) and cryptoporticus as both an above-ground covered and enclosed passageway with side walls and windows on one or both sides (for example, 13 and 24 in Villa Oplontis A, Figures 2.16–17).

A DAILY LIFE OF EDUCATED LEISURE

In Pliny the Younger's letters, the presentation of a daily life of *otium*, and of the spaces that facilitated it, is specifically presented from the owner's point of view. The descriptions of daily life are not complete—they merge one activity with another, one space into another—and form part of the organizational strategy of Pliny's letters.⁶¹ His presentation of the daily schedule at the villa are fairly abstract constructs of generic experience (cf. *Ep.* 1.3). Rather than providing a firm indication of the ways in which the segments of the day were arranged, they comprise a list of activities that Pliny considered appropriate and significant enough to include in his letters. For Pliny, the most important activity at the villa was the production of literature. He presents his villas as 'factories of literature'—to quote Stanley Hoffer—where literary creation balances and justifies the luxurious life of *otium* in the countryside, and gives a structure to his day.⁶² He orders his daily regime around the intellectual activities of reading and writing, which he stages around the architectural structures of the porticus and cryptoporticus, and other spaces.⁶³ One organizational principle is the quality of the spaces that accommodated the educated life of leisure, and he rotates his daily

⁶⁰ F. Pesando and M. P. Guidobaldi, *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, Guide archeologiche Laterza 14 (Rome 2006) 51; W. O. Moeller, 'The Building of Eumachia: A Reconsideration', *AJA* 76 (1972) 323–7; W. O. Moeller, 'The Date and Dedication of the Building of Eumachia', *CronPomp* 1 (1975) 232–6; K. Wallat, *Die Ostseite des Forums von Pompeji* (Frankfurt am Main 1997) 62–71; Luschin, *Cryptoporticus*, 86–90; E. Fentress, 'On the Block: Catastae, Chalcidica and Cryptae in Early Imperial Italy', *JRA* 18 (2005) 220–35, at 225–9; on the conflation of the terms porticus and crypta see: *Förtsch*, 42 (ch. 2.2.2); Luschin, *Cryptoporticus*, 17–19.

⁶¹ Riggsby, 'Pliny in Space (and Time)', 172–7.

⁶² Hoffer, *The Anxieties of Pliny*, 29–44 ('Villas: Factories of Literature'). Riggsby, 'Pliny in Space (and Time)'.

⁶³ Ludolph, *Epistolographie und Selbstdarstellung*, 121–32 ('3. Epist. 1.3').

regime in search of the best possible conditions.⁶⁴ In so doing, he gives information not only about the activities elite owners engaged in at their villas but also about the architectural design choices that shaped such spaces.

Pliny's descriptions suggest that villa owners conducted their intellectual activities (and generally passed some hours of their day) walking in, or sitting and relaxing in, open-air promenades (usually called *xystus*),⁶⁵ which were shaded by the adjacent, or nearby, porticus or cryptoporticus.⁶⁶ His description of summer days at his villa in Tuscany indicates that he would write in the porticus and cryptoporticus (*Ep.* 9.36.1–3. Trans. B. Radice, Loeb edn):

Evigilo cum libuit, plerumque circa horam primam, saepe ante, tardius raro. clausae fenestras manent; mire enim silentio et tenebris ab iis quae avocant abductus et liber et mihi relictus, non oculos animo sed animum oculis sequor, qui eadem quae mens vident, quotiens non vident alia. cogito si quid in manibus, cogito ad verbum scribenti emendantique similis, nunc pauciora nunc plura, ut vel difficile vel facile componi tenerive potuerunt. notarium voco et die admissio quae formaveram dicto; abit rursusque revocatur rursusque dimittitur. ubi hora quarta vel quinta (neque enim certum dimensumque tempus), ut dies suasit, in xystum me vel cryptoporticum consero, reliqua meditor et dicto.

I wake when I like, usually after about sunrise, often earlier but rarely later. My shutters stay closed, for in the stillness and darkness I feel myself surprisingly detached from any distractions and left to myself in freedom; my eyes do not determine the direction of my thinking, but, being unable to see anything, they are guided to visualize my thoughts. If I have anything on hand I work it out in my head, choosing and correcting the wording, and the amount I achieve depends on the ease or difficulty with which my thoughts can be marshalled and kept in my head. Then I call my secretary, the shutters are opened, and I dictate what I have put into shape; he goes out, is recalled, and again dismissed. Three or four hours after I first wake (but I don't keep to fixed times) I betake myself according to the weather either to the *xystus* or to the cryptoporticus, work out the rest of my subject and dictate it.

As in the description of the above-ground cryptoporticus at his Laurentine villa (*Ep.* 2.17.16–19), here again Pliny defines its function on the basis of its environmental qualities: the decisive factor for preferring the cryptoporticus to the *xystus* was the weather; otherwise both structures offered their owner a comparable workspace. In fact this choice was easily provided in both of Pliny's villas, where a cryptoporticus and/or a porticus were positioned next to a *xystus* (*Ep.* 2.17.17, 5.6.16).

⁶⁴ Riggsby, 'Pliny in Space (and Time)', 172.

⁶⁵ Definition of Roman versus Greek usage of the term *xystus*: Vit., *De Arch.* 5.11.4; and also: 6.7.5.

⁶⁶ Although not all villa owners would have engaged in the tightly scheduled intellectual occupations that Cicero and Pliny the Younger describe, they give us an understanding of the daily rhythm in villas. On the daily life of *otium* in villas see: W. A. Laidlaw, 'Otium', *GaR* 15 (1968) 42–52, at 50–2; E. W. Leach, 'Otium as *Luxuria*: Economy of Status in the Younger Pliny's Letters', in R. Gibson and R. Morello (eds), *Re-Imagining Pliny the Younger, Arethusa* 36 (2003) 147–65.

The spaces of luxury villas gave their owners a number of alternative settings for their intellectual activities. In Villa Arianna A, the semi-underground cryptoporticus 71 has its back to the northeast, to the main body of the villa (Figure 2.26). It is 3.5 m wide and the part of it that has been excavated is 26.5 m long.⁶⁷ It extended further towards the southeast, where its entrance was located. It must have been accessed from the southwestern part of the atrium of the villa; there the crypta-ramp that leads to the terrace substructures to the northwest was accessible as well. A series of wide conical-shaped windows, with wide bases, along the southwest wall, illuminated the fine white-plastered interior. On the opposite northeast wall two wide funnel-shaped windows, not on the same axis as the southwest ones but with equal intervals between them, secured the airing of the cryptoporticus and of the crypta-ramp beside it. The southwest windows invited the warm setting sun inside the cryptoporticus. At the same time the northeast windows allowed a fresh breeze to come through the crypta-ramp from the sea and to reach the interior, thus making it an ideal space in which to sit and read or write.⁶⁸ The cryptoporticus opened to the southwest onto porticus 73, one column of which bore a water channel that fed the rectangular marble basin found near column A (the nearest column to cryptoporticus 71).⁶⁹ Through the garden, over the big peristylum-garden to the west, the owner would have enjoyed views of Mount Gragnano to the south (see Figure 2.27).

The sleeping rooms must have been located on the second floor, above rooms 1–13, A–F, and porticus 54, taking advantage of the views of Monte Faito and the bay of Naples. In the early morning, the owner would probably have kept his shutters closed to the north side, in order to prevent the morning sun from coming in (cf. Plin. *Ep.* 9.36.1–3, cited earlier). Afterwards, he could have used porticus 73 for his activities, because the cryptoporticus 71 and the floor above it would have provided shade during the early hours. If the weather was cold or too hot, he could have moved into cryptoporticus 71, where he could engage in intellectual activities while enjoying the view of the garden and the view of Monte Faito to the southwest. Other places in Villa Arianna A that would satisfy similar needs are the porticus of the big peristylum-garden (H).

In Villa Oplontis A (Figure 2.16), the owner had a choice between cryptoporticus 13 and 24 and porticus 40 looking to the south, porticus 60 looking to the east, porticus 56 and 76 looking west, and porticus 33 and 34 facing north. The

⁶⁷ Ciro Nappo, 'Villa Arianna', 56.

⁶⁸ Two niches of the cryptoporticus, one at its northwest short end (2.20 × 1 m), and another one along its northeast wall (3.5 × 1 m), must have been adorned with statues. However when the Bourbons excavated this area no plan was made and we have no documentation of the finds. Ciro Nappo, 'Villa Arianna', 53.

⁶⁹ Ciro Nappo, 'Villa Arianna', 56, 57, fig. 7.

choice of one porticus or cryptoporticus over another would have depended not only on the weather, but also on the mood and personal tastes of the owner. For example, porticus 33 and 34, facing north and with a smaller width and extent, would have been preferred on the hottest days of the summer or when the owners sought privacy. The fact that there was more than one space providing similar environmental advantages but to differing extents, indicates that the designer, responding to the requirements of the owner, intended to create a number of options for him.

Walks were part of the daily life of educated leisure that Pliny the Younger envisages, and he uses them as part of the organizational structure of his time. A walk offered opportunities to engage in intellectual discussions, or to take a break from them.⁷⁰ Pliny, continuing the description of his summer days in his villa in Tuscany (*Ep.* 9.36.1–3), went for a walk after finishing the dictation of the piece on which he had been working since he woke up (3–4. Trans. B. Radice, Loeb edn):

Vehiculum ascendo. Ibi quoque idem quod ambulans aut iacens; durat intentio mutatione ipsa refecta. Paulum redormio, dein ambulo, mox orationem Graecam Latinamve clare et intente non tam vocis causa quam stomachi lego; partier tamen et illa firmatur. Iterum ambulo ungor exerceor labor. Cenanti mihi, si cum uxore vel paucis, liber legitur; post cenam comoedia aut lyristes; mox cum meis ambulo, quorum in numero sunt eruditi. Ita variis sermonibus vespera extenditur, et quamquam longissimus dies bene conditur.

I go for a drive, and spend the time in the same way as when walking or lying down; my powers of concentration do not flag and are in fact refreshed by the change. After a short sleep and another walk I read a Greek or a Latin speech aloud with emphasis, not so much for the sake of my voice as my digestion, though of course both are strengthened by this. Then I have another walk, am oiled, take exercise, and have a bath. If I am dining alone with my wife or with a few friends, a book is read aloud during the meal and afterwards we listen to a comedy or some music; then I walk again with the members of my household, some of whom are well educated. Thus the evening is prolonged with varied conversation, and even when the days are at their longest, comes to a satisfying end.

As Pliny's description indicates, for their longer walks villa owners travelled in carriages outside their estates. For their shorter walks however, after a mid-day nap, after reading to aid the digestion, after taking exercise, and after dinner, owners must have used the numerous long walkways (porticus, cryptoporticus, and xystus) inside the villas. A quick count of the total length of the walkways in Villa Arianna A and the Villa of the Papyri is telling. In Villa Arianna A the big

⁷⁰ Cic. *De Orat.* 2.20. Leach, 'Otium as *Luxuria*', 160–5; Leach, *The Social Life of Painting*, 37; O'Sullivan, *The Mind in Motion*, 38; O'Sullivan, 'The Mind in Motion: Walking and Metaphorical Travel in the Roman Villa', *CP* 101 (2006) 133–52.

peristyle garden (H–Z) (Figure 2.26) had a colonnaded walkway at least 332 m long around the rectangular garden; and in the Villa of the Papyri the big peristylum–garden (57–61) (Figure 2.1) had a 280 m-long colonnaded walkway. Walking would give a functional justification to the proliferation of these elements in luxury villa architecture. The colonnaded walkways would have offered shaded and pleasant areas to those who wished to take advantage of them, at all the hours of the day.⁷¹

In Villa Oplontis A (Figures 2.16–17), porticus 60 and porticus 56, surrounding the east wing of the villa, provided for walks at different times of the day: porticus 56 at the west side for the morning hours, when the rooms behind it gave shade from the rising sun, and porticus 60 at the east side for the evening hours, when the rooms behind it offered shade from the setting sun. Both walks were equally pleasing, one along the big park-like garden, the other along swimming pool 96 and garden 98. Room 69 linked one to the other and provided ventilation for both, a concern that is expressed by Pliny (*Ep.* 2.17.17). The series cryptoporticus 13–cryptoporticus 24–porticus 40 protected the villa's south-facing interior spaces during the summer and created a chain of walkways with a view of the sea. In Villa San Marco (Figure 2.33), porticus 20, 5a, 5b, and 3 formed a U-shaped enclosure that confined garden 9 with pool 15 in the middle, which provided a walkway protected from the west and thus suitable for the evening hours; cryptoporticus 51 and 7 allowed for walks open to the southeast suitable for the midday; and porticus 1 and 2 enabled walks open to the west, suitable for the morning hours. The choice would have depended on the time of the day, as well as on the weather.

An examination of the construction dates of porticus and cryptoporticus in these examples suggests that such structures appear after the middle of the first century BCE and become very popular at the beginning of the first century CE. In the Villa of the Papyri, the big peristylum–garden and the cryptoporticus to its southwest were added towards the end of the first century BCE.⁷² In Villa Arianna A, cryptoporticus 71 dates from the Augustan period and the big peristylum–garden from the Claudio-Neronian period.⁷³ In Villa Oplontis A the porticus (33, 34) and cryptoporticus (13, 24) around the atrium were constructed during the Augustan period, while the porticus (40, 56, 60) and cryptoporticus (46) of the

⁷¹ On light effects in cryptoporticus: A. Blanas, 'Kryptoportiken', in W.-D. Heilmeyer and W. Hoepfner (eds), *Licht und Architektur*, Schriften des Seminars für Klassische Archäologie der Freien Universität Berlin (Tübingen 1990) 115–20; *Förtsch*, 45–7, ch. 2.4.3. On climatic conditions as factors in villa design: M. Zarmakoupi, 'Designing the landscapes of the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta', in D. Kurtz et al. (eds), *Essays in Classical Archaeology for Eleni Hatzivassiliou 1977–2007*, Studies in classical archaeology 4 (Oxford 2008) 269–76, at 271–2.

⁷² *Wojcik*, 35–8.

⁷³ Ciro Nappo, 'Villa Arianna', 54–7; Bonifacio and Sodo, *Stabiae: Guida archeologica*, 155–66.

east wing were built around the middle of the first century CE.⁷⁴ In Villa San Marco, porticus 1 and 2, which date from the Augustan period, became parts of the villa during the Claudio-Neronian era. At this time the owner of Villa San Marco took possession of the villa next door, to which they originally belonged, and connected porticus 1 and 2 to porticus 3 through ramp 4.⁷⁵ That owner added the arch-shaped cryptoporticus 62–63 with the nymphaeum facing (64–65) and also porticus 51 at the southeast.⁷⁶ He probably tripled the length of walkways within his villa, if one judges from the size of the remains, and also created a monumental villa façade.

As elite Romans augmented their properties, designers used the porticus structures to strengthen the monumental character of the villas and to provide spaces that accommodated the owners' daily activities. In doing so, I propose, architects modified the shape of the porticus and created the cryptoporticus as an alternative solution for daily life in villas: a walkway that had closed walls, instead of an open-air colonnade (xystus or porticus), the air, light, and temperature of which could be regulated, and in which owners could work or walk protected from the elements. As I noted earlier, Pliny the Younger's descriptions emphasize the role of environmental qualities (*Ep.* 2.17.16–19, cf. *Ep.* 9.7.4) and indicate that a cryptoporticus would have been used instead of an open-air walkway because of the protection it offered from the elements (*Ep.* 9.36.3). It is possible that the trend of rebuilding and appropriating properties gave designers the opportunity to develop an architectural response to the owners' evolving needs; and possible too that Pliny the Younger coined the term cryptoporticus to describe it.

Whether the precedents of the cryptoporticus were found in Hellenistic architecture in Asia Minor,⁷⁷ we cannot ascertain; however as Luschin's analysis has shown, the cryptoporticus did bear similarities to the covered passageway around the Nile ship of Ptolemy IV.⁷⁸ It is probable that Roman designers were fascinated by the architecture of travel just as Le Corbusier was by steam-powered ocean liners in the twentieth century, as we can see in his influential publication *Vers une architecture* in 1923.⁷⁹ Such powerful engineering objects embodied for modern architects a rigorous expression of function, and in their effort to forge an architecture of 'the new era' they used them as prototypes; for example, Le

⁷⁴ Fergola and Pagano, *Oplontis*, 30–1, 49, 56–7, 60–2, 66–8; Fergola, 'La Villa di Poppea', 23–4; Thomas and Clarke, 'The Oplontis Project 2005–6: Observations', 226–32.

⁷⁵ Rougetet, 'L'architettura. I. Construction et architecture', 53, 56.

⁷⁶ Blanc, 'Le nymphée de la Villa San Marco', 81.

⁷⁷ Luschin, *Cryptoporticus*, 24–8.

⁷⁸ Luschin, *Cryptoporticus*, 15–17. On the Nile ship of Ptolemy see: F. Caspari, 'Das Nilschiff Ptolemaios IV', *JdI* 31 (1916) 1–74.

⁷⁹ Le Corbusier, *Vers une architecture* (Paris 1923) 76; W. J. R. Curtis, *Modern Architecture Since 1900*, 3rd edn (London 1996) 168–9.

Corbusier emulated the slick design of industrial interiors in the ramp in Villa Savoye (Poissy, 1928–31). The post-war generation of the so-called ‘New Brutalists’ made explicit reference to such structures—for instance, the shape of Wyndham Court in Southampton (1966), a council housing block designed by the firm Lyons Israel Ellis, emulated the form of a Cunard steamer. This is perhaps the best analogy for the evocation of the architecture of travel, if we accept that the covered passageway around the Nile ship of Ptolemy IV inspired the design of the cryptoporticus.⁸⁰

PRACTICALITIES: CIRCULATION AND ACCESS

Pliny the Younger’s letters indicate another important function of porticus and cryptoporticus within the villa: circulation. As walkways, porticus and cryptoporticus connected sections of the villa and gave access to the rooms along their way. Indeed, they served to structure the narrative as Pliny the Younger guided his readers through the various rooms and spaces of his villas (*Ep.* 2.17.4–5, 16–19; 5.6.19–22, 27–31). As designers stretched out the villas’ spaces onto the landscape, the porticus and cryptoporticus created different ways to access those spaces. The numerous choices, suited to a range of weather conditions, satisfied various requirements in the circulation plan of the villas.

In Villa Oplontis A (Figures 2.16–17) the parallel porticus 40 and cryptoporticus 24 provided different ways to access the east wing from the central body of the villa, and I propose that they served distinct purposes. In this villa there were two ways to go from the central atrium 5 towards the big reception rooms 78, 61/65, 69, and 73/74, as well as the north room symmetrical to room 78, at the east wing of the villa. I focus here on the route to one of the rooms, room 78. The first option was through cryptoporticus 24 and porticus 40. Cryptoporticus 24, accessed from the southeast corner of the atrium, led to porticus 40, which ran round garden 59, and led through passages 81 and 91 to the big reception room 78. The second approach to room 78 was from cryptoporticus 46, which could be reached from the northeast corner of the atrium through corridor 4, room 27, and peristyle 32. Cryptoporticus 46 led directly to porticus 60 to the north of the east wing of the villa, and through corridor 76 again to the big reception room (78).

I suggest that the first route was intended for leisurely walks of the owner and his friends, whereas the second was for the everyday operations of the villa. Following the first route, cryptoporticus 24 led at its eastern end to porticus

⁸⁰ O. Hatherley, *Militant Modernism* (Winchester, UK 2008) 7.

40, which ran round garden 59, and at its west end led through corridor 76 to the north area of the east wing and through room 79 to the large reception room 78 (see Figures 3.4–9). The only visual connection with the interior of the villa was through corridor 37 to peristyle 32. Although cubacula 23, 25, 38, and 41 open onto cryptoporticus 24, their doors could have been shut, and porticus 40 did not give access to any room until it reached corridors 76/81. Thus the owner and his friends could have enjoyed a relaxed promenade: first in cryptoporticus 24, viewing the sea at the south of the villa, and then around porticus 40, looking out onto garden 59. Taking this route, the owner could have led his guests to the large reception room 78 without much interaction with the villa's interior. Porticus 40, corridor 81, and room 79 were adorned with paintings and mosaics of the same character (see Figures 3.4, 3.8, 4.16),⁸¹ providing a stylistically unified setting for this stroll.

The second route passed through what is generally interpreted as the service area of the house.⁸² This impression is based on the assumption that the so-called zebra-stripe decoration in peristyle 32, the rooms around it, and cryptoporticus 46, was intended for service areas (see Figures 2.20–21).⁸³ However, studies by Corrado Goulet (2001) and Laken (2003) have shown that the zebra patterns were in fact more rich and decorative than their current state suggests, and that the areas in which the patterns appeared may have been incorrectly assigned as



FIG. 3.4 Villa Oplontis A, view inside cryptoporticus 24 towards porticus 40. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

⁸¹ Fergola and Pagano, *Oplontis*, 57–8.

⁸² Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society*, 39.

⁸³ C. Corrado Goulet, 'The "Zebra Stripe" Design', 74–83, figs. 43–68; L. Laken, 'Zebra patterns', 177–81, figs. 20–3.

FIG. 3.5 Villa Oplontis A, exit door from cryptoporticus 24 to porticus 40 (passing the 'scytale' to porticus 40). Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali—Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

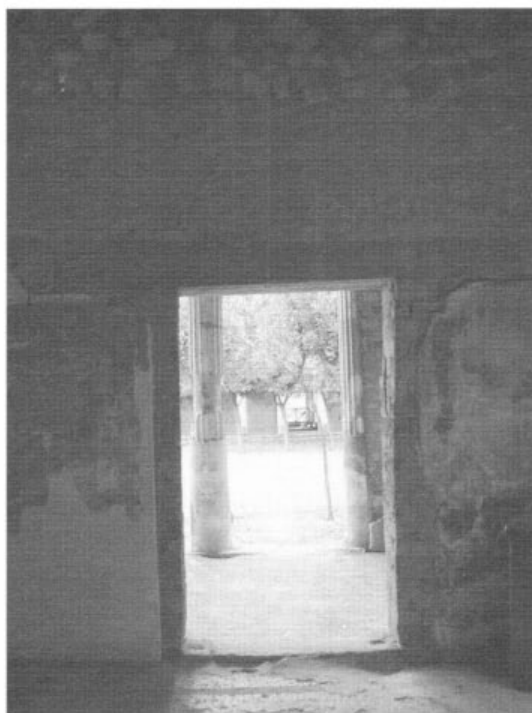


FIG. 3.6 Villa Oplontis, view from cryptoporticus 24 through corridor 37 to atrium 32. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali—Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

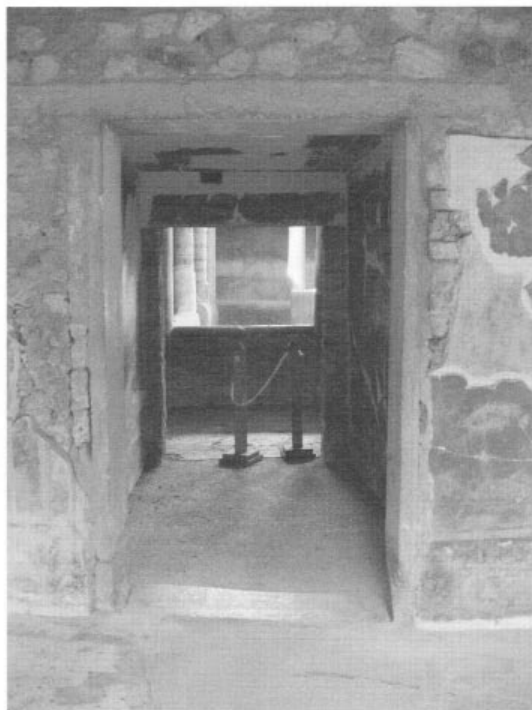
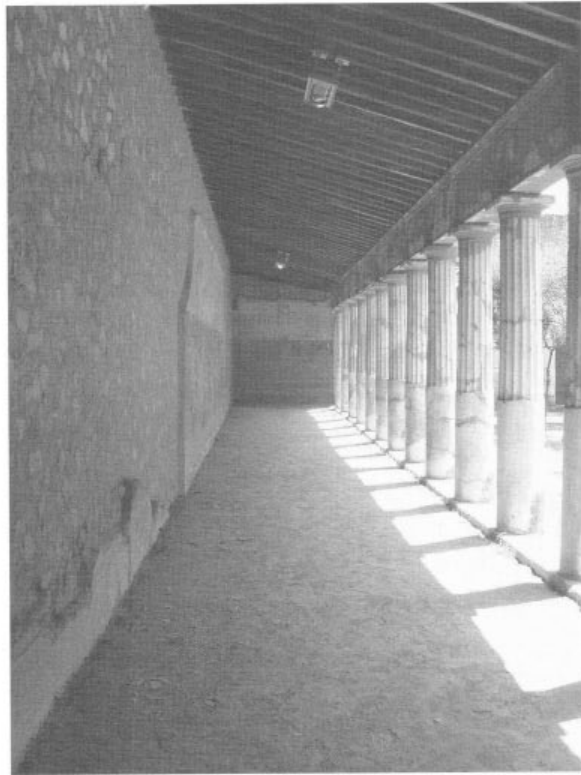




FIG. 3.7 Villa Oplontis A, view of the porticus 40 enclosing garden 59. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

FIG. 3.8 Villa Oplontis A, view inside the north wing of porticus 40. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



servile. The ‘stripes’ were originally black waves, blended to achieve a gradation that would result in the appearance of simulated marble, as the best-preserved examples indicate.⁸⁴ The design did adorn service or secondary areas but it would not only appear in those spaces. It featured in parts of public buildings that were not well lit, that were inclined, angled, or curved, or not much trafficked—such as

⁸⁴ Corrado Goulet, ‘The “Zebra Stripe” Design’, 56–8.

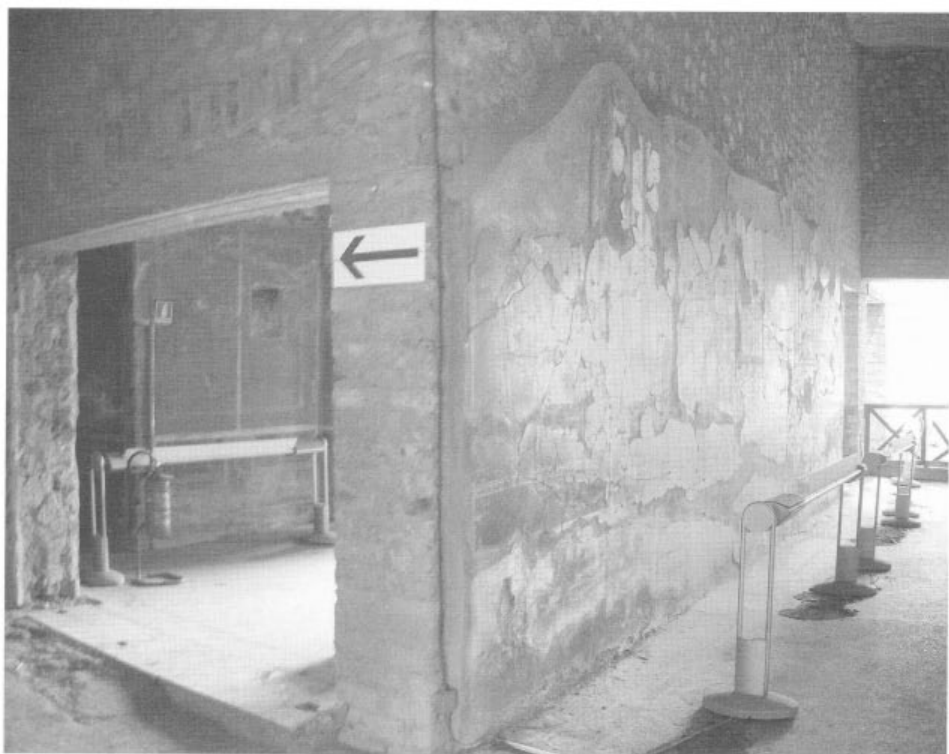


FIG. 3.9 Villa Oplontis A: view from passage 81, towards room 79 and reception room 78. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

corridor H in the Stabian Baths at Pompeii,⁸⁵ the interior passageways of the amphitheatre at Pompeii,⁸⁶ and the cryptoporticus in the palaestra of *Insula Orientalis II* at Herculaneum.⁸⁷ In private dwellings the design occurred in entrances, corridors, and passages, for example the corridors in the apartment complex above the Suburban Baths in Pompeii⁸⁸ and in the fauces, vestibulum, and passage E of the House of C. Iulius Polybius (IX 13, 1–3).⁸⁹ The zebra pattern was probably intended to create an eye-catching and repetitive image that would encourage movement in the more public areas of a house rather than signifying service areas.⁹⁰ They were ‘directional markers’ for owners and visitors, as well as slaves. In fact, rooms 35, 48, 49, 51, 50, and 53 in Villa Oplontis A, which do not

⁸⁵ Corrado Goulet, ‘The “Zebra Stripe” Design’, 63–5, figs. 18–19; Laken, ‘Zebrapatterns’, 182.

⁸⁶ Corrado Goulet, ‘The “Zebra Stripe” Design’, 62–3, figs. 11–12; Laken, ‘Zebrapatterns’, 181, fig. 8.

⁸⁷ Corrado Goulet, ‘The “Zebra Stripe” Design’, 67–8, figs. 25–6; Laken, ‘Zebrapatterns’, 177, figs. 5–6.

⁸⁸ Corrado Goulet, ‘The “Zebra Stripe” Design’; Laken, ‘Zebrapatterns’, 174–5, fig. 17.

⁸⁹ Corrado Goulet, ‘The “Zebra Stripe” Design’, 86–8, figs. 80–5; Laken, ‘Zebrapatterns’, 175–6, figs. 18–19.

⁹⁰ Corrado Goulet, ‘The “Zebra Stripe” Design’, 59–62; Laken, ‘Zebrapatterns’, 176–7.

bear zebra patterns but white Third Style wall paintings, are the only rooms for which the archaeological record attests the use as service areas.⁹¹

The zebra patterns in the spaces of this second route provided a unified decorative style and guided individuals walking towards the eastern part of the house from atrium 5. Visitors would have been led through room 27, peristyle 32 into cryptoporticus 46 (see Figure 3.10), where they could be seated on the benches along it waiting to be received by the owner of the villa, or a member of his staff (see Figure 2.21). Their view would have been directed through the zebra patterns of the cryptoporticus and the opening of porticus 60 onto the pool and garden complex (80, 96, 98; see Figure 3.11). Above the zebra patterns the wall decoration consisted of white rectangular panels adorned with garlands and aediculae: and the ceiling presents panels in a style comparable to that of the *Domus Aurea*. This large cryptoporticus measuring 4 m wide by 30 m long and at least 4 m tall was an appropriate area for business guests as it gave relatively restricted access to the villa: following this route visitors would not glimpse the activities around porticus 40, cryptoporticus 24, and the cubicula to which they provided access. Additionally, cryptoporticus 46 provided direct access through porticus 60 to the reception and dining areas of the east wing. This unified decorative environment would have guided the movement of dinner participants taking place in this area as well as slaves assigned to serving the dinner.⁹²

It is clear that the designer(s) intended a clear-cut separation between the two ways of entering the eastern wing of the villa. Although cryptoporticus 46 ran



FIG. 3.10 Villa Oplontis, atrium 32, view from the north porticus towards passages 45 and 46. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

⁹¹ Fergola and Pagan, *Oplontis*, 51.

⁹² See chapter 6.

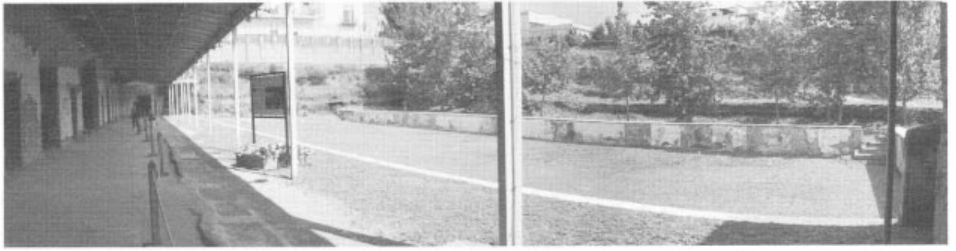


FIG. 3.11 Villa Oplontis: upon exiting cryptoporticus 46, view of porticus 60 and pool garden complex 80, 96, 98. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

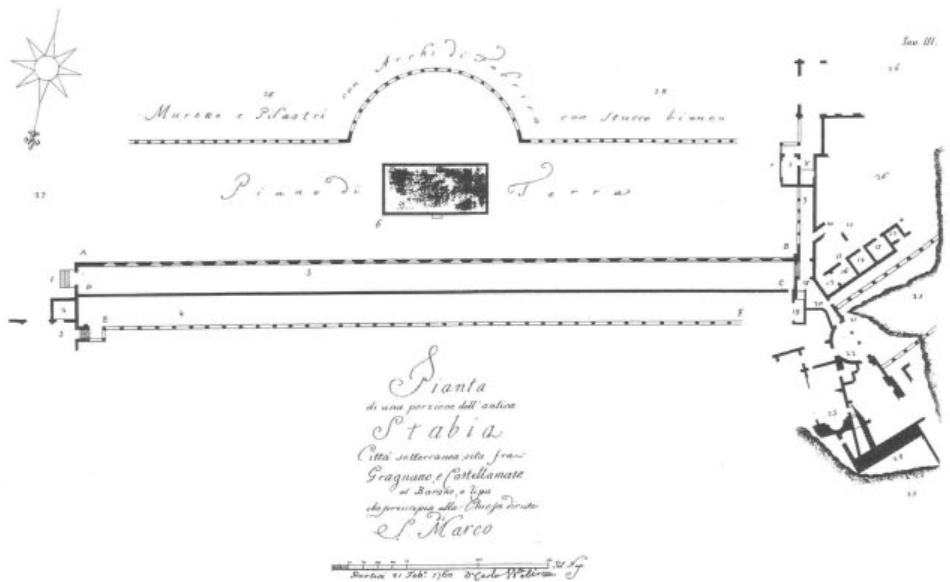


FIG. 3.12 Villa Fusco, or Villa del Pastore, plan Karl Webers plan. Reproduced in Parslow 1995.

parallel to the north wing of porticus 40, there was no direct connection between them. The deliberate separation between a porticus and a cryptoporticus often occurs in luxury villa architecture, for example, in Villa San Marco, Villa of the Papyri and Villa Fusco (or Villa del Pastore), where a long cryptoporticus existed right next to an equally long porticus and/or a xystus, with access only at the beginning and end of the walkways (cf. Figures 2.1, 2.33, and 3.12). Furthermore, in both Pliny's villas, a cryptoporticus or a porticus was positioned next to a xystus (*Ep.* 2.17.17, 5.6.16). Villa Oplontis A elucidates the concept behind this design. The entire east part of the villa, starting from the beginning of

cryptoporticus 46, was built around the middle of the first century CE.⁹³ It was during this period that cryptoporticus 24, together with the new porticus 40, were painted in the Fourth Style, and peristyle 32, the rooms around it, and cryptoporticus 46 were painted in zebra patterns. These designs present a unified and distinctive architecture and decor. These two routes to the east wing were part of the circulation plan of the project initiated at this time. The designer(s) aimed to provide two types of access to the villa's east wing, one more private, the other more public, and clearly distinguished from each other in terms of decoration.

CONCLUSION

While the use of porticus in villa architecture points to the assimilation of the architectural repertoire of Hellenistic and Roman public buildings into the private sphere, the invention of the cryptoporticus structure exemplifies the ways in which Roman designers further appropriated this repertoire and developed new architectural forms that would create alternatives for the daily life of *otium* in villas. Designers employed the porticus and cryptoporticus as elements of the villas' circulation plan as well as a way to create two socially distinct entrances to the villa's spaces.

It is not surprising that Pliny the Younger used porticus as one of the architectural structures around which to order his daily regime. The porticus served as connecting elements, passages, providing access to different areas of the villa; they were the organizational elements in its design. Additionally, as architects added new wings to a villa, they would use porticus structures not only to grant access to the newly added sections but also to give the villa a unified façade. The monumental appearance of these structures greatly appealed to elite owners, who associated houses with personal commemoration,⁹⁴ and it was noted by contemporary writers, such as Pliny the Younger and Statius, and the painters of the pinakes of the late Third and Fourth Styles.

The use of porticus in villa architecture, however, was not merely an allusion to the public and monumental character of these structures. Porticus became the architectural expression of a new era. The structural capabilities of the technological advances of the period allowed Roman designers to build monumental

⁹³ Clarke, 'The Early Third Style'; S. De Caro, 'Oplontis', in M. R. Panetta (ed.), *Pompeii: Storia, vita e arte della città sepolta* (Vercelli 2005) 372–98; Thomas and Clarke, 'The Oplontis Project 2005–6: Observations', 224–32.

⁹⁴ Bodel, 'Monumental Villas and Villa Monuments'; J. Griesbach, *Villen und Gräber: Siedlungs- und Bestattungsplätze der römischen Kaiserzeit im Suburbium von Rom*, *Internationale Archäologie* 103 (Rahden 2007).

colonnades with unprecedented rapidity and at a lower cost. Whereas the columns of Greek stoai and Roman public porticus were made of marble, the columns of the porticus in villas were constructed in *opus caementicium* and coated with stucco. For Roman architects, as well as their patrons, these colonnades must have epitomized the achievements of the new techniques, just as the pilotis' design epitomized for modern architects the wonders of reinforced concrete in the new industrialized era of the twentieth century. In fact, a claim made by Statius in his praise of Pollius' villa in Surrentum is pertinent here. The porticus is the first architectural structure, the 'starting point', that he used in his metaphor for human mastery and domination of nature.

FOUR

Porticoed gardens

In Roman domestic architecture the spacious porticoed gardens, which were added in the late second century BCE, emulated the royal and public architecture of the Hellenistic East and particularly the architectural settings of the Greek educational institutions, the gymnasia. These structures represented the education and culture of the villas' owners in the Greek style. The porticoed garden was a novel architectural form. It shows the ways in which Romans developed a new design language between architecture and landscape, by incorporating and appropriating the stylistic and thematic vocabularies of Hellenistic and Roman architecture. The scheme of the peristyle garden was an ingenious appropriation of an existing architecture that satisfied both the wish to host Greek culture in the private sphere and the need to tame its corrupting influences, while articulating a growing appreciation for landscape, which Romans developed from the late Republic onwards. As architects transformed the Hellenistic-derived form of the rectangular peristyle into the more open arrangements of porticus structures (adjacent to gardens that gave stunning views of the surrounding landscape), artists moved away from the crowded perspectives of the Second Style to create the balanced compositions of the Fourth Style and appropriately embellish the large open spaces of the villa. By examining this new design and decorative language, my aim is to shed light on the ways in which the porticoed garden embodies the cultural negotiations of Roman elites, who were both flirting with the Greek style and articulating their very own appreciation of landscape. An appendix at (p. 245), where the porticoed gardens in the five villas (A–E) are described, provides archaeological evidence of these structures and will be returned to in this and the following chapters.

* A summary of an earlier version of this chapter has been published as 'The Architectural Design of the Peristylum–Garden in Early Roman Luxury Villas', in S. Ladstätter and V. Scheibelreiter (eds), *Städtisches Wohnen im östlichen Mittelmeerraum 4. Jh. v.–1. Jh. n. Chr.: Akten des Kolloquiums von 24.–27. 10. 2007 an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, DenkschrWien 397, Archäologische Forschungen 18 (Vienna 2010) 621–31.

PERISTYLIUM–GARDEN: ARCHITECTURAL VOCABULARY

The structure that we call a peristylum–garden is a peristyle with a big interior garden. This is a modern term conventional in scholarship on Roman domestic architecture—it was Swoboda who coined the term (*‘Gartenperistyl’*) and Grimal who further defined it (*‘jardin–peristyle’*).¹ Romans themselves used the words *palaestra* and *gymnasium* for the entire structure (e.g., Cic. *De Orat.* 1.98),² *peristylum*, *porticus*, and *ambulationes* for the colonnades and ambulatories (e.g., Vitruv. *De Arch.* 5.11.1),³ and the garden would be described as *silva viridicata* (green shrubberies; e.g., Cic. *Q Fr.* 3.1.3).⁴

Characteristic examples of this architecture are found in the big southwest peristylum–garden of the Villa of the Papyri (A.1, Figures 2.1, App.1), and in the west peristylum–garden H–Z of the Villa Arianna A (C.1, Figures 2.26, App.3)—these two examples also point to its variety in terms of scale (Table 1, p. 140).⁵ However, there are several variations of the type: instead of a four-sided portico, there is a three-sided one. The fourth side either opened to the landscape—for example, in Villa Oplontis A porticus 40 and garden 59 (B.2, Figures 2.16–17, App.2), and Villa San Marco porticus 1–2 and garden (E.2, Figures 2.33, App.5); it might be closed with a different architectural structure—for example, in the

¹ Swoboda, *Römische und romanische Paläste*, 5–28 (chapter 1, ‘Peristyle Paläste und Villen’), esp. 14–20; Grimal, *Les jardins romains*, 226–9. For the visual potency and spatial dynamics in these structures see: Drerup, ‘Die römische Villa’; Drerup, ‘Bildraum und Realraum’; B. Fehr, ‘Plattform und Blickbasis’, *MarbWPr* (1969) 31–67; F. Rakob ‘Der Bauplan einer kaiserlichen Villa’, in W. Hartman (ed.), *Festschrift Klaus Lankheit: Zum 20. Mai 1973* (Cologne 1973) 113–25.

² *Nunc, quoniam uterque vestrum patefecit earum ipsarum rerum aditum, quas quaerimus, et quoniam princeps Crassus eius sermonis ordiendi fuit, date nobis hanc veniam, ut ea, quae sentitis de omni genere dicendi, subtiliter persequamini; quod quidem si erit a vobis impetratum, magnam habebō, Crasse, huic palaestrae et Tusculano tuo gratiam et longe Academiae illi ac Lycio tuum hoc suburbanum gymnasium antepōnam.* ‘Now then that each of you has opened up a way of reaching these very objects of our quest, and since it was Crassus who led off this discussion, grant us the favour of recounting the exactness of detail, your respective opinions upon every branch of oratory. If we do win this boon from you both, I shall be deeply grateful, Crassus, to this school in your Tusculan villa, and shall rank these semi-rural training-quarters of yours far above the illustrious Academy and the Lyceum.’ Cic. *De Orat.* 1.98. Trans. E. W. Sutton, Loeb edn.

³ *... in palaestris peristylia quadrata sive oblonga ita sunt facienda, uti duorum stadiorum habeant ambulationis circumitionem, quod Graeci vocant diaulon, ex quibus tres porticus simplices disponantur...* ‘...in palaestras square or oblong peristyles should be made so that their perimeter measures two stades, which the Greek call diaulos; three of these porticoes will be laid out as single...’ Vitruv. *De Arch.* 5.11.1. Trans. I. D. Rowland in I. D. Rowland and T. N. Howe (eds), *Vitruvius: Ten Books on Architecture*, Translation by I. D. Rowland, Commentary and Illustrations by T. N. Howe (Cambridge 1999) 73. Another good example on the use of palaestra, gymnasium, and porticus: Cic. *De Orat.* 2.21.

⁴ *Equidem hoc quod melius intellego adfirmo, mirifica suavitate villam habiturum piscina et salientibus additis, palaestra et silva viridicata.* ‘For my part, I can assure you of this, which is more in my line, that you will have a villa marvellously pleasant, with the addition of a fish-pond, spouting fountains, a palaestra, and green shrubberies.’ Cic. *Q Fr.* 3.1.3. Trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Loeb edn.

⁵ The peristylia/porticus–gardens of the five villas and the percentage of peristylia/porticus–gardens in relation to the overall area of the villas are listed in Tables 1 and 2 at p. 140.

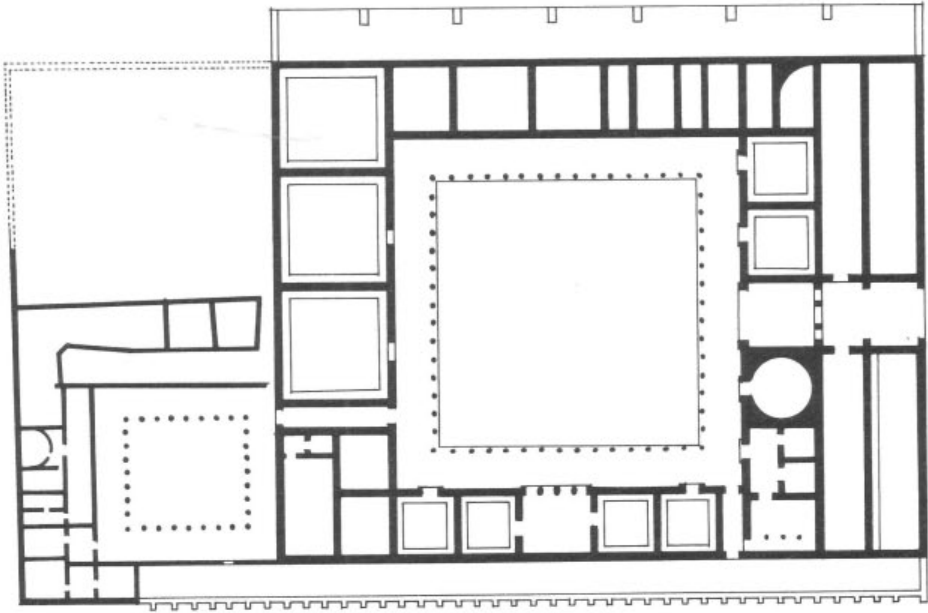


FIG. 4.1 Hellenistic palace in Aigai, plan (plan based on: D. Panderimalis, 'Beobachtungen zur Fassadenarchitektur und Aussichtsveranda in hellenistischen Makedonien', in P. Zanker (ed.), *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien: Kolloquium in Göttingen vom 5. bis 9. Juni 1974* (Göttingen 1976) 387–95, fig. 1). © Mantha Zarmakoupi.

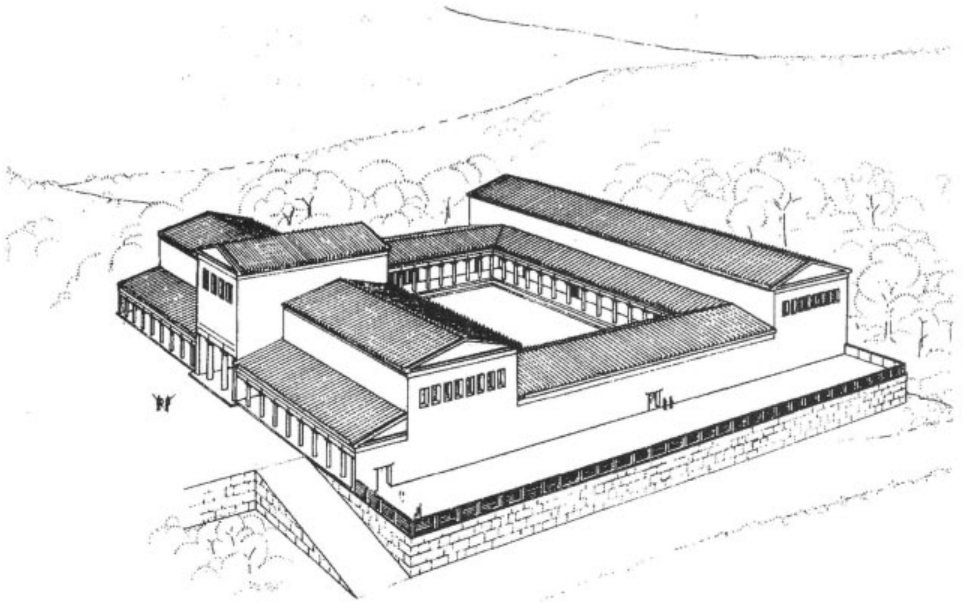
arched cryptoporticus structure in Villa San Marco (62–63 in peristylum–garden 3–5–20–9 [E.1]) and a blind wall in Villa Arianna B (in peristylum–garden 1 [D.1], Figures 2.32, App.4). In some cases the rectangular peristyle would be abandoned altogether and porticus structures would form loose or unconfined design compositions with the garden, as in the north porticus–garden 33–34–56 in Villa Oplontis A (B.4), and the central porticus–garden in Villa Arianna A, between porticus 73 and U (C.2). In these cases, there is no longer a peristylum structure; Swoboda's term '*Portikusvilla*' is more suitable than 'peristylum–garden'.⁶

There are two elements in the architectural language of these structures: the porticus—whether in the form of a peristylum or just loose formations of porticus structures—and the large pleasure garden. Peristyles featured prominently in Hellenistic palaces and houses (for example, in Pella, Aigai, and Demetrias; see Figures 4.1–2),⁷ but they did not provide the prototype for the peristyles

⁶ Swoboda, *Römische und romanische Paläste*, 29–60 (chapter 2, 'Die Portikusvilla').

⁷ I. Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces*, 81–94; M. Siganidou, 'Die Basileia von Pella', in W. Hoepfner and G. Brands (eds), *Basileia: Die Paläste der hellenistischen Könige: Internationales Symposium in Berlin vom 16.12.1992 bis 20.12.1992*, Schriften des Seminars für Klassische Archäologie der Freien Universität Berlin (Mainz am Rhein 1996) 144–7; P. Marzolff, 'Der Palast von Demetrias', in W. Hoepfner and G. Brands (eds), *Basileia: Die Paläste der hellenistischen Könige: Internationales Symposium in Berlin vom 16.12.1992 bis 20.12.1992*, Schriften des Seminars für Klassische Archäologie der Freien Universität Berlin (Mainz am Rhein 1996) 148–63.

FIG. 4.2 Hellenistic palace in Aigai. Reconstruction of the main palace (Source: D. Pandermalis, 'Η κεράμωση του ανακτόρου της Βεργίνιας', in *Αμνητός, τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Μανώλη Ανδρόνικο*; [Salonica 1987] 579–605, fig. 17).



that entered Roman domestic architecture in the late second century BCE (as seen in the House of the Faun and the House of the Labyrinth at Pompeii, or in the house that was subsequently incorporated in Augustus' house on the Palatine). The peristyles of Hellenistic palaces and private residences were central in the organization of those buildings whereas the peristyles of Roman houses were, at first, 'add-ons' to the existing structure around the atrium. As Dickmann's analysis has shown, they were at first inserted as a culturally alien (Greek) element in the house, and only later incorporated in the life of the house.⁸ The resonance of these peristyles is perhaps best understood in relation to their representations in late Second Style wall paintings—for instance the double-tiered colonnade represented on the east wall of room 15 in Villa Oplontis A. As discussed in the previous chapter, with the incorporation of monumental public structures in domestic architecture, Roman architects began to emulate both the *luxuria* of the Hellenistic East and the grandiose character of Roman public architecture.

But it was not merely the public, monumental, and sumptuous character of these structures to which Romans aspired. The peristylum and porticus structures embodied the architectural forms of the Greek educational institution, the

⁸ J.-A. Dickmann, 'The Peristyle and the Transformation of Domestic Space in Hellenistic Pompeii', in R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds), *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond*, JRA Supplement 22 (Portsmouth, RI 1997) 121–36.

⁹ Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, 169–90 ('Baths and Gymnasia').

gymnasium, as is evident from literary sources.⁹ It is not by chance that Latin authors located philosophical discussions in the peristylum–garden. Their appropriateness as settings for philosophical discourse is explicitly stated by Q. Lutatius Catulus in a conversation that Cicero tells us took place at L. Licinius Crassus' Tusculan villa in 91 BCE (written in 55 BCE; Cic. *De Orat.* 2.20).¹⁰

Hellenistic gymnasia were institutions for the education of the youth. Their purpose was to promote physical exercise, but foremost the cultivation of the mind.¹¹ Cicero used 'palaestra' and 'gymnasium' interchangeably to signify the porticoed gardens in his villas, whereas in its original context the word 'gymnasium' signified the institution, and the words 'palaestrae' and 'stoai' its architectural forms.¹² It is interesting that at first the activities of the gymnasium took place in parks, in which groves, bowers, and huts served for its practices.¹³ When the first buildings of the gymnasium-institution appeared, they had various functions, and took the architectural form of a peristyle courtyard, the palaestra. The first archaeological attestation of a palaestra of a Hellenistic gymnasium dates from the early Hellenistic period.¹⁴ It is in the Akademia in northwest Athens,¹⁵ where Hyperides mentions a *παλαίστρα* built before 323

⁹ Quoted in chapter three.

¹⁰ H. I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*, 6th rev. and enlarged edn (Paris 1965) 197–201; Delorme, *Gymnasion*, 260.

¹² A lot of ink has been spilled on the terms used to describe the institution and/or its structures, and some confusion remains: Delorme, *Gymnasion*; S. L. Glass, 'The Greek Gymnasium: Some Problems', in W. J. Raschke (ed.), *The Archaeology of the Olympics: The Olympics and Other Festivals in Antiquity*, Wisconsin Studies in Classics (Madison 1988) 155–73; N. B. Crowther, 'The Palaestra, Gymnasium, and Physical Exercise in Cicero', in N. B. Crowther, *Athletika: Studies on the Olympic Games and Greek Athletics*, Nikephoros Beihefte 11 (Hildesheim 2004) 405–19; Wacker, *Das Gymnasion in Olympia*; C. Wacker, 'Die bauhistorische Entwicklung der Gymnasien: Von der Parkanlage zum "Idealgymnasion des Vitruv"', in D. Kah and P. Scholz (eds), *Das hellenistische Gymnasion*, Wissenskultur und gesellschaftlicher Wandel 8 (Berlin 2004) 349–62. The most recent contribution by Wacker summarizes the problem and makes clear that the word gymnasium signified the institution, whereas the words palaestrae and stoai signified architectural forms of the gymnasium.

¹³ Wacker, 'Die bauhistorische Entwicklung der Gymnasien', 353.

¹⁴ Wacker, 'Die bauhistorische Entwicklung der Gymnasien', 349.

¹⁵ We are told that there were three *γυμνάσια* in Athens during this period, Akademia, Lykeion, and Kynosarges: Herakleides (sub auctore Dicaearchos), *Athenaiou Periieg.* fragm. 1.98: From these, only the location of Akademia has been identified. P. Z. Aristophron, 'Αἱ ανασκαφαὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀκαδημία τοῦ Πλάτωνος', *Πρακτικά της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών* 8 (1933) 243–6; Delorme, *Gymnasion*, 36–42; Wacker, *Das Gymnasion*, 145–72. There is also the recently excavated *παλαίστρα* in the centre of modern Athens, which Lygouri-Tolia identifies as the *παλαίστρα* of the Lykeion. E. Lygouri-Tolia, 'Excavating an Ancient Palaestra in Athens', in M. Stamatopoulou and M. Yeroulanou (eds), *Excavating Classical Culture: Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Greece*, Studies in classical archaeology 1 (Oxford 2002) 203–12, esp. 209–12.

¹⁶ Hyperides, *Against Demosthenes* 26. 'Aristomachus also (was prosecuted), because, on becoming principal of the Academy, he transferred a spade from the wrestling school (*παλαίστρας*) to his own garden near by and used it and ...'.

BCE;¹⁶ a peristyle building that dates from the second half of the fourth century BCE can be identified with this *παλαίστρα*.¹⁷

Whether the architectural form that Romans used was identical with the gymnasium is not important. What *is* important is that Romans thought that these structures were part of the architectural language of Hellenistic gymnasia, and by incorporating them into their private sphere made a conscious cultural reference to the Greek style. We may infer the potency of this cultural reference when we read Piso's thoughts as he and Cicero visit the Akademia in Athens (*De Fin.* 5.2. Trans. H. Rackham, Loeb edn):

Naturane nobis hoc, inquit, datum dicam an errore quodam, ut, cum ea loca videamus in quibus memoria dignos viros acceperimus multum esse versatos, magis moveamur quam si quando eorum ipsorum aut facta audiamus aut scriptum aliquod legamus? Velut ego nunc moveor. Venit enim mihi Platonis in mentem, quem acceperimus primum hic disputare solitum; cuius etiam illi propinqui hortuli non memoriam solum mihi afferunt sed ipsum videntur in conspectu meo ponere.

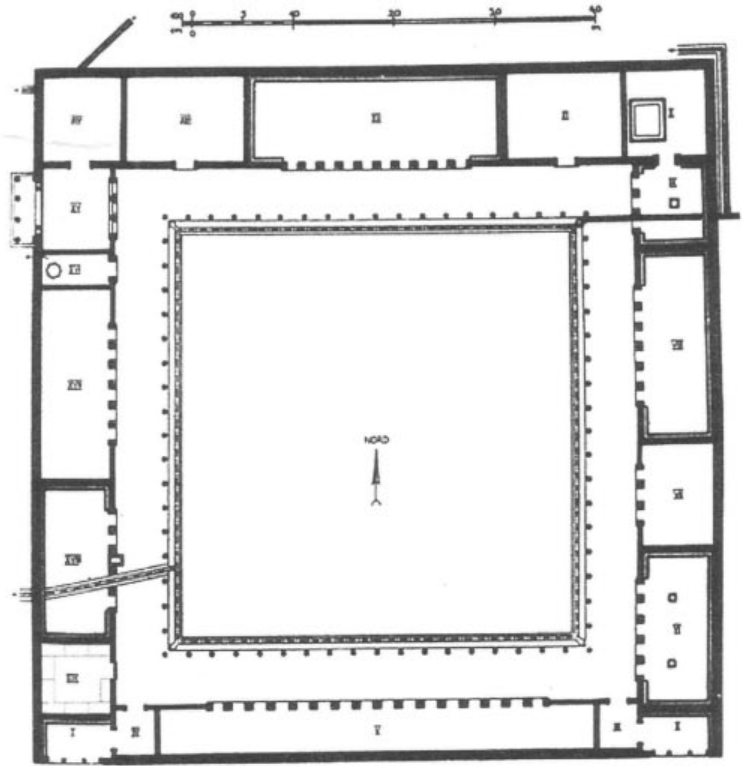
Whether it is a natural instinct or a mere illusion, I can't say; but one's emotions are more strongly aroused by seeing the places that tradition records to have been the favourite resort of men of note in former days, than by hearing about their deeds or reading their writings. My own feelings at the present moment are a case in point. I am reminded of Plato, the first philosopher, so we are told, that made a practice of holding discussions in this place; and indeed the garden close at hand yonder not only recalls his memory but seems to bring the actual man before my eyes No wonder the scientific training of memory is based upon locality.

We should bear in mind that Roman elites had not only visited Hellenistic gymnasia, or heard about them by reputation; some would have also studied in these institutions. An inscription from Attica attests to the presence of young Romans studying in a gymnasium as early as 119–18 BCE,¹⁸ and we

¹⁷ A freestanding peristyle building between Euklidou and Tripoleos streets, Wacker, *Das Gymnasion*, 153–4; Wacker, 'Die bauhistorische Entwicklung der Gymnasien', 350. However, the architectural arrangement of the rooms around the palaestra, and the sitting spaces and benches in the stoai and xystoi date to a later phase, not before the third or second century BCE. Wacker, 'Die bauhistorische Entwicklung', 353.

¹⁸ *IG* II², 1008: οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες ἐ[πὶ]ππάρχ[ου] ἄρχοντο[ς] (Col. I–IV, l. 89) . . . — σ Ποπλίου Ῥωμαῖος (Col. IV, l. 128). 'Those who enrolled in the ephebate (ephebeia) in the archonship of Hipparchos (Col. I–IV, l. 89) . . . son of Poplios, from Rome (?) (Roman)' (Col. IV, l. 128). Trans.: author. The participation of foreigners in Athenian Ephebeia can be dated to the last quarter of the second century BCE. The first attested were fourteen foreigners enrolled in 123/122 BCE: O. W. Reinmuth, *J.G.* II², 1006 and 1301', *Hesperia* 41 (1972) 185–91; S. V. Tracy, 'Ephebic Inscriptions from Athens: Addenda and Corrigenda', *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 249–52, at 250–2; *IG* II², 1006 + AGORA I 6310'; L. Burckhardt, 'Die attische Ephebie in hellenistischer Zeit', in D. Kah and P. Scholz (eds), *Das hellenistische Gymnasion*, Wissenschaft und gesellschaftlicher Wandel 8 (Berlin 2004) 193–206, at 204; S. V. Tracy, 'Reflections on the Athenian Ephebeia in the Hellenistic Age', in D. Kah and P. Scholz (eds), *Das hellenistische Gymnasion*, Wissenschaft und gesellschaftlicher Wandel 8 (Berlin 2004) 207–10, at 209.

FIG. 4.3 Palaestra in Olympia, plan
 (Source:
 E. Mango,
 'Bankette im
 hellenistischen
 Gymnasion', in
 D. Kah, and
 P. Scholz (eds),
*Das hellenistischen
 Gymnasion* (Berlin
 2004) 273–311,
 pl. 4).



know that Cicero himself had trained in Athens and also sent his son to do the same.¹⁹

However, whereas the stoai and palaestrae of the Hellenistic gymnasia were situated in the midst of big parks outside the city, these spaces were not designed landscapes (see Figures 4.3–4). They provided open-air areas with shade for the intellectual activities of the gymnasium.²⁰ The Akademia was situated in a big park with plane trees, olive trees, white poplars, and elms, amongst which the athletic structures and the religious monuments were dispersed.²¹ According to Pliny the Elder (*HN* 19.19.51), Epicurus (341–270 BCE) was the first to have laid

¹⁹ In *Att.* 12.32.2 Cicero writes to Atticus (March 28, 45 BCE) in regard to Cicero junior's studies in Athens, and in *Fam.* 7, 16 Trebonius writes to Cicero (May 25, 44 BCE) that Cicero junior expresses an intention to visit Asia Minor.

²⁰ Delorme, *Gymnasion*, 336 and 337–61.

²¹ *Ar. Nub.* 1002–08; *Plin. HN* 12.5; *Paus.* 10.30.2; *Plut. Sull.* 12.3; Delorme, *Gymnasion*, 41–2. The Akademia, Lykeion, and Kynosarges were planted with trees and laid out with lawns: . . . γυμνάσια τρία, Ακαδημία, Λύκειον, Κυνόσαργες, πάντα κατάδενδρά τε καὶ τοῖς ἐδάφεσι ποώδη, χόρτοι παντοθαλεῖς φιλοσόφων παντοδαπῶν, ψυχῆς ἀπάται καὶ ἀναπαύσεις· σχολαὶ πολλαί, θέαι συνεχεῖς. 'There are three gymnasia: the Academy, the Lyceum and the Kynosarges; they are all planted with trees and laid out with lawns. They have festivals of all sorts, and philosophers from everywhere pull the wool over your eyes and provide

FIG. 4.4 Palaestra in Olympia, digital model reconstructing the stoai in Olympia (Foundation of the Hellenic World, Athens, Greece).



out a garden in the city of Athens for the purpose of teaching philosophy (*primus hoc instituit Athenis Epicurus otii magister*. ‘This practice was first introduced at Athens by that connoisseur of luxurious ease, Epicurus’).²² Up to Epicurus’ time, Pliny continues, to dwell in the country in the middle of the town had not been thought of (*usque ad eum moris non fuerat in oppidis habitari rura*); whereas in Rome, Pliny held, the windows of the populace had for a long time presented a day-to-day experience of the countryside.²³ Contrary to Pliny’s story, Greek

recreation; there are many opportunities for leisure and spectacles without interruption.’ Heracleides (*sub auctore Dicaearchos*), *Athenaiou Perieg.* fragm. 1.98 Trans. M. M. Austin. M. M. Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest: A Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation*, 2nd augmented edn (Cambridge 2006) no. 101, 198–201. Pausanias tells us that the courses of the xystus of the gymnasium at Elis were aligned by tall plane trees: ἐν δὲ Ἡλίδι τὰ ἄξια μνήμης γυμνασίον ἔστω ἀρχαῖον: καὶ ὅσα ἐς τοὺς ἀθλητὰς πρὶν ἢ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀφικνεῖσθαι νομίζουσιν, ἐν τούτῳ σφίσι τῷ γυμνασίῳ δρᾶν καθέστηκε. πλάτανοι μὲν ὑψηλαὶ διὰ τῶν δρόμων πεφύκασιν ἐντὸς τοίχων. ‘In Elis the noteworthy include an old gymnasium in which the athletes have to train as much as required before leaving to go on to Olympia. Tall plane trees grow among the tracks within a wall.’ Paus. 6.23.1. Trans. S. G. Miller. S. G. Miller, *Arete: Greek Sports from Ancient Sources*, 3rd expanded edn (Berkeley and London 2004) 65 (no. 83).

²² Trans. H. Rackham, Loeb edn.

²³ Plin. *HN* 19.19.50–1: *Iam quidem hortorum nomine in ipse urbe delicias agros villasque possident*. ‘Nowadays indeed under the name of gardens people possess the luxury of regular farms and country houses actually within the city.’ Plin. *HN* 19.19.59: *Iam in fenestris suis plebs urbana imagine hortorum cotidiana oculis rura praebebant, antequam praefigi prospectus omnes coegit multitudinis innumerae saeva latrocinatio*. ‘Indeed

epigraphic and literary evidence mentions private gardens, which unfortunately are not archaeologically attested. But, although present in domestic architecture, Greek gardens did not display the playfulness of Roman gardens, with their pleasure fountains and ornamental greenery.²⁴ In Roman houses, green spaces became enclosed constructed landscapes or, as Purcell suggests, 'domestic buildings'.²⁵

At first the Roman garden was merely the poor man's field;²⁶ that is to say that, the *hortus* in the Roman house was the kitchen garden and had an economic, and also religious, significance.²⁷ However, these earlier religious and economic associations were played down in the pleasure gardens of Roman villas and houses, where gardens assumed a decorative role.²⁸ Now such connotations would appear in the mythological landscape paintings featuring in the villa or on the walls adjacent to it.

The victorious generals of the late Republic had incorporated such lavish gardens into the monumental porticus that they constructed *ex manubii* in the city of Rome as a way of celebrating their deeds and promoting their political ambitions. The Porticus of Pompey is the first attestable example of a garden with fountains and plane trees enclosed in a porticus.²⁹ It included a landscape informed by eastern styles, which featured not only imported trees but also art from the conquered Greek East, as well as personifications of the fourteen nations that Pompey had conquered.³⁰ The captivating picture that Pliny the

the lower classes in the city used to give their eyes a daily view of country scenes by means of imitation gardens in their windows, before the time when atrocious burglaries in countless numbers compelled them to bar out all the view with shutters.' Trans. H. Rackham, Loeb edn.

²⁴ M. Carroll-Spillecke, *Kepos: Der antike griechische Garten*, Wohnen in der klassischen Polis 3 (Munich 1989); M. Carroll-Spillecke, 'Griechische Gärten', in M. Carroll-Spillecke (ed.), *Der Garten von der Antike bis zum Mittelalter*, Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt 57 (Mainz am Rhein 1992) 153–75.

²⁵ N. Purcell, 'The Roman Garden as a Domestic Building', in I. M. Barton (ed.), *Roman Domestic Buildings*, Exeter Studies in History (Exeter 1996) 121–51.

²⁶ Plin. *HN* 19.19.2: *Romae quidem per se hortus ager pauperis erat...*

²⁷ Gardens with economic significance were attached to houses in Pompeii: Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, ch. 9, 183–99. For the religious significance of the garden: Grimal, *Les jardins romains*, 44–67; Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, Ch. 5, 115–40. *Horti* have been erroneously viewed as independent parks. The term *horti*, deriving from the ordinary word for market gardens, identifies a certain sort of peri-urban property. The word was culturally appropriated and enlarged within the domain of elite property management to embrace a range of meanings, from the practical to the highly aesthetic. Neither literary nor archaeological evidence suggests, however, that parks were common in the Roman world. N. Purcell, 'Dialectical Gardening', *JRA* 14 (2001) 546–56, at 549–51.

²⁸ Grimal, *Les jardins romains*, 61 and 220.

²⁹ Gleason, 'Porticus Pompeiana'; Kuttner, 'Culture and History at Pompey's Museum'; Gros, 'Porticus Pompei'.

³⁰ Kuttner, 'Culture and History at Pompey's Museum'. For the personification of the nations see: F. Coarelli, 'Il complesso pompeiano del Campo Marzio e la sua decorazione scultorea', *AttiPontAcc* 44

Elder paints of Pompey's triumphal procession carrying trees and representations of landscapes is telling for the statement of territorial appropriation that the imported plants made (*HN* 12.9.20, 12.54.111–12).³¹ Similarly, the Flavian *Templum Pacis* featured what may be termed as 'colonial' botanical gardens populated with exotic flora that Romans acquired through conquest in the East and long-distance trade with India. They made a powerful statement regarding Rome's ideological and economic power within the Indo-Mediterranean network of exchange.³² Emperors continued to use plants as symbols of power, the prominent example being Augustus' use of the laurel as well as other plants as political and militaristic symbols (cf. Dio. Cass. 48.54.3–4; Plin. *HN* 15.136–7).³³ The elites' incorporation of such plants into the peristyle-gardens of their villas, such as the laurel grove in the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta, continued these triumphal themes on a residential level.³⁴ A remarkable example is the Severan garden in the sanctuary of Elagabalus on the Palatine Hill in Rome, where walks separated narrow beds that displayed various plant species.³⁵

(1997) 99–122; R. R. R. Smith, 'Simulacra Gentium: The Ethne from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias', *JRS* 78 (1988) 50–77, at 70–4. See also: C. Edwards, 'Incorporating the Alien: The Art of Conquest', in G. Woolf and C. Edwards (eds), *Rome the Cosmopolis* (Cambridge 2003) 44–70, at 62–8.

³¹ Kuttner, 'Culture and History at Pompey's Museum', 345; E. Macaulay Lewis, 'Fruits of Victory: Generals, Plants, and Power in the Roman world', in E. Bragg, L. I. Hau, and E. Macaulay Lewis (eds), *Beyond the Battlefields: New Perspectives on Warfare and Society in the Graeco-Roman World* (Newcastle 2008) 205–25, at 207–10. For the trade of plants in the Roman world see: E. Macaulay Lewis, 'The Role of *Ollae Perforatae* in Understanding Horticulture, Planting Techniques, Garden Design, and Plant Trade in the Roman World', in J. P. Morel, J. T. Juan and J. C. Matamala (eds), *The Archaeology of Crop Fields and Gardens: Proceedings from 1st Conference on Crop Fields and Gardens Archaeology, University of Barcelona, Barcelona (Spain), June 1–3rd 2006* (Bari 2006) 207–20.

³² E. A. Pollard, 'Pliny's Natural History and the Flavian *Templum Pacis*: Botanical Imperialism in First-Century C.E. Rome', *Journal of World History* 20 (2009) 309–38.

³³ Zanker, *The Power of Images*, 72–7, 179–83; Kellum, 'The Construction of Landscape in Augustan Rome'; Förtsch, 'Ein Aurea-Aetas-Schema'; J. C. Reader, 'The Statue of Augustus from Prima Porta, the Underground Complex, and the Omen of the *Gallina Alba*', *AJP* 118 (1997) 89–118; J. C. Reader, *The Villa of Livia Ad Gallinas Albas: A Study in the Augustan Villa and Garden*, *Archaeologia Transatlantica* 20 (Providence, RI 2001) 84–119.

³⁴ A. Klynne and P. Liljenstolpe, 'Investigating the Gardens of the Villa of Livia', *JRA* 13 (2000) 221–33; A. Klynne, 'The Laurel Grove of the Caesars: Looking in and Looking out', in B. S. Frizell and A. Klynne (eds), *Roman Villas around the Urbs: Interaction with Landscape and Environment: Proceedings of a conference at the Swedish Institute in Rome, September 17–18, 2004*, Swedish Institute in Rome: Projects and seminars 2 (Rome 2005) 1–9. On the villa see: G. Messinco (ed.), *Ad gallinas albas: Villa di Livia*, *BullCom Supplement* 8 (Rome 2001); M. Forte (ed.), *La villa di Livia: Un percorso di ricerca di archeologia virtuale*, *BibAr* 41 (Rome 2007).

³⁵ The identification of the variety of plants is based on the different sizes of planting pots, pits, and reused amphorae. F. Villedieu, 'I giardini del tempio', in F. Villedieu (ed.), *Il giardino dei Cesari: Dai palazzo antichi all'Vigna Barberini sul Monte Palatino: Scavi dell'École française de Rome 1985–1999*, exhibition catalogue (Rome 2001) 94–100.

The notion of the pleasure garden bears some affiliations with the royal parks of the successors of Alexander, as at the palace of the Seleucids in Antioch, which was situated on an island in the river Orontes. It in turn emulated the Persian ‘paradises’ or heaven-like parks (*paradeisoi*), like those around the palace complex at Pasargadae and the palace of Darius at Susa.³⁶ Although there is no indication of a conscious cultural reference to the Hellenistic world and Persia,³⁷ the lavish green spaces of Roman luxury villas, with their sumptuous waterworks and ornamental plantings, made all the references to luxury and pleasure with which the East was associated.³⁸

In the villas, however, the garden was not a purpose-built *paradeisos* where the architectural structures, such as pavilions, were part of the decoration of the garden. The *paradeisos*-theme was subordinated to the architecture of the villa.³⁹ Gardens were inserted into the peristyle structures and were framed by porticoes (see Figures 3.7, 7.15). This approach followed the tradition of the homely Roman *domestic* garden which saw them contained in the architecture of the house as ‘domestic buildings’ and gave them a domestic, economic, and religious significance.⁴⁰ The notion of the garden as a constructed landscape is clear in the design of the porticoed garden, where the space is framed and accessed by the peristylum or the porticus structure. In the gardens of luxury villas (and in their miniaturized versions in cities), this homeliness could be played down: exotic trees, ornamental shrubberies, flowing water, and sensual statues accentuated their decidedly secular aspects and their elegance.⁴¹

³⁶ On the palace of the Seleucids in Antioch: Nielsen, *Hellenistic palaces*, 35–51; I. Nielsen, ‘The Gardens of Hellenistic Palaces’, in I. Nielsen (ed), *The Royal Palace Institution in the First Millennium BC*, Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 4 (Athens 2001) 165–87, at 167. *Paradeisos* is the word that Greeks used to describe the gardens of Babylon in the late fifth or early fourth century BCE. It most likely derived from Median *paridaiza* and the Old Persian *paridaida*, referring to some kind of enclosure or pleasure garden: C. Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, Historia: Einzelschriften 99 (Stuttgart 1996) 80–131 (‘The Parks and Gardens of the Achaemenid Empire’). For the Greek use of the term see: J. N. Bremmer, *Greek Religion and Culture, the Bible, and the Ancient Near East*, Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture 8 (Leiden 2008), 35–55 (‘The Birth of Paradise’).

³⁷ The literary record merely attests to the term *paradeisos*: Aulus Gellius 2.20.4 *‘Vivaria’ autem quae nunc vulgus dicit, quos paradeisous Graeci appellant, quae ‘leporaria’ Varro dicit, haut usquam memini apud vetustiores scriptum.*

³⁸ Grimal, *Jardins romains*, 86–90.

³⁹ Purcell, ‘Dialectical Gardening’, 551.

⁴⁰ Purcell, ‘The Roman Garden’. For the economic significance of gardens in Pompeii: Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, 183–99. For the religious significance of gardens: Grimal, *Jardins romains*, 44–67; Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, 115–40.

⁴¹ See Zanker (‘Die Villa als Vorbild’) for the miniaturized villas in Pompeii.

A NEW ARCHITECTURAL LANGUAGE: PERISTYLIUM STRUCTURE + PLEASURE GARDEN

Until the early Roman period, the pleasure garden and the colonnaded peristyle were two distinct design concepts which bore contrasting ideological associations: the pleasure garden denoted the excessive luxury that contemporary authors associated with the Hellenistic East, while the architecture of peristyle and colonnade evoked the strenuous discipline of Greek educational institutions and venues. By incorporating the pleasure garden within the austere structure of the peristyle, Roman designers ‘tamed’ the unruly nature of the corrupting influences of the Hellenistic East. In doing so, I argue, designers constructed a space in which the experience of aesthetic pleasure was acceptable to villa owners in Italy who wished for luxury without imputations of decadence. In the framed gardens of the peristyle, the threatening foreign connotations of the East were under Roman control. The incorporation of the garden within the peristyle was very ‘Roman’, in that it treated the garden as a sort of domestic building, but now the garden was embellished with exotic trees and ornamental shrubberies, and was animated with sculptural *ornamenta* and moving water.

Exotic trees and ornamental plants were essential elements. Peristylia–gardens inherited the tradition of the Roman *hortus* in that some of their content (for example, myrtle and rosemary) would have been used in the kitchens of their owners. However, the presence of exotic trees and ornamental flora gave these gardens a novel character. By including trees that were imported from recently conquered areas of the empire, such as plane trees from the Greek East, Roman villa owners made a statement of territorial appropriation similar to the one that Pompey made in his Porticus in Rome. For example, the plane trees in the central peristylum–garden in Villa San Marco (E.1; Figures 4.5, cf. Figures 6.26, 7.16) and in the east porticus–garden in Villa Oplontis A (B.3; Figures 3.11, 6.13, 6.15) provided a pleasant shade and together with water pools created an ornate paradisiacal space; and in Villa Oplontis A the plane tree in the north porticus–garden (B.4) aligned the paths of the garden and offered shade for the owners’ promenades. Pliny the Younger’s description of a peristylum–garden in his Tusculan villa hints at the fascination that these trees evoked (*Ep.* 5.6.20. Trans. author):

Contra mediam fere porticum diaeta paulum recedit, cingit areolam, quae quattuor platanis inumbratur. Inter has marmoreo labro aqua exundat circumiectasque platanos et subiecta platanis leni aspergine fovet.

Nearly opposite the middle of the colonnade, a suite of rooms (*diaeta*) recedes slightly and encircles a small playground, which is overshadowed by four plane trees. Between these (i.e., the plane trees) water flows out from a marble basin and waters the surrounding plane trees and the ground below them with mild sprinkling.

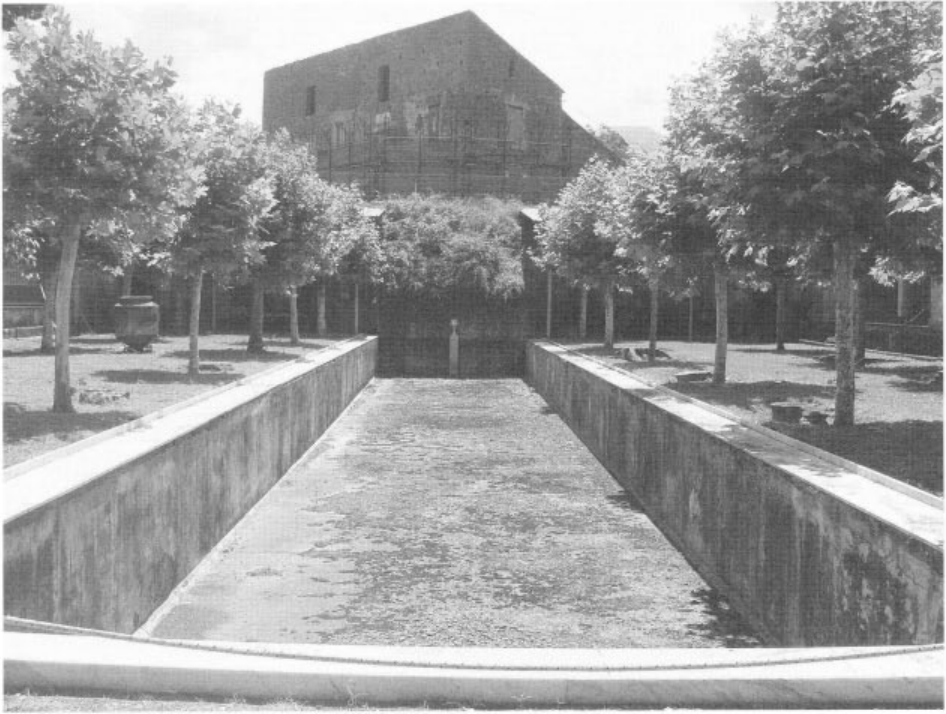


FIG. 4.5 Villa San Marco, peristylum-garden E.1, view of pool 15—at the far end the neo-attic crater. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archaeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

Other preferred large trees were chestnuts (in B.1), lemons (in B.2 and B.3), oaks (in E.1), citrons, figs, and other fruit trees (apple trees in B.4). For ornamental plantings, the Latin authors most often mention ivy, clipped box (in B.4), laurel (probably in B.2), myrtle (probably in B.2), acanthus, and rosemary.⁴² But these are harder to confirm archaeologically and have left little archaeological evidence. The major plants were evergreens, producing leaves year-round—for example, the oleander trees in the north and east porticus-gardens in Villa Oplontis A (B.3 and B.4) and in the central peristylum-garden in Villa San Marco (E.1). Flowers played an incidental seasonal role: there would have been the white flowers of the myrtle, the greenish-yellow flowers of the ivy, the white clusters of the viburnum, the chrysanthemum (probably in B.4), the Madonna lily, and the variously coloured blooms of the rose, violet, poppy, and iris. Latin authors mention most frequently the rose, the lily, and the violet (probably in B.2).⁴³

⁴² W. M. F. Jashemski, 'The Campanian Peristyle Garden', in W. M. F. Jashemski and E. B. MacDougall (eds), *Ancient Roman Gardens*, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium Series in the History of Landscape Architecture 7 (Washington, DC 1981) 29–48, at 46.

⁴³ Plin. *HN* 21.131 (rose, lily, violet); 21.23 (lily); 21.27 (violet); Varro *Rust.* 1.35.1. Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, 51–4 and 271–3; A. Barbet, with the collaboration of N. Blanc and H. Eristov, 'Bilancio e prospettiva', in *Barbet and Miniervo*, 363–85, at 372–3.



FIG. 4.6 Villa Oplontis A, porticus-garden B.4, view from north towards room 21. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

The plants articulated and enhanced the space—for example, flowerbeds and box hedges created paths in the north peristylum-garden (B.4) of Villa Oplontis A. Here designers used low shrubberies to guide the direction of those who strolled in the big garden—from room 21 and northeast end of porticus 34 to the north of the garden (Figure 4.6). Tall trees, such as plane and olives, provided a green canopy of shade and shorter trees, such as apple and oleander, coloured the viewer's 'middle ground' (cf. Villa San Marco, Figure 4.5). In the great peristylum-garden of Villa Arianna A (C.1), shallow beds mark the long parallel walks of the garden. A linear arrangement of a great variety of small trees and shrubs has been thoughtfully laid out and bordered. This combination created the experience of a lush varied garden similar to those seen in the naturalistic garden paintings of the Second Style (in the underground room of the Villa of Livia for instance).⁴⁴

Furthermore, the greenery embellished the architecture; vines climbed around the columns of the southeast peristylum-garden (B.2; see Figure 3.7) in Villa Oplontis A.⁴⁵ Cicero praised the complementary relationship of vegetation and

⁴⁴ Gleason, 'Constructing Nature'.

⁴⁵ Jashemski, 'The Campanian Peristyle Garden', 43 and 46.

architecture when he talked about the result of the work of his brother's gardener (*topiarius*) (*Q Fr.* 3.1.5. Trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Loeb edn):

Topiarium laudavi; ita omnia convestivit hedera, qua basim villae, qua intercolumnia ambulationis, ut denique illi palliati topiariam facere videantur et hederam vendere.

I praised your gardener; he has so enveloped everything with ivy, not only the foundation walls of the villa, but also the spaces in between the columns of the promenade, that upon my word, those Greek statues seemed to be engaged in fancy gardening, and to be showing off the ivy.

In the architectural compositions of the peristylia/porticus-gardens, the building and plant designs worked together. The qualities of the plants enriched the experience of landscape within the villas, and designers developed a language of landscape that was as elaborate as that of the celebrated examples in post-Renaissance Italian and French gardens.

In addition, the sculptural arrangements physically and visually complemented the design schemes of the villas' interior landscapes, animating and enhancing the experience of their spaces. In the north porticus-garden of Villa Oplontis A (B.4), for example, the marble sculptures followed the scheme of the flowerbeds and aligned the paths of the garden. In the east porticus-garden (B.3), marble statues and herms lined the east side of the pool and behind them a variety of trees, oleander, lemon, and plane trees created a colourful backdrop with a variety of heights (see Figures 4.7, cf. 3.11, 6.13, 6.15). Together, sculptures and trees were reflected on the surface of the water.

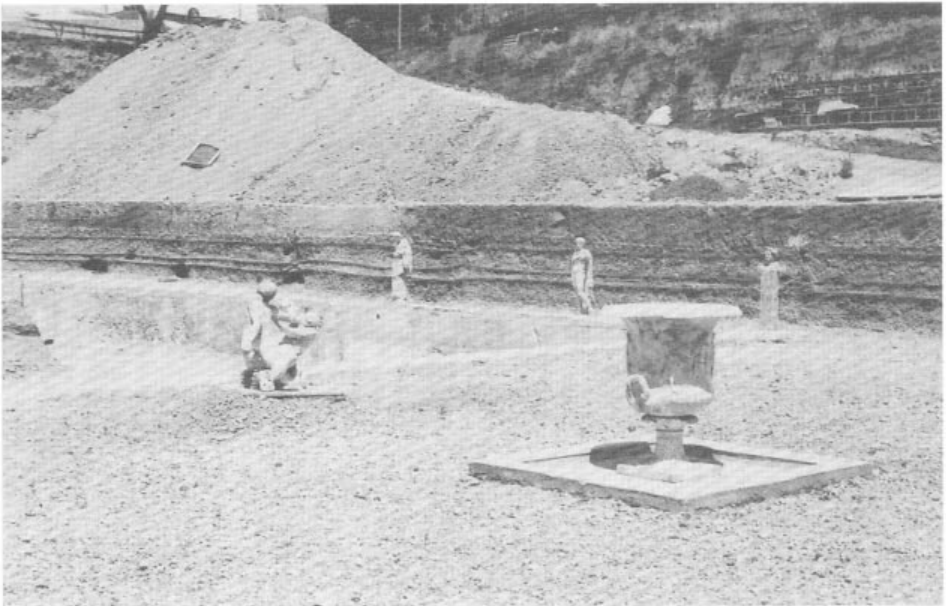


FIG. 4.7 Villa Oplontis A, porticus-garden B.3. View from area 92 towards the pool with some of the sculptures replaced in their findspots (Source: De Caro, 'The sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea at Oplontis', 128, fig. 45).

The sculptures accentuated the axes of the design schemes. In the east porticus–garden of Villa Oplontis A (B.3), the large neo-attic calyx crater in area 92, and sculptured group of a hermaphrodite and a satyr between pool 96 and the crater, accentuated the north–south axis of pool 96; at the same time, the crater was on the east–west axis of auditorium 78, thus intensifying the visual communication from this room to the garden (see Figure 4.7). In porticus–garden 20–5–3–9 of Villa San Marco (E.2), the neo-attic crater-fountain was placed at the centre of the nymphaeum 4/7, accentuating the northwest–southeast axis of garden 9 and pool 15 (see Figure 4.5). Similarly, in the big southwest peristylum–garden of the Villa of the Papyri (A.2), two satyrs at the two ends of the pool—a ‘drunken satyr’ at its northwest end and a ‘sleeping satyr’ at the southeast—drew attention to the central northwest–southeast axis of the garden and pool complex as well as its visual communication with the so-called tablinum, room 28 (cf. Figure 2.3). In this way sculptures visually emphasized the spatial compositions of the villas’ interior landscapes and created a sophisticated visual interplay within them.

In some cases the sculptural display engaged playfully with notions of physical and visual direction. In the east garden of Villa Oplontis A (B.3), the sculptures at the east of the pool directed a physical movement on a north–south axis, while their position, looking west, created a visual dialogue on perpendicular axes towards the other side of the pool and through space 69 to the north porticus–garden (B.4; see Figures 4.7, 5.10, 6.15). This is an example of the ways in which sculptures would have enabled a multi-layered spatial and visual arrangement within the villas’ interior landscapes.

Naturally, the visual interplay that sculptures created was to a certain extent based on the themes that they featured. However, the themes of sculptural display in the porticus–gardens, as well as other parts of the villas, varied greatly, and we should not read too literally from them. Owners who wished to display their wealth and show off their cultural refinement purchased ideal sculptures and found in them a way to display conspicuously their status and education. But at the same time they wished to maintain traditional Roman *mores*. This is the inner struggle in Cicero’s writings, where on the one hand he appeared critical of the athletic side of the gymnasium institution, disapproving of its nakedness as promoting pederasty and immorality (*Tusc.* 4.70),⁴⁶ and on the other he sought to reproduce its setting by ordering statues that were suitable for a gymnasium (*ornamenta gymnasiôdê*, *Att.* 1.6.2) or in the fashion of the gymnasia

⁴⁶ Crowther, ‘The Palaestra, Gymnasium, and Physical Exercise’; Z. Newby, *Greek Athletics in the Roman World*, Oxford Studies in Ancient Culture and Representation (Oxford 2005) 40.

(*similitudinem gymnasiorum*, *Ad Fam.* 7.23.2) for his villas.⁴⁷ These *ornamenta gymnasiôdê* linked Cicero, and other members of the elite, with the intellectual aura of classical Greece, and provided a stage for their ambitions.⁴⁸ But if for Cicero and his contemporaries the *ornamenta gymnasiôdê* referred to themes around the life of the gymnasium, it is not merely them that we find in the villas. Although the combination of architecture (peristylia–gardens) and sculptural display (bronze athletes) is reminiscent of the Greek gymnasium, a number of other associations were evoked—for example, mythological, sacred, and garden-related themes. In fact the range of associations—for example, of the sculptures in the Villa of the Papyri and Villa Oplontis A (see chapter 2)—points to the diverse ideas that these sculptures were meant to evoke: the gymnasium, Hellenistic royalty, the sanctuary, and the park. Their aim was to create an aura of Greek culture.⁴⁹ The choice of subjects, erratic as it may seem, would also have depended on personal taste.

Finally, water structures animated the architectural forms and sculptural *ornamenta*. The pools in Villa Oplontis A (B.3; see Figures 5.8, 5.10) and Villa San Marco (E.1; see Figure 4.5) reflected the architectural surroundings, and cascading water produced a soothing sound—for example from the central nymphaeum H/G into pool 15 in Villa San Marco (E.1). The full potential of these water installations will be explored in the next chapter.

The peristylum or the porticus structures framed all this architecture of pleasure with its accompanying *ornamenta*. The rectangular peristylum–garden structure, which articulated a defined relationship between the porticus and the pleasure garden, was probably the first instance of this new architectural language (generally dating from after the middle of the first century BCE)—for example, the peristylia–gardens in Villa of the Papyri (A.1, A.2), the peristylia–gardens in Villa San Marco (E.1 at its first phase and E.2), and the peristylum–garden in Villa Arianna A (C.1). A little later the formula of the square or rectangular porticus around a garden was given some variation: designers retained the colonnaded structures but started using them with gardens in more open arrangements. We see this at the Villa Oplontis A, when it was enlarged around the beginning of the first century CE and then again around the middle of the first

⁴⁷ *Tu velim, si qua ornamenta gymnasiôdê reperire poteris quae loci sint eius quem tu non ignoras, ne praetermittas.* ‘If you light on any articles of virtue suitable for a gymnasium, which would look well in the place you know of, please don’t let them slip.’ Cic. *Att.* 1.6.2. Trans. E. S. Shuckburgh, Loeb edn. *Ea enim signa ego emere soleo quae ad similitudinem gymnasiorum exornent mihi in palaestra locum.* ‘The sort of statues that I am accustomed to buy are such as may adorn a place in a palaestra after the fashion of gymnasia.’ Cic. *Ad Fam.* 7.23.2. Trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Loeb edn.

⁴⁸ Newby, *Greek Athletics*, 91; M. Marvin, ‘Copying in Roman Sculpture: The Replica Series’, in E. D’Ambra (ed.), *Roman Art in Context: An Anthology* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ 1993) 161–88, at 162–4.

⁴⁹ Neudecker, 111–13; Zanker, ‘Die Villa als Vorbild’, 286; Newby, *Greek Athletics*, 91.

century CE. Although the rectangular porticoed enclosure was still common (for example, peristylum–garden 40–59; see Figure 3.7 and Figure 7.15), the porticus–garden concept was interpreted much more freely. These spaces now followed the sprawling architectural body of the villa (for example, porticus 60 and garden 96–98), and created privileged views of the surrounding landscapes and architectural structures. Another example is the central porticus–garden C.2 in Villa Arianna A. A variation on this design was to modify the already existing peristylia–gardens in order to animate the form of the peristyle. For instance, the central peristylum–garden in Villa San Marco acquired a curved cryptoporticus at its fourth side with a nymphaeum in its middle (E.1).

The two design schemes, the rectangular peristylum–garden and the more open arrangement of porticus and garden, would continue to occur side-by-side, as in the central porticus–garden and southwest peristylum–garden in Villa Arianna A (C.1, C.2) and the peristylum– and porticus–gardens in Villa Oplontis A (B.2, B.3, B.4). One form was not an evolution of the other: rather both were expressions of a new architectural language. In both cases the porticus formed the architectural framework of the garden. They provided a semi-open (colonnaded) area, which mediated the transition from closed (interior of the house) to open (garden) space. To use the terminology of modern architecture, the architectural form of the peristylum was ‘deconstructed’, as it lost its original meaning as a porticoed enclosure, but its elements were not.⁵⁰ The porticus and garden of the peristylum retained their original role and were simply re-ordered to form more fluid compositions.

The innovative design of the peristylum–garden was adopted across the empire from the late Republican to the late antique periods; notable examples include the villa at Chiragan near Toulouse (first–fourth/fifth century CE),⁵¹ the villa of La Cocosa near Badajoz in Spain (mid-second–fourth century CE),⁵² and the villa at Fishbourne in Britain (first–third century CE).⁵³ The conceptual associations of the peristyle with the Hellenistic gymnasium, as well as the connotation of the garden as an Eastern-derived luxury, certainly faded over time across the empire. Decorating and sustaining elaborate gardens were in

⁵⁰ In the architectural discourse of the 1980s deconstruction offered a way to interrogate architecture’s structural organization by challenging the relationship of the architectural motif to the ground/structure/ornament. An example of such an interrogation was a column that does not reach the ground and hence loses its structural significance and meaning as column. See M. Wigley, ‘The Translation of Architecture, the Production of Babel’, in K. M. Hays (ed.), *Architecture Theory since 1968* (Cambridge MA and London 1998) 660–75; as well as introduction of K. M. Hays to this essay, in K. M. Hays (ed.), *Architecture Theory since 1968* (Cambridge MA and London 1998) 658–9.

⁵¹ L. Joulin, *Les établissements gallo-romains de la plaine de Martres-Tolosanes* (Paris 1901).

⁵² M. C. Fernández Castro, *Villas romanas en España* (Madrid 1982) 88–133, pl. 23

⁵³ B. W. Cunliffe, *Fishbourne: A Roman Palace and its Garden*, *New Aspects of Antiquity* (London 1971).

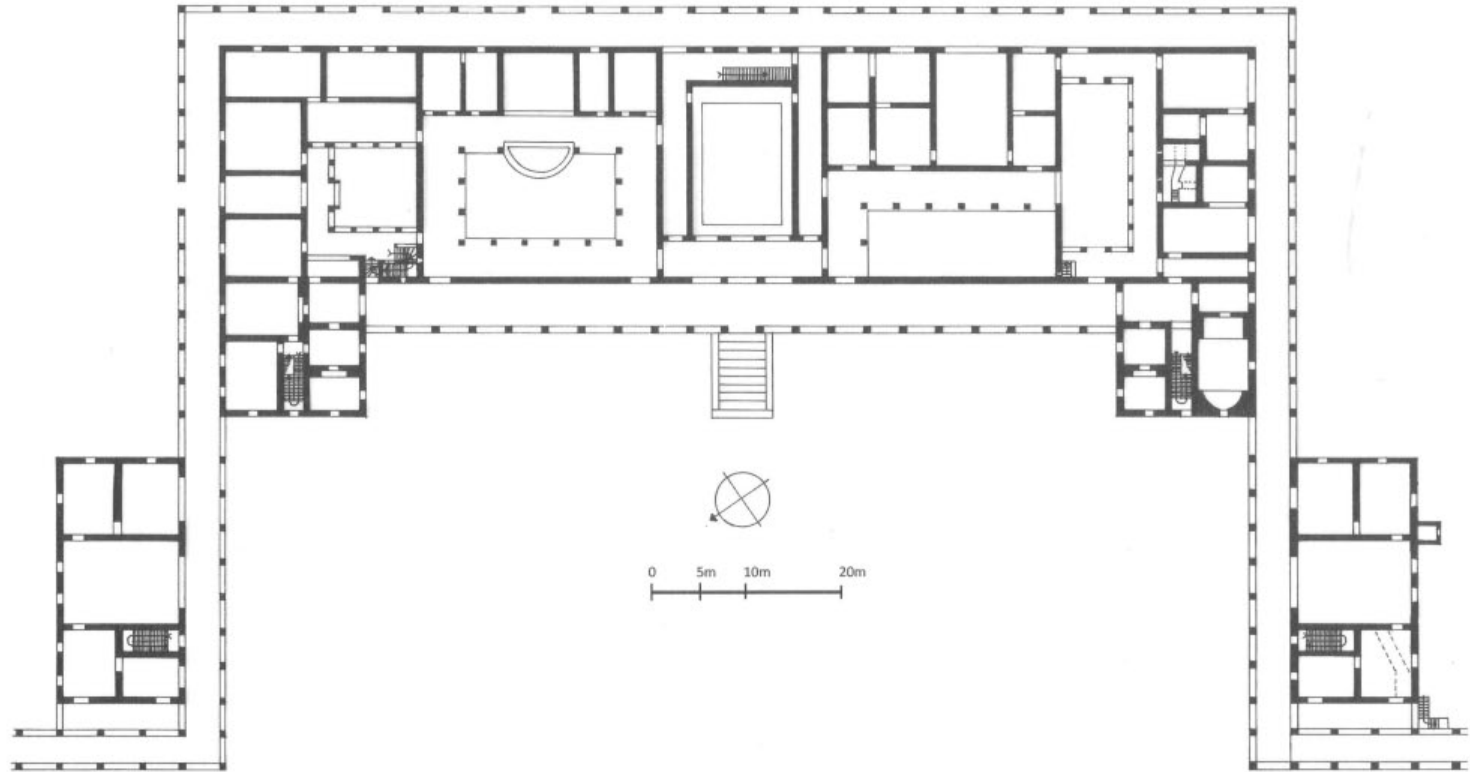


FIG. 4.8 Villa at Nennig (Rhineland), plan (after Mylius 'Die Rekonstruktion der römischen Villen', pl. 4.1). © Mantha Zarmakoupi.

themselves elite activities, and the technological improvements of the aqueduct water supply network and the hydraulic technology of fountains became more strongly associated with the gardens. Gradually, too, the form of the peristyle lost its resonance as designers appropriated it to address different design questions.

The variations on the peristyle-garden, and its complete transformation to more open arrangements of porticoes and gardens, were alternative responses to the challenges that the open landscape presented. The visually impressive design variant of the open arrangement of the porticus was eventually adopted in the northwestern provinces, becoming a predominant type that has resulted in the modern classifications of the '(winged) corridor house' in England,⁵⁴ '*Portikus-villa*' in Germany,⁵⁵ and '*villa à galerie de façade*' in France (these have their limitations).⁵⁶ Notable examples include the villa in Gadebridge Park, near Hemel Hempstead in Hertfordshire (first–fourth century CE),⁵⁷ the villa in Bad Neuenahr-Ahrweiler (first–third century CE),⁵⁸ the villa at Nennig near the Moselle river in Rhineland (second–third century CE; see Figure 4.8),⁵⁹ and the numerous villas in the Somme valley near Amiens recorded by aerial photography—for instance, villas at Estrées-sur-Noye and at Warfusée-Abancourt.⁶⁰

A NEW DESIGN LANGUAGE OF ARCHITECTURE, ART, AND LANDSCAPE

The re-ordering of porticus and garden allowed designers to open up the architectural composition of the villas and create a more immediate relationship with—and mastering view of—the landscape around them. This change took place during a time in which the appreciation of landscape appeared in literature as well as visual media. The development of the representation of landscape in the wall paintings of the Villa Oplontis A and the Villa of the Papyri, from the Second to the Fourth Style, gives us an insight into this change and how it was

⁵⁴ R. G. Collingwood, *The Archaeology of Roman Britain*, 1st edn (London 1930).

⁵⁵ Swoboda, *Römische und romanische Paläste*.

⁵⁶ Gros, *L'architecture romaine I*, 322–249.

⁵⁷ D. S. Neal, *The Excavation of the Roman Villa in Gadebridge Park, Hemel Hempstead, 1963–8* (London 1974).

⁵⁸ H. Fehr, *Römervilla: Führer durch die Ausgrabungen am Silberberg Bad Neuenahr-Ahrweiler*, Archäologie an Mittelrhein und Mosel 7 (Koblenz 2003).

⁵⁹ H. Mylius, 'Die Rekonstruktion der römischen Villen von Nennig und Fließem', *BJb* 129 (1924) 109–28, at 110–17; R. Echt, 'Die römische Villa von Nennig: Neue Ausgrabungen, neue Ansichten', in R. Echt (ed.), *Beiträge zur Eisenzeit und zur gallo-römischen Zeit im Saar-Mosel-Raum*, Saarbrücker Studien und Materialien zur Altertumskunde 9 (Bonn 2003) 137–77.

⁶⁰ R. Agache, *La Somme pré-romaine et romaine: D'après les prospections aériennes à basse altitude* (Amiens 1978).

manifested in villa design. At Oplontis, there are three groups of landscape paintings—one from an early building phase of the villa (c.50 BCE), a second from the refurbishment and enlargement of the villa around 1–15 CE, and a third belonging to transformations made after 45 BCE.⁶¹ In the Villa of the Papyri two groups of landscape paintings have been preserved—one from the first building phase of the villa (c.40–25 BCE) and a second from a refurbishment of the villa around 35–45 CE.⁶²

From the earlier phases of the Villa Oplontis A, the landscapes of the Second Style (c.50 BCE) are ‘minor players’ in the decoration. The small landscape pinakes on the east wall of room 15, for instance, are tiny (14 × 44 cm) in relation to both the size of the wall (8.80 m wide and some 5.80 m high) and the representation of the two-storied monumental colonnade that occupies the major part of the wall on which they are integrated. These sacral-idyllic landscapes are ‘small decorative accents’—to use John Clarke’s expression—with respect to the grandiose representation of the monumental colonnade. Although their theme complements the religious overtones of the colonnaded precinct, they remain marginal due to their relatively small size and high-up placement (see Figures 2.18, 4.9).⁶³ The landscapes of the Third Style (1–15 CE) are large and are the central subject of the decoration, which is common in Third Style wall paintings.⁶⁴ A good example is the landscape panel on the north wall of the caldarium 8 (see Figure 4.10). Attenuated architectural features (for Vitruvius, mockeries of architecture) have here replaced the bold architectural motifs of the Second Style, and frame these and newly expanded landscapes, which are prominently placed.⁶⁵

In the Fourth Style wall decorations in Villa Oplontis A (around the middle of the first century CE) the landscape representations are once again small. In contrast to their placement high up on the walls as mere decorative adjuncts to the much larger architectural perspectives in the Second Style, they become, somewhat paradoxically, the principal subject of the now sparsely adorned

⁶¹ For the comprehensive publication of all the landscape paintings in this villa see: Clarke, ‘Landscape Paintings in the Villa of Oplontis’.

⁶² See: Esposito in Guidobaldi and Esposito, ‘New Archaeological Research’, 25–8 and 33–42; Moormann, ‘Wall Paintings in the Villa of the Papyri’.

⁶³ Clarke, ‘Landscape Paintings in the Villa of Oplontis’, 87 and 94. cf. the pinakes featuring landscapes on the upper register of the walls of the royal box above the cavea of the theatre complex at Herodium (c.15 BCE): E. Netzer, ‘In Search of Herod’s Tomb’, *Biblical Archaeology Review* (2011). Online publication: <<http://www.bib-arch.org/article.asp?PubID=BSBA&Volume=37&Issue=1&ArticleID=7&UserID=0>> (accessed 26 February, 2011).

⁶⁴ W. J. T. Peters, ‘Die Landschaft in der Wandmalerei Kampaniens’, in G. Cerulli Irelli et al. (eds), *Pompejanische Wandmalerei* (Stuttgart and Zurich 1990) 249–262, at 261.

⁶⁵ Vitruvius’ criticism of the increasingly fantastical decoration of the later Second Style wall paintings: *Vitr. De Arch.* 7.5. S. R. Yerkes, ‘Vitruvius’ *Monstra*’, *JRA* 13, (2000) 234–51.

FIG. 4.9 Villa Oplontis A, room 15, detail of east wall.

Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali—Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archaologici di Napoli e Pompei.

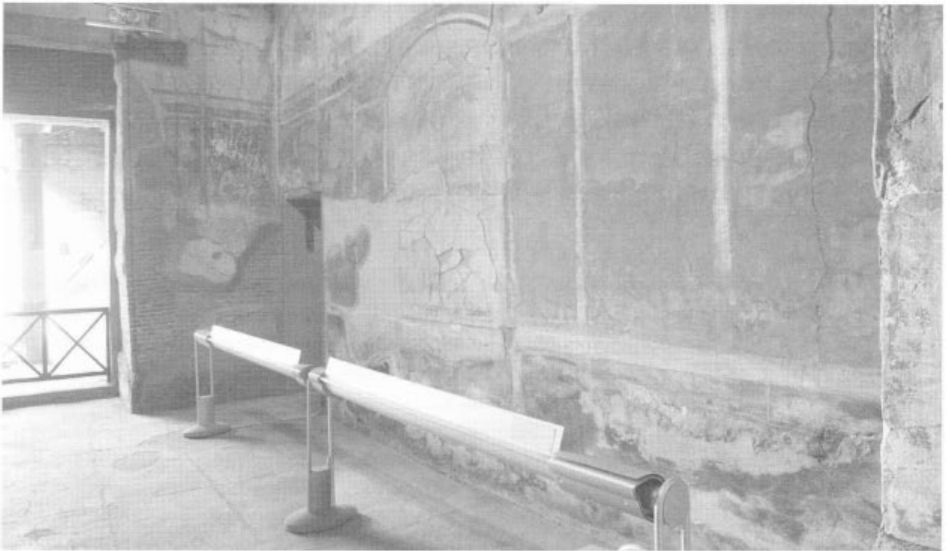
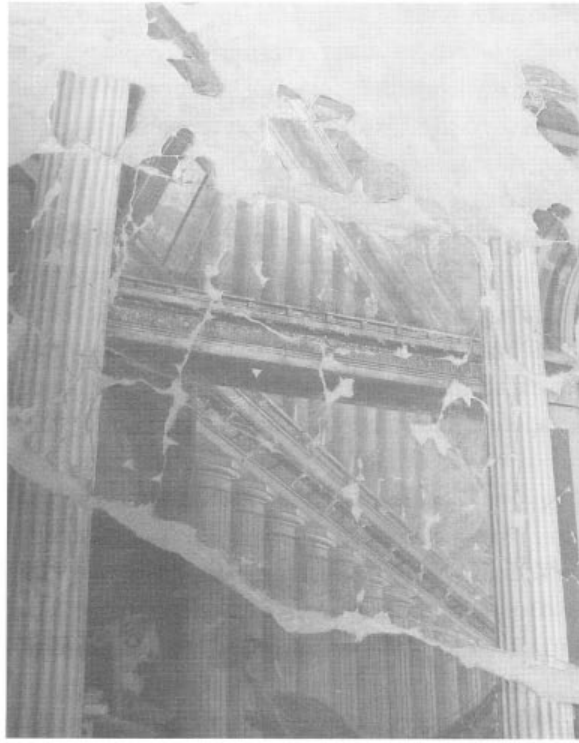


FIG. 4.10 Villa Oplontis A, north wall of caldarium 8. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali—Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archaologici di Napoli e Pompei.

FIG. 4.11 Villa Oplontis A, porticus-garden B.3, wall paintings of porticus 60. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali—Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



walls. Examples of this new emphasis are the landscapes in the small pinakes (24×7 cm) on the walls of porticus 60 of the east wing (see Figures 4.11–4.12). These miniature scenes alternate with *xenia*, food still lifes—not an accidental subject, since they alluded to the hospitality of the owner and toyed with the imagination of the participants at a dinner taking place in the halls of the

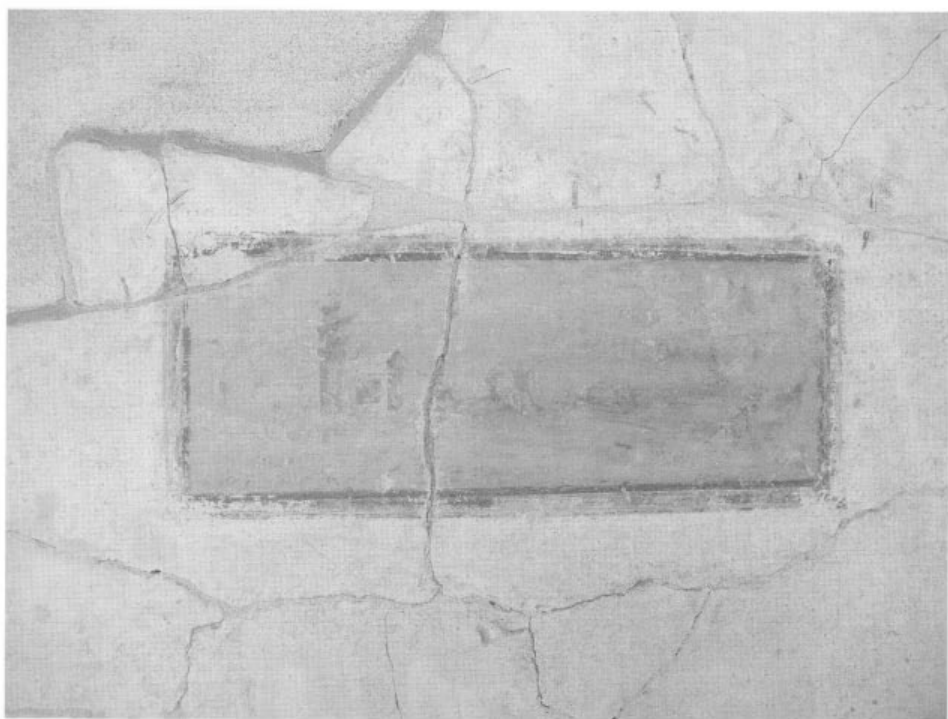


FIG. 4.12 Villa Oplontis A, porticus-garden B.3, landscape panel in wall painting of porticus 60 (cf. Figure 4.11). Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

east wing.⁶⁶ And while seeming to be decorative accents on the walls of the long porticus, they are in fact the principal subjects.⁶⁷ The paratactic representation of landscapes with still lifes is seen as early as about 20 BCE (late Second Style) in the corridor F–G of the Villa ‘Farnesina’ where, as in Villa Oplontis A, they are painted in clear colours and feature on a white backdrop.⁶⁸ However, whereas in Villa ‘Farnesina’ the landscapes and still lifes are positioned in the frieze above the main part of the wall and the frieze partitions constitute their frame, those on the walls of porticus 60 at Oplontis are placed at eye-level in the wall’s median zone and are framed to contrast with the white-ground backdrop. The white walls themselves differ emphatically from the pinakes: they are delicately divided by metallic filigrees and bordered by thin stripes and tendrils encircling tiny insects

⁶⁶ For the shifting levels of reality—from real to represented, from natural to artifice—present in the representation of *xenia* and the ways in which they allude to the relation guest–host see: N. Bryson, *Looking at the Overlooked: Four Essays on Still Life Painting* (Cambridge, MA 1990) 17–59; and M. Squire, *Image and Text in Graeco-Roman Antiquity* (Cambridge 2009) ch. 6 (357–428), esp. 372–89, with a discussion of the problems in Bryson’s approach (372–4).

⁶⁷ Vitruvius on *xenia*: Vit. *De Arch.* 6.7.4. See further on *xenia* in chapter six.

⁶⁸ For a discussion of the experience of walking and looking at the landscape representations on the walls of corridor F–G in the Villa ‘Farnesina’ see Spencer, *Roman Landscape*, 142–54.

and birds. The frailty of the wall divisions and the lightly sketched painting style of the walls emphasize the robust compositions and colours of the landscapes, making them central to the viewing experience.⁶⁹

These Fourth Style landscapes, retaining both the central placement of the landscapes of the Third Style and the miniature size of the Second (cf. Figures 2.18, 4.9), have given way to an almost bare wall, which is the backdrop not merely of the miniature landscape and food still-life panels on the wall but, seen in the distance, of the *real* colonnade of porticus 60 and propylon in front of room 69 that interrupts it. A viewer standing on the east side of pool 96 looking towards porticus 60 would see that the scene bears similarities to the Second Style wall painting on the east wall of room 15—if we strip away the religious overtones of the colonnaded precinct—as if this real scene were an incarnation of the colonnades, as well as the landscape panels flanking them, depicted in the wall painting on the east wall of room 15 (see Figure 5.10). The view of the propylon in front of room 69 in the middle of porticus 60, and the sight-line through the west opening of room 69 into the north garden of the villa, are both variations on the same theme: monumental architecture in combination with a garden.⁷⁰ But the architectural arrangement is now more loosely conceived. Porticus 60 does not surround the east garden, as in the view on the east wall of room 15 where a colonnade surrounds a garden, but is an intermediate bordering space between the rooms of the east wing and the east garden and pool. Furthermore, this more open architectural composition allowed designers to create views of real monumental colonnades—for example, the view from porticus 60 through room 69 frames the propylon in front of room 21 (see Figure 4.13). This framed view of a propylon can be compared with the landscape pinakes of porticus 60, which feature villas fronted with prominent propyla.⁷¹

The paratactic arrangement of representations of landscape, sometimes alternating with still lifes, in Fourth Style wall paintings was a favoured decorative choice for porticus that were adjacent to gardens. Besides porticus 60 in Villa Oplontis A, another example is the porticus 20–5–3 in peristylum–garden 20–5–3–9 of Villa San Marco (E.1), where medallions depicting villas in landscapes featured prominently in the middle of the red panels of the median zone that alternated with white panels depicting a tree (see Figure 4.14). The porticus of the large peristylum–garden H–Z in Villa Arianna A is also decorated with

⁶⁹ cf. C. Cesaretti, ‘Il tema decorativo dei “piccoli animali su elementi vegetali”’, *OCNUS* 12 (2004) 63–76.

⁷⁰ For a concise approach to the ways in which the real and painted landscape and architecture merge in this villa see Bergmann, ‘Art and Nature in the Villa at Oplontis’.

⁷¹ For the representation of monumental architecture in the panels of the late Third and Fourth Styles see: Peters, *Landscape in Romano-Campanian Mural Painting*, 110–18 (late Third Style), 155–66 (Fourth Style).



FIG. 4.13 Villa Oplontis A, view of propylon in front of room 21 from porticus 60. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

Fourth Style wall paintings that in the lower zone featured hanging pinakes on a white background (C.1). The pinakes were cut out during the Bourbon excavations and are unidentified, but the decorative scheme around them is very similar to that of the porticus 60 at Villa Oplontis A, and it is reasonable to suggest that landscapes were represented here too. The paratactic arrangement of images of landscape paralleled the paratactic arrangement of the trees planted in the gardens of the villas, such as the one evidenced in the large peristylum–garden of Villa Arianna A, and offered a continued experience of varied yet repeated landscapes. Another favoured theme for the paratactic arrangements of the Fourth Style wall paintings on porticus adjacent to gardens was the representation of architectural structures—either in perspective or in frontal view with stylized elements—in the framing zones of the central panel—for example, in porticus 33 and 34 of the north porticus–garden (B.4; see Figure 4.15), in porticus 40 of peristylum–garden 40–59 (B.2; see Figure 4.16) of Villa Oplontis A, and in the porticus of the peristylum–garden of Villa Arianna B (D.1; see Figure 4.17). The framed

FIG. 4.14 Villa San Marco, peristylum-garden E1, detail of wall painting in porticus 20. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archaeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



representation of columnar structures in perspective or in stylized form echoed the view of the columns of the porticoes themselves when seen from afar, and provided another variant on the decoration of the porticoed garden (cf. Figures 3.7–8, 4.15–4.16). When walking in the garden next to the porticus, the view of the ensemble, the columns of the porticus on the background of the stylized representation of columnar architecture, balanced the views of the garden and reformulated the same theme: monumental architecture in combination with a garden scene.

Like the Villa Oplontis A, the landscape representations in the Second Style wall paintings of the Villa of the Papyri are visual accents in the whole composition of the walls—for instance, the Second Style yellow monochrome landscape panels on the northeast sidewall of ala (e) and on the northwest wall of ala (d) (in Figure 2.6; see Figure 4.18).⁷² Comparable monochrome panels are found in

⁷² The Second Style monochrome landscape panel, found in eighteenth-century excavations (Inv. no. 9423), has now been placed in its original context in one of the alae, as remains of similar monochrome landscape panels with the same framing have been found on the northeast sidewall of ala (e) and on the northwest wall of ala (d). Whereas the monochrome landscape panel from the Villa is yellow, the landscape

FIG. 4.15 Villa Oplontis A, porticus-garden B.4, view of porticus 34 from the north.

Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



triclinium 14 of Oplontis Villa A (see Figure 5.6) and in the Boscoreale cubiculum.⁷³ The archaeological and literary sources indicate that monochrome panels emulate both sculptural and painterly effects, and that artists employed monochromy in order to create a distance between the viewer and the represented landscapes and mythological scenes.⁷⁴ In the Villa of the Papyri the monochromy of the landscape panels accentuates the detachment from reality of the sacral-ideal theme of the panel.⁷⁵ In the adjacent room i, which was visible

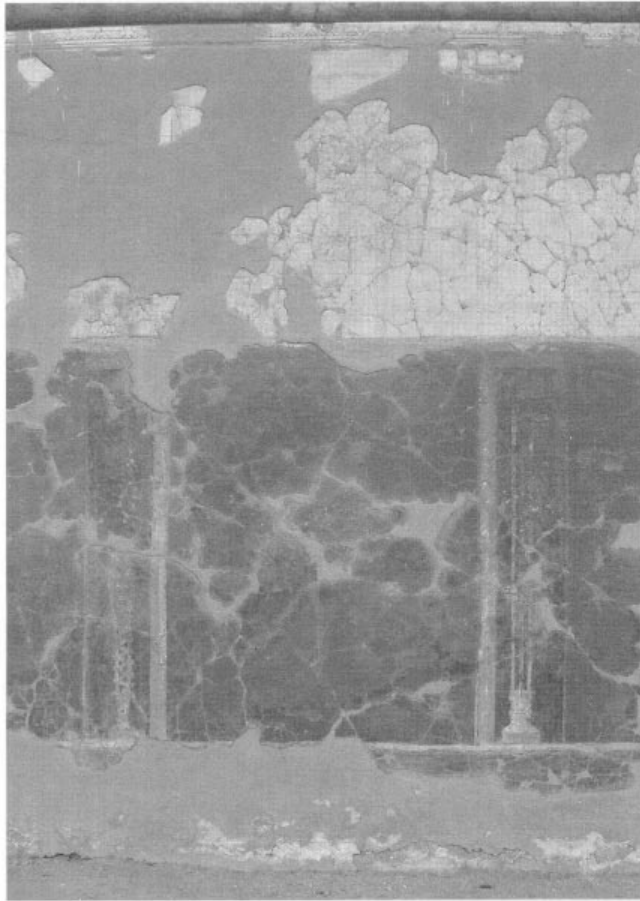
panels that remain on the walls of the Villa are red. However, the red is a discoloration of the yellow ochre caused by the hot temperature of the volcanic material that filled the room. Moormann, 'Wall Paintings in the Villa of the Papyri', 65-7. On the discoloration see also: Esposito in Guidobaldi and Esposito, 'New Archaeological Research', 25, n. 6.

⁷³ Five yellow panels: Clarke, 'Landscape Paintings in the Villa of Oplontis', 104.

⁷⁴ E. Thomas, 'Monochromata', in D. Scagliarini Corlàita (ed.), *I temi figurativi nella pittura parietale antica (IV sec. a.C. -IV sec. d.C.): Atti del VI Convegno internazionale sulla pittura parietale antica*, Studi e Scavi 5 (Bologna 1997) 135-41.

⁷⁵ Like in Villa Oplontis A, these monochrome landscapes comprise the zone above the (faux-marble?) socle.

FIG. 4.16 Villa Oplontis A, porticus-garden B.2, close view of the wall paintings of porticus 40. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archacologici di Napoli e Pompei.



from ala e, fragments of a megalography feature a large woman (see Figure 4.19). She holds a green thin branch, possibly a *thyrsus*, with her left hand against her shoulder.⁷⁶ It can be compared to one from Terzigno that is contemporary, and to the famous room 5 of the Villa of the Mysteries.⁷⁷ In comparison with the vivacity of the megalography, the monochrome landscape panel is flat—it lacks depth—and its detachment from reality is further underlined.

The fragments of Second Style wall paintings found in room g during the recent excavations shed light on the ways in which landscape representations

⁷⁶ De Simone and Ruffo, 'Ercolano e la Villa dei Papyri', 294; Moormann, 'Wall Paintings in the Villa of the Papyri', 70.

⁷⁷ E. M. Moormann, 'Der römische Freskenzyklus mit großen Figuren in der Villa 6 in Terzigno', in T. Ganschow, M. Steinhart, D. Berges, and T. Fröhlich (eds), *Otium: Festschrift für Volker Michael Strocka* (Ramshaden 2005) 257–66.

FIG. 4.17 Villa Arianna B, peristylum-garden DI, southeast wall of porticus 1.

Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archacologici di Napoli e Pompei.



FIG. 4.18 Villa of the Papyri, northeast ala e, reconstruction (© Mantha Zarmakoupi. Modelling undertaken at the Experiential Technologies Center, University of California, Los Angeles).

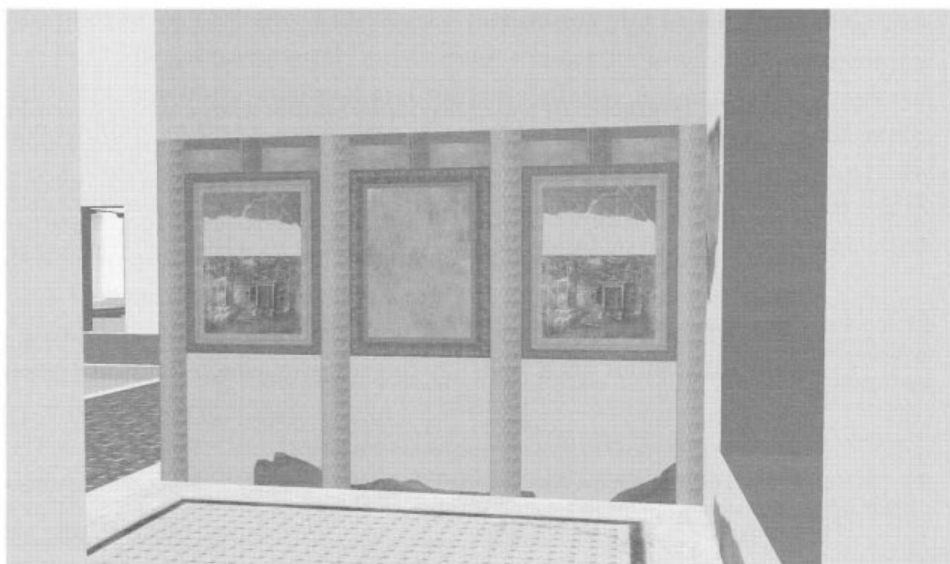
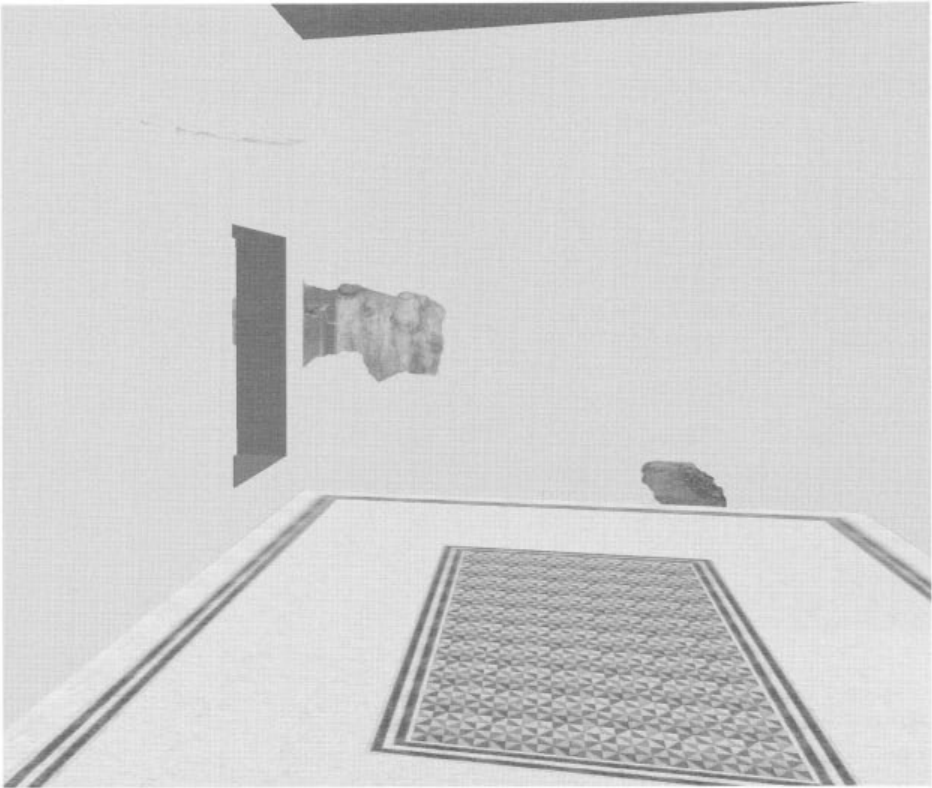


FIG. 4.19 Villa of the Papyri, northeast wall of room i, reconstruction (© Mantha Zarmakoupi. Modelling undertaken at the Experiential Technologies Center, University of California, Los Angeles).



were integrated in the decorative schemes of the Second Style.⁷⁸ In the central tableau, a wall in a foreshortened view features in the foreground, while the views from a small double lancet window on it and a wide opening at its upper part give the impression of an open space beyond the wall (see Figure 4.20). A rich festoon of leaves with a yellow taenia hangs down from the window. The opening on the upper part of the wall is interrupted by a panel in perspective with two half-closed wickets, through which a female standing figure is seen.⁷⁹ A comparison with the Second Style wall painting of the east wall of oecus 15 in Oplontis Villa A is interesting here. There, a representation of a propylon frames an ‘urban landscape’ of monumental double-tiered colonnades beyond, while peacocks, smaller birds, and other objects arrest our attention in the foreground (see Figures 2.18, 4.9, 6.3). Above the first colonnade row, at the corners of the room, heavily

⁷⁸ No pieces of them seem to have been cut out and transported to the museum in Portici by Karl Weber’s excavators.

⁷⁹ Esposito in Guidobaldi and Esposito, ‘New Archaeological Research’, 26–7.

FIG. 4.20 Villa of the Papyri, fragment of wall painting from room g (Source: Guidobaldi and Esposito, 'New Archaeological Research', fig. 8).

Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali—Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

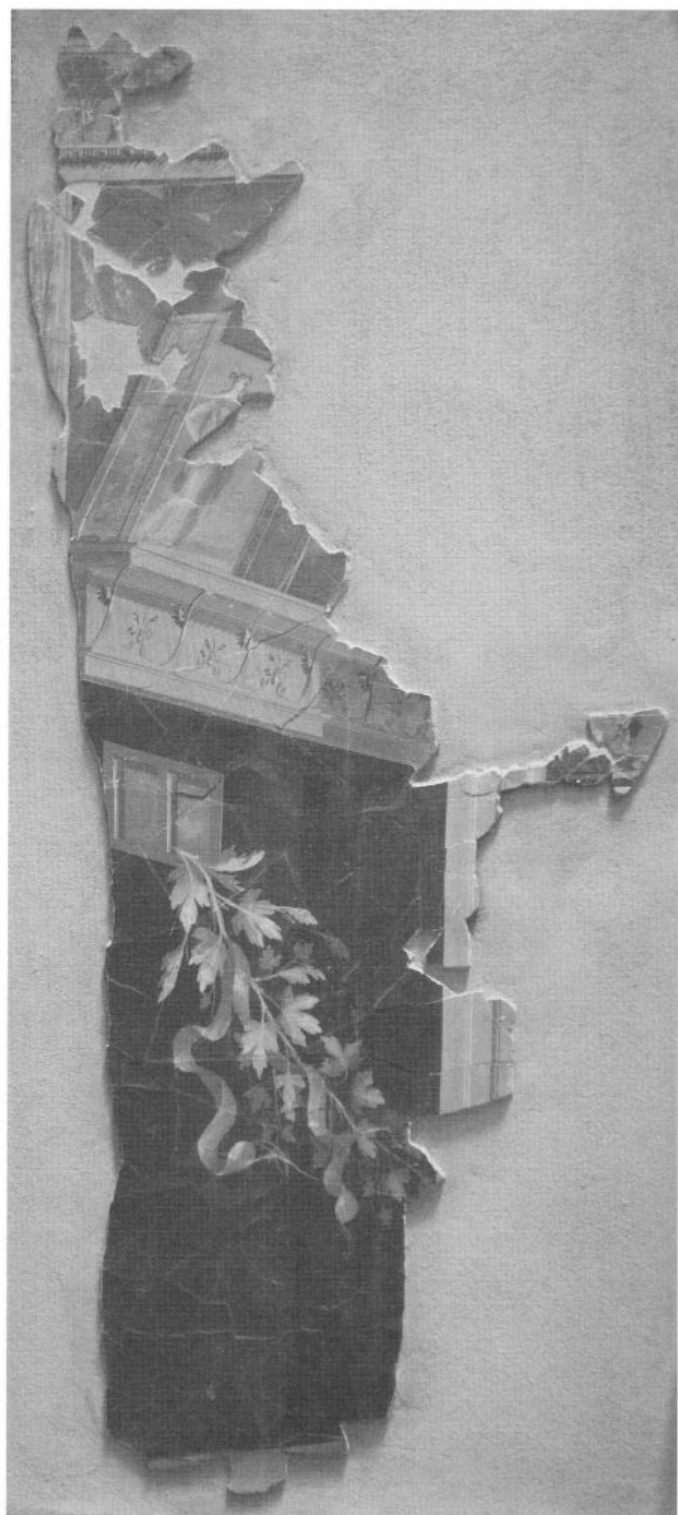
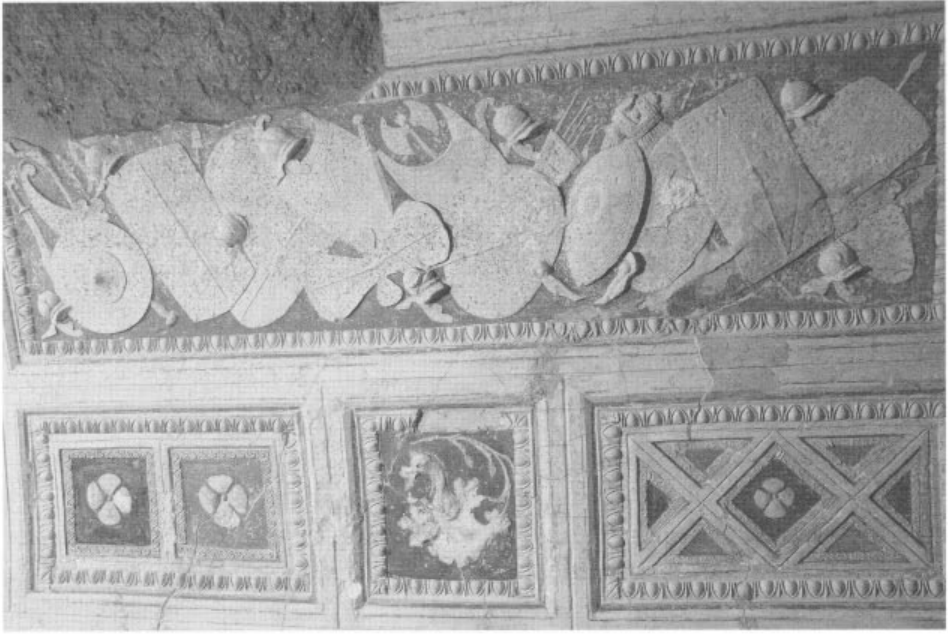


FIG. 4.21 Villa of the Papyri, room I of the first lower level of the *basis villae*. Detail of the vaulted stuccoed ceiling (Source: Guidobaldi and Esposito, 'New Archaeological Research', fig. 29).

Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali—Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



framed and shuttered panels represent seascapes, which operate as visual accents in the composition. In Villa of the Papyri the emphasis vis-à-vis architecture and landscape is slightly inverted. The representation of an enclosed space is enriched by views of an open seascape or landscape instead of a city. The panel above that interrupts the landscape view represents a static image, while the colourful pile of leaves attracts the eye towards the front. Like in Oplontis Villa A, the landscapes of the Second Style are visual accents: there with respect to the grandiose representation of the two-storied monumental colonnade that occupies the main part of the wall; here with respect to the interior space, whose details we unfortunately lack. It may be said that they are overshadowed by the realistic and close to life-size structures or people with which they are represented.

In situ landscape representations in Fourth Style wall paintings from the Villa of the Papyri come from the newly excavated room I of the *basis villae* (see Figure 2.14)—a rectangular room composed of two different spaces, an antechamber and a hall or alcove (3.80 m × 7.30 m).⁸⁰ The original decoration of the room dates to the Second Style decorative phase of the atrium quarter (40–25 BCE).⁸¹ From this phase the stuccoed ceiling decoration of the hall featuring rectangular

⁸⁰ Other landscape representations from Fourth Style wall paintings were found in the eighteenth-century excavations but their exact location is unknown and there is not enough information to discuss them in relation to the wall painting schemes. See: Moormann, 'Wall Paintings in the Villa of the Papyri', 74–6, table 1.

⁸¹ Esposito in Guidobaldi and Esposito, 'New Archaeological Research', 33–42.

panels with piles of weapons was kept (see Figure 4.21), while the wall paintings of the room and the ceiling of the antechamber were refurbished and are dated to the Herculanean Fourth Style or to a transitional phase between the Third and Fourth Style (35–45 BCE).⁸² In the wall paintings of the hall, small pinakes of landscape representations are centrally placed. Although small and delicate, these pinakes are the principal subject of the sparsely adorned walls, which is typical of wall painting compositions with landscape in this period. As in Villa Oplontis A, the decorative schemes of the Fourth Style show a new emphasis in the approach to landscape representation. From its role as a visual accent in Second Style representations of monumental Hellenistic architecture or the close to life-size human figures, landscape became a bold protagonist in the schemes of the Third Style (which unfortunately we lack at the Villa of the Papyri) and acquired a more refined and balanced place in the compositions of the Fourth Style. This development in the representation of landscape must be related to contemporary changes in villa architecture that were discussed earlier, regarding the transformation of the peristyle garden. The development in the representation of landscape in Second, Third, and Fourth Style decorations is also noted in other Campanian examples;⁸³ and the unique corpus of evidence for the villas analysed here allows me to discuss the wall paintings in their architectural contexts.

In the Villa of the Papyri there is no similar development vis-à-vis the peristyle garden. On the one hand, the villa was in a densely-built area and such extensions might not have been possible. On the other hand, the owners might have chosen to keep the more conventional forms of the rectangular and square peristyles, with all the Hellenistic affiliations that they bore—*nota bene* the portrait of Hellenistic kings and leaders featuring in them (A.2)—together with the new additions and refurbishments. We may parallel this choice to the one made in the Second Style wall-painting decorations that were kept in houses over a period of 150 years in some cases. In the Villa of the Papyri the owners kept the Second Style wall paintings of the atrium as well as the Second Style stuccoed vaulted ceiling of room I of the *basis villae*, alongside the new fashions of the Fourth. The piles of weapons on the stuccoed ceiling—a well-known iconographic motif—made reference to military campaigns, which might have been conducted by the owner of the villa or his ancestors. The frieze, however, not only contains weapons of the Hellenistic tradition, but includes Western Barbarian and Eastern

⁸² Herculanean Fourth Style: Moormann, 'Wall Paintings in the Villa of the Papyri', 71–8. Transition phase between the Third and Fourth Style: Esposito in Guidobaldi and Esposito, 'New Archaeological Research', 35. At the time of the eruption further works of restoration were underway. The completion of the excavation of the room has revealed the presence of a series of overlapping layers of paintings pertaining to different decorative phases dating between the second half of the first century BCE and 79 CE.

⁸³ Peters, 'Die Landschaft in der Wandmalerei Kampaniens', 261–2.

elements, which might have been part of a visual strategy for the self-representation of the owner.⁸⁴ Entertaining the idea that Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus was the villa's owner, we may think that Piso—the bearer of the spoils of Thrace, to quote Antipater of Thessalonica (his protégé)—decided to indulge not only his ears but his eyes as well (1, 75–80. *On Piso's defeat of the Bessi*. Trans. Gow and Page):

κοί με, Θρηϊκίης κυληφόρε, Θεσσαλονίκη
 Μήτηρ ἢ πάσης πέμψε Μακεδονίης,
 αἰίδω δ' ὑπὸ σοὶ δεδμημένον Ἄρεα Βεσσῶν
 ὅσσ' ἐδάην πολέμου πάντ' ἀναλεξάμενος.
 ἀλλὰ μοι ὡς θεὸς ἔσσο κατήκοος, εὐχομένου δέ
 κλυῖθι. τίς ἐκ Μούσας οὔατος ἀσχολίη;

Thessalonica, the mother of all Macedonia, has sent me to you, the bearer of the spoils of Thrace. I put together all I learnt of the war, and my song is of the Bessian fighting-men subdued beneath you. Listen to me, as a god may, and hear my prayer; how can the ear lack leisure for the Muses?⁸⁵

Antipater also sketched poems in praise of a Macedonian hat and sword as well as the former helmet of Pylaemenes, probably belonging to the son of a Galatian prince, which were now happily in the possession of Piso.⁸⁶ Regardless of whether Piso was the owner of the villa, these poems show that representations of weapons made apposite reference to the recently conquered Hellenistic East. As such they were appreciated for more than a hundred years. The descendant of Piso Caesoninus, or whoever the owner was, chose to keep the stucco ceiling, together with the Second Style decoration of the atrium quarter—as well as the Hellenistic-looking peristyle-gardens that were fittingly outfitted with the sculptural collections of Hellenistic kings and leaders (A.2).

Responding partly to spatial constraints and partly to the tastes and wishes of villa owners, architects adopted new designs in order to follow changing fashions, such as the swimming pools and playful artificial and natural landscapes that we see in Villa Oplontis A. They built detached pavilions around villas which

⁸⁴ Esposito in Guidobaldi and Esposito, 'New Archaeological Research', 38–41. On the representation of weapons see: E. Polito, *Fulgentibus Armis: Introduzione allo studio dei fregi d'armi antichi, Xenia antiqua 4* (Rome 1998). See also: K. E. Welch, 'Domi Militariae: Roman Domestic Aesthetics and War Booty in the Republic', in S. Dillon and K. E. Welch (eds), *Representations of War in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge and New York 2006) 91–161.

⁸⁵ A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (eds), *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip and Some Contemporary Epigrams*, 2 vols (Cambridge 1968) vol. 1, 12–13; commentary: vol. 2, 21–2.

⁸⁶ Antipater of Thessalonica 41, 42, and 43. Gow and Page, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 1, 36–9; commentary: vol. 2, 52–4.

served these new fashions: to the northwest the famous round Belvedere that was situated in the midst of a garden with fountains and overlooked the sea; to the southwest a monumental hall above a swimming pool that was placed a few metres from the sea (see Figures 2.4, 2.10–12). These detached structures remind us of those represented in the sacro-idyllic landscapes of the Third Style. We may compare the detached structures of the Villa of the Papyri to the nymphaea incorporated into the substructures of Villa Arianna A and Villa Arianna B in Stabiae, to the luxurious pavilion just to the southeast of the Villa of the Papyri as well as to the House of the Relief of Telephus—or even to the entire Villa of Tiberius on Capri, itself being a villa in isolation. As for the scale of the monumental hall of the Villa of the Papyri we may compare it to the (better preserved) monumental hall of the villa at Somma di Vesuvio, on the other side of the crater.⁸⁷

These detached pavilions near the shore recall images of deserted islands. The deserted island is a literary topos that gained currency in the first century BCE, arising from the situation of Delos after the Mithridatic wars. Antipater of Thessalonica composed several poetic sketches on the subject. Particularly interesting is one in which he speaks of ‘deserted islands’ as ‘fragments of land which the Aegean wave’s loud-sounding cincture holds within’ (28, 231–6. *Deserted islands*. Trans. Gow and Page):

νήσοι ἐρημαῖαι, τρύφεια χθονός, ἄς κελαδεινός
ζωστήρ Αἰγαίου κύματος ἐντός ἔχει,
Cίφρον ἐμμήσασθε καὶ αὐχμηρὴν Φολέγανδρον,
τλήμονες, ἀρχαίην δ’ ὠλέσατ’ ἀγλαίην.
ἦ ῥ’ ὑμᾶς ἐδίδαξεν ἐὼν τρόπον ἢ ποτε λευκή
Δῆλος ἐρημαίου δαίμονος ἀρξαμένη.

Deserted islands, fragments of land which the Aegean wave’s
loud-sounding cincture holds within, you have copied Siphnos
and parched Pholegandros; poor wretches, you have lost your
ancient splendour. Surely you have been taught her own ways
by Delos, once so bright, the first to meet a doom of desolation.⁸⁸

The pavilion of the Villa of the Papyri, as well as the other examples I have mentioned, simulates this image. Delos was not an irrelevant literary topos on the bay of Naples—the Campanian satirist Lucilius referred to the mighty port of Puteoli as ‘a lesser Delos’.⁸⁹ The detached pavilions surrounded by sea evoked the

⁸⁷ M. Aoyagi, C. Angelelli, and S. Matsuyama, ‘La cd. Villa di Augusto a Somma Vesuviana (NA) alla luce delle più recenti ricerche archeologiche (campagne di scavo 2002–2008)’, *Amoenitas*, 1 (2009) 177–219.

⁸⁸ Gow and Page, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 1, 30–1; commentary: vol. 2, 43. Other poems on Delos: Antipater of Thessalonica 94, 113; Gow and Page, 70–1, 82–3.

⁸⁹ Paulus, *ex Fest.* 88.4: *Minorem Delum’ Puteolos esse dixerunt . . . unde Lucilius—inde Dicarchitum populos Delumque minorem* (= Lucil.118) c.140 BCE.

theme of the deserted sacred island, whose economic might the *crater delicatus*, and its inhabitants, now enjoyed.

Whether the villa was a porticus-cum-garden sprawl or was centred on a peristyle and atrium core with island-like pavilions, both styles embodied different architectural responses to the challenges that the open landscape posed to designers. As the spaces of the villas grew larger and spread onto the landscape, artists created decorative schemes with which to embellish them. The frailty of the wall divisions and the light painting of the Fourth Style were appropriate solutions. The decorative schemes were visually less crowded and made clearer backdrops for ornate gardens, or foregrounds for a stunning view. The miniature landscape panels that were almost suspended in the middle of the walls—like small deserted ‘islands’—provided a fitting central theme. Another was the representation of *xenia*, which playfully celebrated the richness of the banquets that were taking place in the large banqueting halls of the villas, such as the rooms in the east wing of Villa Oplontis A and the seaside pavilion in Villa of the Papyri.

These architectural and decorative developments, occurring over the course of about a hundred years, are concomitant with and indicative of a growing appreciation for landscape that Romans fostered from the late Republic onwards. From being a marginal visual accent in the Second Style representations of monumental Hellenistic architecture, landscape acquired a dominant role in the decorative schemes of the Third Style and came to play a more refined and balanced part in the compositions of the Fourth Style. The transformation of the Hellenistic-derived form of the rectangular peristyle structure to more open arrangements of porticus structures adjacent to gardens was an architectural response to the growing awareness of the qualities of the landscape around the villas—while the balanced compositions of the Fourth Style were the creative solution to the question of how to beautify the big spaces that opened onto those landscapes. Designers departed from the norms of Hellenistic architecture to create a style that responded to the particular landforms of Rome and took advantage of the views of the surrounding landscape, while artists moved away from the solemn perspectives of the Second Style to create the sophisticated, delicate decorative schemes of the Fourth.

TABLE 1. Areas of porticoed gardens in m²

	Villa of the Papyri	Villa Oplontis A	Villa Arianna A	Villa Arianna B	Villa San Marco
Total m ² of villas	5,760	13,000 double scenario: 26,190	14,200	2,475	14,100
Total m ² of porticoed gardens	3,876	8,772 double scenario: 15,058	8,305	630	7,950
% of porticoed garden areas	67 %	67.5 % double scenario: 57 %	58.5 %	25 %	56.4 %

TABLE 2. Areas of individual porticoed gardens in relation to overall area of villas (in m²)A. Villa of the Papyri (see Figure App.1):

Overall area: 5,760

A.1. Big peristylum-garden: 94.44 × 31.74 m = 2,998A.2. Small peristylum-garden: 29.624 × 29.624 = 878B. Villa Oplontis A (see Figure App.2):

Overall area: 13,000

Overall area (double scenario): 26,190

B.1. Peristylum-garden 32: 12 × 16 m = 192B.2. Southeast porticus-garden 40-59: 21 × 30 m = 630B.3. East porticus-garden 60-80-92-96-98: 38 × 75 m = 2,850

Double scenario: [east + southeast porticus-gardens = 3,480 ; BUT × 2 (if there are symmetrical ones to the west) = 6,960]

B.4. North porticus-garden 33-34-56: 68 × 75 m = 5,100

North peristylum-garden (double scenario): 68 × 107 m = 7,276

C. Villa Arianna A (see Figure App.3):

Overall area: 14,200

C.1. West peristylum-garden H-Z: 108 × 58 m = 6,264C.2. Central porticus-garden 71-73-X-U: 6.40 × 40 m = 1,600C.3. Entrance peristylum-garden W22: 6.21 × 21 m = 441D. Villa Arianna B (see Figure App.4):

Overall area: 2,475

D.1. Peristylum-garden 1: 35 × 18 m = 630E. Villa San Marco (see Figure App.5):

Overall area: 14,100

E.1. Peristylum-garden 20-5-3-9: 40 × 50 m = 2,000E.2. Southwest peristylum-garden 1-2 (probably added from next-door villa) : 113 × 50 m = 5,650E.3. Entrance peristylum-garden: 15 × 20 m = 300

Water features: Euripi, natationes, and nymphaea

Water in the first century CE had become an essential element in villa architecture. It was indispensable for daily maintenance and hygiene, and a necessity for the garden, but it was also another marker of the ‘new era’ of the Roman empire—as the villas’ porticoed façades were—since it underlined the technological advances of the period, which enabled it to flow in copious amounts into the fountains and pools of villa gardens. The improved supply from aqueducts had inspired playful uses of water in the urban centre of Rome, which emperors and members of the elite emulated in their private houses and villas. This chapter addresses the ways in which designers followed the ubiquitous contemporary play of water and architecture to signify a life of luxury and pleasure.

Water bore polysemous mythological and symbolic resonances and its use in the villas enriched the cultural expressions of luxury life. As a sophisticated element of architectural design, water became another characteristic attribute of the luxury villa. As a physical element it provided a stage for sensual encounters in social practice. Designers used its mythic connotations and its physical properties to embellish villas’ interior landscapes, animate their architectural forms, and diffuse cultural references into the life of the villas. In doing so, they created a versatile language of architecture and water, which became representative of elite villa culture. In order to address the multifaceted ways in which designers employed water and its mythological and symbolic associations, I mention examples from other villas, discussing well-attested features that may be absent from the five case studies. Although water features became characteristic of villa architecture, the wide range of mythological, symbolic, and sensual associations that artists and designers could draw on allowed for an equally wide range of visual themes and schemes in their repertoire.

WATER SUPPLY AND WATER-MANIA

The increased levels of state and personal wealth arising from the new imperialist foreign policy in the second century BCE facilitated the funding of aqueduct

construction. The Aqua Marcia (144–40 BCE), for instance, was paid for by the booty obtained from Rome's defeat of Corinth and Carthage in 146 BCE. Roman engineers improved the basic technology of aqueduct water supply with a series of innovations, settling tanks, and regulation reservoirs, while the construction technique of *opus caementicium* enabled them to build arcades to carry channels over valleys and low-lying terrain on a large scale and with unprecedented rapidity. During the reign of Augustus, three aqueducts were added for the water supply of the city of Rome, the Julia (33 BCE), the Virgo (22–19 BCE), and the Alsietina (2 BCE). The standard measurement of volume, the *quinariae*, is suggestive of the engineering developments taking place in this period—as part of Augustus' reorganization in 11 BCE (Frontin. *Aq.* 99.4). The measurement was based on the *fitula quinaria*, a pipe one-and-a-quarter digits in diameter (Frontin. *Aq.* 25.1–5)—roughly equal to 2.3 cm in diameter and to 4.15 cm² in area.¹

The ready supply of water fostered a growing culture of public bathing as well as the ornamental use of water in public fountains, spectacles, and nymphaea (in turn these generated the need for more water).² The availability of water enabled emperors to stage ostentatious spectacles in the city of Rome, such as Augustus' *naumachia*, which simulated the battle of Salamis (Ovid. *Ars Am.* 1.171–2). The Alsietina aqueduct, which had poor quality water, was built especially for this event, and was also used for irrigation (Frontin. *Aq.* 11).³ The extensions of Aqua Claudia, which were built by Nero after the fire of 64 CE, fed into his monumental nymphaeum along the east side of the base of the Temple of Divius Claudius on the Caelian Hill, and its overflow supplied the *stagnum* of his Domus Aurea. The all-pervasive water mania in public architecture, as seen in the increasing numbers of public fountains, exedra- or façade-nymphaea structures, as well as spectacles and staged battles involving water (*naumachiae*) from

¹ R. H. Rodgers (ed.), *Frontinus: De aquaeductu urbis Romae*, Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries 42 (Cambridge and New York 2004) 210–11. On what Frontinus means by this unit see: R. M. Taylor, *Public Needs and Private Pleasures: Water Distribution, the Tiber River and the Urban Development of Ancient Rome*, *Studia archaeologica* 109 (Rome 2000) 33–9.

² F. Glaser, 'Fountains and Nymphaea', in Ö. Wikander (ed.), *Handbook of Ancient Water Technology, Technology and Change in History* 2 (Leiden 2000) 413–51, at 439–46; A. Koloski-Ostrow, N. de Haan, and G. de Kleijn, 'Water in the Roman Town: New Research from Cura Aquarum and the Frontinus Society', *JRA* 10 (1997) 181–90; A. Wilson, 'Hydraulic Engineering and Water Supply', in J. P. Oleson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Engineering and Technology in the Classical World* (Oxford and New York 2008) 285–318, at 296–305.

³ R. M. Taylor, 'Torrent or Trickle? The Aqua Alsietina, the Naumachia Augusti, and the Transtiberim', *AJA* 101 (1997) 465–92; Taylor, *Public Needs and Private Pleasures*, 169–200. On *naumachiae* see: K. M. Coleman, 'Launching into History: Aquatic Displays in the Early Empire', *JRS* 83 (1993) 48–74; F. Garelli, 'Sport or Showbiz? The *Naumachiae* of Imperial Rome', in S. Bell and G. Davies (eds), *Games and Festivals in Classical Antiquity: Proceedings of the Conference held in Edinburgh 10–12 July 2000*, BAR-IS 1220 (Oxford 2004) 115–24.

the end of the first century BCE, triggered similar manifestations in the private realm. Decorative structures, such as fountains, nymphaea, and pools, entered the vocabulary of domestic architecture towards the end of the first century BCE, by which time the impluvium, along with the atrium, lost its use and had become a symbol of older times – a mere ornament.⁴

Branches of aqueducts usually served villas. Statius records that the villa of Manlius Vopiscus at Tibur was supplied from Aqua Marcia by a siphon running across the bed of the river Anio.⁵ We know of a branch off the Aqua Marcia, at Tibur (Tivoli), that would probably have served a rich man's villa.⁶ Nero's villa at Sublaqueum (modern Subiaco) must have tapped one of the three dams that Nero had built nearby to form pleasure lakes (Frontin. *Aq.* 93.2; Tac. *Ann.* 14.22.2; Pl. *HN* 3.109). The villas along the Via Appia at Rome must have tapped the aqueducts as they came to the city, and the villas in Trastevere must have used the Aqua Alsietina (Frontin. *Aq.* 11.2).⁷ The buildings' owners developed methods to make the most of the available supply. For instance, in the villas examined by the South Etruria survey, large cisterns were used to store water delivered by the aqueduct while it was not being used.⁸ The bay of Naples was supplied by the Serino aqueduct, which was constructed in the Augustan period (30–20 BCE) by Agrippa to serve the fleet at Misenum.⁹ Branches of this aqueduct

⁴ For Pompeian gardens: R. Borghi, 'L'acqua come ornamento nella domus Pompeiana: Documentazione archeologica e fonti letterarie', in L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli (eds), *Architettura e pianificazione urbana nell'Italia antica*, Atlante tematico di topografia antica: Rivista 6 (Rome 1997) 35–50, at 38–42.

⁵ ...teque, per obliquum penitus quae laberis amnem, Marcia, et audaci transcurris flumina plumbo? ...you Marcia, gliding far down athwart the river, your daring lead running across its flow? Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.66–7. Trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Loeb edn. Statius admired the engineering audacity. A. T. Hodge, *Roman Aqueducts and Water Supply*, 1st edn (London 1993) 157.

⁶ Hodge, *Roman Aqueducts*, 49–50, 399, n. 5. Martial 9.18 for complaints about such use.

⁷ On Nero's villa: M. A. Tomei, 'La villa di Nerone a Subiaco: Scavi e ricerche', *Archeologia Laziale* 6 (1984) 250–9; Z. Mari, 'La valle dell'Aniene nell'antichità', *Atti e memorie della società tiburtina di storia e d'arte* 68 (1995) 25–52, at 49–52; Z. Mari and M. G. Fiore Cavaliere, 'Subiaco: I due ninfei della villa di Nerone,' in V. Cazzato, M. Fagiolo, and M. A. Giusti (eds), *Atlante delle grotte e dei ninfei in Italia. Toscana, Lazio, Italia meridionale e isole*, Grandi monumenti del Lazio 1 (Milan 2001) 268–75; M. G. Fiore Cavaliere, Z. Mari, and A. Luttazzi, 'La villa di Nerone a Subiaco e le fundazione del monastero benedettino di S. Clemente', in Z. Mari, M. T. Petrara, and M. Sperandio (eds), *Il Lazio tra antichità e medioevo: Studi in memoria di Jean Costé* (Rome 1999) 341–62, at 341–53. On the dams of Nero: T. Ashby, *The Aqueducts of Ancient Rome* (Oxford 1935) 253–6; N. A. F. Smith, *A History of Dams* (London 1971) 26–32; Hodge, *Roman Aqueducts*, 87.

⁸ A. Wilson, 'Villas, Horticulture and Irrigation Infrastructure in the Tiber Valley', in F. Coarelli and H. Patterson (eds), *Mercator Placidissimus: The Tiber Valley in Antiquity: New Research in the Upper and Middle River Valley, Rome 27–28 February 2004*, Quaderni di Eutopia 8 (Rome 2009) 731–68, at 734–49.

⁹ I. Sgobbo, 'Serino: L'acquedotto romano della Campania: "Fontis Augustei Aquaeductus"', *NSc* (1938) 75–97; U. Potenza, 'Gli acquedotti romani di Serino', in N. de Haan and G. C. M. Jansen (eds), *Cura Aquarium in Campania: Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress on the History of Water Management and Hydraulic Engineering in the Mediterranean Region, Pompeii, 1–8, 1994*, BABesch Supplement 4 (Leiden 1996)

must have brought water to Villa Oplontis A and the Villa of the Papyri.¹⁰ In Villa Oplontis A, feeder pipes have been found at the north of the east garden leading to pool 96. At the southwest of the north garden they are attached to an open water feature that had gone out of use by the time of the eruption.¹¹ The aqueducts answered the needs of the villa, not only for its kitchen and irrigation, but also for its pleasures: the baths, the fountains, the swimming pools, and the gardens.¹²

But aqueducts were not the only way for villas to obtain water. Some villas were located in remote places and natural springs would satisfy their needs. Villa San Marco, Villa Arianna A, and Villa Arianna B were in the more distant part of the bay of Naples, and probably got their water from the rich sources of Mountain Lattari.¹³ Generally, villas were strategically situated in the landscape to make the most of the geomorphology and water resources;¹⁴ in fact, some villas, like the Villa Anguillara Sabazia near lake Braciano, were deliberately built next to a water

93–9, at 95–6; M. Döring, 'Wasser für den Sinus Baianus: Römische Ingenieur- und Wasserbauten der Phlegraicischen Felder', *AW* 33 (2002) 305–19; M. Döring, 'Die römische Wasserversorgung von Pozzuoli, Baia und Miseno (Italien)', in C. Ohlig, (ed.), *Cura Aquarum in Israel: In Memoriam Dr. Ya'akov Eren: Proceedings of the 11th International Conference on the History of Water Management and Hydraulic Engineering in the Mediterranean Region, Israel, 7–12 May 2001*, Schriften der Deutschen Wasserhistorischen Gesellschaft 1 (Siegburg 2002) 253–65.

¹⁰ This is generally assumed for Pompeii and for Herculaneum as well. The connections that fed Pompeii and Herculaneum have not been found. G. Jansen, 'The Water System: Supply and Drainage', in J. J. Dobbins and P. W. Foss (eds), *The World of Pompeii* (London and New York 2007) 257–66, at 260; G. Jansen, 'Water Systems and Sanitation in the Houses of Herculaneum', *Meded* 50 (1991) 145–66, at 152, 164 n. 13. For evidence on the Serino Aqueduct see: S. A. G. Piras, 'Cura Aquarum in Campania: Eine Einführung', in N. de Haan and G. C. M. Jansen (eds), *Cura Aquarum in Campania: Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress on the History of Water Management and Hydraulic Engineering in the Mediterranean Region, Pompeii, 1–8, 1994*, BABesch Supplement 4 (Leiden 1996) 87–91; M. Döring, *Römische Häfen, Aquädukte und Zisternen in Campanien: Bestandsaufnahme der antiken Wasserbauten*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Wasserbau und Wasserwirtschaft 142 (Darmstadt 2007).

¹¹ The Oplontis Project team documented this open water feature (OPK3 trench). It abuts the modern stairway that leads from the modern entrance to the site down to the villa proper. Thomas and Clarke, 'Water Features, the Atrium and the Coastal Setting', 373–4.

¹² F. Glaser, 'Water Landscaping', in Ö. Wikander (ed.), *Handbook of Ancient Water Technology, Technology and Change in History* 2 (Leiden 2000) 453–66, 453; A. Malissard, *Les Romains et l'eau: Fontaines, salles de bains, thermes, égouts, aqueducs*, Réalia (Paris 1994), 76. From the Augustan period on, aqueducts undergo a rapid diffusion throughout Italy and the provinces: W. Eck, 'Die Wasserversorgung im römischen Reich: Sozio-politische Bedingungen, Recht und Administration', in E. Eck and F. Glaser (eds), *Die Wasserversorgung antiker Städte: Pergamon, Rechte/Verwaltung, Brunnen/Nymphäen, Brauelemente*, Geschichte der Wasserversorgung 2 (Mainz am Rhein 1987) 49–101, at 57, 63, and 66.

¹³ R. Thomas and A. Wilson, 'Water Supply for Roman Farms in Latium and South Etruria', *PBSR* 62 (1994) 139–96, esp. 140–57.

¹⁴ F. Dell'Era, 'Villa e paesaggio: Gli impianti idraulici', *BullCom* 101 (2000) 249–62; E.-M. Vitanen, *Locus Bonus: The Relationship of the Roman Villa to its Environment in the Vicinity of Rome*, Ph.D. Diss. (Helsinki 2010) 100–3. Available at: <<https://helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10138/19448>>

source.¹⁵ Most of these residences would have had provisions to store rainwater but also to gather water from nearby aqueducts to cater to irrigation and bathing. Villa Iovis on Capri, for example, satisfied its needs with a huge cistern (29.55 × 32.8 m, c. 5.80 m high), which formed the epicentre of the villa's composition.¹⁶

The availability of water, facilitated either through aqueducts or natural springs, had an influence on garden design. The study of Pompeian house gardens, for instance, indicates that the construction of the aqueduct in the Augustan period affected how they were planned. Jashemski has proposed that the style and layout of gardens completely changed when the aqueduct was built and can be actually dated to pre- and post-aqueduct periods.¹⁷ The chief difference is that initially gardens consisted largely of trees, which require little surface water (as at the House of Polybius [IX 13, 1–3]);¹⁸ later they were adorned with flowers and shallow-rooted plants, which require more water, as at the House of the Vettii (VI 15, 1), the House of the Golden Bracelet (VI 17, 42–4), and the House of the Ephebos (I 7, 10–12, 19).¹⁹ The availability of water created a trend that was followed even in houses that did not get their supply from the Augustan aqueduct. Recent studies have shown that low planting and ornamental water structures appeared even in gardens that had no connections to a pipe water supply in order to follow architectural fashions, as in house I 12, 11 and in the House of the Chaste Lovers.²⁰ Similarly, the planting of plane trees in the central porticus of Villa San Marco between 20 and 5 BCE, although not imme-

¹⁵ R. Vighi, 'Anguillara Sabazia: Scoperta di una grande villa d'età repubblicana all'Acqua Claudia', *NSc* (1940) 398–419; R. Vighi, 'Architettura curvilinea romana: La villa ad esedra dell'Acqua Claudia', *Palladio* 5 (1941) 145–60. The source produces naturally effervescent water that the *Acqua Claudia* factory still exploits today. The villa is located in the estate of the *Acqua Claudia* factory.

¹⁶ C. Krause, *Villa Iovis: Die Residenz des Tiberius auf Capri*, Sonderbände der Antiken Welt: Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie (Mainz am Rhein 2003) 63, 72, fig.101, 82–3, figs.120–22.

¹⁷ A water supply system was in place before the construction of the Augustan aqueduct, as indicated by the traces of water pipes found in the remains of the house under the Stabian Baths (dated to c.50 BCE). However this system did not provide the same abundance of water as the Augustan aqueduct. N. de Haan, 'Privatbäder in Pompeji und Herkulaneum und die städtische Wasserleitung', *Mitteilungen: Leichtweiss-Institut für Wasserbau der Technischen Universität Braunschweig* 117 (1992) 423–45, at 428–9.

¹⁸ Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, 25–30, 32–3; Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii II*, 166.

¹⁹ W. M. F. Jashemski, 'The Use of Water in Pompeian Gardens', in N. de Haan and G. C. M. Jansen (eds), *Cura Aquarium in Campania: Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress on the History of Water Management and Hydraulic Engineering in the Mediterranean Region, Pompeii 1–8 October 1994*, BABesch Supplement 4 (Leiden 1996) 51–8, at 53; Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii II*, 38–41 (House of the Ephebos), 153–7 (House of the Vettii), and 166–7 (House of Golden Bracelet). See also: Grimal, *Jardins romains*, 312–19; Hodge, *Roman Aqueducts*, 306.

²⁰ Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, 31–2; G. Jansen, 'Water and Water Technology in the Pompeian Garden', in S. T. A. M. Mols and E. M. Moormann (eds), *Omni pede stare: Saggi architettonici e circumvesuviani in memoriam Jos de Waele*, Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei 9 (Naples 2005) 277–89, at 289.

diately affected by the construction of the Augustan aqueduct, must have been the result of this trend.²¹ Plane trees require a lot of water—the owner(s) of Villa San Marco followed the trend in choosing these extravagant and exotic trees for the refurbishment of their garden in the Julio-Claudian period.

The ready availability of water in the Imperial period facilitated the ornamental use of water in the architecture of houses and luxury villas. Whereas before it had been possible to be creative with water when it was available, as in Quintus' estate in Arpinum,²² the water supply enabled this even when no water spring was nearby. Pliny the Younger complained that his Laurentine villa lacked a natural supply—probably because he would have to pay to tap the local aqueduct.²³ In any case, whether someone had an estate with its own water resources, or had to buy access to an aqueduct, water architecture became another attribute of the luxury villa and was emulated in middle-class houses and even in those without piped water. In Cicero's time, water was a desirable element in villa architecture, and the abundance of water available at villa estates generated ideas about ways to employ it. By the end of the first century CE, water and water architecture had become essential elements in luxury Roman villas.

WATER AS LUXURY

The conspicuous use of water in luxury villas has a precedent in the Near Eastern ornamental pleasure gardens, or *paradeisoi*. The Assyrians employed the shafts-and-gallery technique, which enabled them to transfer water from river or springs through tunnels while surveying its quality at manageable intervals. They also used the *qanat* system, which collected groundwater and channelled it by the flow of gravity.²⁴ Of course, in the desert water is a necessity. The *paradeisos*

²¹ A. Ciarallo 'L'architettura: 3. Osservazioni sui platani dei portici'.

²² At the end of the first century BCE, Cicero wrote to his brother Quintus praising the water springs in Quintus' estate at Arpinum, and advised him to accommodate his future villa there with a fishpond and water fountains: *Ego locum aestate umbrosiorem vidi nunquam; permultis locis aquam profluentem et cam uberem . . . mirifica suavitate villam habiturum piscina et salientibus additis, palaestra et silva viridicata*. 'I never saw a shadier place in summer. There is running water all over and plenty of it . . . you will have an exceptionally charming country house, when certain extras have been put in: a fish-pond, fountains, a palaestra, and a wood.' *Q Fr.* 3.1.3. Trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Loeb edn.

²³ *Haec utilitas haec amoenitas deficitur aqua salienti, sed puteos ac potius fontes habet; sunt enim in summo. Et omnino litoris illius mira natura: quacumque loco moveris humum, obvisus et paratus umor occurrit, isque sincerus ac ne leviter quidem tanta maris vicinitate corruptus*. 'Only one thing is needed to complete the amenities and beauty of the house—running water; but there are wells, or rather springs, for they are very near the surface. It is in fact a remarkable characteristic of this shore that wherever you dig you come upon water at once which is pure and not in the least brackish, although the sea is so near.' Plin. *Ep.* 2.17.25. Trans. B. Radice, Loeb edn.

²⁴ For the aqueduct system supplying Babylon (late eighth–mid fifth century BCE) see: S. Dalley, 'Water Management in Assyria from the Ninth to the Seventh Centuries BC', *Aram* 14 (2002) 443–60. Earliest

theme toyed with the fact that an installation consuming large quantities of water for non-practical purposes is the greatest of luxuries and symbolizes wealth, status, and power.²⁵ The Achaemenid palace at Pasargadae (late sixth–early fifth century BCE), where a stream of water ran through the palace's gardens, is an example of the integration of the *paradeisos* theme in palace architecture.²⁶

In accord with the *paradeisos* trend, water became part of the vocabulary of palace architecture in the Near East during the Hellenistic and early Roman period. In the palace of Hyrcanus the Tobiad at Tyrus (early second century BCE) a pavilion (38 × 19 m, and 12 m high) stood in the middle of an artificial lake (Joseph *AJ* 12.228–34). In the so-called Palazzo delle Colonne in Ptolemais (beginning of the first century BCE) a swimming pool occupied the centre of the square big courtyard.²⁷ In the Hasmonean winter palaces at Jericho (late second to late first century BCE) seven or eight swimming and ornamental pools were built, two of which (the 'pool complex', each 18 × 13.4 m and 3.7–3.2 m deep) created a monumental approach to the central 'Pavilion' (see Figure 5.1).²⁸ In the palace complexes of the Roman client King Herod the Great (end of first

ganat system of the Achaemenid period in the Khargah Oasis in Egypt (mid fifth century BCE): M. Wuttmann, 'Les Quants De 'Ayn-Manâwir (oasis de Kharga, Égypte)', in P. Briant (ed.), *Irrigation et drainage dans l'antiquité: Qanats et canalisations souterraines en Iran, en Égypte et en Grèce*, Persika 2 (Paris 2001) 109–35. See summary of technological developments in: Wilson, 'Hydraulic Engineering', 290–3.

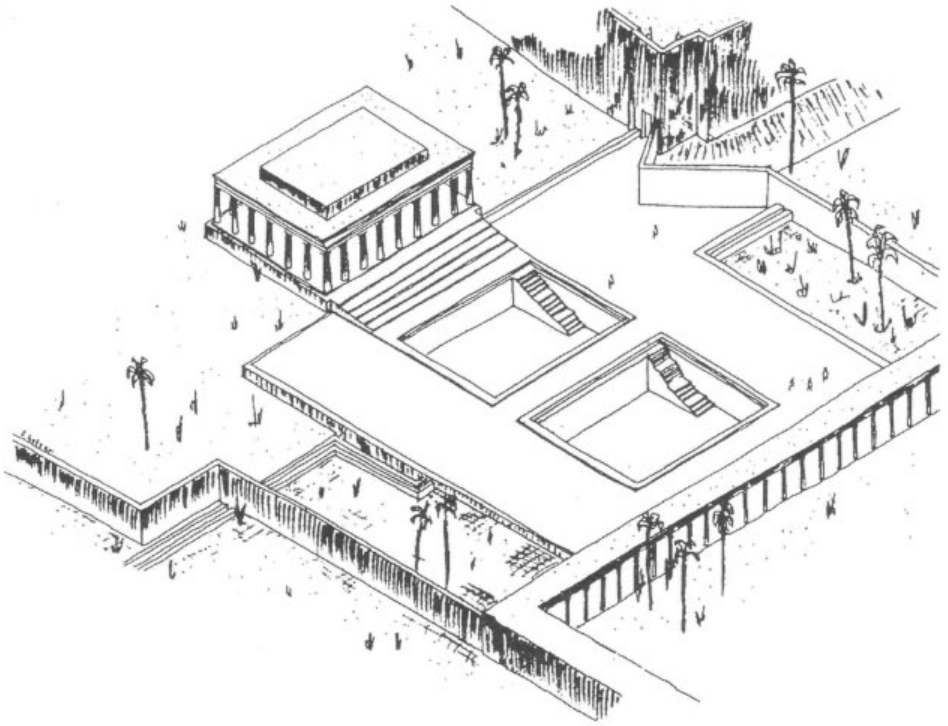
²⁵ A. Wilson, 'Running Water and Social Status in North Africa', in M. C. Horton and T. E. J. Wiedemann (eds), *North Africa from Antiquity to Islam: Papers of a Conference Held at Bristol, October 1994* (Bristol 1995) 52–6.

²⁶ Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces*, 37–9; D. Stronach, *Pasargadae: A Report on the Excavations Conducted by the British Institute of Persian Studies from 1961 to 1963* (Oxford 1978) 107–10, fig. 48; D. Stronach, 'The Royal Garden at Pasargadae: Evolution and Legacy', in L. de Meyer and E. Haerinck, *Archeologia Iranica et Orientalis: Miscellanea in Honorem Louis Vanden Berghe* (Ghent 1989) 475–502; D. Stronach, 'The Garden as a Political Statement: Some Case Studies from the Near East in the First Millennium BC', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 4 (1990) 171–80, at 174–6.

²⁷ Palace of Hyrcanus the Tobiad at Tyrus: E. Will and F. Larché, *Iraq al-Amir: Le château du tobiade Hyrcan. Vol. I: Texte*, 2 vols (Paris 1991); E. Will and F. Larché, *Iraq al-Amir: Le château du tobiade Hyrcan. Vol. II: Restitution et reconstruction*, 2 vols (Beyrouth 2005); E. Netzer, 'Floating in the Desert: A Pleasure Palace in Jordan', *Odyssey* 2 (1998) 46–55. Palazzo delle Colonne in Ptolemais: H. Lauter, 'Ptolemais in Libyen: Ein Beitrag zur Baukunst Alexandrias', *JdI* 86 (1971) 149–78; G. Pesce, *Il Palazzo delle Colonne in Tolemaide di Cyrenaica* (Rome 1950); R. J. Wilson, 'On the Origin of the Roman Civic Basilica: The Egyptian Connection', in S. T. A. M. Mols and E. M. Moormann (eds), *Omni pede stare: Saggi architettonici e circumvesuviani in memoriam Jos de Waele*, Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei 9 (Naples 2005) 128–39.

²⁸ A sequence of eight palaces has been excavated, stretching from John Hyrcanus (135 to 104 BCE) to the last decade of Herod's rule (c. 15 BCE). E. Netzer, 'The Hasmonean Palaces in Palaestina', in W. Hoepfner and G. Brands (eds), *Basileia: Die Paläste der hellenistischen Könige: Internationales Symposium in Berlin vom 16.12.1992 bis 20.12.1992*, Schriften des Seminars für Klassische Archäologie der Freien Universität Berlin (Mainz am Rhein 1996) 203–8; E. Netzer, 'The Swimming Pools of the Hasmonean Period in Jericho', in *Geschichtliche Wasserbauten in Ägypten: Vorträge der Tagung, Kairo 10. bis 17. Februar 1986* (Braunschweig 1986) 1–12.

FIG. 5.1 The 'pool complex' in the Hasmonean winter palaces at Jericho: the two pools (each: 18 x 13.4 m, 3.7–3.2 m deep) created a monumental approach to the central 'Pavilion' (Source: Netzer, 'The Swimming Pools of the Hasmonean Period in Jericho', fig. 7).



century BCE), we find the most excessive use of water in architecture.²⁹ As a client King Herod honoured the emperor but although he adopted Roman architectural models, such as bath buildings, he fashioned himself after the Hellenistic kings, and the design of his palaces emulated their palatial architecture.³⁰ At Jericho, the two Hasmonean swimming pools of the 'pool complex' were combined into a

²⁹ On the building projects of Herod the Great see: E. Netzer, *The Architecture of Herod, the Great Builder, Builder, Text e und Studien zum antiken Judentum* 117 (Tübingen 2006); A. Lichtenberger, *Die Baupolitik Herodes des Großen*, *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinavereins* 26 (Wiesbaden 1999); S. Japp, *Die Baupolitik Herodes' des Großen: Die Bedeutung der Architektur für die Herrschaftslegitimation eines römischen Klientelkönigs*, *Internationale Archäologie* 64 (Rahden 2000); D. W. Roller, *The Building Program of Herod the Great* (Berkeley 1998).

³⁰ A. Lichtenberger, 'Herod and Rome: Was Romanisation a Goal of the Building Policy of Herod?', in D. M. Jacobson and N. Kokkinos (eds), *Herod and Augustus: Papers Presented at the IJS Conference, 21st–23rd June 2005*, *IJS Studies in Judaica* 6 (Leiden and Boston 2009) 43–62, esp. 53–5. Contra: R. Förtsch, 'The Residences of King Herod and their Relations to Roman Villa Architecture', in K. Fittschen and G. Foerster (eds), *Judaea and the Greco-Roman World in the Time of Herod in the Light of Archaeological Evidence. Acts of a Symposium Organized by the Institute of Archaeology, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Archaeological Institute, Georg-August-University of Göttingen at Jerusalem, November 3rd–4th 1988*, *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen* 215 (Göttingen 1996) 73–119. On the baths in Herod's palaces see: S. Hoss, *Baths and Bathing: The Culture of Bathing and the Baths and Thermae in Palestine from the Hasmoneans to the Moslem Conquest*, *BAR-IS* 1346 (Oxford 2005) 45–9.

larger pool (32 × 18 m) at his second palace there, and an enormous pool (90 × 42 m) was integrated into the garden of his third palace at this site.³¹ At Lower Herodium a swimming pool (70 × 46 m) was built in the middle of the garden, which was surrounded by colonnades.³² At Caesarea, a swimming pool (35 × 18 m) was built in the middle of the palace, which stood on a promontory jutting out into the Mediterranean (see Figure 5.2).³³ The pool was fashioned as a fishpond, probably at a later stage.³⁴ The promontory palace complex at Caesaria integrated a theatre and amphitheatre and was most likely created in response to Herod's encounters with the design projects in Rome (17 BCE).³⁵ If the fishpond belongs to the early phase of the palace, Herod might have also wanted to emulate the famed fresh- and salt-water fishponds of Lucullus in Misenum and Neapolis (Varr. *Rust.* 3.17.9; Plin. *HN* 9.170; Plut. *Lucullus* 39.3).³⁶

An impressive example of the ornamental use of water in architecture is the pool and garden complex at the lower market complex in Petra (late first century BCE or early first century CE), which has been convincingly identified as part of a palace: to the south of a formal garden there is a large pool (43 × 23 m, 2.5 m deep), in the middle of which stands a pavilion (11.5 × 14.5 m).³⁷ Here an underground cistern

³¹ E. Netzer, 'The Hasmonean and Herodian Winter Palaces at Jericho', *IEJ* 25 (1975) 89–100; E. Netzer, *Die Paläste der Hasmonäer und Herodes' des Grossen* (Mainz am Rhein 1999), 37–9, 49; E. Netzer, *Hasmonean and Herodian palaces at Jericho: Final Reports of the 1973–1987 Excavations* (Jerusalem 2001) 176–84; Netzer, *The Architecture of Herod*, 42–72.

³² E. Netzer, *Greater Herodium*, Quedem 13 (Jerusalem 1981); Netzer, *Die Paläste*, 99–102; Netzer, *The Architecture of Herod*, 189–95.

³³ E. Netzer, 'The Promontory Palace', in A. Raban (ed.), *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (Leiden 1996) 193–207; Netzer, *Die Paläste*, 109–11; Netzer, *The Architecture of Herod*, 106–12; Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces*, 183–5.

³⁴ On the fishpond see: A. Flinder, 'A Piscina in Caesaria: A Preliminary Survey', *IEJ* 26 (1976) 77–80; A. Flinder, 'The Pool of Cleopatra at Caesarea and her Cypriot Sister', *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society* (1982) 25–7. Netzer believes that the pool was converted into a fishpond at a later stage: Netzer, 'The Promontory Palace', 195–8; Netzer, *Die Paläste*, 110–11.

³⁵ K. L. Gleason, 'Ruler and Spectacle: The Promontory Palace', in A. Raban (ed.), *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (Leiden 1996) 208–27.

³⁶ 'Lucullus had a mountain pierced near Naples, at a greater outlay even, than that which had been expended on his villa; and here he formed a channel, and admitted the sea to his preserves; it was for this reason that Pompeius Magnus gave him the name of "Xerxes in a toga"'. Plin. *HN* 9.170. *D'Arms*, 185–6; Higginbotham, *Piscinae*, 16, 58–9; V. Jolivet, 'Xerxes togatus: Lucullus en Campanie', *MÉFRÀ* 99 (1987) 875–904.

³⁷ The so-called 'Great Temple' of Petra has been the subject of scholarly debate but the excavators defend this designation, see: J. Seigne, 'M. Sharp Joukowsky, Petra Great Temple vol. 1: Brown University Excavations 1993–7 (review article)', *Topoi* 10 (2000) 507–16. It is unclear whether the small theatre within the 'Great Temple' served a ritual or administrative function: E. Schluntz, *From Royal to Public Assembly Space: The Transformation of the 'Great Temple' Complex at Petra*, Ph.D. Diss., Brown University (Providence 1999). For the identification of the complex as a royal palace and its relations with Herodian architecture see: L.-A. Bedal, 'A Pool Complex in Petra's City Center', *BASOR* 32 (2001) 23–41; L.-A. Bedal, *The Petra Pool-Complex: A Hellenistic Paradeisos in the Nabataean Capital: (Results from the Petra 'Lower Market' Survey and Excavation, 1998)* (Piscataway, NJ 2004) esp. 45–86 and 171–85; A. J. M. Kropp, 'Nabataean Petra: The Royal Palace and the Herod Connection', *Boreas* 32 (2009) 43–57.

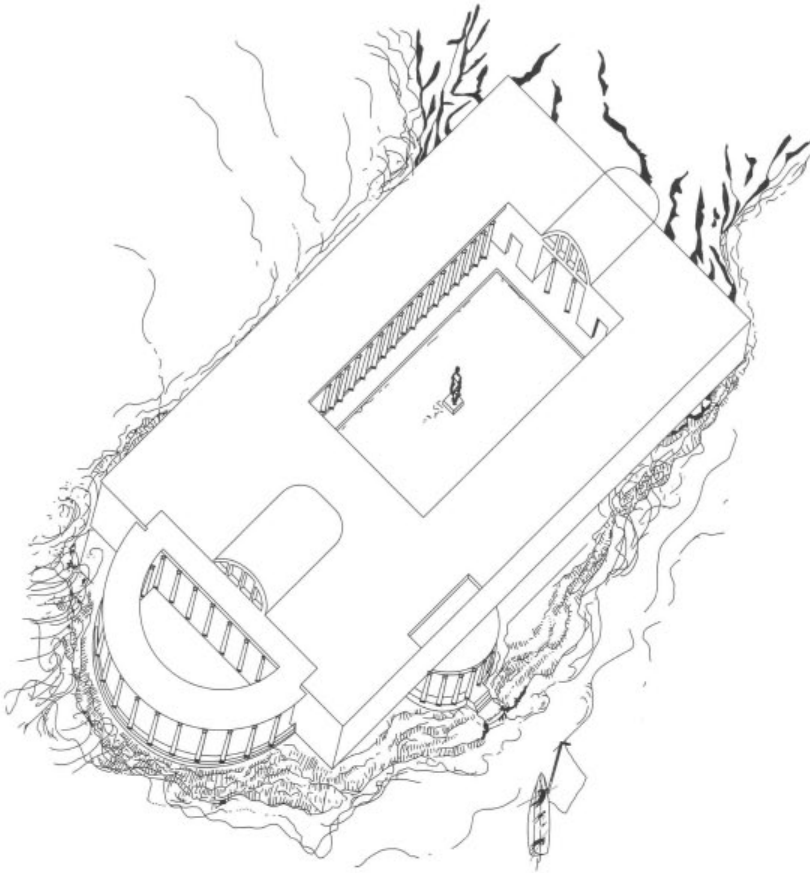


FIG. 5.2 Herod's palace at Caesarea (drawing by E. Netzer). (Source: Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces*, 185, fig. 95).

collected rainfall water and complemented Petra's sophisticated water-supply system of dams, reservoirs, and pipelines.³⁸

In Rome the copious water supply which new aqueducts provided, enabled emperors to incorporate increasingly elaborate water structures into their palaces. Augustus' house on the Palatine hill featured a small nymphaeum at the east corner of the peristyle. The nymphaeum dated to the second phase of the house (c.50 BCE) and was built during Augustus' refurbishment around 40 BCE.³⁹ In the successive additions to the imperial palaces on the Palatine, fountains, pools, and fishponds featured prominently. The pool in the peristyle of the *Domus Gai*,⁴⁰ and

³⁸ C. R. Orloff, 'The Water Supply and Distribution System of the Nabataean City of Petra (Jordan), 300 BC-AD 300', *CAJ* 15 (2005) 93-109, at 104.

³⁹ Carandini suggests that it belonged to Q. Hortensius Hortalus during this period. Carandini, *Le case del potere*, 200-6.

⁴⁰ H. Hurst, 'Domus Gai', *LTUR* 2 (1995), 106-8, at 108.

the pool that was built probably by Claudius next to the porticus of the Danaids are early examples.⁴¹ Certainly, the completion of the Aqua Claudia in 52 CE, a branch of which supplied the Palatine, facilitated elaborate water design projects. In the case of Nero, water became a principal element in the magisterial design of his *Domus Aurea*. The Oppian wing featured a series of nymphaea and pools relating to the dining and reception rooms—the nymphaeum and the Euripus at the back of the famous octagonal room, for instance (see Figure 5.3).⁴² The whole wing looked down on a big artificial lake (*stagnum*), which occupied the valley where the Colosseum now stands and was fed by the overflow of Nero's monumental nymphaeum on the Caelian Hill.⁴³ Following the destruction of Nero's ambitious project, emperors incorporated more modest but no less ornate water structures into the design of their palaces. In the *Domus Flavia*, two courts flanking the great Banquet Hall featured oval fountains (the north-west survives today) that were probably also fishponds.⁴⁴ In Domitian's palace, or *Domus Augustana/Augustiana*, which was adjacent, pools featured in the upper peristyle

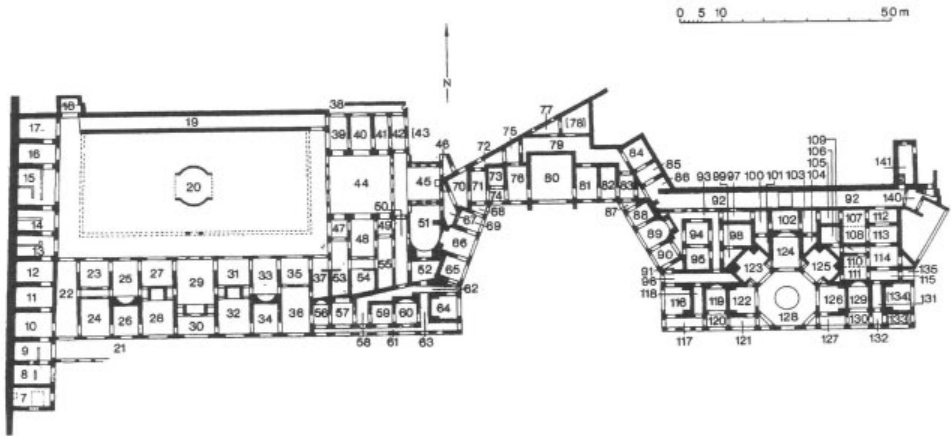


FIG. 5.3 *Domus Aurea*, plan (Source: P. G. P. Meyboom and E. M. Moormann, 'L'interpretazione delle scene figurative nelle decorazioni dipinte della *Domus Aurea*', in J.-M. Croiselle and Y. Perrin (eds), *Neronia VI. Rome à l'époque néronienne. Institutions et vie politique, économie et société, vie intellectuelle, artistique et spirituelle* (Brussels 2002) 46–53, at 47, fig. 1).

⁴¹ Carandini, *Le case del potere*, 235, 272–3, fig. 96; G. Carettoni, 'Roma (Palatino): Costruzioni sotto l'angolo su-occidentale della *Domus Flavia* (triclinio e ninfeo occidentale)', *NSc* (1949), 48–79, at 63–4, fig. 18. The stamps on tiles covering a canal of the pool date to the period of Caligula/Claudius.

⁴² L. Fabbrini, 'Domus Aurea: Una nuova lettura planimetrica del palazzo sul Colle Oppio', in K. de Fine Licht (ed.), *Città e architettura nella Roma imperiale*, *AnalRom Supplement* 10 (Odense 1983) 169–80, at 169–71.

⁴³ L. Fabbrini, 'Domus Aurea: Il palazzo sull'Esquilino', *LTUR* 2 (1995), 56–63; L. F. Ball, *The Domus Aurea and the Roman Architectural Revolution* (Cambridge 2003); Carandini, *Le case del potere*, 248–60, 284–90.

⁴⁴ S. Gibson, J. De Laine, and A. Claridge, 'The Triclinium of the *Domus Flavia*: A New Reconstruction', *PBSR* 62 (1994) 67–101, at 68–72. On the possibility that these fountains were fishponds see: Higginbotham, *Piscinae*, 118–20.

(the same level as the Domus Flavia) and lower courtyard that opened onto the Circus Maximus.⁴⁵ The pool of the upper peristyle was a fishpond; the pool of the lower courtyard had a fountain with four crescent-shaped *peltae*.⁴⁶

Ornamental water-structures entered the vocabulary of domestic architecture during the Hellenistic period. Notable examples are the grottoes at the House of Hermes and in the Villa at Fourni on Delos,⁴⁷ and the fountain in the garden of the late Hellenistic house near the acropolis in Rhodes.⁴⁸ In the Roman period, however, the architecture of water in the domestic sphere reached astonishing levels of sophistication in both design and meaning. Designers integrated nymphaea (grottoes), water canals, and swimming pools into their garden plans, while artists complemented these structures with wall paintings and sculptures featuring mythological water-associated themes. In doing so they emulated the flirtation of sorts between architecture and water attested in palace architecture and public structures, in the private sphere.

THE ARCHITECTURAL EMBODIMENT OF WATER'S MYTHOLOGICAL AND SYMBOLIC ASSOCIATIONS

Water held rich mythological and symbolic associations, which designers appropriated in their architecture, especially in nymphaea and Euripus (or Nile) canals.

The nymphaeum

In mythology spring-water possessed sacred powers, and in real life springs often inspired cults. Sacred springs were a feature of the Roman urban and rural landscape, and inscriptions to the god Fontanus (*CIL* 2.150, 10.6071) and the

⁴⁵ L. Sasso D'Elia, 'Domus Augustana, Augustiana' *LTUR* 2 (1995) 40–5.

⁴⁶ On the fishpond of the upper peristyle see: Higginbotham, *Piscinae*, 118–20.

⁴⁷ House of Hermes: J. Delorme, 'La maison dite de l'Hermès, à Délos: Étude architecturale', *BCH* 77 (1953) 444–96, at 456–8; J. Marcadé, 'Les trouvailles de la maison dite de l'Hermès, à Délos', *BCH* 77 (1953), 497–615, at 528–42. Villa at Fourni: C. Le Roy, 'Le tracé et le plan d'une villa hellénistique: La maison de Fourni à Délos', in *Le dessin d'architecture dans les sociétés antiques: Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 26–28 janvier 1984*, Travaux du Centre de recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce antiques 8 (Leiden 1985) 167–73; M. Trümper, *Wohnen in Delos: Eine baugeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Wandel der Wohnkultur in hellenistischer Zeit*, Internationale Archäologie 46 (Rahden 1998) 317–8, figs. 57 and 59.

⁴⁸ There is a large water basin (15.30 × 17.30 m) at the north side of the colonnaded garden. The sculpture fragments from this area of the house must have decorated the fountain: the shaft of a herm, the torso of a dog, and a part of a marble basin. A. Dreliossi-Herakleidou, 'Späthellenistische palastartige Gebäude in der Nähe der Akropolis von Rhodos', in W. Hoepfner and G. Brands (eds), *Basileia: Die Paläste der hellenistischen Könige: Internationales Symposium in Berlin vom 16.12.1992 bis 20.12.1992*, Schriften des Seminars für Klassische Archäologie der Freien Universität Berlin (Mainz am Rhein 1996) 182–92, at 191, n. 40, fig. 7, 8.

goddess Fontana (*CIL* 2.6277) have been found. On 13 October the Romans celebrated the *Fonta* or *Fontinalia*, a rite to honour natural springs (Varro *Ling.* 6.22).⁴⁹ Their guardian spirits were river-gods and female personifications of springs, rivers, and lakes (Naiades).⁵⁰ The word nymphaeum derives from classical Greece, where a *νυμφαῖον* was a shrine to the Nymphs, often a rural cave or grove in a water setting with no architectural adornment.⁵¹ As Settis' research has shown, the term nymphaeum was connected with cultic usage and not with an architectural structure, as Neuerberg's typological study might suggest.⁵² The term entered the Latin vocabulary as late as the first half of the first century CE. It was rarely used in the first century CE, and then mostly to designate sites in Greece.⁵³ However this does not mean that no nymphaea existed in Italy before then. The grottoes for Nymphs were so familiar in the Italian imaginary landscape of the Roman Republic that there was no need for specific words: *domus*, *aedes*, *templum nympharum* were perfectly adequate terms. Initially a nymphaeum corresponded to a natural grotto and the Latin speaker would employ the available words—*specus*, *spelunca*, or *antrum*.⁵⁴ In the first century BCE Cicero and Varro started using the Greek words *Ἀμαλθεῖον* and *museum* to signify artificial grotto structures in their villas.⁵⁵ Of course, in the Hellenistic fashion

⁴⁹ R. Turcan, *The Gods of Ancient Rome: Religion in Everyday Life from Archaic to Imperial Times*, trans. by A. Nevill (Edinburgh 2000) 79. G. Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion; with an Appendix on the Religion of the Etruscans*, trans. by P. Krapp (Chicago 1970) 387–9.

⁵⁰ *Ναϊάδες*, Sg. *Ναϊάς*: Hom. *Od.* 13.347–50; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.1149–55; Paus. 10.32.2–7.

⁵¹ The word was first attested in the fourth century BCE on Delos (*IG* XI, 2.144, A Z. 91). The first archaeological evidence of a *νυμφαῖον*, dating from around the third century BCE, has been found in Itanos on Crete together with a water reservoir (*ILS* 9458). *Der neue Pauly* 8, 1068. The acropolis of Hellenistic Rhodes preserves an impressive network of rock-cut grottoes, which might have been nymphaea. E. E. Rice, 'Grottoes on the Acropolis of Hellenistic Rhodes', *BSA* 90 (1995) 383–404, esp. 402–4.

⁵² There has been confusion regarding the use of the word nymphaeum. The word did not signify a monumental fountain—this signification is the result of modern usage. S. Settis, 'Esedra e ninfeo nella terminologia architettonica del mondo romano dall'età repubblicana alla tarda Antichità', *ANRW* I: 1 (1973) 683–740, at 693; N. Neuerberg, *L'architettura delle fontane e dei ninfei nell'Italia antica* (Naples 1965) 27–9; H. Lavagne, *Operosa antra: Recherches sur la grotte à Rome de Sylla à Hadrien*, *BÉFAR* 272 (Rome 1988) 300–1. The connection with the nymphs may be through a particular nymph or generally with the nymphs of a water source. It was manifested by the presence of water or sacred woods.

⁵³ Pomponius Mela first used the word nymphaeum during Claudius' reign to signify a sanctuary-grotto for Diana and the Nymphs in Chersonesos. Pomponius Mela, *De Chorographia* 2.3. Not a single inscription with the term nymphaeum from the first century CE is extant. The word appears in second-century CE inscriptions, but still relatively seldom. References in literature: Pliny, *NH* 35.151 (Corinth); Philostratus, *Vita Apolloni*, 8.11–12 (Puteoli); Strabo, 8.3.12, 16.2.8; Porphyrius, *De antro nympharum*, 14. See Lavagne, *Operosa antra*, 284–6.

⁵⁴ Lavagne, *Operosa antra*, 301–2, 311–16. *Specus* signified any cave-like structure, natural or artificial, and *spelunca* signified only the natural caves, sacred or not.

⁵⁵ *Ἀμαλθεῖον* in Cicero's villa at Arpinum: Cic. *Ad Att.* 1.16.18; 2.1.11; 2.7.8. *Museum*, from *Μουσεῖον* (shrine of the muses), in Varro's villa at Casinum: Varr. *Rust.* 3.5.9–10. Sauron proposes that room 78 of Villa Oplontis A is an *Amaltheum*. However the identification is largely based on the iconography of the

of this period the use of Greek terms added cultural value to these structures. For example, the grotto of *Ἀμάλθεια*, referring to the cornucopia of *Ἀμάλθεια*, was a theme common in royal gardens and bore connotations of wealth and oriental profusion: Gelon of Syracuse gave the name ‘the cornucopia of *Ἀμάλθεια*’ to a place that he had developed in the grove near Hipponium on the west coast of Bruttium (Dur. ap. Athen. *Deipn.* 12.542a).⁵⁶ Lavagne, in his seminal study on late Republican and imperial grottoes, avoided any of these appellations and coined the term *operosa antra* to signify natural, semi-natural, and artificial grottoes.

Whatever the term used, these structures point to the religious significations and mythological associations of water. Their incorporation into luxury villas hinted at the sensuality of water nymphs and brought another element of sophistication into the realm of villa life. The natural grottoes in the Villa at Sperlonga (Augustan),⁵⁷ and on Capri (grotta di Matermania and grotta dell’Arsenale—Augustan or Tiberian),⁵⁸ the semi-artificial grotto in Baiae (Punta dell’Epitaffio—Claudian),⁵⁹ the artificial grottoes in the octagonal room and to the east of the big peristyle in the Domus Aurea (102, 44, in Figure 5.3),⁶⁰ and the underground vaulted nymphaeum in the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta are examples of exceptional quality from domestic imperial architecture.⁶¹ In the water-mania of the era, nymphaea (natural, semi-natural, and artificial grottoes or freestanding structures) were omnipresent in aristocratic houses and villas on the Tiber, in Tusculum, and along the coast of Campania. Either they signified a source of water within the buildings’ interior landscapes, or they provided a front for the villas’ maritime façade.

Within the villas’ interior landscapes, nymphaea released water into the surrounding basins. In doing so they acted as mediators between running and still water. In the central peristylum–garden of Villa San Marco (E.1), nymphaeum 64–65 was a freestanding structure. It enveloped crypta 62/63 at the apsidal head

Neo-Attic crater whose position has been restored in front of that room at the south of the swimming pool. G. Sauron, ‘Un *Amaltheum* dans la villa d’Oplontis/Torre Annunziata?’, *RStPomp* 18 (2007) 41–6.

⁵⁶ Δοῦρις δὲ ἐν τῇ δὲ τῶν περὶ Ἀγαθοκλέα καὶ πλησίον Ἰππωνίου πόλεως ἄλλος τι δείκνυσθαι κάλλιε διάφορον καὶ κατάρρυτον ὕδασι, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τόπον τινὰ εἶναι καλούμενον Ἀμαλθείας Κέρας, ὃ τὸν Γέλιον κατασκευάσαι. ‘Duris, in the fourth book of his *Agathocles and his Times*, says also that near the city of Hipponium there is shown a grove exceedingly beautiful and well supplied with flowing streams, in which also there is a place called the Horn of Amaltheia, which Gelon constructed.’ Ath. *Deipn.* 12.542a. Trans. C. B. Gulick. Loeb edn. See Lavagne, *Operosa antra*, 261–2.

⁵⁷ Neuerberg, *L’architettura delle fontane*, n. 60, 147–8, fig. 15.

⁵⁸ Neuerberg, *L’architettura delle fontane*, n. 15, 16, 115–16, fig. 13, 14.

⁵⁹ G. Tocco Sciarelli, *Baia: Il ninfeo imperiale sommerso di punta Epitaffio* (Naples 1983); P. A. Gianfrotta, ‘L’indagine archeologica e lo scavo’, in P. A. Gianfrotta and F. Maniscalco (eds), *Forma maris: Forum internazionale di archeologia subacquea (Pozzuoli, 22–24 settembre 1998)* (Naples 2001) 25–39.

⁶⁰ Neuerberg, *L’architettura delle fontane*, n. 143, 144, 200–1, fig. 44, 45.

⁶¹ Lavagne, *Operosa antra*, 617.

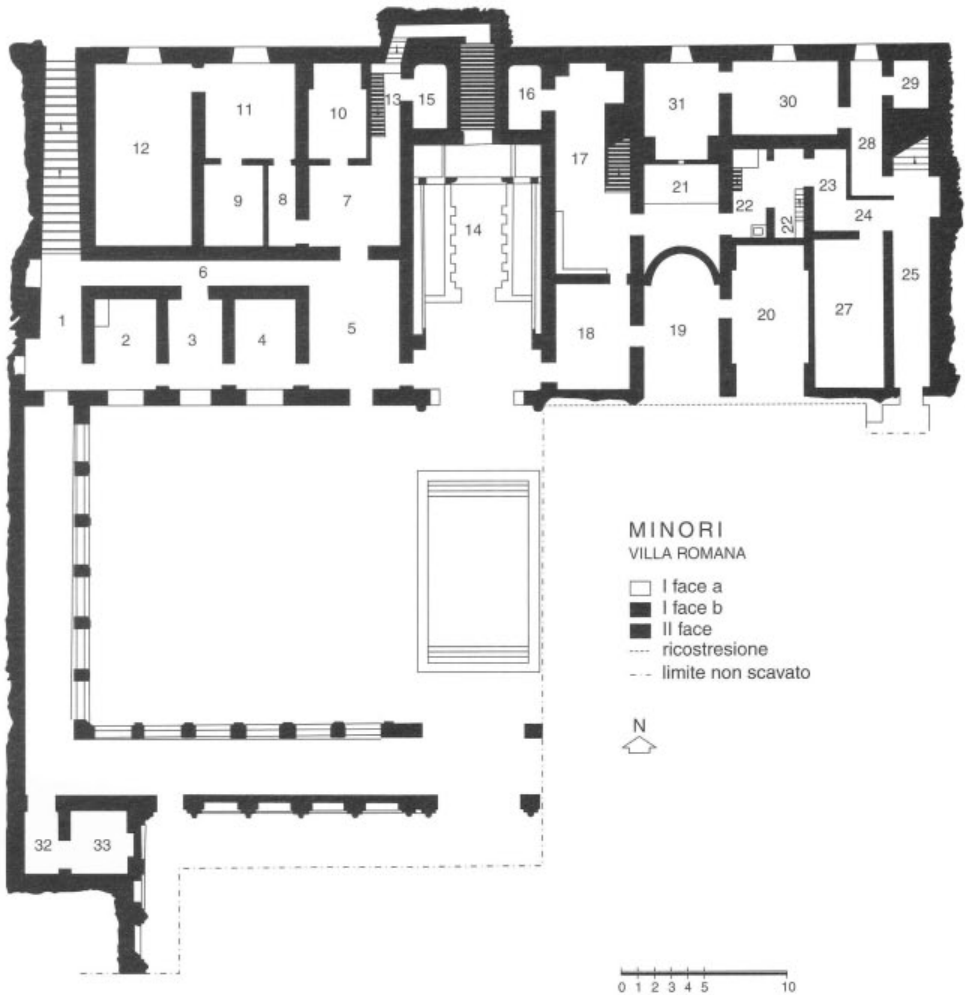
of garden 9 and presented a semicircular façade onto the garden (25 m). A 4.5 m wide aperture (G in Figure 2.33) interrupted the semicircular façade, through which water flowed down into an arched-shaped basin; this basin was connected with the deeper basin of the pool 15 (w. 6 m, l. 38 m, depth 1.8–2.5 m). Water also flowed into crypta 62/63 and from there into the shallow basins (depth c.0.15 m) that were placed next to porticus 20–5–3 and around garden 9 (see Figure 5.4). Nymphaeum 64–65 and its surrounding structures (62/63) marked a change in the status of the water from natural to tamed. As soon as the flowing water crossed over this threshold it transformed into still water in the surrounding basins (pool 15 and shallow basins). Thus, flowing water linked what was its apparent source, the nymphaeum, with its outlets (basins and pools), while still water (in the basins), surrounding the garden and reflecting the surrounding porticoes (20–5–3), bound together the architecture and horticulture of this interior landscape. This use of water as a connecting element in the composition of villas' interiors also occurs in the Republican villa in Villa Adrianna and in the Villa Minori on the Amalfi coast (Julio-Claudian period), where a nymphaeum (vaulted room) released water into the garden (see Figure 5.5).⁶²

FIG. 5.4 Villa San Marco, view of south side of garden 9, facing room 12 with big openings. To the left, nymphaeum 65 and at the lower left, the beginning of the arch-shaped shallow basin in front of it. In front of room 12, the facing of the shallow canal in front of the room that stretches around the garden. Established with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



⁶² C. Bencivenga, L. Fergola, and L. Melillo, 'Ricerche sulla villa romana di Minori', *AION* 1 (1979) 131–51; R. Bucolo, 'La villa romana di Minori', *Forma Urbis* 10 (2010) 20–31.

FIG. 5.5 Villa Minori on the Amalfi coast, plan (Source: Bencivega, Fergola and Melillo, 'Ricerche sulla villa romana di Minori' fig. 53).



Nymphaea structures were used to embellish the villas' interior and exterior façades. In Villa San Marco, the nymphaeum's semicircular front adorned the southeast façade of peristylum-garden E.1. The semicircular façade featured eight stuccoed niches (*c.* 1.95 m × 3 m) placed on pedestals with wall paintings or mosaics (*c.* 1.95 m × 1.25 m), which were separated by engaged columns, four on each side of the central grotto. In Villa Arianna A three monumental vaulted rooms faced the ramps that led from the seacoast to the villa: the 'Grotta di S. Biagio' marked the ascending point to the villa (level 13 m; n. 16 in Figure 2.29), nymphaeum 1 ('ninfeo inferiore' at level 29 m, n. 1 in Figure 2.29) and nymphaeum 2 ('ninfeo superiore' at level 42 m, n. 11 in Figure 2.29). These monumental vaulted nymphaea adorned the villa's façade towards the sea (see Figures 2.29–31). In Villa of the Papyri, a grotto embellished the middle of the outer northwest short façade of the rectangular peristylum-garden (A.2) facing

towards the circular belvedere and out to the sea beyond it (70 in Figure 2.1). We encounter similar decoration of facades in 'Villa delle Grotte' on the island of Elba (vaulted niche of the *basis villae*), and in Villa di Pompeo in Albanum (vaulted niche of terrace). The nymphaea at the villas' front together with their long porticoes formed the unbroken succession of buildings that impressed Strabo in the first century CE (Strab. 5.4.8).

Nile and Euripus

The names assigned to the water pools in villas—Euripus or Nile—point to the Egyptian and Greek significations that Romans assigned to water and water structures.

The region of the Nile possessed an exotic fascination, comparable to that which China held for Italy in the sixteenth century.⁶³ Rome's enthusiasm for Egypt is shown in the Egyptian and 'Egyptianizing' themes and objects, which may be termed as *aegyptiaca*,⁶⁴ and which pervade Roman art: Egyptian statues and pictures amongst palm trees and pygmies hunting crocodiles and hippopotamuses, proliferated in wall paintings and mosaics (for example, in the House of the Orchard and the House of Ceii in Pompeii).⁶⁵ Generic Nilotic scenes showing fishermen were common in wall paintings⁶⁶ — for example, in Villa Oplontis A (Figure 5.6),⁶⁷ in the House of Livia on the Palatine, at the Villa Farnesina,⁶⁸ and in stucco reliefs, such as in the Villa Farnesina.⁶⁹ By giving their water canals the name of 'Nile', Romans evoked a return to the land of Egypt, 'the keeper not only of the tools of civilization, the arts, science and statecraft, but also history'.⁷⁰

⁶³ Mielsch, *Die römische Villa*, 98.

⁶⁴ For an assessment of these terms: M. Swetnam-Burland, 'Egyptian Objects, Roman Contexts: A Taste for Aegyptiaca in Italy', in M. J. Versluys, L. Bricault, and P. G. P. Meyboom (eds), *Nile into Tiber: Egypt in the Roman World: Proceedings of the IIIrd International Conference of Isis Studies, Leiden, May 11–14 2005*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 159 (Leiden and Boston 2007) 113–36, at 113–19.

⁶⁵ House of Orchard (Pompeii I 9.5): garden paintings with Egyptian statues and pictures on the east wall of bedroom 8 (c. 40–50 CE); House of Ceii (Pompeii, I 6.15): Egyptianizing landscape on the east wall of the garden (50–75 CE). R. Ling, *Roman Painting* (Cambridge 1991) 149 and 151, fig. 157, pl. XIII A.

⁶⁶ P. G. P. Meyboom, 'I mosaici pompeiani con figure di pesci', *Meded* 39 (1977) 49–93, at 70–91.

⁶⁷ On the southwest wall of room 14.

⁶⁸ House of Livia on the Palatine, yellow frieze: E. G. Rizzo, *Le pitture della Casa di Livia*, Monumenti della pittura antica scoperti in Italia 3 (Rome 1936) 5–25, pl. 21 (top and centre images); V. Bigalke, *Der gelbe Fries der Casa di Livia auf dem Palatin in Rom* (Münster 1990). Villa Farnesina, white frieze: H. G. Beyen, *Die pompejanische Wanddekoration vom zweiten bis zum vierten Stil*, vol. 2 (The Hague 1960) fig. 256.

⁶⁹ Stucco from roof of room B (3.42 m × 2.60 m), pl. 3 (bottom image): H. Mielsch, *Römische Stuckreliefs* (Heidelberg 1975). For a discussion of the Roman taste for *aegyptiaca*: Swetnam-Burland, 'Egyptian Objects, Roman Contexts'.

⁷⁰ G. Ferrari, 'The Geography of Time: The Nile Mosaic and the Library of Praeneste', *Ostraka* 8 (1999) 359–86, at 360.



FIG. 5.6 Villa Oplontis A: yellow generic Nilotic scenes on the east wall of triclinium 14 (c.50–40 BCE). Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

In a garden, the Egyptian theme would sometimes be augmented with Egyptianizing statues populating the space of the gardens—for example, the so-called Cassius' villa at Tivoli has two Egyptian statues and a crocodile statue;⁷¹ Domitian's villa at Sabaudia (Circeo Promontory) has Egyptianizing statues;⁷² and around the 'Canopus' canal in Villa Adriana at Tivoli there are three Egyptian-style statues—a crocodile at the edge of the basin, a personification of the Nile, and two statues of Isis.⁷³ Egyptian-themed wall paintings and mosaics also featured in the *porticus* around the garden—for example, in the portico around garden (9) of Villa San Marco in Stabiae.⁷⁴ Even other locations from Egypt, such as Memphis, might find their place in a Roman estate.⁷⁵ The best-known example of an excess of these overlaid associations, Egyptian and other, is to be found at the House of Loreius Tiburtinus in Pompeii, where a sphinx was placed amongst Dionysiac herms and statues of Muses.⁷⁶

The preoccupation with Egyptian themes in water architecture was most markedly expressed in the 'Canopus' canal of Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli: a 121.4 m long canal (18.65 m wide) terminating at a grotto-triclinium at its southeast end and adorned with sculptures in Egyptian themes (see Figure 5.7).⁷⁷ Whether this is the Canopic canal that the author of the *Historia Augusta* mentions is not

⁷¹ Mielsch, *Die römische Villa*, 99; C. Pietrangeli, 'La villa tiburtina detta di Cassio', *AttiPontAcc* 25–26 (1949) 157–81, at 176, n. 10–13, two Egyptian statues (Inv. No. Museo Egizio 33, 117); at 179, fig. 10, n. 15 crocodile (l. 1m, black basalt) (Inv. No. Museo Egizio 67), now in the Egyptian Vatican Museum; G. Botti, P. Romanelli, and C. Pietrangeli, *Le sculture del Museo Gregoriano egizio*, Monumenti vaticani di archeologia e d'arte 9 (Città del Vaticano 1951) no. 144, 145, 184; Neudecker, 229–34. A head of tiger was also found in the villa but it has now been lost: Pietrangeli, 'La villa tiburtina', 176, n. 8.

⁷² Mielsch, *Die römische Villa*, 66–7, fig. 41–3, 101–2, fig. 74; G. Iacopi, 'Scavi nella villa di Domiziano in località "Palazzo" sul lago di Paola', *NSc* (1936) 21–50, pl. 2–3; Neudecker, 215–7; R. Darwall Smith, 'Albanum and the Villas of Domitian', *Pallas* 40 (1994) 145–65.

⁷³ E. Salza Prina Ricotti, *Villa Adriana: Il sogno di un imperatore* (Rome 2001) 261; Mielsch, *Die römische Villa*, 101. Three Egyptian-style statues: A. Penna, *Viaggio pittorico della Villa Adriana*, 4 vols (Rome 1831–6) vol. 3 70, pl. LXX. Two statues of Isis: A. Penna, *Viaggio pittorico*, vol. 3, 98, pl. XCVIII, vol. 4, pl. CXXVII. The statue of crocodile (green marble): S. Aurigemma, *Villa Adriana* (Rome 1961) 110–11, fig. 196. The statue of Nile: S. Aurigemma, *Villa Adriana*, 110, fig. 111. J. Raeder, *Die statuarische Ausstattung der Villa Hadriana bei Tivoli* (Frankfurt am Main 1983) 89, t. 23. J.-C. Grenier, 'La décoration statuaire du "Serapeum" du "Canope" de la Villa Adriana', *MÉFRA* 101 (1989) 925–1019, at 925–79.

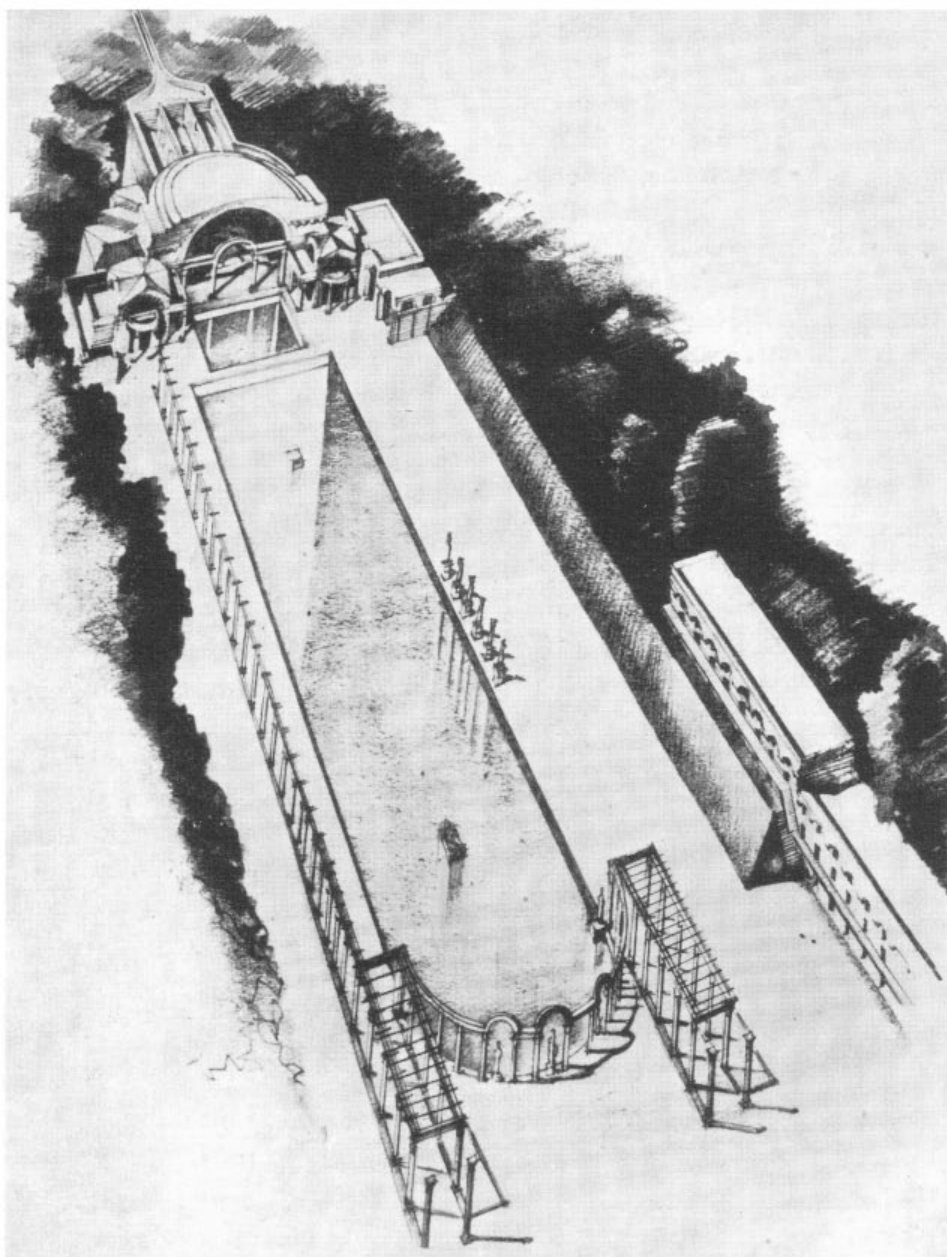
⁷⁴ H. Eristov, 'Le pitture del quarto stile: 3. Le quartier de la piscine', in *Barbet and Miniero*, 183–239, at 208.

⁷⁵ Mielsch, *Die römische Villa*, 99; Grimal, *Jardins romains*, 340–2; Dessau, *ILS*, p. 3361 = *CIL* 06, 461.

⁷⁶ Zanker, 'Die Villa als Vorbild', 475; V. Marchis and G. Scalva, 'The Engine Lost: Hydraulic Technologies in Pompeii', in G. Castagnetti et al. (eds), *Homo Faber: Studies in Nature, Technology, and Science at the Time of Pompeii: Presented at a conference at the Deutsches Museum, Munich 21–22 March 2000*, *Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei* 6 (Rome 2002) 25–34.

⁷⁷ Salza Prina Ricotti, *Villa Adriana*, 241–63; Mielsch, *Die römische Villa*, 99–101. Six sculptures with Egyptian themes were found when the canal was dug out. MacDonald and Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa*, 109.

FIG. 5.7 Recon-
struction of
the Canopus
canal in Villa
Adriana (Source:
Aurigemma, *Villa
Adriana*,
112, fig. 94).



certain.⁷⁸ It is pertinent to our discussion, however, that the reference to a *Canopium* in the *Historia Augusta* refers to a notion, current at the time, that the canal and the nearby town of Canopus was a region where, according to Seneca, 'luxury indulges itself to the utmost' (Sen. *Ep.* 51.3).⁷⁹

The name Euripus has a Greek origin. Between continental Boeotia and the island of Euboea, west of Chalcis, there is a strait in which the sea is imprisoned and its course can change direction almost ten times during a day. This ebb and flow excited the curiosity of the Greeks—Aristotle was startled that he could not find an explanation for the phenomenon. The choice of this name by the Romans thus has an evident symbolism: in the Euripi that Romans built, these wild waters were conquered.⁸⁰ When Agrippa gave the name Euripus to the monumental distribution channel of the Aqua Virgo next to his baths (*Thermae Agrippae*) on the Campus Martius, the aim, no doubt, was to underline the technological achievements that brought and controlled unprecedented amounts of water into the city of Rome. Agrippa's Euripus held 460 *quinariae*, according to Frontinus, which was 19.9 % of the distribution of Aqua Virgo (Frontin. *Aq.* 84.3).⁸¹

Egyptian symbols and Greek myths were intertwined in this architecture of water: the waters of the Nile and the Euripus merged to produce a single tamed stream. Together they created a suitable ambience for the leisure activities of the educated and politically ambitious socialites of Rome. A further conflation of Egyptian and Greek associations is apparent in an inscription from the gardens of Sallust in Rome, which, dating from the Severan period, shows the persistence of these themes in villa culture (Dessau, *ILS*, n. 3361 = *CIL* 06, 461. Lines 6–11. Trans. R. E. A. Palmer in *ANRW* 2, 16, 2):

ex concessu in praediis suis sacrarium dei Liberi cum aedicula et columnis suis impendis marmo<r>arun<t> / et aream et (h)ortulum super Nym/phis qui locus appellatur Memphi / donum dederunt spirae.

⁷⁸ Tiburtinam villam mire exaedificavit, ita ut in ea et provinciarum et locorum celeberrima nomina inscriberet, velut Lycium, Academicum, Prytanium, Canopium, Poecilen, Tempe vocaret. 'His villa at Tibur was marvellously constructed and he actually gave to parts of it the names of provinces and places of the greatest renown, calling them, for instance, Lyceum, Academia, Prytaneum, Canopus, Poecile and Tempe'. *SHA*, Hadr. 26.5. Trans. D. Magie, Loeb edn. MacDonald and Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa*, 108–11.

⁷⁹ For an analysis on the Egyptian connection: Raeder, *Die statuarische Ausstattung*, 297–315; Lavagne, *Operosa antra*, 606–11; Grenier, 'La décoration statuaire'.

⁸⁰ Malissard, *Les Romains et l'eau*, 85.

⁸¹ Rodgers, *Frontinus*, 247. On Agrippa's Euripus see: R. B. Lloyd, 'The Aqua Virgo, Euripus and Pons Agrippae', *AJA* 83 (1979) 193–204; H. B. Evans, 'Agrippa's Water Plan', *AJA* 86 (1982) 401–11; and F. Coarelli, 'Euripus', in *LTUR* 2 (1995) 237–9. On the supply of the Aqua Virgo see: H. B. Evans, *Water Distribution in Ancient Rome: The Evidence of Frontinus* (Ann Arbor 1993) 105–9, esp. 108.

By (their) grant the (Bacchic) sodalities (*spirae*) on their own property adorned with marble a shrine of the god Liber with chapel and columns at their own expense, and gave us a gift a mall and garden above the Nymphs which is the place called Memphis.⁸²

In evoking water's multiple mythological and symbolic associations, these artificial grottoes and streams added layers of sophisticated cultural meaning to the architecture of luxury Roman villas.

Pools featured in the two peristylia—gardens in the Villa of the Papyri. The square peristylum—garden A.1 had a pool 1.2 m wide and 14 m long on its northeast—southwest axis, and the rectangular peristylum—garden A.2 had a large pool 7.14 m wide and 66.76 m long on its northwest—southeast axis. In Villa Oplontis A, the east peristylum—garden B.3 featured an enormous pool, 17 m wide, 60 m long, and 1.30–1.825 m deep. In Villa Arianna B, a square pool was located at the east side of peristylum—garden D.1; a lead pipe around it had holes that would jet water into it. In Villa San Marco, peristylum—garden E.1 was adorned with a pool (15) 6 m wide, 38 m long, and 1.8–2.5 m deep situated on its northwest—southeast axis.

Certainly these enormous artificial pools gave moralists something to remark upon: Atticus contrasted the artificial streams which some would call 'Niles' and 'Euripi' with the physical beauty of the island formed by the little stream of Fibrenus in the garden of his villa at Tusculum (Cic. *Leg.* 2.2. Trans. C. W. Keyes, Loeb edn):

... *magnificasque villas et pavimenta marmorea et laqueata tecta contemno. Ductus vero aquarum, quos isti Nilos et Euripos vocant, quis non cum haec videat inriserit? Itaque ut tu paulo ante de lege et de iure disserens ad naturam referebas omnia, sic in his ipsis rebus, quae ad quietem animi delectationemque quaeruntur, natura dominatur.*

... I scorn luxurious villas and marbled walks and marble buildings. Take those artificial streams which some of our friends call 'Niles' or 'Euripi'—who, after seeing what we have before us, would not laugh at them? And so, just as you a moment ago, in your discussion of law and justice, traced everything back to Nature, in the same way Nature is absolutely supreme in the things that men seek for recreation and delight of the soul.

Atticus' criticism is characteristic of the views moralists tended to voice about the lifestyle of *otium* and luxury. These structures incorporated a part of nature into the domestic sphere, reflecting new aesthetic values of the period that appreciated *topia* (elements typical of the sites); parallel expressions are seen in wall paintings and poetry. Atticus criticized these structures because they were not of 'nature' and did not conform with the conventions of a life *secundum naturam*, a life of frugality. The fact that the structures had 'exotic' Greek or Egyptian appellations

⁸² R. E. A. Palmer, 'Severan Ruler-Cult and the Moon in the City of Rome', in *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1085–120, at 1088.

accorded with the recurring pattern in the contemporary Roman imagination of blaming luxurious influences on the 'East'.⁸³ Atticus played on the dichotomy between artificial and natural, and drew a parallel with foreign (i.e., Egyptian and Greek) versus Roman—the former point to the corrupting influence of the conquered East and the latter to the proper Roman way of doing things. Whether the water flowed artificially or naturally, to have such an embellishment in the villa's garden was a luxury, since man-made water supplies and technology underpinned the artificial waterworks: whereas natural streams underscored an even more privileged type of ownership—of a very exclusive property that had its own naturally beautiful streams.⁸⁴

WATER AS A STAGE FOR SWIMMING, BATHING, AND SUNBATHING

From Hellenistic times on, many rich mythological narratives in both literature and art have involved stories about water. Herakles' beloved youth, Hylas was sent to get water when Argo arrived at Cius on the coast of Mysia, but he met a sudden death because the water-nymphs fell in love with him and enticed him into the spring.⁸⁵ The transformation of Nymph Salmakis features the nymph of a spring source near Halicarnassus; after her love was turned down by the son of Aphrodite and Hermes, she waited until he dived into the water and united herself so closely with him that the person that emerged from the pool was the world's first double-sexed hermaphrodite.⁸⁶ Then there is the myth of Actaeon, the unlucky voyeur of the bathing Diana, who spotted the goddess while she was naked.⁸⁷ The examples of water-associated myths are numerous, and they all

⁸³ J. Griffin, 'Augustan Poetry and the Life of Luxury', *JRS* 66 (1976) 87–105, at 91–3; Berry, *The Idea of Luxury*, 69.

⁸⁴ On legislation regulating water rights: C. J. Bannon, *Gardens and Neighbors: Private Water Rights in Roman Italy* (Ann Arbor 2009).

⁸⁵ Literature: Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* I, 1171–357. Art: P. Zanker and B. C. Ewald, *Mit Mythen leben: Die Bildwelt der römischen Sarkophage* (Munich 2004) 96–8, fig. 80–1 (the Palazzo Matei sarcophagus, first half of third century CE); *LLMC* VI, 574–9; VII, 396–9. Art in the domestic sphere: S. Muth, *Erleben von Raum–Leben im Raum: Zur Funktion mythologischer Mosaikbilder in der römisch-kaiserzeitlichen Wohnarchitektur*, *Archäologie und Geschichte* 10 (Heidelberg 1998) 100–49; R. Ling, 'Hylas in Pompeian Art', *MÉFRA* 91 (1979) 773–816; S. Muth, 'Gegenwelt als Glückswelt? Die Welt der Nereiden, Tritonen und Seemonster in der römischen Kunst', in T. Hölscher (ed.), *Gegenwelten: Zu den Kulturen Griechenlands und Roms in der Antike* (Munich 2000) 467–98; M. H. Ninck, *Die Bedeutung des Wassers im Kult und Leben der Alten: Eine symbolgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, 2nd edn (Darmstadt 1960).

⁸⁶ *Ov. Met.* 4.286f.

⁸⁷ Literature: *Ov. Met.* 3.138f. Art: Zanker and Ewald, *Mit Mythen leben*, 57, fig. 39; 84–6, fig. 68; and 295–7 (Sarcophagus in Louvre, around 130 CE); R. Brilliant, *Visual Narratives: Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art* (Ithaca 1986) 126.

allude to the erotic sensuality of water itself (as a further instance of this, Martial mentions sexual intercourse in water,⁸⁸ and of the naked beauties who would bathe in it or lie by pools and streams). It is in the waves that Propertius savours the sight of Cynthia (*Eleg.* 1.11), or that Catullus presents the distressed half-naked Ariadne (*Carm.* 64.60–4. Trans. Griffin 1985):

*non flavo retinens subtilem vertice mitram,
non contacta levi velatum pectus amictu,
non tereti strophio lactentis vincta papillas,
omnia quae toto delapsa e corpore passim
ipsius ante pedes fluctus salis alludebant.*

Not keeping her fine scarf on her blond hair,
not covering her bosom with the veil of a light garment,
not binding her milk-white breasts with the smooth stomacher;
no, all have fallen clear from her body,
and there before her feet they were the sport of the waves of the sea.⁸⁹

The motifs of beauty and water, blended with accounts of love, attained a sort of sublimity in Roman poetry. Perhaps unsurprisingly, these themes also appeared in art. One popular subject was the cortège of the Nereids riding on dragons and hippocampus, and in the Roman period the sea-nymphs were usually shown naked to the waist.⁹⁰ These literary and visual images play self-consciously with ideas about the sensuality of water, the sexuality of nudity and of swimming for pleasure that were part of the fantasies invoked by water during the period.⁹¹

These pleasures, and the ways in which they were sought after, form part of the tradition of representing nakedness in Greek art. Baths and satyrs functioned as devices to justify the representation of naked women, either by giving them a setting in which to undress or by transposing the scene to a mythological plane. Such artistic devices were also common in Roman art and poetry.⁹² Of course, Greek art had shocked Romans at first, as did the naked sports of the *gymnasium*;⁹³ but as Griffin has shown, ‘the Amazons, the Spartans, the heroines of

⁸⁸ Martial 11.21.11; 4.22 (only a kiss: the water was too transparent for anything more). J. Griffin, ‘The Pleasures of Water and Nakedness’, in J. Griffin, *Latin Poets and Roman Life* (London 1985) 88–111, at 91.

⁸⁹ Griffin, ‘The Pleasures of Water and Nakedness’, 98.

⁹⁰ Scopas’ celebrated group was on show in Rome, probably set up by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Anthony’s admiral (Pl. *HN* 36.26). A spectacular example from the first century BCE: H. Kähler, *Seethiasos und Census: Die Reliefs aus dem Palazzo Santa Croce in Rom*, *Monumenta artis Romanae* 6 (Berlin 1966). Virgil describes such a cortège at *Aeneid* 5.239. Also: Zanker and Ewald, *Mit Mythen leben*, 117–19. For the iconographic tradition of Nereids, Tritons, Sea-Centaurs, and other fantastic sea monsters: J. M. Barringer, *Divine Escorts: Nereids in Archaic and Classical Greek Art* (Ann Arbor 1995).

⁹¹ Griffin, ‘The Pleasures of Water and Nakedness’, 93.

⁹² Griffin, ‘The Pleasures of Water and Nakedness’, 103.

⁹³ N. B. Crowther, ‘Nudity and Morality: Athletics in Italy’, *CJ* 76 (1980–1) 119–23.

mythology, the glamorous bathers, represent a series of devices for raising, to the level of an idealized life, the realities of Roman life.⁹⁴

Water as a stage for reality: the pools (natationes?)

Water's sensual dimension enhanced its scenographic display within the villas. There, the element became a stage in the same way that it was a stage for *naumachiae* in Roman amphitheatres or later in Renaissance palaces.⁹⁵ In the protected setting of the villa, however, in the pools of the gardens, the spectacle was private, and thus further embraced the sensual dimension of water. The monumental size and depth of several pools found in luxury villas suggest that they were created for the purpose of swimming, as natationes. The size and prominent setting of the pools within the gardens could accommodate the pleasures of swimming and sunbathing, as well as the pleasures of seeing and being seen engaged in those activities; for instance pool 96 in peristylum–garden B.3 in Villa Oplontis A and pool 15 in peristylum–garden E.1 in Villa San Marco. We encounter equally capacious pools in Villa Centroni (late Republican or Augustan; pool: w. 9.60 m, l. 33.18 m) and in 'Villa delle Grotte' on Elba island (late first century BCE; pool: w. 13 m, l. 24 m).⁹⁶

The pool in the Villa Oplontis A occupied almost the entire space of the east garden 80–98 (B.3). It must have been entered from the south, either directly from room 78 or through porticus 86, as the stairs at its southeast corner suggest. Since there is no evidence of a pavement around the pool (in areas 80, 92, and 96), we may assume that some impermanent feature, such as a wood panel, might have provided access to the water. However, this would not have deterred swimmers from jumping in the pool directly from porticus 60—it was 1.825 m deep at the south and 1.30 m at the north end. In the villa of Herodes Atticus at Eva/Loukou Kynourias there is the same direct access—the pool ran parallel to the three-aisled porticus (N–E–S), which opened right onto it, around the central floating garden.

Although no references exist to recreational swimming at luxury villas, the literary sources suggest that during the first century BCE swimming became a leisure activity (Hor. *Carm.* 3.7.25–8), and not just an indication of *virtus* and

⁹⁴ Griffin, 'The Pleasures of Water and Nakedness', III.

⁹⁵ Ferdinando de Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, staged in Palazzo Pitti in 1589 such a *naumachia*, from J. B. Fischer von Erlach, *Entwurf einer historischen Architectur* (Vienna 1721) Reproduced in: T. A. P. van Leeuwen, *The Springboard in the Pond: An Intimate History of the Swimming Pool* (Cambridge 1998) fig. 6.16.

⁹⁶ Villa Centroni: L. Cozza, 'Roma, via Anagnina: Natatio nell'antica villa detta dei Centroni', *NSe* (1952) 257–83; T. Di Matteo, 'La villa dei Centroni', *RendLinc* 13 (2002) 243–93. 'Villa delle Grotte': O. Pancrazzi and S. Ducci (eds), *Ville e giardini nell'Elba romana* (Florence 1996) 30–43; S. Casaburo, *Elba romana: La villa delle Grotte*, Memoria e progetto 1 (Turin 1997) 58–9.

manliness.⁹⁷ At the same time sunbathing became fashionable and the possession of a balanced tan—as opposed to being sunburnt (*niger*), which would imply labour activities (Ov. *Ars Am.* 1.721–30)—was aesthetically appreciated.⁹⁸ Martial speaks of a young man who was about to leave Rome for the countryside to sunbathe in order to arouse the envy upon his return of his pale friends (Martial 10.2: *o quam famosus!*). We read in Pliny the Younger's letters that his uncle used to sun himself daily after a light meal and before a bath (*aestate si quid otii iacebat in sole. Ep.* 3.5.10); and that Spurrinna in the afternoon, before a bath, exposed his naked body to the sun's rays (*in sole si caret vento ambulat nudus. Ep.* 3.1.8). Sunbathing was considered to have a favourable effect on one's health, a view based on Hippocratic principles.⁹⁹ It is difficult to identify which spaces would have been used as solaria in Roman villas; but we can imagine that the areas around the pool would have been appropriate.¹⁰⁰ Of course these may have not been strictly defined, as individuals would have moved around the pool in order to catch the shifting rays of the sun.

Swimming was certainly not the only spectacle that took place in pools. Some pools were fashioned as fishponds: one in the square peristyle of the Villa of the Papyri had recesses where fish could escape from the light, which was necessary for their survival (A.1).¹⁰¹ Fish breeding, part of Varro's *pastio villatica*, was a lucrative business that also served the purposes of display.¹⁰² Notable examples of fishponds include one at the seaside villa on Punta della Vipera on the Tyrrhenian coast, which was carved into the existing coastal rock formations (cf. Col. *Rust.* 8.17.1); the fishpond of the villa of Quintilius Varus, which was supplied by two aqueducts bringing water from the Anio river; and the fishpond built into the Grotto at Sperlonga.¹⁰³ The technology behind bringing salt water into the fishponds—creating brackish conditions that were a nutrient for aquatic life as well as maintaining circulation within the fishpond and regulating temperature by introducing fresh water—was considered among the highest of luxuries.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁷ J. Auberger, 'Quand la nage devient la natation', *Latomus* 55 (1996) 48–62, at 56–8; F. Maniscalco, 'Pratica ed insidie del nuoto nel mondo antico', *MÉFRA* 111 (1999) 145–55, at 145–7; F. Maniscalco, *Il nuoto nel mondo greco-romano* (Naples 1995).

⁹⁸ S. Lilja, 'Sunbathing in Antiquity', *Arctos* 21 (1987) 53–60.

⁹⁹ Expressed by Gaius Musonius Rufus (Pliny's and Spurrinna's contemporary): fr. 19 (Hense 1905, Teubner edn). Lilja, 'Sunbathing in Antiquity', 59.

¹⁰⁰ Inscriptions attest public rather than private *solaria*: *CIL* 05, 08801, *CIL* 06, 01585b (p 3163, 3811, 4715), *CIL* 06, 05797 (p 3417, 3532, 3918), *CIL* 11, *00547b, *CIL* 06, 10234 (p 3502, 3908), *CIL* 06, 17042, *CIL* 06, 39097, *CIL* 08, 24106, *CIL* 09, 01027, *CIL* 10, 01236, *CIL* 10, 01783, *CIL* 12, 05388, *CIL* 14, 01708.

¹⁰¹ For an assessment of fishponds in Roman villas: Higginbotham, *Piscinae*, 9–40, followed by a gazetteer of fishponds in Roman Italy (69–226).

¹⁰² Higginbotham, *Piscinae*, 55–64; Marzano and Brizzi, 'Costly display or economic investment?'; A. Marzano, 'Le ville marittime dell'Italia romana: Tra *amoenitas* e *fructus*', *Amoenitas* 1 (2010) 21–33.

¹⁰³ Higginbotham, *Piscinae*, 97–101, 122–5, 159–63.

¹⁰⁴ Higginbotham, *Piscinae*, 4–5, 9–18.

The fishpond of the villa on Punta della Vipera, for instance, had three rock-cut channels that funnelled seawater into it to allow the circulation of salted water within its enclosure and a freshwater channel (cf. Col. *Rust.* 8.17.1–6, Varr. *Rust.* 3.17.8–9). In these cases, the spectacle was taking place within the pool, inviting owners and their guests to take a closer look.

Whether a pool was for swimming in, sunbathing, or strolling around, designers developed strategies that highlighted these activities and in doing so enhanced the architecture of villas. Porticus 60 in Villa Oplontis A, stretching out the entire length of the pool, functioned as a *scaenae frons* for this enormous ‘water stage’ (B.3; see Figures 5.8, 6.13). This design solution of a monumental backdrop along a pool was often used: at Villa Centroni an arch-and-lintel blind façade that enveloped the *crypta* in the background exceeded the length of the pool (33.18 m);¹⁰⁵ and at ‘Villa delle Grotte’ the pool (51) was enclosed and surrounded by the four sides of an internal court. This monumental backdrop—either a porticus or a cryptoporticus, or a *crypta* with an arch-and-lintel blind façade—not only provided a stage for the activities around the pool, but also took advantage of water’s reflective properties to create an impressive visual tableau. In the villa of Herodes Atticus the nymphaeum-façade at the west side featured sculptures in its niches and functioned as a backdrop for the activities around the pool. This design solution was also deployed in public architecture—for example, the north fishpond at the palaestra at Herculaneum ran parallel to and alongside the corresponding façade (first half of the first century CE).¹⁰⁶

Usually a central room or space in this monumental backdrop would create a focus for certain performative activities that occurred around the pool. This

5.8 Villa Oplontis
porticus–garden B.3,
view of porticus 60
along the pool.
Published with the
permission of the
Ministero per i Beni e le
Attività Culturali–
Soprintendenza
Speciale per i Beni
Archaeologici di
Napoli e Pompei.



¹⁰⁵ Lavagne (*Operosa antra*, 357) dates it to the late Republic; Mielsch (*Die römische Villa*, n. 210) dates it to the Augustan age.

¹⁰⁶ F. K. Yegül, ‘The Palaestra at Herculaneum as a New Architectural Type’, in *Eius Virtutis Studiosi: Classical and Postclassical Studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown (1908–1988)*, Studies in the History of Art 43, Symposium Papers 23 (Washington, DC 1993) 368–93. On the fishpond see: Higginbotham, *Piscinae*, 196–7.

central space would either anchor or open up visual connections and spatial relationships. In ‘Villa delle Grotte’, room 43 in the north block of buildings around the internal court (52) receded to create a space in the form of a niche that received the short side of the pool, while the other the rooms (44, 45, 46, and the symmetrical rooms to the southeast) continued in a line along the court. In this way, the receding volume of room 43 anchored not only the pool but also the focus of the viewer in the middle of the long side of internal court 52. Furthermore, this focal point, which was aligned with the pool’s axis, accentuated the pool’s perceived length for a viewer positioned at the southwest side of the court. The use of a similar focal point is evident in the palaestra at Herculaneum, where an apsidal hall with tetrastyle propylon opened in the middle of the palaestra on axis with the transverse pool (see Figure 5.9).

Sometimes this central space would open up into another space. In Villa Oplontis A, room 69, which was fronted with a tetrastyle propylon that interrupted porticus 60, not only created a focus for the east garden (B.3), but also visually and spatially emphasized the relationship of the east garden to the north garden (B.4; see Figure 5.10). Room 69 provided access to the north garden and the view through room 69 into the north garden gave a perspectival depth to the monumental backdrop of the pool. In this way, the activities that took place around the pool would be seen through a series of frames: porticus 56, room 69, and porticus 60. In Villa San Marco, we have the interesting combination of the two design strategies: the anchoring and the opening up of the view through two diametrically opposed focal points (E.1). Here the pool (15) was a narrow channel running northwest–southeast in the middle of garden (9). On the northwest side, the nymphaeum (G–H in Figure 2.33) created a focal point in the middle of the semicircular exedra (64/65), which was decorated with mythological paintings and mosaics and functioned as a *scaenae frons* (see Figures 4.5, 5.11–12). Water cascaded from the nymphaeum down into the pool.¹⁰⁷ At the two ends of the semicircular exedra (64/65), two clusters of rooms (53–30–50 and 12–8–14) narrowed the actual and visual space of the garden (occupying the width of porticus 20 and 3 respectively) and accentuated the role of the nymphaeum as a focal point. On the southeast side, just opposite the nymphaeum, room 16 interrupted porticus 5 with a monumental propylon to give a view of the bay of Naples (see Figure 5.13). The nymphaeum (G–H) and room 16 not only provided a visual focus, but also accentuated the northwest–southeast axis of the pool. Here, the perception of the spectacle would have changed dramatically depending on where viewers were situated and in which direction they looked. As a two-way lens, room 16 framed both the swimming spectacle within the villa and the spectacle of swimming outside it, in the sea below. This image recalls Pliny’s

¹⁰⁷ Blanc, ‘Le nymphée de la Villa San Marco’, 81–91.

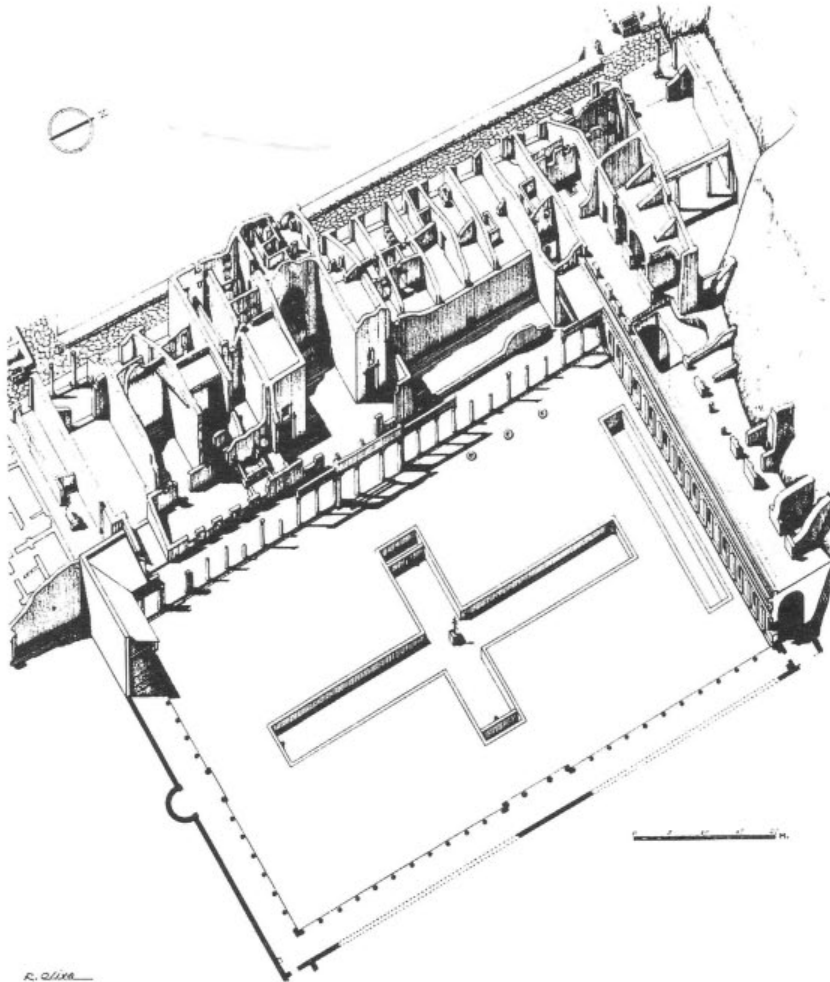


FIG. 5.9 Herculaneum palaestra, axonometric view (Source: Maiuri, *Ercolano*).

bathers in his Laurentine villa, who could view the sea from the warm *piscina* of the baths (*Ep.* 2.17.11. Trans. B. Radice, Loeb edn (adapted)):

Adiacet unctorium, hypocauston, adiacet propnigeon balinei, mox duae cellae magis elegantes quam sumptuosae; cohaeret calida piscina mirifica, ex qua natantes mare adspiciunt, nec procul sphaeristerium quod calidissimo soli inclinato iam die occurrit.

Next come the oiling-room, the furnace-room, and the hot-room for the bath, and then two chambers, beautifully decorated in a simple style, leading to the heated swimming-pool which is much admired and from which the swimmers can look at the sea. Close by is the ball-court which receives the full warmth of the setting sun.

When the pools were smaller, for example, in Villa Minori (Figure 5.5), in Villa of Diomedes at Pompeii, and in Horace's villa at Licenza, or narrower, as in Villa San Marco (E.1 in Figure App.5) and in Villa of the Papyri (A.1, A.2 in Figure

FIG. 5.10 Villa Oplontis A porticus-garden B.3, view across the pool through room 69 towards the north garden (B.4).

Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



FIG. 5.11 Villa San Marco, Er: the two southernmost niches of nymphaeum 64-65. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



FIG. 5.12 Villa San Marco, E1: plan of the nymphaeum with iconographic indications. The niches and podia are numbered 1 to 8 from the south to the north end (after Barbet and Miniero, *La Villa San Marco*, 190).
© Mantha Zarmakoupi.

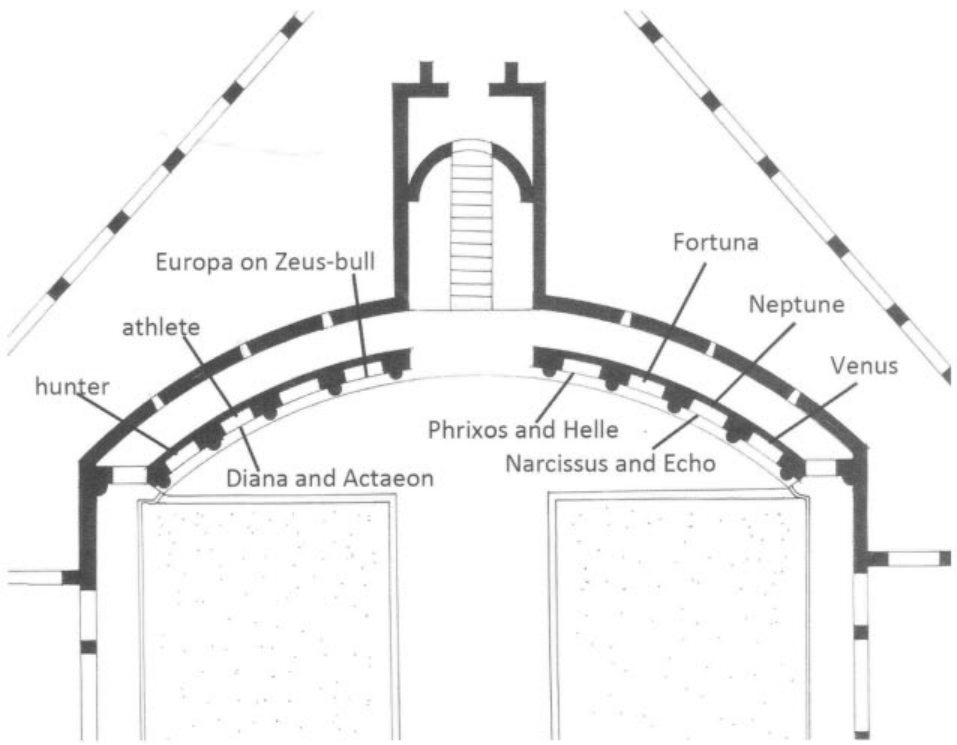


FIG. 5.13 Villa San Marco, view from room 16 to the bay of Naples. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali—Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



App.1), the porticus, cryptoporticus, and cryptae still formed a monumental setting and gave access to the pool. In these cases, however, the pool, in the middle of the garden, would form a focal point in the composition of the garden design. Again the same design strategies were used to stage the activities around it: a central room, space, or structure that would be a focal point and would sometimes accentuate the pool's central location—for example, the nymphaeum in the middle of exedra 64/65 in Villa San Marco, and triclinium 14 in Villa Minori (Figure 5.5). This room would add perspectival depth to the monumental backdrop. In the Villa of the Papyri the tablinum opened onto both a large peristyle to the northwest that featured the long pool and a small peristyle garden to the southeast, where the fishpond lay. These kinds of visual strategies were accentuated by the pools, whose elongated stretch of water created a strong visual axis that would lead the eye across the garden to the focal point—for example, in the rectangular peristylum-garden of the Villa of the Papyri (A.2) and in the peristylum-garden 20-5-3-9 of Villa San Marco (E.1). In the case of smaller or narrower pools, the surface of the water would not reflect the monumental architectural setting but would offer glimpses of the immediate setting, such as the trees and the sculptural display, and also of activities that would take place nearby—a symposium, for instance. In fact, the arrangement of a triclinium next to and on axis with a pool was quite common, and is found in Villa Minori and in Villa of Diomedes.¹⁰⁸ In Villa San Marco, the cluster of rooms 53-30-50 and the cluster of rooms 12-14-8 faced each other across garden 9 and over pool 15 (E.1). In Villa Oplontis A, the cluster of rooms 78-79-66 and the symmetrical group of rooms to the north were placed at the south and north ends of pool 96 (B.3). In the case of the larger grottoes, the relationship between the pool and the garden was altered, and the triclinium was placed in the middle of the water basin—for example, in Sperlonga. The setting Pliny describes, where plates floated during a symposium, was probably a variation of a prominent architectural theme.¹⁰⁹ In fact water-triclinia were very popular.¹¹⁰ Nonetheless, the focus of this chapter

¹⁰⁸ E. Salza Prina Ricotti, 'The Importance of Water in Roman Garden Triclinia', in E. B. MacDougall (ed.), *Ancient Roman Villa Gardens*, *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium Series in the History of Landscape Architecture* 10 (Washington, DC 1987) 135-84. For discussion of the Pompeian houses: A. Schürmann, 'Pneumatics on Stage in Pompeii: Ancient Automatic Devices and their Social Context', in G. Castagnetti, A. Ciarallo, and J. Renn (eds), *Homo Faber: Studies in Nature, Technology, and Science at the Time of Pompeii: Presented at a Conference at the Deutsches Museum, Munich 21-22 March 2000*, *Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei* 6 (Rome 2002) 35-55.

¹⁰⁹ Pliny *Ep.* 5.6.36.

¹¹⁰ L. Richardson Jr, 'Water Triclinia and Biclinia in Pompeii', in R. I. Curtis (ed.), *Studia Pompeiana et classica in Honor of Wilhelmina F. Jashemski: Vol. 1. Pompeiana* (New Rochelle, NY 1988) 305-12; Salza Prina Ricotti, 'The Importance of Water'; K. M. D. Dunbabin, 'Wine and Water at the Roman *Convivium*', *JRA* 6 (1993) 116-41.

is the pleasures of water, and not of the palate, which will be addressed in the next section.

Pools entered the vocabulary of luxury villa architecture from the beginning of the first century BCE onwards. Their appearance must have related to changing attitudes towards swimming, bathing, and sunbathing. In the Imperial period bathing acquired a social dimension that was manifest in everyday rituals, such as visiting the public baths, and leisure activities at pleasure resorts.¹¹¹ The increasing number of public bath buildings in Rome and Italy between 100 BCE and 100 CE is indicative of the growing cultural significance of bathing.¹¹² The bay of Naples with its thermal spas was a significant pleasure resort, and bathing became a popular activity in villas from the beginning of the first century CE.¹¹³ Early villas featured small bath suites, with a combination of *frigidarium*, *sudatorium*, *tepidarium*, and *caldarium*, which were always located next to the kitchen in order to share its heating apparatus, as at the Villa of the Mysteries and Villa Arianna B.¹¹⁴ With the popularization and sophistication of the hypocaust and its independent heat source, designers began to situate bathing facilities away from kitchens, while bathing practices led to the positioning of the successive facilities of *frigidarium*, *tepidarium*, and *caldarium*.¹¹⁵ Studies of bathing facilities in houses and villas have shown that they became increasingly luxurious towards the end of the first century CE.¹¹⁶ The bathing complex in Villa San Marco, dating from the first half of the first century CE, had a *piscina calida*—one of the great luxuries of the period.¹¹⁷ Statius's description of the baths of Claudius Etruscus indicates that already by the end of the first century CE to have a bath of exotic coloured marble was considered to be a luxury attribute worth mentioning.¹¹⁸

¹¹¹ Public baths: G. G. Fagan, *Bathing in Public in the Roman World* (Ann Arbor 1999).

¹¹² Fagan, *Bathing in Public*, 75–84.

¹¹³ A. G. McKay, 'Pleasure Domes at Baiae', in W. M. F. Jashemski and R. I. Curtis (eds), *Studia Pompeiana et Classica in Honor of Wilhelmina F. Jashemski: Vol. 2. Classica* (New Rochelle, NY 1989) 155–72.

¹¹⁴ E. Fabbricotti, 'I bagni nelle prime ville romane', *CronPomp* 2 (1976) 29–111, at 37–8 (Villa of the Mysteries) and 63–4 (Villa Arianna B).

¹¹⁵ Fabbricotti, 'I bagni nelle prime ville romane'; F. K. Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (New York and London 1992) 50–7; F. K. Yegül, *Bathing in the Roman World* (Cambridge 2010) 94–7.

¹¹⁶ X. Lafon, 'Les bains privés dans l'Italie romaine au IIe siècle av. J.-C.', in *Les thermes romains: Actes de la table ronde organisée par l'École française de Rome: Rome, 11–12 novembre 1988*, CÉFR 142 (Rome 1991) 97–114; de Haan, 'Privatbäder in Pompeji und Herkulaneum'; N. de Haan, *Römische Privatbäder. Entwicklung, Verbreitung, Struktur und sozialer Status*, Phd diss., Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen (Nijmegen 2003); N. de Haan, 'Luxus Wasser: Privatbäder in der Vesuvregion', in R. Asskamp (ed.), *Luxus und Dekadenz: Römische Leben am Golf von Neapel*, exhibition catalogue (Mainz am Rhein 2007) 122–37; N. de Haan, *Römische Privatbäder: Entwicklung, Verbreitung, Struktur und sozialer Status* (Frankfurt am Main and Oxford 2010).

¹¹⁷ G. Messineo, 'Piscinae Calidae', *RendPontAcc* 74 (2002) 233–52.

¹¹⁸ Stat. *Silv.* 1.5. Also: Mart. *Spect.* 6.42.

There is no concrete explanation as to why attitudes towards swimming, bathing, and sunbathing change during this period. The social practices conducted in the baths, swimming pools, and sunbathing parlours are expressions of a culture that played with and around water, and incorporated it in everyday life as another luxury. The moral criticisms that followed every aspect of the life of pleasure in Rome did not fail to target baths, beaches, and the pleasures of water-associated structures. Moralists wrote with concern about the effeminacy and softness of the people who indulged in these practices, for such activities allegedly incited bodily desires that were insatiable.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless villa architecture staged these practices and provided spaces in which the Roman elite could indulge in the sensuous luxuries that water offered.

Water as a stage for mythology: decoration of water settings

The fantasies that water stirred infiltrated the themes of wall paintings, mosaics, and sculptures that featured around villas' water settings. Two categories of mythological narratives were favoured: the myths of nymphs and marine *thiasoi*, discussed above, and the adventures of Odysseus and his companions. In the case of the former, water enriched the sensuality and sexuality of the myths, just as it created a stage for physical encounters that took place in real life. The presence of water also hinted at dangers—specifically those of sea travel—and provided an appropriate setting for the sea-associated narratives of some sculptural displays.

The decoration of the nymphaeum-complex in Villa San Marco is a good example of water-associated mythic narratives around a water setting (E.1; see Figure 5.12). In the semicircular exedra, four out of eight of the niches' podia represent key moments in water-associated myths: Narcissus and Echo (podium 2), Diana and Actaeon (podium 7; stuccoed wall paintings),¹²⁰ Phrixos and Helle (podium 4), and Europa on Zeus-bull (podium 5; mural mosaics).¹²¹ These alternate with scenes representing sacral offerings (podia 1, 3, 6, 8).¹²² In some of the niches above, wall paintings with high stucco relief represent water-associated gods and goddesses (Venus and Neptune) inserted in illusionistic architecture of the Fourth Pompeian Style.¹²³

¹¹⁹ cf. Horace, *Ep.* 1.2, 1 24. Berry, *The Idea of Luxury*, 67.

¹²⁰ A.-S. Leclerc 'Le pitture del quattro stile: 5. Peintures du nymphée', in *Barbet and Miniero*, 247–52, fig. 561, 562.

¹²¹ O. Wattel de Croizant, 'I mosaici: 2. Mosaïques pariétales du nymphée', in *Barbet and Miniero*, 85–93, fig. 177–8.

¹²² Leclerc 'Le pitture del quattro stile: 5. Peintures du nymphée', 250–1.

¹²³ Leclerc 'Le pitture del quattro stile: 5. Peintures du nymphée'; Blanc, 'Le nymphée de la Villa San Marco', 84. These water-associated mythological narratives were often represented in water settings in villas: for example, the mosaics of Europa on Zeus-bull and Phrixos and Helle in the nymphaeum of Domitian's villa at Sabaudia. Iacopi, 'Scavi nella villa di Domiziano', figs. 2–3.

The other mythological narrative displayed around water was the adventures of Odysseus and his companions. This thematic category was highly appropriate not only in regard to the water settings but also to the geographic location of the villas themselves. A long-established tradition linked parts of the southwest coast of Italy with Odysseus and Circe, a fact that made the bay of Naples, and the coast of Campania in general, apposite locations to stage the wanderings of Odysseus and his companions.¹²⁴

Sculptural groups representing the adventures of Odysseus and his companions are numerous,¹²⁵ and two particular tales seem to have been most popular: the story of Scylla and that of Polyphemus. Water settings were used to allude spatially to the actual setting of the myth. In Villa Adriana's 'Canopus' canal two replica Scylla statuary groups sat at opposite ends alluding to Scylla's guarded straits of Messina and Rhegion (see Figure 5.7);¹²⁶ in the grotto of the villa at Sperlonga the Scylla group floated in the middle of the pool in reference to the moment Odysseus and his companions encountered the threatening sea monster.¹²⁷ Polyphemus groups, often representing Odysseus offering wine to Polyphemus or the blinding of the cyclops, were placed in grottoes, which offered a cave-like setting for this violent myth: in the grotto of the Villa at Sperlonga a group showing the blinding of Polyphemus was set at the very back of the grotto within a natural cave formation; in the Ninfeo Bergantino the same thematic group was presented at the back of the semi-natural cave;¹²⁸ and in the nymphaeum at Punta Epitaffio, a group in which Odysseus offers the cup to

¹²⁴ E. D. Phillips, 'Odysseus in Italy', *JHS* 73 (1953) 53–67; W. B. Stanford, *The Ulysses Theme: A Study in the Adaptability of a Traditional Hero*, 2nd edn (Oxford 1968) 128; Lavagne, *Operosa antra*, 531.

¹²⁵ B. Andreae and C. P. Presicce (eds), *Ulisse: Il mito e la memoria: Roma, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, 22 febbraio–2 settembre 1996*, exhibition catalogue (Rome 1996).

¹²⁶ Mielsch, *Die römische Villa*, 111; Salza Prina Ricotti, *Villa Adriana*, 241 and 261; B. Andreae, 'I gruppi del Polifemo e della Scilla a Villa Adriana', in B. Andreae and C. P. Presicce (eds), *Ulisse: il mito e la memoria: Roma, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, 22 febbraio–2 settembre 1996*, exhibition catalogue, 342–7; A. Kuttner, 'Delight and Danger in the Roman Water Garden: Sperlonga and Tivoli', in M. Conan (ed.), *Landscape Design and the Experience of Motion*, *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium Series in the History of Landscape Architecture* 24 (Washington, DC 2003) 104–57, at 121.

¹²⁷ Mielsch, *Die römische Villa*, 112–3. On the sculptures from Sperlonga: B. Conticello and B. Andreae, *Die Skulpturen von Sperlonga: I gruppi scultorei di soggetto mitologico a Sperlonga*, AntP 14 (Berlin 1974). Latest Scylla reconstruction: B. Andreae and B. Conticello, *Skylla und Charybdis: Zur Skylla-Gruppe von Sperlonga*, AntP 14 (Mainz Stuttgart 1987). On the dating of the sculpture: H. Lauter, 'Zur Datierung der Skulpturen von Sperlonga', *RM* 76 (1969) 162–73; A. F. Stewart, 'To Entertain an Emperor: Sperlonga, Laokoon and Tiberius at the Dinner-Table', *JRS* 67 (1977) 76–90, at 88–90.

¹²⁸ A. Ballard, 'Une transposition de la grotte de Tibère a Sperlonga, le ninfeo Bergantino à Castel Gandolfo', *MÉFRA* 79 (1967) 421–502, at 486–502; P. Liverani, 'L'antro cyclope a Castel Gandolfo: Ninfeo Bergantino', in B. Andreae and C. P. Presicce (eds), *Ulisse: Il mito e la memoria: Roma, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, 22 febbraio–2 settembre 1996*, exhibition catalogue, 332–41.

Polyphemus was set in the apse.¹²⁹ In nymphaeum 44/45 of the Domus Aurea (see Figure 5.3), water was actually part of the mythological narrative: the representation of Odysseus offering wine to Polyphemus featured in a mosaic on the vault of room 44 and was reflected in the water below. The settings would of course be populated with figures from other episodes of the narrative: in the grotto of the Villa at Sperlonga, the mouth of the cave featuring the Scylla and Polyphemus groups was flanked by images of the Pasquino and the rape of Palladion; and in Villa Adriana a Pasquino group complemented the Scylla groups.¹³⁰ The Polyphemus and Scylla episodes were favoured themes, as they alluded not only to the risks inherent in sea travel, but also to Scylla's double-edged erotic attraction to travellers, creating an ambience that Ann Kuttner has compared to that of a 'monster park' or a 'freak show'.¹³¹

Of course, the two categories outlined here are schematic, for often the thematics in villas' water settings merged. The Polyphemus and Scylla groups might be accompanied by marine *thiasoi*; in the Ninfeo Bergantino the Polyphemus and Scylla sculptures were complemented by a mosaic featuring Nereids, Tritons, and sea horses.¹³² Water-associated myths or Homeric narratives might be accompanied by other popular themes: in the exedra of the nymphaeum in Villa San Marco, the Diana and Actaeon myth in the podium was topped by an athlete figure and a hunter,¹³³ and in the nymphaeum at Punta Epitaffio the Polyphemus group was flanked by two figures of Dionysus.¹³⁴

In the archaic and classical period fountain sculptures had a decorative or apotropaic character.¹³⁵ The introduction of meaning and allusion into the displays is discernable from the Hellenistic period onwards: a poem on papyrus describing a nymphaeum with three statues (Queen Arsinoe among nymphs) attests to an early example from the end of third century BCE.¹³⁶ The small grotto

¹²⁹ On the sculptures: Andreae and Presicce (eds), *Ulisse: Il mito e la memoria*, 366–9. On the nymphaeum: Tocco Sciarelli, *Baia: Il ninfeo imperiale*; Gianfrotta, 'L'indagine archeologica'.

¹³⁰ B. Andreae, 'Die römischen Repliken der mythologischen Skulpturengruppen von Sperlonga, mit Beitrag von P.C. Bol', in B. Conticello and B. Andreae (eds), *Die Skulpturen von Sperlonga: I gruppi scultorei di soggetto mitologico a Sperlonga* (Berlin 1974) 61–105, at 89, n. 3.2.5.

¹³¹ Neudecker, 44–5; Kuttner, 'Delight and Danger', 123–4; E. Walter-Karydi, 'Dangerous is Beautiful: The Elemental Quality of a Hellenistic Scylla', in O. Palagia and W. Coulson (eds), *Regional Schools in Hellenistic Sculpture: Proceedings of an International Conference Held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, March 15–17, 1996*, Oxbow Monograph 90 (Oxford 1998) 271–83.

¹³² Balland, 'Une transposition de la grotte', 446–66.

¹³³ Leclerc 'Le pitture del quattro stile: 5. Peintures du nymphée', 249–50.

¹³⁴ F. Zevi, 'Claudio e Nerone: Ulisse a Baia e nella Domus Aurea', in B. Andreae and B. Conticello (eds), *Ulisse: il mito e la memoria: Roma, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, 22 febbraio–2 settembre 1996*, exhibition catalogue, 316–31, at 318.

¹³⁵ Glaser, 'Fountains and Nymphaea', 437.

¹³⁶ G. Ronchi, 'Il papiro cairese 65445 (vv. 140–54) e l'obelisco di Arsinoe II', *Studi classici e orientali* 17 (1968) 56–75; S. Settis, 'Descrizione di un ninfeo ellenistico', *Studi classici e orientali* 14 (1965) 247–57;

of the House of Hermes on Delos featured a Nymph statuette (second century BCE),¹³⁷ and it is possible that the Nike figure on Samothrace is part of the architectural framework of a victory monument in a fountain (second century BCE).¹³⁸ Precedents are few and poorly attested, but it is evident that in the private realm the interplay of water architecture and staged narratives acquired high levels of sophistication. In setting the water-associated and Homeric mythological accounts around water, designers evoked their sensual and dangerous character; and by presenting the myths in water settings they brought them physically into the life of the villas.

CONCLUSION

Designers used water as a sophisticated element to further the cultural expressions of villa architecture and life. They incorporated water's mythological and symbolic associations into architecture, and they used its mythic resonances to play on its sensual qualities. Thus, water features animated the architectural forms and confined spaces of the villas. Water was a stage for both social practices, and for water-associated myths, adding rich levels of meaning and allusion to villa architecture.¹³⁹

The architecture of water in luxury Roman villas was part of a fashionable trend of the period. By bringing it into the architectural vocabulary, designers and their patrons added another layer to the luxurious attributes of villa life. The abundance of water underlined the improved technology of aqueduct water supply as well as the ability to pay for the cost of connecting to it. The brimming pools and bubbling fountains featuring in the villas' gardens, together with their encircling monumental porticus, must have epitomized the architecture of the new era, which novel construction techniques and economic and technological achievements made possible.

B. Schweitzer, *Ein Nymphäum des frühen Hellenismus: Festgabe zur Winckelmannsfeier des Archäologischen seminars der Universität Leipzig am 10. Dezember 1938* (Leipzig 1938).

¹³⁷ Delorme, 'La maison dite de l'Hermès', 456–8; Marcadé, 'Les trouvailles de la maison dite de l'Hermès', at 528–42.

¹³⁸ H. Knell, *Die Nike von Samothrake: Typus, Form, Bedeutung und Wirkungsgeschichte eines rhodischen Sieges-Anathems im Kabirenheiligtum von Samothrake* (Darmstadt 1995) 73–81.

¹³⁹ For a discussion of water as an animating element in Roman architecture: S. Giedion, *Architecture and the Phenomena of Transition: The Three Space Conceptions in Architecture*, trans. of *Architektur und das Phänomen des Wandels* (Cambridge, MA 1971) 198.

Triclinia and dining facilities

Convivial dining, both public and private, assumed a significant role in the political arena of the early empire.¹ In the public domain, hosting banquets became a way to promote oneself.² In the private domain too, the planning of a banquet (the choice of guests and the seating arrangements) became part of a networking scheme that promoted business allegiances,³ and even the elaborateness of the food provisions expressed a favourable attitude towards the distinguished guests.⁴ The increasing importance of the private table during the Imperial period led to the transformation of dining practices in the private sphere. In the elegantly designed and sumptuously decorated villas, owners sought to impress their acquaintances not only by carefully planning the dinner party but also by complementing the meal with performances of music, dance,

¹ D. Schnurbusch, *Convivium: Form und Bedeutung aristokratischer Geselligkeit in der römischen Antike*, *Historia Einzelschriften* 219 (Stuttgart 2011) 219–53 ('7. Die Funktion des Gastmahls für Gesellschaft und Politik').

² J. F. Donahue, *The Roman Community at Table During the Principate* (Ann Arbor 2004). Examples: Cicero's description of a huge *convivium* given in 59 BCE by one of the candidates running for consul is an indication of food's corrupting potential when it came to politics: *Igitur ne Vatinio hoc prodesset, idcirco se atratum fuisse, ne supplicationes nomine C. Pomptini ratas habuisse et festa facie religiosas probasse videretur, occurrit e diverso Tullius non oportuisse etiam illo convivii tempore e ceterorum habitu dissentire, ne coetus epulantium unius veste lugubri contaminaretur*. T. Stangl, *Ciceronis Orationum scholiastae: Asconius, Scholia Bobiensia, Scholia Pseudasconii Sangallensia, Scholia Cluniacensia et recentiora Ambrosiana ac Vaticana, Scholia Lugdunensia sive Gronoviana et eorum excerpta Lugdunensia. Commentarii* (Hildesheim 1964) 149–50; Pliny *Ep.* 6.19.1–2: *Proximis comitiis honestissimas voces senatus expressit: 'Candidati ne conviventur, ne mittant munera, ne pecunias deponant'*. 'At the last election, the Senate expressed the very proper opinion that "Candidates should be prohibited from providing dinners, distributing presents, and depositing money with agents."' Trans. B. Radice, Loeb edn.

³ J. H. D'Arms, 'The Roman *Convivium* and the Idea of Equality', in O. Murray (ed.), *Symptica: A Symposium on the Symposium* (Oxford 1990) 308–20; K. M. D. Dunbabin, 'Ut Graeco More Biberetur: Greeks and Roman on the Dining Couch', in I. Nielsen and H. Sigismund Nielsen (eds), *Meals in a Social Context: Aspects of the Communal Meal in the Hellenistic and Roman World*, *Aarhus Studies in Mediterranean Antiquity* 1 (Aarhus 1998) 81–101, at 89; J.-A. Dickmann, *Domus frequentata: Anspruchsvolles Wohnen im pompejanischen Stadthaus*, *Studien zur antiken Stadt* 4 (Munich 1999) 291–6; E. Stein-Hölkeskamp, *Das römische Gastmahl: Eine Kulturgeschichte* (Munich 2005) 101–11.

⁴ Donahue, *The Roman Community at Table*, 20. On Roman dining practices in the private realm: K. Vössing, *Mensa Regia: Das Bankett beim hellenistischen König und beim römischen Kaiser* (Leipzig 2004); Stein-Hölkeskamp, *Das römische Gastmahl*.

and pantomime.⁵ In this chapter I examine the ways in which the extravagant character of the dining practices and entertainment at such banquets informed the architectural design of the dining facilities where the events took place. I view dining practices and architectural design as dynamic processes that participated in the villa owner's self-presentation.⁶ In analysing these processes my aim is to show that the evolving role of dining habits in combination with the ongoing Roman fascination with landscape and its vistas led architects to bring about a transformation in villas' architectural design. In satisfying the dramaturgical needs of the owners' social staging as well as the spatial needs of the accompanying entertainment, designers created capacious versatile spaces that spread out across the landscape and allowed guests to engage with both inner and exterior scenery.

THE 'INGREDIENTS' OF THE LUXURY DINNER PARTIES

The social practice of dining had its own 'ingredients'—food, cooks, and setting. These were among the corrupting *luxuria* that Roman moralists blamed on the East.⁷ Statius' account of Domitian's Saturnalia feast in the Colosseum is indicative of the emphasis placed on eastern origins of the food that would be offered in a luxurious feast;⁸ and Livy included cooks among the *luxuria peregrina* that were

⁵ C. P. Jones, 'Dinner Theater', in W. J. Slater (ed.), *Dining in a Classical Context* (Ann Arbor 1991) 185–98.

⁶ For the use of dramaturgical techniques to control the impressions of others see: E. Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York 1959).

⁷ *Luxuriae enim peregrinae origo ab exercitu Asiatico invecta in urbem est. Ii primum lectis aeratos, vestem stragulam pretiosam, plagulas et alia textilia, et quae tum magnificae suppellectilis habebantur, monopodia et abacos Romam advexerunt. Tunc psaltriae sambucistriaeque et convivalia alia ludorum oblectamenta addita epulis; epulae quoque ipsae et cura et sumptu maiore apparari coeptae.* 'For the beginnings of foreign luxury were introduced into the City by the army from Asia. They for the first time imported into Rome couches of bronze, valuable robes for coverlets, tapestries and other products of loom, and what at that time was considered luxurious furniture – tables with one pedestal and sideboards. Then female players of the lute and the harp and other festal delights of entertainments were made adjuncts to banquets; the banquets themselves, moreover, began to be planned with greater care and greater expense'. (Liv. 39.6.7–8). Trans. E. T. Sage, Loeb edn. The laws that restricted luxurious dining practices started appearing in the second century BCE. First was the *Lex Orchia* in 182–1 BCE. Proposed by the tribune C. Orchius it limited the number of guests who could be present at entertainments (Macr. 3.16.2). L. Landolfi, *Banchetto e società romana: Dalle origini al I sec. a.C. Filologia critica* 64 (Rome 1990) 52–67. Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, 338–53.

⁸ *Silvae* I.6.10: Candied fruits (*bellaria*); I.6.12–13: dates from Pontus and Palestine (*quicquid nobile Ponticus nucetis, secundis cadit aut iugis Idymes*); I.6.14: plums from Damascus (*quod ramis pia germinat Damascus*); I.6.15: figs from Asia Minor (*et quod percoquit Ebosea Caunos*); I.6.17: the small fancy cakes (*gaioli*); I.6.18: apples and pears from America (*et massis amerina non perustis*); and I.6.20: ripened dates (*praegnantes caryotides*). Statius emphasizes the eastern origins of these foods in order to reinforce their novelty. Donahue, *The Roman Community at Table*, 19.

brought to Rome in 187 BCE.⁹ The exotic provenance of the food served (and indeed of the cooks themselves), and the general emphasis on culinary extravagance of the Roman dinner party further underscored the theme of luxury in the lives of Roman elites. This food was conceived of as something special, something beyond everyday experience, in its origins, its preparation, and its presentation.¹⁰ The spices, especially pepper, that are sprinkled through the recipes of 'Apicius' in *De Re Coquinaria*, a cookbook aimed at a largely upper class Roman audience,¹¹ were imported from the East.¹² Some recipes were so complicated that, as 'Apicius' boasts, 'at table no one will know what he is eating' (*ad mensam nemo agnoscet quid manducet*);¹³ the food itself might be disguised, as at Trimalchio's dinner in which the hare was done up as Pegasus.¹⁴

A luxury dinner usually consisted of three main parts: the starter, called *gustum*, *gustatio*, or *promulsis*; the main course, *mensae primae*; and the dessert course, *mensae secundae*. The *gustatio* consisted of eggs, vegetables (raw and cooked: asparagus, cucumbers, pumpkins), herbs, seafood (salt fish, oysters, mussels, snails), the famous dormice, and was accompanied with *mulsum* (wine mixed with honey);¹⁵ the *primae mensae* consisted of roast and boiled meat and poultry, and was accompanied by wine, usually mixed with water; and the *secundae mensae* consisted of fruit or various kinds of sweets.¹⁶ Trimalchio's dinner had seven courses¹⁷—which is characteristic of Trimalchio's extravagance,

⁹ *Coquus, vilissimum antiquis mancipium, . . . in pretio esse et quod ministerium fuerat, ars haberi coepi*. Liv. 39.6. J. Griffin, 'Augustan Poetry and the Life of Luxury', 93.

¹⁰ Donahue, *The Roman Community at Table*, 19–21; Stein-Hölkeskamp, *Das römische Gastmahl*, 175–203; Schnurbusch, *Convivium*, 110–28 ('4.4. Speisen').

¹¹ The cookery book is the work of an editor who lived in the late fourth or early fifth century CE. However, this person made a compilation from various sources, which combined the dishes of the average middle- and lower-class household in town and country with recipes from a more luxurious table. Apicius, who lived at the time of Tiberius, probably offered the latter. E. Brandt, *Untersuchungen zum römischen Kochbuche: Versuch einer Lösung der Apicius-Frage* (Leipzig 1927); B. Flower and E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum (eds), *The Roman Cookery Book: A Critical Translation of 'The Art of cooking by Apicius' for Use in the Study and the Kitchen* (London 1958) 12.

¹² P. Garnsey, *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity*, Key Themes in Ancient History (Cambridge 1999) 122; A. Dalby, *Empire of Pleasures: Luxury and Indulgence in the Roman World* (London 2000) 244.

¹³ Apicius, *De Re Coquinaria* 4.2.12. Flower and Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *The Roman Cookery Book*, 98–9.

¹⁴ Petron. *Sat.* 36.2–3: . . . *leporemque in medio pinnis subornatum, ut Pegasus videretur*. ' . . . and a hare with wings fixed to his middle to look like Pegasus'. This is paralleled by Flower and Alföldi-Rosenbaum to Apicius' recipe: *Iecur leporis aut haedi aut agni aut pulli; et si volueris, in formella piscem formabis*. 'Use hare, kid, lamb, or chicken-liver: and mould into a fish in a small mould if liked.' *De re coquinaria* 9.13.1. Flower and Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *The Roman Cookery Book*, 20, 214–5.

¹⁵ On *mulsum*: Columella, *Rust.* 12.41. Flower and Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *The Roman Cookery Book*, 25.

¹⁶ On *gustatio, primae et secundae mensae*: Flower and Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *The Roman Cookery Book*, 20–1.

¹⁷ The seven courses that were offered were the *gustatio*: olives, dormice, sausages, damsons, and pomegranates (*Sat.* 31); the *ferculum primum*: hare, fowl, and sow's udders (36); the *ferculum secundum*: boar with fresh and dried dates (40); the *ferculum tertium*: pork (47); the *ferculum quartum*: veal (59.7); the

a trait that Petronius underlines.¹⁸ In fact, Horace satirizes such an over-elaborate meal.¹⁹ Truly sophisticated diners would not emphasize such details; As Griffin has pointed out, ‘it is not in the manner either of the elegists or of Horace in his *Odes* to tell us about the menu at the *convivia*, events that occupy so much of their poetry’.²⁰

The still lifes and exotic animals that featured in the wall paintings of the dining rooms alluded to the luxuries of the dinner: in Villa Oplontis A, the basket of figs on the north wall of triclinium 14 (Figure 6.1); in oecus 23, the veiled basket of fruits and the glass cup containing fruits in the north wall (Figure 6.2), and the



FIG. 6.1 Villa Oplontis A, triclinium 14, basket of figs on the north wall (on the right). Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

matteae (savories): whole fowls and goose eggs (65.1); and the *epideipnis*: pastry thrushes stuffed with raisins, nuts, and quinces; pork shapes (69.6). Complete listing of these items: G. Schmeling, ‘Trimalchio’s Menu and Wine List’, *CP* 65 (1970), 248–51. Although the food itself has been shown to be mostly of the kind produced locally, the dinner party is impressive for the volume, variety, and novelty of the items offered. Donahue, *The Roman Community at Table*, 21.

¹⁸ For the social and cultural context of the staging of Trimalchio’s dinner, see E. Olshausen, ‘Soziokulturelle Betrachtungen zur *Cena Trimalchionis*’, in L. Castagna and E. Lefèvre (eds), *Studien zu Petron und seiner Rezeption*, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 241 (Berlin and New York 2007) 15–31.

¹⁹ Hor. *Sat.* 2.8.

²⁰ Griffin, ‘Augustan Poetry and the Life of Luxury’, 93; E. Gowers, *The Loaded Table: Representations of Food in Roman Literature* (Oxford 1993).



FIG. 6.2 Villa Oplontis A, oecus 23, the veiled basket of fruits and the glass cup containing fruits in the north wall. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archaeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

basket with fruits on the south wall; and the peacock on the east wall of oecus 15 (Figure 6.3).²¹ The depiction of still lifes in Roman wall paintings was related to a category of paintings called *xenia*, showing the gifts of food that Greek hosts offered to their guests (Vitr. *De Arch.* 6.7.4). In the Roman period the meaning of the term was broadened to include images of live animals that may have also featured on the dinner table.²² Whether these represented gifts of food that Greek hosts sent to their guests, as Vitruvius states, we cannot be certain.²³

²¹ On still lifes in the Campanian region: H. G. Beyen, *Über Stilleben aus Pompeji und Herculaneum* (Gravenhage 1928); F. Eckstein, *Untersuchungen über die Stilleben aus Pompeji und Herculaneum* (Berlin 1957); J.-M. Croisille, *Les natures mortes campaniennes: Répertoire descriptif des peintures de nature morte du Musée national de Naples, de Pompéi, Herculaneum et Stabies*, Coll.Latomus 76 (Bruxelles 1965). The still lifes of Villa A are not included in these publications as the villa was excavated in the late 1960s.

²² Croisille, *Les natures mortes campaniennes*, 11–16; Bryson, *Looking at the Overlooked*, 17–59; S. De Caro, ‘Zwei “Gattungen” der pompejanischen Malerei: Stilleben und Gartenmalerei’, in G. Cerulli Irelli et al. (eds), *Pompejanische Wandmalerei* (Stuttgart and Zurich 1990) 263–72, at 263–9; B. Wesenberg, ‘Zum integrierten Silleben in der Wanddekoration des zweiten pompejanischen Stils’, in E. M. Moormann (ed.), *Functional and Spatial Analysis of Wall Painting: Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress on Ancient Wall Painting, Amsterdam, 8–12 September 1992*, BABesch Supplement 3 (Leiden 1993) 160–7, at 161–4.

²³ K. Junker, ‘Antike Stilleben’, in E. König and C. Schön (eds), *Stilleben: Geschichte Der klassischen Bildgattungen in Quellentexten und Kommentaren*, vol. 5 (Berlin 1996) 93–105; K. Junker, ‘Täuschend echt. Stilleben in der römischen Wandmalerei’, *AntW* 34 (2003) 471–89; R. Hanoune, ‘Le dossier des *xenia* et la mosaïque’, in C. Balmelle et al. (eds), *Recherches franco-tunisiennes sur la mosaïque de l’Afrique antique, 1: Xenia*, CÉFR 125 (Rome 1990) 7–13; J.-P. Darmon, ‘En guise de conclusion: Propositions pour une sémantique des *xenia*’, in C. Balmelle et al. (eds), *Recherches franco-tunisiennes sur la mosaïque de l’Afrique antique, 1: Xenia*, CÉFR 125 (Rome 1990) 107–12; Wesenberg, ‘Zum integrierten Silleben’; Squire, *Image and Text*, 363–72.



FIG. 6.3 Villa Oplontis A, oecus 15, peacock in the east wall. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

Figuring exclusively in the domestic sphere the artful depiction of these themes celebrated the richness of the private banquet, while literary ekphrasis of such gifts—Martial’s poems, for instance (which were sometimes gifts themselves)—accentuated the sociological significance of the gift exchange.²⁴ Literary descriptions of dining might have further titillated guests when they were away from the dinner table.

As one might expect, the content of luxury dinners bore little relation to the typical dietary regimen of Mediterranean peoples, which consisted primarily of cereals, wine, and olive oil, supplemented by dry legumes or pulses.²⁵ The menu for Trimalchio’s banquet as well as Martial’s accounts suggest that a variety of

²⁴ Squire, *Image and Text*, 372–415; Bryson, *Looking at the Overlooked*, 17–59. On Martial’s *xenia* see: Shackleton Bailey’s translation with comments in Loeb edition 2003, 173–225; T. J. Leary, *Martial Book XIII: The Xenia* (London 2001). On the connection between the artistic simulation of food and the verbal simulation of images in Philostratus’s *Imagines* see: Squire, *Image and Text*, 416–27.

²⁵ Garnsey, *Food and Society*, 13.

meats, pork, birds, and fowl, and speciality fruits, were served at luxury dinners.²⁶ The consumption of meat as well as fish signified high status in the Roman world,²⁷ and the ubiquitous presence of fish in *De Re Coquinaria* corroborates this association.²⁸ Archaeological evidence from villa sites, where specialized investigation has been conducted, supports the notion that luxury seafood was consumed: the analysis of the mollusc species found in the garden of the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta indicates that land snails, marine snails, oysters, and clams were widely consumed by its inhabitants from the end of the first century BCE to the third century CE.²⁹ In Villa Oplontis A, the land snails, marine snails, oysters, and clams found in the north garden also indicate their consumption in this villa.³⁰

The specialization and number of the household staff whose occupation was related to dining indicates the importance attached to these practices in the

²⁶ Mart. 2.37, 3.45, 3.60, 7.53, 9.14, 12.17, and esp. 7.20. In Mart. 7.20, for instance, fourteen different items are enumerated and among them: sweetbread of boar (*apri glandula*, 7.20.4), loin (*lumbus*, 7.20.4), haunches of hare (*coca leporis*, 7.20.5), oysters (*ostreum*, 7.20.7), cake (*placenta*, 7.20.8), preserved grapes (*uvae ollares*, 7.20.9), pomegranates (*Punicum malum*, 7.20.10), fig (*lippa ficus*, 7.20.12), mushroom (*boletus*, 7.20.12), turtle dove (*turtur*, 7.20.15), and wine mixed with water (*mixtum vinum*, 7.20.19). Juvenal offers similar evidence at 11.136–41: *sed nec structor erit cui cedere debeat omnis pergula, discipulus Trypheri doctoris, apud quem sumine cum magno lepus atque aper et pygargus et Scythicae volucres et phoenicopterus ingens et Gaetulus oryx hebeti lautissima ferro caeditur et tota sonat ulmea cena Subura*. ‘Nor shall I have a server to whom the whole caring-school must bow, a pupil of the teacher Trypherus, in whose school is cut up, with blunt knives, a magnificent feast of hares and sows’ paunches, of boars and antelopes, of pheasants and tall flamingoes and Gaetulian gazelles, until the whole Subura rings with the clatter of the elm-wood banquet.’ Trans. G. G. Ramsay, Loeb edn. Donahue, *The Roman Community at Table*, 20.

²⁷ On meat: Garnsey, *Food and Society*, 124. The ceremonial eating of sacrificial meat was reserved for the upper classes, and any leftovers were sold in the market, which seems like a deliberate strategy to prevent meat of good quantity reaching the common man. J. Scheid, ‘La spartizione sacrificale a Roma’, in C. Grotanelli and N. Parise (eds), *Sacrificio e società nel mondo antico* (Rome 1988) 267–92; J. Scheid, *Romulus et ses frères: Le Collège des frères arvaies, modèle du culte public dans la Rome des empereurs*, BÉFAR 275 (Rome 1990). It is a clear sign that meat, especially red meat, was a prestige food, and that meat-consumption was a sensitive matter. The identity of those who ate it, and the way it was obtained, mattered to the elite, especially to aristocratic Romans. M. Corbier, ‘Le statut ambigu de la viande à Rome’, *Dialogues d’histoire ancienne* 15 (1989) 107–58. On fish: J. Wilkins, ‘Social Status and Fish in Ancient Rome’, *Food culture and history* 1 (1993) 191–203; N. Purcell, ‘Eating Fish: The Paradoxes of Seafood’, in J. Wilkins, J., M. Dobson, and F. D. Harvey (eds), *Food in Antiquity* (Exeter 1995) 132–49; P. Ørsted, ‘Salt, Fish and the Sea in the Roman Empire’, in I. Nielsen and H. Sigismund Nielsen (eds), *Meals in a Social Context: Aspects of the Communal Meal in the Hellenistic and Roman World*, Aarhus Studies in Mediterranean Antiquity 1 (Aarhus 1998) 13–35.

²⁸ Especially books 6, 9, and 10.

²⁹ E. M. Pinto-Guillaume, ‘Mollusks from the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta (Rome): Swedish Garden Archaeological Project, 1996–1999’, *AJA* 106 (2002) 37–58. Terrestrial gastropods (land snails), Mediterranean marine gastropods (snails: 43–5), and Mediterranean marine Pelecypods (oysters and clams: 45–8, 52–4) were found in the garden. Marine snails were also found in the House of Livia on the Palatine (53); and clams and oysters have been found in various sites in Pompeii and Herculaneum (47).

³⁰ *Jashemski II*, 295. Molluscs have been found in other sites as well. See Pinto-Guillaume, ‘Mollusks from the Villa of Livia’, 41, table 2.

Imperial period. Based on the epitaphs of a large number of servants in the imperial household,³¹ we can form an idea of the sorts of workers who would serve a wealthy Roman family during the Augustan period. Under Augustus and Tiberius there were: an *opsonator*, responsible for provisions, a baker (*pistor*), a seafood chef (*qui praeest pistoribus*), a food taster (*praegustator*), and a stores clerk (*libraria cellaria*);³² and by the time of Hadrian there were personnel *a vinis* (concerned with wine) at work in the palace.³³

The luxuries of the table soon occupied much time and effort, as well as vast expense.³⁴ Both public and private sources supplied the table of the Roman luxury dinner party.³⁵ The urban trade in municipal Italy and abroad brought native and exotic foodstuffs within easy reach. The central markets (*macella*) of smaller towns, like Pompeii, were linked to Rome for their provisions, as the Campanian market lists, known as *indices nundinae*, indicate.³⁶ Although the produce readily available at the macellum was sometimes viewed with contempt,³⁷ the macellum provided a large proportion of the treats featuring at a

³¹ *CIL* VI. 3926–4326, columbarium of Livia; 4327–413, *familia* of the children of Nero Drusus; 4414–880, *familia* of Marcella; 4881–5178, 5179–538, 5539–678, others of Tiberian and Claudian date; 8639–9101, *officiales ex familia Augusta*. For additional background see appendix in Griffin, 'Augustan Poetry and the Life of Luxury', 105. Also: P. R. C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris: A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves* (Cambridge 1972); S. Treggiari, 'Jobs in the Household of Livia', *PBSR* 43 (1975) 48–77; Schnurbusch, *Convivium*, 97–110 ('4.3. Hauspersonal').

³² Augustus claimed to live a modest, old-fashioned domestic life, and asserted that this was not considered absurd (Suet. *Aug.* 73 on the *parsimonia* of his furniture; Tacitus, *Ann.* 5.1: *sanctitas domus priscum ad morem*). Griffin (1976: 95) indicates that the servant specializations attested in the inscriptions of the imperial family cannot be greatly different from those in other eminent families of the time. Also: G. Boulvert, *Esclaves et affranchis impériaux sous Haut-Empire: Rôle politique et administrative* (Naples 1970) 24; Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 228.

³³ Donahue, *The Roman Community at Table*, 24.

³⁴ For contemporary literature on this aspect: L. Friedländer et al., *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*, 2nd edn (London 1928) vol. 2, 146 f: 'The Luxury of the Table and the Importation of Foreign Goods'.

³⁵ Caesar, in preparation for a public banquet in memory of his daughter Julia, provided an *epulum*, partly from his own household supplies and partly from the market contractors. Suet. *Jul.* 26. 'As to the things that pertained to the banquet, although items were supplied by the market men, he also made use of his domestic stores'.

³⁶ The central markets of Puteoli, Ostia, and Pompeii, were linked to Rome. L. de Ligt, *Fairs and Markets in the Roman Empire: Economic and Social Aspects of Periodic Trade in a Pre-Industrial Society*, Dutch monographs on ancient history and archaeology 11 (Amsterdam 1993) 163–5. Rome drew resources from local markets for its supply needs, and the towns benefited economically: J. H. D'Arms, 'Puteoli in the Second Century of the Roman Empire: A Social and Economic Study,' *JRS* 64 (1974) 104–24; R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, 2nd edn (Oxford 1973); M. Frederiksen, *Campania*, edited by N. Purcell (London 1984). On Pompeii: W. Jongman, *The Economy and Society of Pompeii*, Dutch Monographs on Ancient History and Archaeology 4 (Amsterdam 1988); with review by N. Purcell, 'The Economy of an Ancient Town', *CR* 40 (1990) 111–16.

³⁷ Pliny talks about the satisfaction of fetching birds that were not available at the macellum (Pliny *HN* 19.19.52). It was this emphasis on luxury that led Festus to label the merchandise of the macellum as

luxury dinner party.³⁸ At the same time peasant markets were held weekly in towns and provided other options.³⁹

But luxury villas that had direct access to the sea would have private supplies or might distribute their own to others. Nearly all of the villas examined here had access to the sea: Villa of the Papyri, Villa San Marco, Villa Arianna A, and Villa Arianna B. The only one for which we cannot assert this is Villa Oplontis A. The coring samples taken from the area south of Villa Oplontis A indicate that it was situated at the edge of a cliff, about 13 m above the ancient level of the sea, and preliminary investigations suggest that staircase 36 led from atrium 32 to the bottom of the cliff.⁴⁰ In the Villa of the Papyri, a building with an adjacent swimming pool in the lower terrace area was situated next to the beach and had direct access to it through a small staircase at the southeast of the pool (see Figures 2.8–11). Access to this area from the atrium quarter must have been at the northeast side of building B, which has not yet been excavated. In Villa San Marco, a staircase at the north entrance to the villa's working quarter led to the beach. In Villa Arianna A, ramp 76 lead from the beach (approximately 55 m below) to the southeast of the villa (see Figure 2.29), and it might also have served the adjacent Villa Arianna B. There are wheel signs on the ramp that suggest that the two carriages found in 'cortile D', or stables, in Villa Arianna A were used to carry provisions for the villa, and also to carry the produce of the villa itself to other sites (Figure 6.4).⁴¹ The east and southeast structures of the villa, the stables, in which the carriage was found, and courtyard W6, point to heavy agricultural activity occurring there.⁴² Whether this supplied the table of the luxury dinner party, or only supported the resources of the owner of this villa, we do not know.⁴³ However, the walnuts and dried pomegranates found in the storerooms 10, 15, and 42 of Villa Oplontis B, situated 200 m to the east of Villa Oplontis A, would certainly have reached the owner's table.⁴⁴ Additionally, the

lautiores cibi (Festus 48M). Most of the food served at Trimalchio's banquet was locally produced. Schmeling, 'Trimalchio's Menu and Wine List'.

³⁸ C. de Ruyt, *Macellum: Marché alimentaire des romains* (Louvain-La-Neuve 1983) 341–50; J. M. Frayn, *Markets and Fairs in Roman Italy: Their Social and Economic Importance from the Second Century BC to the Third Century AD* (Oxford 1993) 65–9.

³⁹ Donahue, *The Roman Community at Table*, 27. They would probably provide agricultural surpluses from the surrounding countryside, particularly items with a short shelf life. de Ligt, *Fairs and Markets*, 114; P. W. de Neeve, 'Ancient Periodic Markets: Festivals and Fairs', *Athenaeum* 66 (1988) 391–416.

⁴⁰ Thomas and Clarke, 'Water Features, the Atrium, and the Coastal Setting', 378–80, fig. 12.

⁴¹ Miniero, 'Studio di un carro romano'; Rega, 'Progetto di ricostruzione del carro'.

⁴² Miniero, 'Studio di un carro romano', 177. For a discussion of this area and its problematic labelling as 'slave quarter' or *ergastulum*: Marzano, *Roman Villas in Central Italy*, 145 n. 76, 148–53.

⁴³ The southeast part of the villa was excavated by the Bourbons and is now partly covered, and we do not know what kind of agricultural activities would have taken place there.

⁴⁴ Fergola, *Oplontis e le sue ville*, 112–13, 'Prodotti della natura nella villa B'.

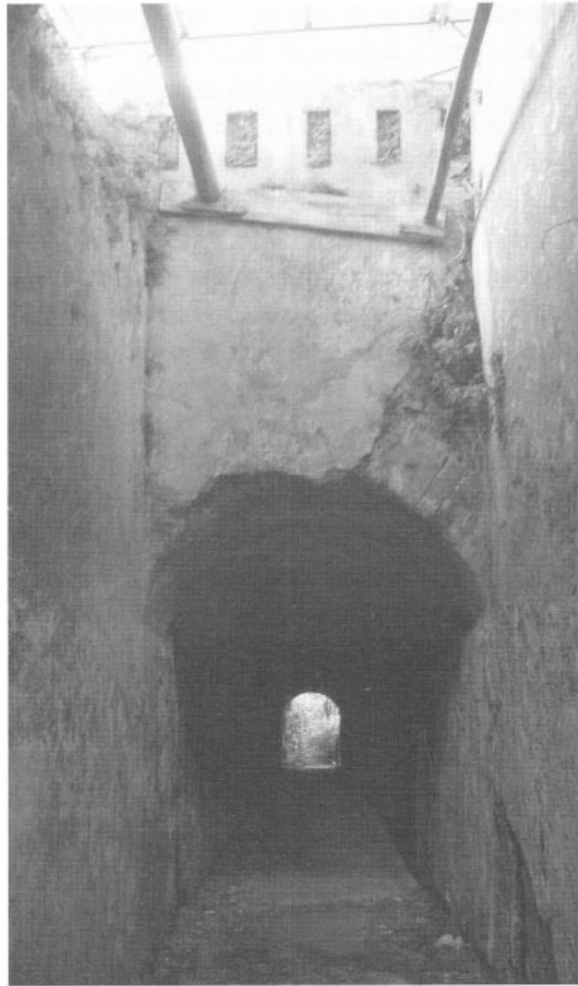


FIG. 6.4 Villa Arianna A, view through ramp 76 towards the sea. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archaeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

villa's fishponds, symbols of financial and social success, would please not only the eyes but also the palate of the dinner guests.⁴⁵ The villa at Sperlonga is the most impressive example. Diners would recline in the pavilion in the centre of the rectangular pool, enjoying a view of the fish that would eventually be served to them.⁴⁶ The pool in the square peristyle of the Villa of the Papyri was probably a fishpond.⁴⁷ Whether they were supplied by the town's market, by private supplies, or with the villa's own produce, the table of the luxury dinner parties was lavishly loaded to satisfy rich Romans' appetites for conspicuous consumption.

⁴⁵ Higginbotham, *Piscinae*, 55–64. See also: Marzano, 'Le ville marittime dell'Italia romana'.

⁴⁶ Higginbotham, *Piscinae*, 159–63.

⁴⁷ Higginbotham, *Piscinae*, 94–6.

TRANSFORMATION OF THE DINING FACILITIES: STAGING THE ENTERTAINMENT

The Latin word *triclinium* means literally a three-couch room and signifies an arrangement of three couches set in the form of the Greek letter Pi (Π), with a table standing between them to serve the diners as they reclined on their couches.⁴⁸ The form and size of the Roman triclinium enforced a close contact between individuals and encouraged discussion among them;⁴⁹ seating arrangements reinforced a hierarchical order,⁵⁰ and promoted social interaction between *clientela* and *amicitia*.⁵¹ Although the word has Greek provenance (τρικλίνιον), the room it signified differed from the Greek room for private dining, the ἀνδρών.⁵² The Roman dining room was long and narrow with a central opening, and was designed for three couches of about 2.2/2.4 m by 1.2 m;⁵³ whereas the Greek ἀνδρών was approximately square, with an off-centre door, and with capacity for seven (archaic and classical period) or eleven (archaic through Hellenistic period) couches of about 1.8/1.9 m by 0.8/0.9 m.⁵⁴

The restricted space of the traditional triclinium could not accommodate the elaborate character that dining practices gradually assumed. Literary sources indicate that the meaning of the word changed after the late Republican period. It came to signify any dining room regardless of size, and, in the later empire,

⁴⁸ K. M. D. Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet: Images of Conviviality* (Cambridge 2003) 38, n. 6.

⁴⁹ Dunbabin, 'Ut Graeco More Biberetur', 89.

⁵⁰ J. R. Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representation and Non-Elite Viewers in Italy, 100 B.C.–A.D. 315* (Berkeley and London 2003) 223–7.

⁵¹ D'Arms, 'The Roman *Convivium*'; J. H. D'Arms, 'Control, Companionship, and Clientela: Some Social Functions of the Roman Communal Meal', *EchCl* 28 (1984) 327–48; K. Bradley, 'The Roman Family at Dinner', in I. Nielsen and H. Sigismund Nielsen (eds), *Meals in a Social Context: Aspects of the Communal Meal in the Hellenistic and Roman World*, Aarhus Studies in Mediterranean Antiquity 1 (Aarhus 1998) 36–55.

⁵² Dunbabin, 'Ut Graeco More Biberetur', 89.

⁵³ Vitruvius states that the ideal proportions for a *triclinium* are twice as long as wide: *De Arch.* 6.3.8. For a discussion on archaeological evidence of *triclinia*: Dunbabin, 'Triclinium and Stibadium'; Dunbabin, 'Ut Graeco More Biberetur'. For a discussion on archaeological evidence of open-air *triclinia*: P. Soprano, 'I triclini all'aperto di Pompei', in A. Maiuri, *Pompeiana: Raccolta di studi per il secondo centenario degli scavi di Pompei* (Naples 1950) 288–310. For a discussion on archaeological evidence of water *triclinia*: F. Rakob, 'Ein Grottentriklinium in Pompeji', *RM* 71 (1964) 182–94; Richardson, 'Water Triclinia and Biclina'. For evidence on preserved beds and couches at Herculaneum: S. T. A. M. Mols, *Wooden Furniture in Herculaneum: Form, Technique and Function* (Amsterdam 1999) 35–44; E. De Carolis, *Il mobile a Pompei ed Ercolano: Letti, tavoli, sedie e armadi: Contributo alla tipologia dei mobili della prima età imperiale*, *Studia archaeologica* 151 (Rome 2007) (although these are beds rather than couches).

⁵⁴ B. Bergquist, 'Symptotic Space: A Functional Aspect of Greek Dining Rooms', in Murray, *Symptotica: A Symposium on the Symposium* (Oxford 1990) 37–65, at 38; W. Hoepfner and E.-L. Schwandner (eds), *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland*, Wohnen in der klassischen Polis 1, 2nd edn (Munich 1994) 327–8; Dunbabin, 'Triclinium and Stibadium', 121–2; Dunbabin, 'Ut Graeco More Biberetur', 82–3; Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet*, 37–8.

regardless of shape.⁵⁵ Most of the rooms identifiable as triclinia (in the strict Vitruvian sense) in Italy date from the late Republican and early Imperial periods.⁵⁶ From the end of the first century CE onwards, their size and form changes, and by the fourth century CE the semicircular sigma-couch, or stibadium, prevails. This suggests a parallel transformation of the dining space and of the words that signified it.⁵⁷

Changes in the dining spaces must have related to the performances of music, dance, and pantomime that complemented the sophisticated dining practices.⁵⁸ Varro describes a spectacle for a dinner party at his villa, where a musician 'acted' Orpheus in the midst of a park of wild animals (*Rust.* 3.13.2–3)⁵⁹—an image that was visually represented on the back wall of the garden in the House of Orpheus in Pompeii.⁶⁰ Plutarch mentions mime-acting at the private dining parties that are the stage for his *Quaestiones convivales*, or 'Table talk' (Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 7.8.3, 711 E). Trimalchio's dinner party involved acrobat displays and mimic performances (*Sat.* 53.8–11; 59). Petronius satirized the kinds of pieces that were performed as well as Trimalchio's choice to include *Homeristae* in the entertainment routine, as they probably belonged to the world of public entertainment; but actors and mimes were common to private entertainment.⁶¹ Private pantomime performances were given to elite audiences, either in their own homes or in the houses of aristocratic fans.⁶² Seneca complains that the noise of pantomime activity on a private stage would fill the whole city (Sen. *Ep.* 47.17; cf. Plin. *NH.* 7.184).⁶³ It is not surprising that as part of luxury life, the entertainment at dinner parties was criticized, and measures were taken for its restriction—the pantomime riots of 15 CE were a response to this.⁶⁴

⁵⁵ Dunbabin, 'Ut Graeco More Biberetur', 89; Dickmann, *Domus frequentata*, 30–3; Schnurbusch, *Convivium*, 65–81 (4.1. *Triclinium* und *Cenatio*).

⁵⁶ There appear *triclinia* in other parts of the empire; in the Greek East, these show the wholesale adoption of the Roman form. Dunbabin, 'Ut Graeco More Biberetur', 92–5.

⁵⁷ For an assessment of the history of these seating arrangements: Dunbabin, 'Triclinium and Stibadium'.

⁵⁸ For the entertainment accompanying dinner parties see: Schnurbusch, *Convivium*, 169–77 ('5.2. Unterhaltungsprogramm').

⁵⁹ On the context of this dinner party: *Rust.* 3.4.3, 3.5.9–17.

⁶⁰ D. Michel, 'Pompejanische Gartenmalereien', in H. A. Cahn and E. Simon (eds), *Tainia: Roland Hampe zum 70. Geburtstag am 2. Dezember 1978* (Mainz am Rhein 1980) 373–404, at 396–7.

⁶¹ N. Horsfall, 'The Uses of Literacy' and the *Cena Trimalchionis*: I, *GaR* 36 (1989) 74–89, at 80–1.

⁶² For evidence on ancient pantomime: E. Hall, 'Introduction: Pantomime, a Lost Chord of Ancient Culture', in E. Hall and R. Wyles (eds), *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime* (Oxford 2008), 1–40.

⁶³ For what went on the private stage: Sen. *Q Nat.* 7.32.3. W. J. Slater, 'Pantomime Riots', *CLAnt* 13 (1994) 120–44, at 131. Also: W. J. Slater, 'Three Problems in the History of Drama', *Phoenix* 47 (1993) 189–212, at 205–11; Jones, 'Dinner Theater'.

⁶⁴ Tacitus indicates that pantomimes were forbidden to appear except in public, which means that they were not allowed to perform in private houses. Tac. *Ann.* 1.77, Dio 57.14.10, Vell. *Pat.* 2.126.2, Suet. *Tib.* 34.1, Zos. 1.6.1. Slater, 'Pantomime Riots', 125.

The increasing importance that live performances gained in dinner parties of the Imperial period rendered the triclinia rooms inadequate to satisfy the spatial requirements of the dinners. This seems to have led owners to employ a range and variety of rooms for their dinner parties, and inspired architects to create bigger rooms that were not use-specific. For the students of villa architecture this is to a certain extent a problem, because the dining spaces are not as neatly defined as those in town houses. Indeed few luxury villas dating from between the first century BCE and the first century CE provide examples of built masonry couches—one example is at the villa at Minori whose first phase dates to the beginning of the first century CE (see Figure 5.5).⁶⁵ Typical triclinia are found only in their early phases—for example, triclinium 14 in Villa Oplontis A—that is, before they assume their grandiose appearance. For this reason Dunbabin dwelled on the built triclinia or rooms identifiable as triclinia by mosaic decoration in order to contextualize her discussion of dining and entertainment in the Roman villa.⁶⁶ But recent scholarship on the identification of spaces in the Roman house has shown that the identification of rooms on the basis of form alone is not enough,⁶⁷ and that the archaeological record offers a more profound understanding of the function of the rooms.⁶⁸ However, a clear archaeological record is often unavailable and we need to complement it with information provided from literary sources and with the insights that an architectural design analysis provides.

Both literary and archaeological evidence suggests that dining practices in luxury villas took place in a variety of rooms, which had a multifunctional character. Contemporary discussions indicate that dining rooms could take a range of forms—the word *diaetae* designated nuclei of two or three rooms for daytime (as opposed to nighttime), of which one might be a triclinium.⁶⁹ The main design concerns seem to have been to perfect their seasonal and spatial qualities,⁷⁰ and to ensure their view of the landscape.⁷¹

⁶⁵ Bencivenga, Fergola, and Melillo, 'Ricerche sulla villa romana di Minori'; Bucolo, 'La villa romana di Minori'.

⁶⁶ K. M. D. Dunbabin, 'Convivial Spaces'. On the identification of rooms for dining in luxury villas: 67–70.

⁶⁷ Leach, 'Oecus on Ibycus'; Allison, 'How Do We Identify the Use of Space?'

⁶⁸ Allison, 'Artefact Distribution and Spatial Function', 321–54; Dickmann, *Domus frequentata*, 275–97, chapter 4, 'Zwischen Ruhe und Bewegung—die Dynamik des "Wohnens"'. See also: Allison, *The Archaeology of Household Activities*; Allison, *Pompeian Households*.

⁶⁹ Leach, 'Oecus on Ibycus', 67.

⁷⁰ Vitruvius, *De Arch.* 6.4.1–2. Also: Varro *Ling.* 8.28.4.

⁷¹ Lucullus' villas near Tusculum, Plut. *Luc.* 39, 3–5; Pliny the Younger's villas, Plin. *Ep.* 2.17, 5.6; Sidonius' account of his dining room at Avitacum, Sid. *Apoll. Epist.* 2.211. Dunbabin, 'Convivial Spaces', 66.

The spacious rooms and clusters of rooms that appeared in luxury villas towards the end of the first century BCE accommodated those needs perfectly—for instance, in Villa Oplontis A rooms 21, 64/65, 69, and 73/74, the cluster of rooms 66, 78, 79, and symmetrical cluster of room 94 and its adjacent unexcavated rooms at the north (in Figures 2.16–17); in Villa Arianna A rooms 3 and A (see Figure 2.26); in Villa Arianna B room 13 (in Figure 2.32); in Villa San Marco room 16, the cluster of rooms 53, 50, and 30, and the cluster of rooms 12, 14, and 8 (in Figure 2.33); and in Villa of the Papyri room 28 (in Figure 2.1) and building a in the lower terrace (in Figures 2.9, 2.11). Zanker's study of the dining arrangement of the Domus Flavia indicated that it could hold a party of about five hundred guests;⁷² and it is reasonable to assume that all the villas examined here could hold between fifty (Villa of the Papyri) and one hundred or more guests (Villa Oplontis A). In addition some of these rooms, or clusters of rooms, could have served as guest quarters.⁷³ In the competitive climate of the early Imperial period private entertainment was a central way for hosts to control the impressions that their guests received; large rooms and clusters of rooms complemented this aim and satisfied the spatial needs of the augmented dinner party.

We notice a similar development in late antique times, when the increasing importance of entertainment for dinner parties held in villas led to the adoption of the triconch, which had already featured in Hadrian's villa.⁷⁴ This arrangement provided a central space for the dinner entertainment, which could be fully viewed from three apses or three different rooms, and fitted elegantly into one of the sides of the peristylum–garden, as seen in the Villa at Desenzano on Lake Garda (fourth century CE),⁷⁵ in the Villa at Piazza Armerina in Sicily (fourth century CE; Figure 6.5),⁷⁶ as well as in the Villa at Montmaurin in Aquitania (fourth century CE).⁷⁷ These entertainment spaces, and the large reception halls in late antique villas, were settings for the increased competition that was brought

⁷² P. Zanker, 'Domitian's Palace on the Palatine and the Imperial Image', in A. Bowman and F. Millar (eds), *Representations of Empire: Rome and the Mediterranean World*, ProcBritAc 114 (Oxford 2002) 105–30.

⁷³ See: A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'The Villa of the Mysteries and the Ideals of Hellenistic Hospitality', in G. P. R. Métraux and A. Marzano (eds), *Roman Villas in the Mediterranean Basin* (Cambridge and New York [forthcoming]).

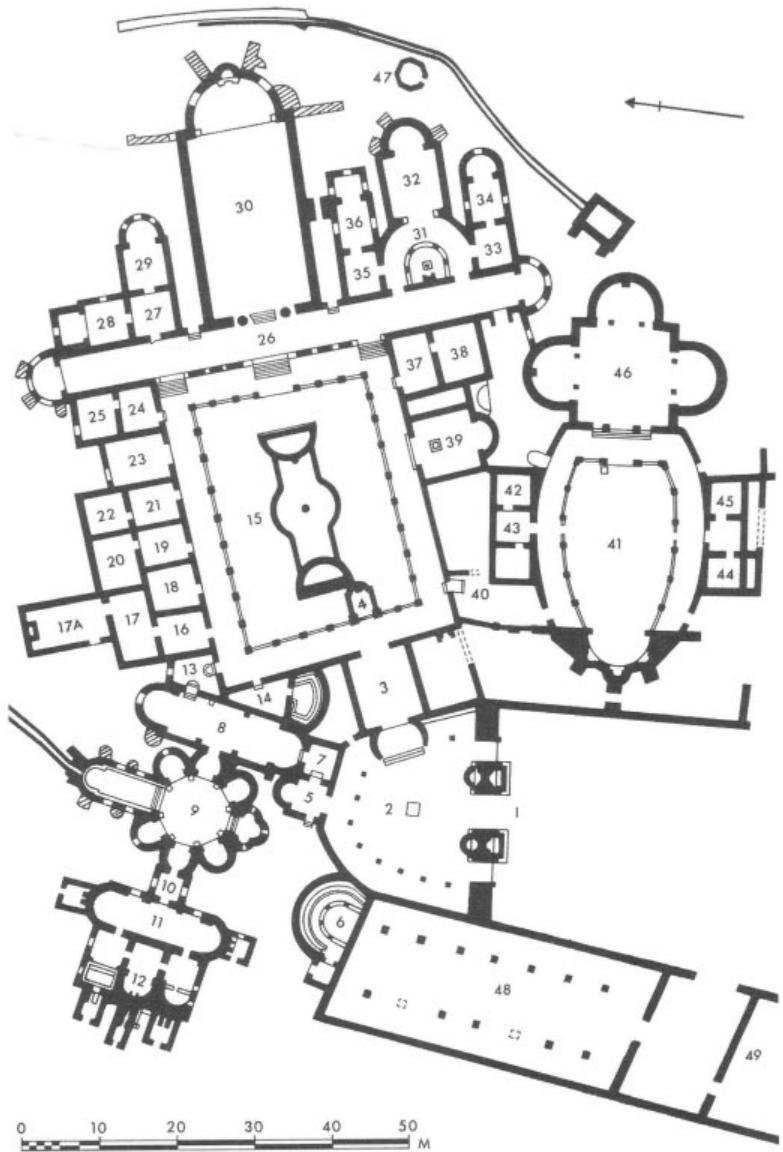
⁷⁴ Dunbabin, 'Convivial Spaces', 77–8. See also Dunbabin, 'Triclinium and Stibadium', 130; and Rosster, 'Convivium and Villa', 203.

⁷⁵ D. Scagliarini Corlàita, 'La villa di Desenzano del Garda. Appendice: Il settore rustico (F). Recenti indagini by E. Roffia', in E. Roffia (ed.), *Ville romane sul Lago di Garda* (Desenzano del Garda 1997) 191–215.

⁷⁶ A. Carandini et al., *Filosofiana, the Villa of Piazza Armerina: The Image of a Roman Aristocrat at the Time of Constantine* (Palermo 1982); R. J. A. Wilson, *Piazza Armerina* (London 1983); R. J. A. Wilson, 'The Fourth-Century Villa at Piazza Armerina (Sicily) in its Wider Imperial Context: A Review of Some Aspects of Recent Research', in G. von Bülow and H. Zabelhicky (eds), *Bruckneudorf und Gamzigrad Spätantike Paläste und Großvillen im Donau-Balkan-Raum: Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums in Bruckneudorf vom 15. bis 18. Oktober 2008* (Bonn 2011) 55–87.

⁷⁷ G. Fouet, *La Villa gallo-romaine de Montmaurin, Haute-Garonne* (Paris 1969).

FIG. 6.5 Villa at Piazza Armerina (Sicily), plan © Roger Wilson, (Source: Wilson, 'The Fourth-Century Villa at Piazza Armerina', 56, fig. 1).



about by the Diocletianic and Constantinian social and economic reforms.⁷⁸ Agricultural productivity and landowning underpinned these mechanisms: owners made a point of showing their holdings in the visual representations surrounding their guests. For example, in the three-conch arrangement of a villa at Tabarca in Tunisia (early fourth century CE), three mosaics represent

⁷⁸ K. Bowes, *Houses and Society*.

a residential villa and its outbuildings situated in the midst of a landscape of production.⁷⁹

Although it is difficult to ascertain the ways in which entertainment affected design of the dining spaces, we cannot fail to observe the performative qualities of these rooms, both in staging the revellers and in providing a stage for those who entertained them.⁸⁰ The huge window openings of the villas' big rooms—for example, of room A in Villa Arianna A, and of the clusters of rooms in Villa Oplontis A (78–79–66–77 and symmetrical to the north), and Villa San Marco (30–50–53 and 12–8–14)—took advantage of scenes around the villa, and the landscape that was both within and beyond it. They opened up a stage for the dinner spectacle. The sheer size of the windows in these spaces (room A in Villa Arianna A, rooms 12 and 53 in Villa San Marco, room 78 and symmetrical to the north in Villa Oplontis A) compels us to compare them with modern living rooms, such as Koenig's Stahl House in California, whose windows extend from ceiling to floor, take up the entire length of the living room's west, south and east façades, and open onto the urban landscape of Los Angeles (see Figure 7.6).

However, unlike modern living rooms, these openings were not closed off by glass. Although the invention of blown glass around the middle of the first century BCE⁸¹ enabled its more widespread use, it was deployed moderately and selectively in the private sphere and mostly in bath buildings in the public sphere because it was still a luxury item.⁸² Even if blown glass was more translucent than poured glass, it was still not entirely transparent.⁸³ Consequently it was not the best choice for windows that were designed to give an open view of the landscape. Indeed the use of glass in the private sphere was reserved for small openings to protect their decoration—for instance the small *oculi* of the rooms

⁷⁹ T. Sarnowski, *Les représentations de villas sur les mosaïques africaines tardives* (Wrocław 1978) figs. 4–6

⁸⁰ L. Bek, *Towards Paradise on Earth: Modern Space Conception in Architecture: A Creation of Renaissance Humanism*, *AnalRom* Supplement 10 (Odense 1980) 164–203; L. Bek, 'Questiones Convivales: The Idea of the Triclinium and the Staging of Convivial Ceremony from Rome to Byzantium', *AnalRom* 12 (1983) 81–107; Stewart, 'To Entertain an Emperor'.

⁸¹ A. C. Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertume*, 3 vols, Hiersemanns Handbücher 3 (Leipzig 1908) 299; D. F. Grose, 'Early Blown Glass: The Western Evidence', *The Journal of Glass Studies* 19 (1977) 9–29; G. Platz-Horster, 'Zu Erfindung und Verbreitung der Glasmacherpfeife', *The Journal of Glass Studies* 21 (1979) 27–31.

⁸² D. Sperl, 'Glass und Licht in Architektur und Kunst', in W.-D. Heilmeyer and W. Hoepfner (eds), *Licht und Architektur*, Schriften des Seminars für Klassische Archäologie der Freien Universität Berlin (Tübingen 1991) 61–71; H. Broise, 'Vitrages et volet des fenêtres thermales à l'époque impériale', in *Les Thermes romains: Actes de la table ronde organisée par l'École française de Rome (Rome, 11–12 novembre 1988)*, CÉFR 142 (Rome 1991) 61–78; D. Baatz, 'Fensterglastypen, Glasfenster und Architektur', in A. Hoffmann (ed.), *Bautechnik der Antike: Internationales Kolloquium in Berlin vom 15.–17. Februar 1990*, Diskussionen zur archäologischen Bauforschung 5 (Mainz am Rhein 1991) 4–13; F. Dell'Acqua, 'Le finestre invetriate nell'antichità romana', in M. Beretta and G. Di Pasquale (eds), *Vitrum: Il vetro fra arte e scienza nel mondo romano* (Florence 2004) 109–19, at 116–19.

⁸³ Dell'Acqua, 'Le finestre invetriate', 115. On the translucency of glass: Sperl, 'Glas und Licht', 68–70.

below the atrium quarter in the Villa of the Papyri,⁸⁴ or in the more exposed areas of a house, as in the east wing of the ‘veranda’ in the House of the Mosaic Atrium in Herculaneum.⁸⁵ They were not covered by glass, but instead the large windows of the villas were equipped with wooden folding doors, which protected the interiors from the light and from the elements, and also allowed for ventilation. The impression of carbonized folding doors can be seen in rooms 14 and 15 in Villa A at Torre Annunziata (see Figure 6.6).⁸⁶ Furthermore, the thresholds in rooms 21, 15, and 69 at the same villa show that they were closed with folding doors (see Figure 6.7).

As the size and the windows of the dining rooms expanded to match the evolving needs of dining practices, the rooms themselves dispersed onto the landscape. In doing so they allowed privileged views into the interior and exterior landscapes of the villas, and further facilitated the staging for live performances.

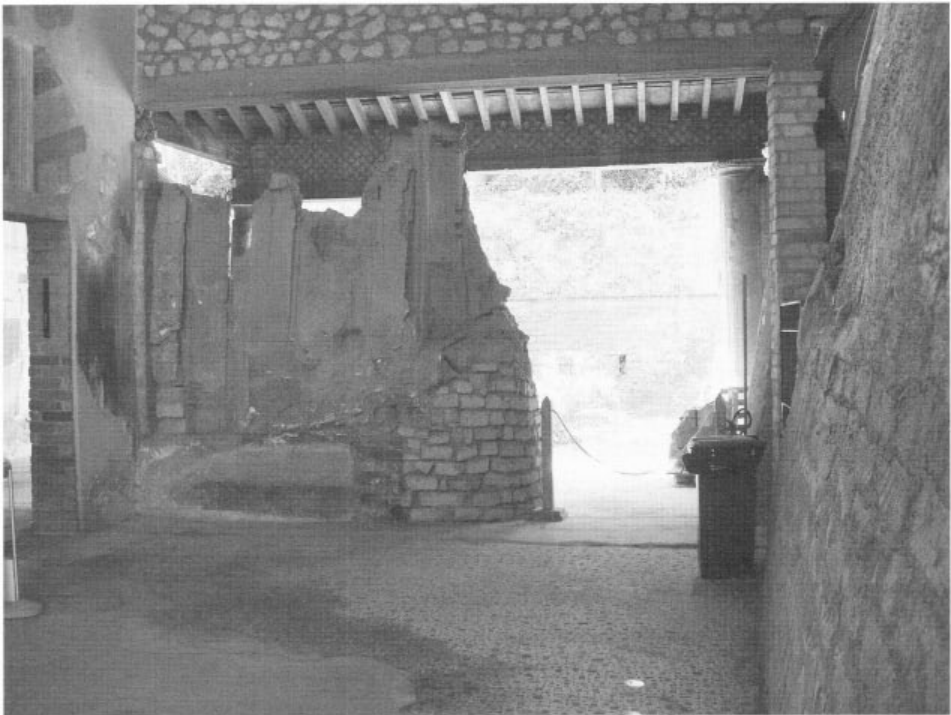


FIG. 6.6 Villa Oplontis A, oecus 15, carbonized folding doors. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

⁸⁴ For other evidence on glass in the Vesuvian area: Del’Acqua, ‘Le finestre invetrate’.

⁸⁵ A. Maiuri, *Ercolano: I nuovi scavi (1927–1958)* (Rome 1958) 292.

⁸⁶ For reconstructions of wooden partitions on the basis of archaeological evidence and wall paintings: A. Russo, ‘*Ostia’ Pompeiana: Una proposta di classificazione, ricomposizione e valorizzazione*, Ph.D. diss., Università degli studi di Firenze, Facoltà di Architettura (Florence 2001).



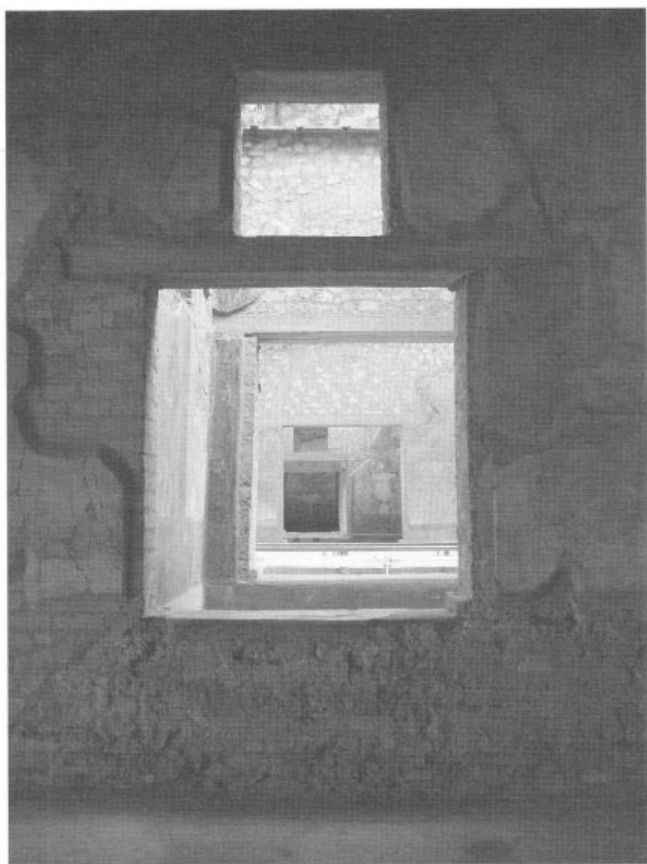
FIG. 6.7 Villa Oplontis A, threshold of room 21 (north central opening). Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

The sprawl of dining rooms onto the villa's surrounds related to another development in their design, namely a liberation from the austere forms of the peristylia–gardens. As the porticus structures articulated loose formulations with the interior and exterior landscapes, they accommodated the spread of large multifunctional spaces onto the landscape, which in turn opened up to let guests take advantage of its views. They created visually privileged rooms within the villas; from there, hosts could draw on the spaces nearby for the live performances, with which they entertained their guests.

The most indicative example of this trend is the east wing of Villa Oplontis A. There, a series of rooms, rooms 64/65, 69, and 73/74, could hold a single dinner party, while light-wells 68 and 70 not only enlivened the atmosphere with painted and real vegetation but also allowed visual communication between these rooms (see Figures 6.8–9). Furthermore this fluid visual communication facilitated the staging of a pantomime actor, who would have used it to stage a one-man show.⁸⁷ The visual interplay combined with the physical constraints between these spaces would have intensified the experience of the performance. Rooms

⁸⁷ cf. E. Hall, 'The Pantomime Dancer and his Libretto', in E. Hall and R. Wyles (eds), *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime* (Oxford 2008) 157–68.

FIG. 6.8 Villa Oplontis A, view from room 73/74 through lightwell 70, room 69, lightwell 68 to room 64/65. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



64/65, 69, and 73/74 had visual links through light-wells (and gardens) 68 and 72, but the raised sills of the latter did not allow a direct physical connection. The rooms communicated physically through passages 71 and 72 (73/74 and 69) and through passages 67 and 75 (69 and 64/65), but the thresholds between them indicate that all these passages could have been closed off (see Figures 6.10–11). It is interesting to speculate about how an actor could have manipulated these visual and physical interstices to change from one role to another (switching his/her mask) and accentuate parts of the pantomime. Dinner participants themselves would use portico 60, and passages 72 and 75, to go from one room to another (see Figures 6.10, 6.12).⁸⁸ The small pinakes on the west wall of portico 60 enhanced the diners' experience by the representation of landscapes and still lifes (see Figures 4.11–13). In portico 60 the landscape pinakes complemented the rich viewing experience that the east garden and pool (96–98) provided

⁸⁸ The narrow passages 71 and 67 with their distinctive (so-called) zebra-stripe wall paintings guided the movements of slaves assigned to serving the dinner. Joshel, 'Geographies of Slave Containment', 115–7. For the use of zebra stripes in functional spaces: Corrado Goulet, 'The "Zebra Stripe" Design', and Laken, 'ZebraPatterns'.

FIG. 6.9 Villa Oplontis A, view from passage 71 towards the south: through passage 67 (straight ahead) and into room 69 and lightwell 68 (left side of viewpoint) and through lightwell 68 into room 64/65. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali—Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



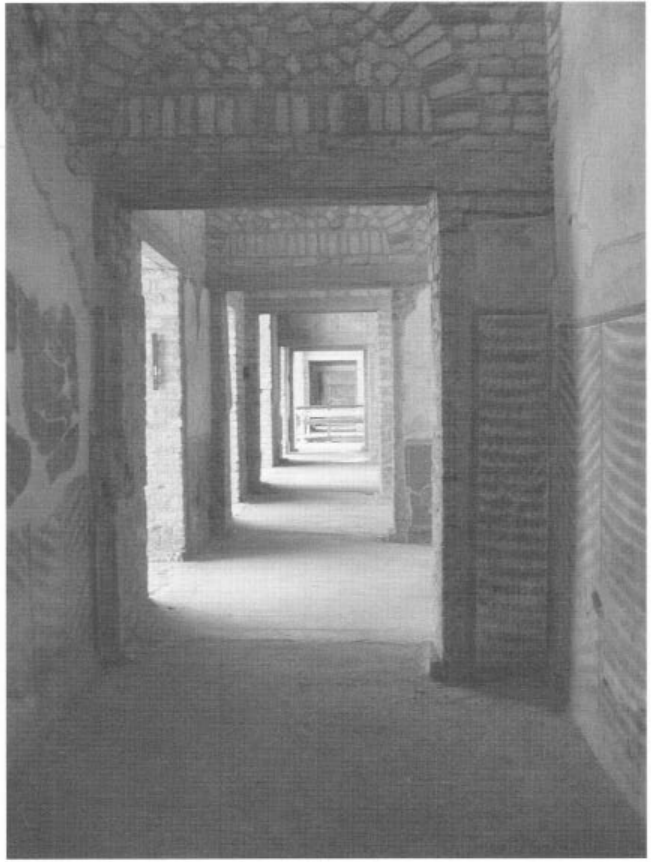
(Figures 3.11, 6.13), and the pinakes of *xenia* recalled the foods offered in rooms 64/65, 69, and 73/74, and alluded to the hospitality of the owner.

Lastly, visual communication was facilitated not only between the rooms in the east wing of this villa, but also with the gardens to their west (B.4; Figure 6.14) and to their east (B.3; Figure 6.15, cf. Figure 5.8), in which performances could also have been staged. Another performance might have taken place in area 98, to the east of pool 96. Watched by diners from rooms 64/65, 69, and 73/74, actors would have taken advantage of the reflection of the pool as a liquid stage and the backdrop of the statues and trees along the east side of area 98 as a *scaenae frons* or background, both artistic and natural.

DINING AND BATHING

Parallel to the development of dining practices, and to the related prominence of the lavish hospitality that owners offered their guests, one can observe the

FIG. 6.10 Villa Oplontis A, view from passage 88 towards the south: through room 74, passage 72, room 69, passage 75, and room 65, and into room 63—notice the doorstep. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali—Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

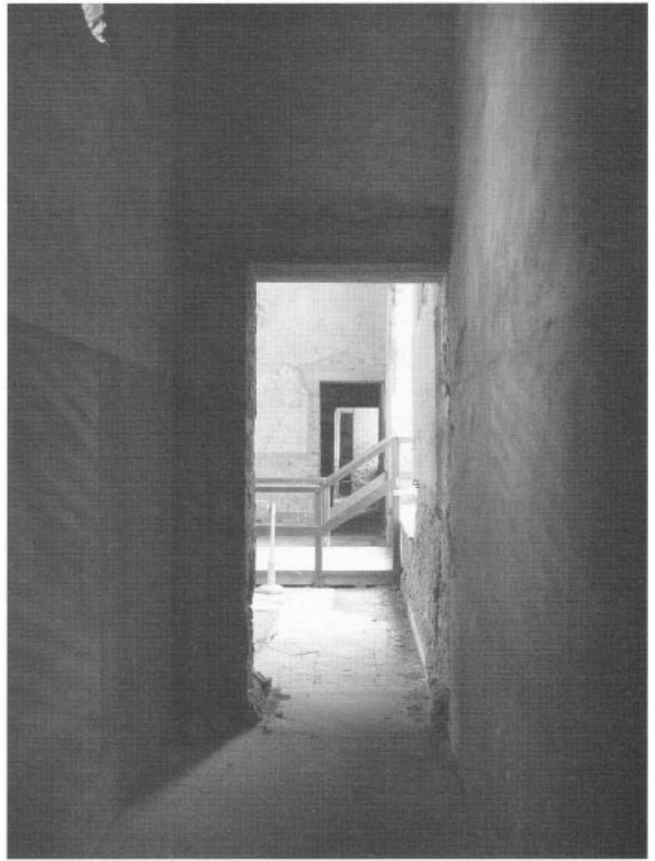


enlargement and autonomy of bathing suites during the first century CE. Before a banquet, guests might be invited to bathe. This was even more common in the countryside where the alternative of using nearby public baths was not always an option (e.g., Mart. 11.52.1–5, Petron. *Sat.* 26.20–27.1, cf. *Plin.* Ep. 2.17.25, 9.36.1–3).⁸⁹ With the popularization of bathing practices and the standardization of a sophisticated technology of baths, designers began to situate bathing facilities separately from the kitchen and to increase their size.⁹⁰ As the size of the bathing suites grew, they assumed a new position in luxury villas. We notice that in cases where bathing suites were placed next to a garden, they did not use the peristylum–garden itself for their outdoor functions. In Villa San Marco in Stabiae, guests would enter the bath suite from the peristylum–garden, while an open-air *frigidarium* was situated in a small area at the other end.

⁸⁹ Marzano, *Roman Villas in Central Italy*, 190–3.

⁹⁰ Fabbriotti, ‘I bagni nelle prime ville romane’; Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*, 50–7; Yegül, *Bathing in the Roman World*; 94–7; de Haan, ‘Luxus Wasser’.

FIG. 6.11 Villa Oplontis A, view from passage 71 towards the south: through room 69 passage 67, room 64/65, and into room 63—notice the doorstep. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali—Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



The autonomous arrangement of bathing facilities is prominent in villa designs from the first century CE on. Notable examples include the Villa at Chiragan near Toulouse (first–fourth/fifth century CE, with baths dating from the first century CE)⁹¹ and the Villa at Centocelle ‘ad duas Lauros’ (second/first century BCE–fifth century CE; baths dating to late second/early third century CE).⁹² The more open porticoes and gardens, as a variation of the peristylum–garden, certainly facilitated the separateness of the bathing suites. Additionally, the technique of *opus caementicium* facilitated the creation of vaulted spaces (as in the baths of the Villa at Piazza Armerina; see Figure 6.5), which afforded views of the outside due to the invention of blown glass, and allowed light to fall in.⁹³ Some bathing suites

⁹¹ Joulin, *Les établissements gallo-romains*.

⁹² T. Ashby and G. Lugli, ‘La villa dei Flavi cristiani “ad duas lauros” e il suburbano imperiale ad oriente di Roma’, *MemPontAcc* 2 (1928) 157–92; G. Caruso, P. Gioia, and R. Volpe, ‘Indagini archeologiche preliminari alla realizzazione del Sistema Direzionale Orientale’, *BullCom* 99 (1998) 280–91, at 280–5 (‘Comparto di Centocelle: Scavi archeologici nel Parco di Centocelle’); R. Volpe, ‘Via Labicana’, *Suburbium* (2003) 211–39.

⁹³ Broise, ‘Vitrages et rolet des fenêtres thermales’.

FIG. 6.12 Villa Oplontis A, view of portico (60) towards the south from the entrance to room (69). Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

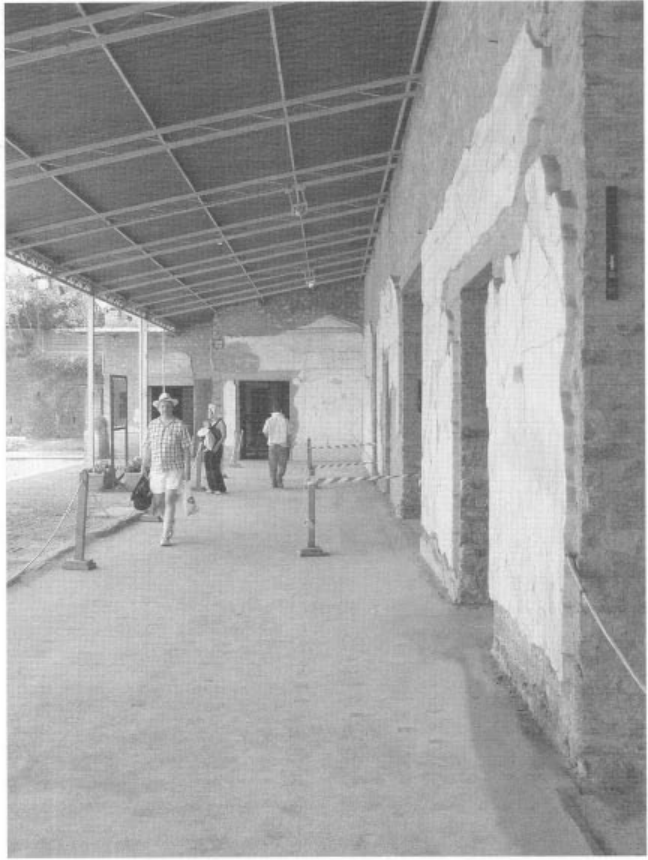


FIG. 6.13 Villa Oplontis A, view of east porticus-garden B.3 from space 92. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

FIG. 6.14 Villa Oplontis A, view from space 69 towards the west to the north garden.

Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

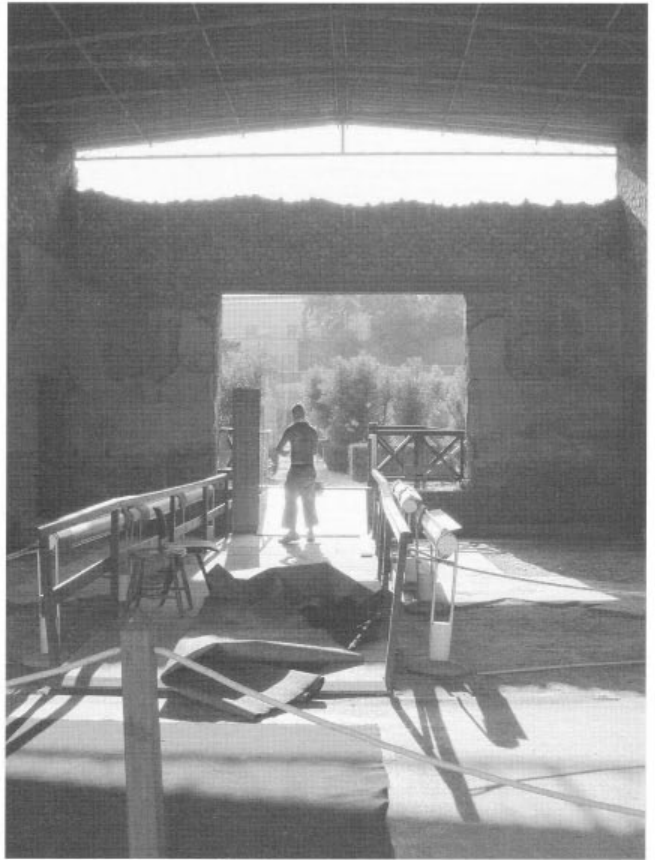


FIG. 6.15 Villa Oplontis A, view from space 69 to the east garden, over the pool to the backdrop of trees (in front of them statue bases have been found). Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



were completely independent of the main villa block, as seen in Villa Settefinestre (second century CE bathing complex; see Figure 6.16)⁹⁴ and the villa of the Maritime Odeon in Silin (second century CE).⁹⁵ The intimate nature of bathing practices, and the practical considerations of human traffic and heat economy, were probably the reasons behind the autonomous arrangement of baths in villa designs.

STAGING THE LANDSCAPE

As I have discussed in previous chapters, landscape was a prime concern in the architectural design of these villas. The design of the dining spaces facilitated this architectural engagement with the landscape. The transformation of the peristylum–garden to a more open articulation of colonnades and gardens enabled designers to place the dining rooms within the landscape and to take full advantage of the views that a site held. But this was not the only factor. Vitruvius hints at another which is more practical, and that is the rooms' orientation. According to his account, spring and autumn triclinia should look to the east, because this direction enjoyed the sun's course and rendered them temperate by the evening when these spaces were used; summer triclinia should look to the north because this direction is turned away from the sun's course; and winter triclinia towards the west because they needed the evening light.⁹⁶ Vitruvius' concern was to provide ideal guidelines for their design in a sort of architectural manual, and he had a particular agenda of his own: to define Roman architecture by a process of comparison and contrast with the Greek, and in so doing to model Roman identity through architecture.⁹⁷ Even so, his treatise illustrates the importance of light and temperature in the design of dining spaces.

The fluid architectural expression of the villas' design liberated architects and enabled them to take multiple factors into account. Naturally, they could not imbue all rooms with the same privileged qualities—views of the landscape, provisions for live entertainment, and appropriate orientation for a season or specific occasion. Architects had to negotiate between these desired qualities in their designs. In general they favoured two main schemes: a large 'main' dining space that enjoyed most of the desirable factors, and a number of nuclei of smaller

⁹⁴ Carandini (ed.), *Settefinestre*.

⁹⁵ E. Salza Prina Ricotti, 'Le Ville Marittime Di Silin (Leptis Magna)', *RendNap* 43 (1970–71) 135–63, at 140–7.

⁹⁶ Vitr. *De Arch.* 6.4.1–2. Zarmakoupi, 'Designing the Landscapes of the Villa of Livia', 271–2. For an analysis of such an aspect in Romano-British houses: S. R. Cosh, 'Seasonal Dining-Rooms in Romano-British Houses', *Britannia* 32 (2001) 219–42.

⁹⁷ McEwen, *Vitruvius*; Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, 144–210.

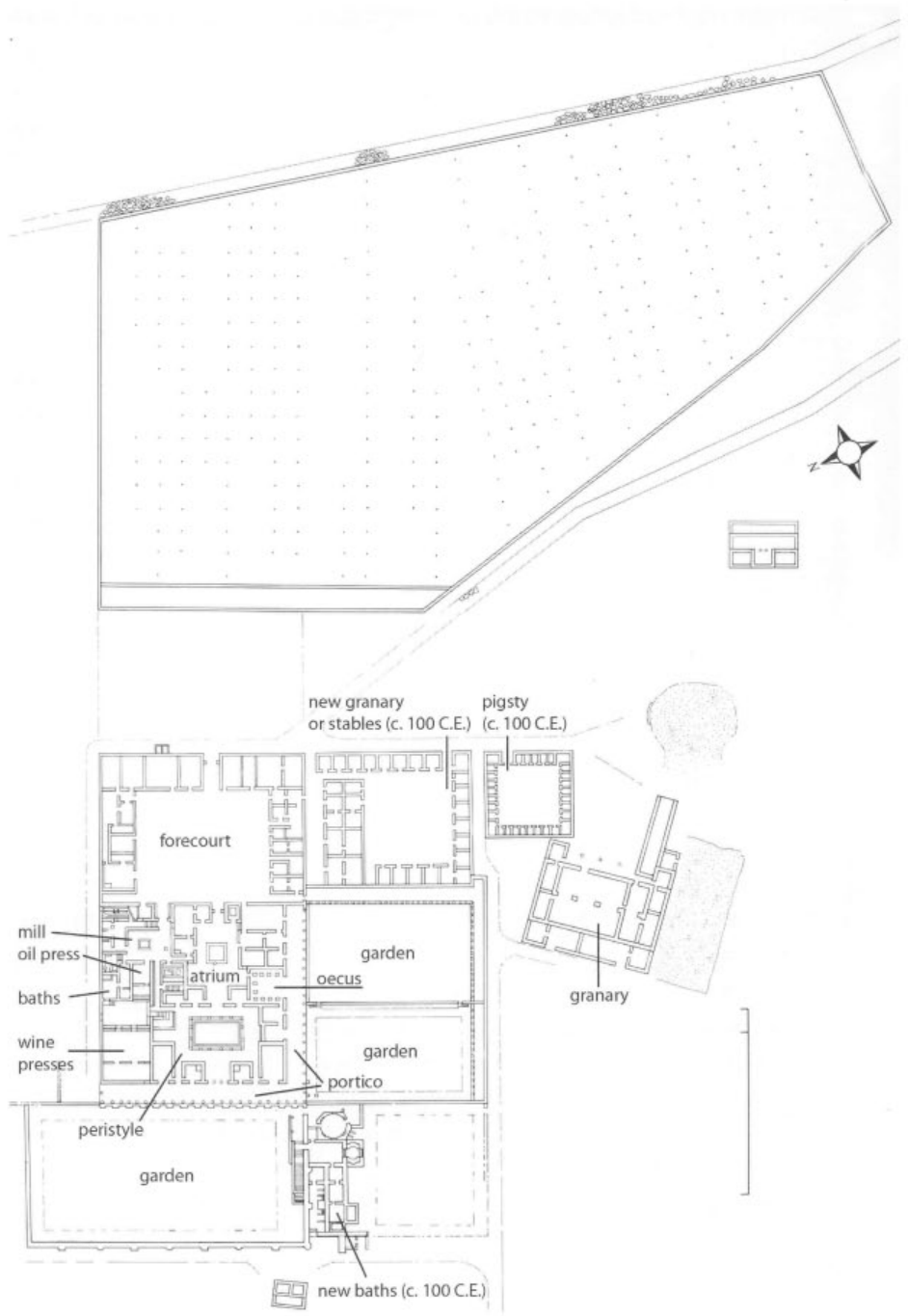


FIG. 6.16 Villa at Settefinestre (Etruria) plan (after Carandini [ed.], *Settefinestre*).

rooms (*diaetae*) that would individually satisfy a number of concerns for a given season or occasion. For a very big dinner party, owners would employ all available and suitable rooms for dining in order to sit their guests as Domitian did.⁹⁸ But for a normal-sized luxury event hosts would choose the space most suited to their particular requirements.

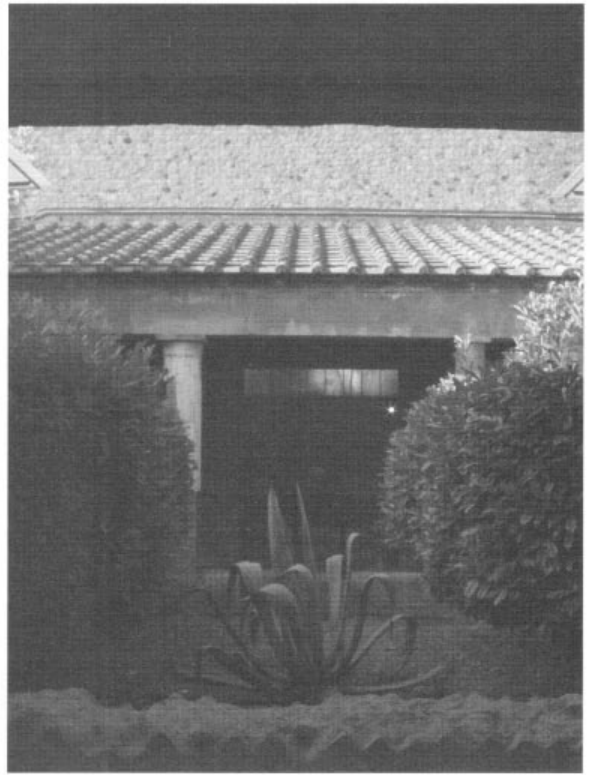
The large 'main' dining rooms were situated so as to make maximum advantage of the villa's location. For example, the large rooms in the five luxury villas—rooms 21 and 69 in Villa Oplontis A (in Figures 2.16–17), rooms 3 and A in Villa Arianna A (in Figure 2.26), room 13 in Villa Arianna B (in Figure 2.32), room 16 in Villa San Marco (in Figure 2.33), and room 28 in Villa of the Papyri (in Figure 2.1)—opened their space to two orientations, usually from side to side, thus taking maximum advantage of the sun's course and the views of the villas' interior and exterior landscapes. In Villa San Marco, room 16 looked onto garden 9 (E.1) to the east and towards the sea to the west (see Figures 4.5, 5.13); in Villa Oplontis A, room 69 looked onto garden 80–96–98 (B.3) to the east and onto the north garden (B.4) to the west (see Figures 5.10, 6.14–15), and room 21 looked onto the garden (B.4) to the north (Figure 6.17) and onto the enclosed garden 20 to the



FIG. 6.17 Villa Oplontis A, room 21, looking towards the north garden. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

⁹⁸ Zanker, 'Domitian's Palace'.

FIG. 6.18 Villa Oplontis A, room 21, view of enclosed garden 20 to the south. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



south (Figure 6.18); in Villa Arianna A, room A looked over the bay of Naples to the northwest and onto garden X (C.2) to the southeast (Figures 6.19–22); in Villa Arianna B, room 13 looked over the bay of Naples to the northwest and onto peristylum–garden 1 (D.1) to the northeast (Figure 6.23); and in Villa of the Papyri, room 28 looked onto the big peristyle garden (A.2; see Figure 6.24) to the northwest and onto the small peristylum–garden (A.1; see Figure 6.25) to the southeast. Having these rooms open from side to side served to air the rooms themselves as well as aiding the overall ventilation of the villas' spaces. Furthermore, the rooms were easily accessible from the kitchen areas of the villas, either by the main porticus or by secondary corridors: in Villa Arianna A, porticus 54 connected the kitchen area 4–21–28 with dining rooms 3 and A (see Figure 2.26); in Villa San Marco porticus 5a connected kitchen area 26–40–54 to room 16 (see Figure 2.33); and in Villa Oplontis A, porticus 60 and cryptoporticus 46 provided direct access to room 69 from the service area around atrium 32 (see Figure 2.16).

The smaller dining rooms, dispersed throughout the architectural body of the villas, provided additional spaces for dining that would be appropriate either for different seasons and/or for particular occasions. These dining rooms had different orientations from the main dining rooms—the two clusters of rooms in Villa San Marco looked onto the northeast (cluster of rooms 53–50–30) and southwest

FIG. 6.19 Villa Arianna A, room A, view from southwest of room A towards the north. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archæologici di Napoli e Pompei.



FIG. 6.20 Villa Arianna A, room A, view from southwest of room A towards the south. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archæologici di Napoli e Pompei.

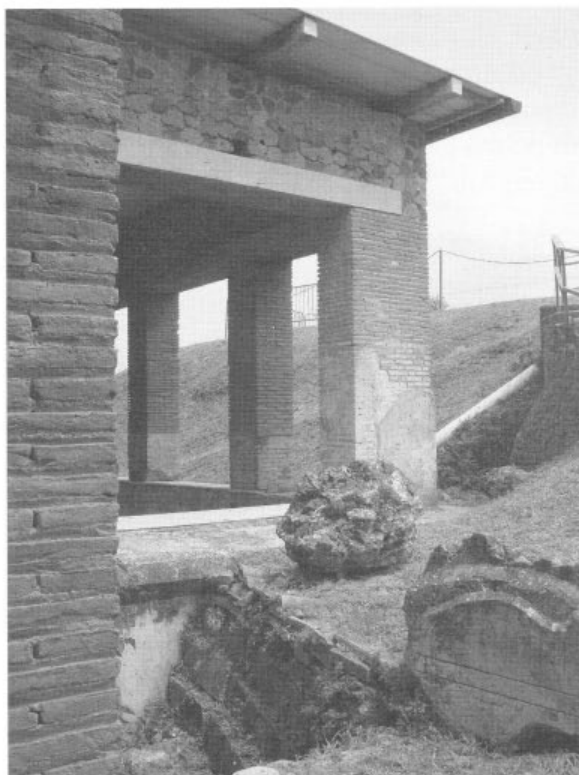


FIG. 6.21 Villa Arianna A, room A, view from southwest of room A towards Gragnano hill at the south (room A is to the left). Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



FIG. 6.22 Villa Arianna A, room A, view from porticus 54 into room A. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.





FIG. 6.23 Villa Arianna B, room 13, view towards peristylum-garden 1 (D.1) towards the northeast. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

(cluster of rooms 12-14-8; Figure 6.26, cf. Figure 5.4), as opposed to the south-east-northwest orientation of room 16 (see Figures 4.5, 5.13). Because they were located away from the central circulation plan of the villas, these dining rooms offered a more private space for a party, and a more protected one; notice, for instance, the location of the clusters of rooms in Villa San Marco and in Villa

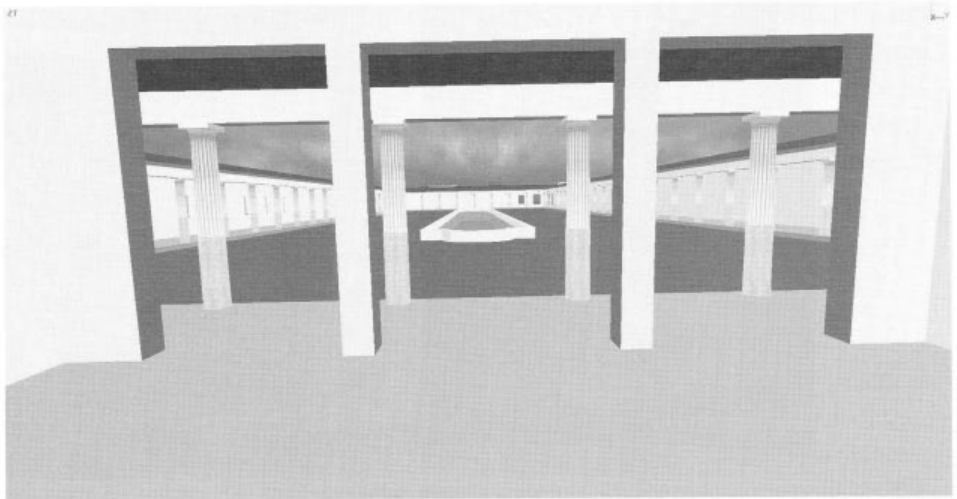
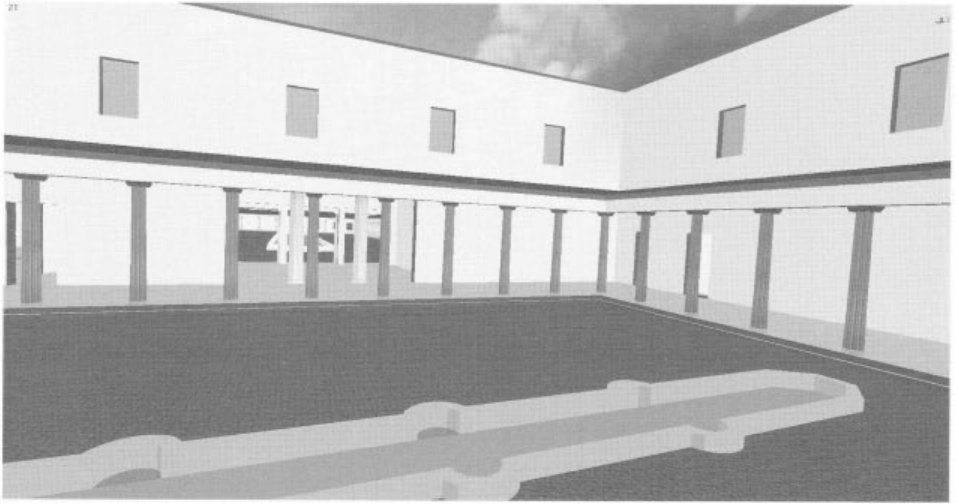


FIG. 6.24 Villa of the Papyri, reconstruction model, view from room 28 towards big peristylum-garden (A.2) (© Mantha Zarmakoupi. Modelling undertaken at the Experiential Technologies Center, University of California, Los Angeles).

FIG. 6.25 Villa of the Papyri, reconstruction model, view from square peristylum-garden through room 28 towards big peristylum-garden (A.2) (© Mantha Zarmakoupi. Modelling undertaken at the Experiential Technologies Center, University of California, Los Angeles).



Oplontis A. Furthermore, for a big event, which might exceed the capacity of the 'main' dining room, these clusters of rooms provided the additional required space. In Villa San Marco and Villa Oplontis A, they were symmetrically arranged in relation to the central dining room. The visual and spatial connection between them facilitated the organization and practice of the banquet (see Figure 6.26).

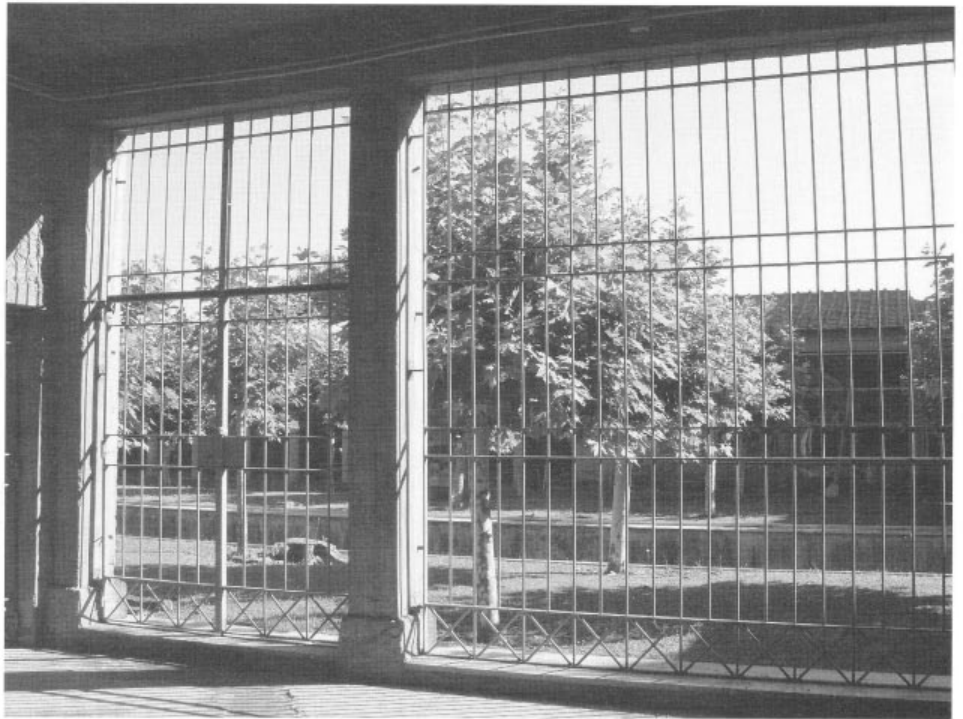


FIG. 6.26 Villa San Marco, diaeta 12-14-8, view towards garden 9 (diaeta 53-50-30 is over garden 9 to the right). Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

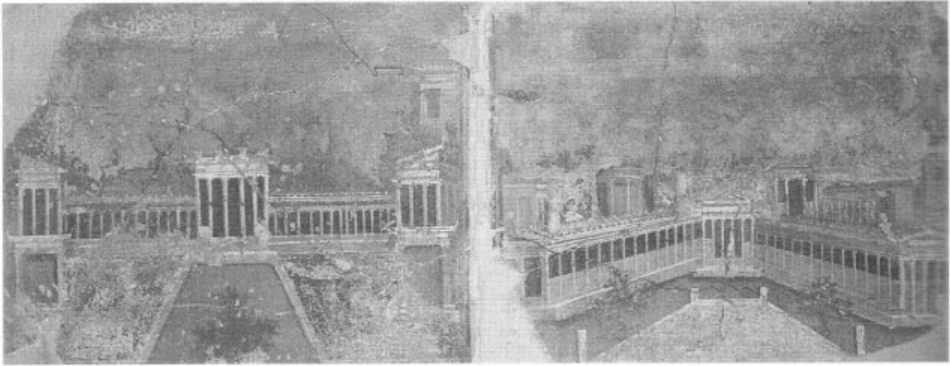


FIG. 6.27 Representations of villas in wall paintings (Archaeological Museum of Naples, inv. no. 9406). Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

The large dining rooms were usually distinguishable from the other rooms of the villa and were discernible in the following ways: they had higher ceilings and rooftops than their adjacent rooms, they were fronted with grandiose propyla, which marked their entrance from the adjacent porticus, and they were furnished with *opus signinum* floors—for example, room 69 (cf. Figures 5.8, 5.10, 6.14–15), room 21 in Villa Oplontis A (cf. Figures 6.17, 2.19), and room 16 in Villa San Marco (cf. Figures 2.34, 5.13). A handy (though superficial) parallel to them would be the ‘principal dining room’ in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English country houses.

Freed from the austere forms of the peristylia–gardens, architects employed the grandiose propyla to mark the presence of the large rooms behind the porticus. In this way they accentuated the monumental character of the villas’ façade and marked the location of what increasingly became the most important spaces in luxury villas: the impressive marble-clad rooms that accommodated the dining practices. These monumental spaces, which were furnished with a variety of marble from all parts of the empire, were flagships of the new era of the Roman empire. The prominent representation that the propyla of these large multifunctional spaces assumed in contemporary representations of villas in the late Third and Fourth Style wall paintings suggests that together with the monumental colonnades they were perceived as markers of villa life (Figure 6.27).

CONCLUSION

In responding to the changing demands of contemporary dining practices designers created spaces that catered to the multiple needs of a luxurious dinner party: they were grand and impressive; they offered a stage for live performances; and they satisfied the ever-present preoccupation in Roman society with the landscape. The large multi-functional spaces accommodated luxurious dining

practices within and around them, and marked their presence on the landscape by disrupting the villas' porticus with monumental propylaea. Thus their design facilitated the owners' self-presentation within the villa as well as allowing for the staging of the villas on the landscape itself. In a society where houses were associated with personal commemoration, wealth and social standing, the monumental presence of the villa contributed to the self-advertisement of the owner.⁹⁹

The development of these new spaces was interrelated with the concurrent developments in the architectural language, especially relating to the surrounding landscape and its views. The beginnings of these concerns can be traced to earlier phases in the villas' history, dating from the late Republican period, when dining rooms clustered around the atrium core of the villas and fanned out across the landscape in order to take advantage of its views—for example, rooms 14, 15, and 23 in Villa Oplontis A (in Figure 2.16–17), and rooms 13, 14, and 19 in Villa of the Papyri (in Figure 2.1). The transformation of the architectural language of the peristylum–garden facilitated the spread of the dining rooms onto the landscape, as is discernible in the villas' subsequent phases—for example, rooms 3 and A in Villa Arianna A (in Figure 2.26), and room 69 and north and south diaetae in Villa Oplontis A (in Figures 2.16–17). Whether the liberation from the rigid architectural form of the peristylum–garden or the dispersal of dining spaces on the landscape came first is something that we cannot know. Both architectural design decisions articulated equivalent concerns—about elite Roman social staging and about their appreciation of landscape—and they were facets of the same architectural language.

⁹⁹ For the ways in which villas served as vehicles of self-promotion as well as settings for commemorative monuments, such as familial tombs: Bodet, 'Monumental Villas and Villa Monuments'. For the relation between villas and tombs: Griesbach, *Villen und Gräber*.

Designing for luxury

Roman luxury villas were the emblems of elite lifestyle and markers of social differentiation. They satisfied the personal needs of their owners, accommodating and embellishing the desirable lifestyle of luxury and educated leisure; and they fulfilled the social and political aspirations of their owners as vehicles for self-promotion and symbols of social difference. In this study I have addressed aspects of the architecture and culture of Roman luxury villas on the bay of Naples, focusing on individual and characteristic structures within them (1, porticus and cryptoporticus; 2, porticoed gardens; 3, water features; 4, dining facilities). I have explored the ways in which the architectural design of these structures accommodated and expressed their owners' social and political needs. In this chapter I hope to illuminate the architectural designs themselves.

Rather than identifying 'principles' of architectural design I intend to examine certain patterns in the conceptualization of the architectural design of these villas. The student of Renaissance, and post-Renaissance, architecture may talk of 'architectural principles' on the basis of the ways in which designs of private or public structures were part of an intellectual endeavour.¹ In the case of Palladian villas, for example, we can discuss Palladio's geometrical principles,² and study the polemics behind their conception as well as the design process itself, on the basis of the architect's published treatise.³ We can trace the design process of some of his villas, referring to his drawings and plans;⁴ and we can discuss the cultural factors that informed his design, by consulting contemporary documents.⁵ The richness of the Renaissance record has allowed scholars to propose Marxist readings, developing the notion of a *Herrschaftsarchitektur*, by focusing

¹ R. Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, 3rd rev. edn (London 1962). For post-Renaissance architecture: R. J. van Pelt and C. W. Westfall, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Historicism* (New Haven and London 1991); R. Scruton, *The Classical Vernacular: Architectural Principles in an Age of Nihilism* (Manchester 1994).

² Wittkower, *Architectural Principles*, 70–6, 'Palladio's Geometry: The Villas'.

³ A. Palladio, *I quattro libri dell'architettura* (Venice 1570).

⁴ D. Lewis, *The Drawings of Andrea Palladio* (New Orleans 2000).

⁵ G. Beltramini and H. Burns, *Andrea Palladio e la villa veneta: Da Petrarca a Carlo Scarpa* (Venice 2005) 292–355, 'VII. Palladio e il mondo della villa'.

on a ruling family, the Medici, and their country houses, when synthesizing the villas' architecture.⁶ Beyond the idea of *Herrschaftsarchitektur*, scholars have suggested different historiographical models by examining other contemporary ruling families.⁷

Although the study of country houses as historical paradigms has been quite fertile,⁸ no comprehensive account exists of ancient Roman villas in the field of architectural history. Ackerman's pioneering book *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses* addressed the Roman villa as the first instance of an ideology of countryside living and sketched out ideas underpinning its architectural expression. The dichotomy that Ackerman drew between two villa types, a more compact style and a sprawling one, is indeed at the core of ancient Roman luxury villa architecture.⁹ Ackerman, influenced by post-Renaissance notions of the villa as signifying human power over landscape, viewed its form as embodying an ideology, which he classified on the basis of modernist-influenced analyses.¹⁰

APPROACHES TO THE ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN OF THE ROMAN LUXURY HOUSE

In the case of Roman villas, the documentation for authorship and ownership of the architectural product is non-existent—except, perhaps, for Celer and Severus at the Domus Aurea.¹¹ Furthermore, the material record of the villas is incomplete, because most of the time we do not know their full extent. The absence of records for the architectural product and the fragmented character of the

⁶ Bentmann and Müller, *Die Villa als Herrschaftsarchitektur*; Ackerman, *The Villa*, 63–87, 'The Early Villas of the Medici'.

⁷ A. Lillie, *Florentine Villas in the Fifteenth Century: An Architectural and Social History* (Cambridge 2005).

⁸ M. Beneš, 'Recent Developments in the Historiography of Italian Gardens', in M. Conan (ed.), *Perspectives on Garden Histories*, *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture* 21 (Washington D.C. 1999) 59–76; M. Beneš and D. S. Harris (eds) *Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France* (Cambridge 2001); T. L. Ehrlich, *Landscape and Identity in Early Modern Rome: Villa Culture at Frascati in the Borghese Era* (Cambridge 2002); D. S. Harris, *The Nature of Authority: Villa Culture, Landscape, and Representation in Eighteenth-Century Lombardy* (University Park 2003); D. Arnold, (ed.) *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society* (Stroud 1998); D. Arnold, (ed.), *The Georgian Villa* (Stroud 1996).

⁹ Ackerman, *The Villa*. See also: Ackerman, 'The Villa as a Paradigm'.

¹⁰ For a critical assessment of Ackerman's association of architectural form and ideology see: M. Zarmakoupi, 'The Roman Villa and its Cultural Landscape from the Late Republic to the Early Empire', in A. Brauer, C. Mattusch, and A. Donohue (eds), *Common Ground: Archaeology, Art, Science and Humanities: The Proceedings of the 16th International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Boston 2003* (Oxford 2006) 245–8.

¹¹ See: Anderson, *Roman Architecture and Society*, 52–5.

architectural product itself make the analysis of the architectural design of the buildings and its underlying concepts a complicated task. As a result there have been several major trends amongst architects and architectural historians who take an interest in the design of Roman luxury villas.

Some students of architecture avoid engaging with the material record altogether and focus on Pliny's descriptions in order to reconstruct his villas, or better to re-invent the Roman villa more generally.¹² Bearing the chronological and geographical imprint of these early scholars' own times, such attempts present Pliny's villas as French seventeenth-century châteaux (Félibien des Avaux's reconstructions of Pliny's villas, 1699, Figure 7.1),¹³ as English eighteenth-century country houses (Robert Castell's reconstructions of Pliny's villas, 1728, Figure 7.2),¹⁴ or as (even later) modern and 'postmodern' villas (David Bigelman's and Léon Krier's reconstructions of Pliny's villas, 1984, Figure 7.3).¹⁵ Other students of architecture are charmed by the fragmentary nature of the material record and embark on a discourse on the ruin itself, whether by representing it and reconstructing it on paper—for example, the architects of 'Les envois de Rome' (1800s, 1900s),¹⁶—or in reality, as in Sir John Soane's Pitshanger Manor (1833).¹⁷ This tradition derives from the Renaissance when architects undertook to learn about Roman antiquities in order to reinvent them in the countryside residences of their patrons—Alberti's Villa Medici at Fiesole (1458–62, Figures 7.4–5), Raphael's Villa Madama outside Rome (c. 1527), and Palladio's Villa Almerico ('La Rotonda') in Vicenza (1565/6–9) are examples.¹⁸ Architects

¹² M. Culot and P. Pinon (eds), *La Laurentine et l'invention de la villa romaine* (Paris 1982); P. de la R. Du Prey, *The Villas of Pliny from Antiquity to Posterity* (Chicago and London 1994).

¹³ J.-F. Félibien des Avaux, *Les plans et les descriptions de deux des plus belles maisons de campagne de Plin le consul: Avec des remarques sur tous ses bâtimens, et une dissertation touchant l'architecture antique & l'architecture gothique* (Paris 1699).

¹⁴ R. Castell, *The Villas of the Ancients Illustrated* (London 1728); J. Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia: From English Villa to American Dream House, 1690–2000* (Minneapolis and London 2005) 34–8, 'Recasting privacy: a place to call one's own; active privacy', and 69–74, 'Reconceiving a type'.

¹⁵ Du Prey, *The Villas of Pliny*, 'The Joys of Emulation', 248–54, 265–80. For the concepts of modern and 'postmodern': S. Williams-Goldhagen, 'CODA: Reconceptualizing the Modern', in S. Williams-Goldhagen and R. Legault (eds), *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture* (Montréal and Cambridge, MA 2000) 301–23.

¹⁶ P. Pinon and F. X. Amprimoz, *Les envois de Rome, 1778–1968: Architecture et archéologie* (Rome and Paris 1988); A. Jacques, S. de Caro, and P. Pinon, *Pompéi: Travaux et envois des architectes français au XIXe siècle: École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, Chapelle des Petits-Augustins, 14 janvier–22 mars 1981, Institut français de Naples, 11 avril–13 juin 1981* (Paris and Rome 1981); A. Jacques et al. *Italia antiqua: Envois de Rome: Des architectes français en Italie et dans le monde méditerranéen aux XIXe au XXe siècles: École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, Paris, 12 février–21 avril 2002, Villa Médicis, Rome, 5 juin–9 septembre 2002* (Paris 2002).

¹⁷ G. Darley, *John Soane: An Accidental Romantic* (New Haven and London 1999) 150–68; P. Dean, *Sir John Soane and the Country Estate* (Aldershot 1999).

¹⁸ Du Prey, *The Villas of Pliny*, 40–73, 'The Medici and Pliny'; P. Gros, *Palladio e l'antico* (Venice and Vicenza 2006).

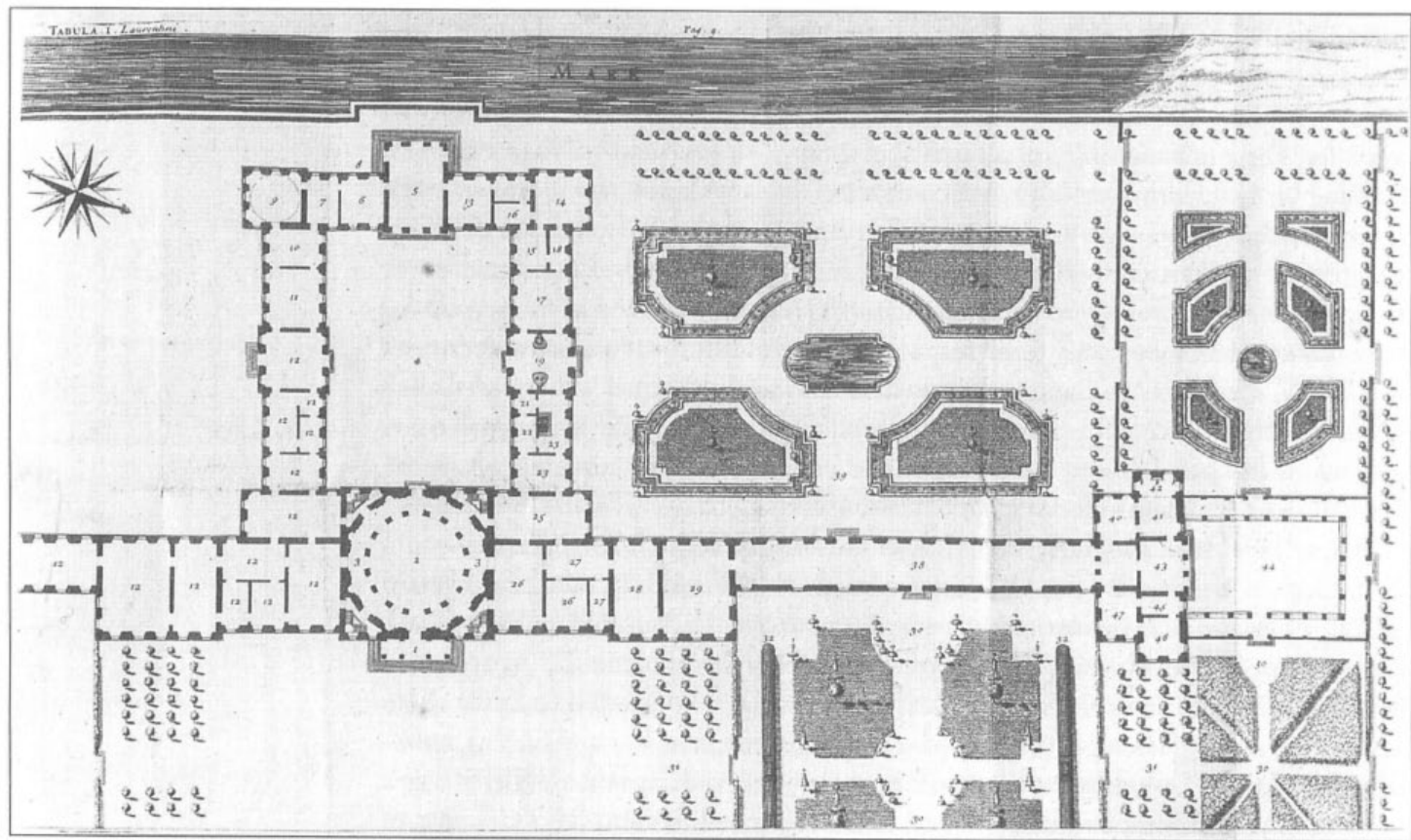


Fig. 7.1 Félibien des Avaux's reconstruction of Pliny's Laurentine villa, 1699 (Source: Félibien des Avaux, *Les plans et les descriptions*, pl. 1).

FIG. 7.2 Robert Castell's reconstructions of Pliny's Laurentine villa, 1728 (Source: Castell, *The Villas of the Ancients*).

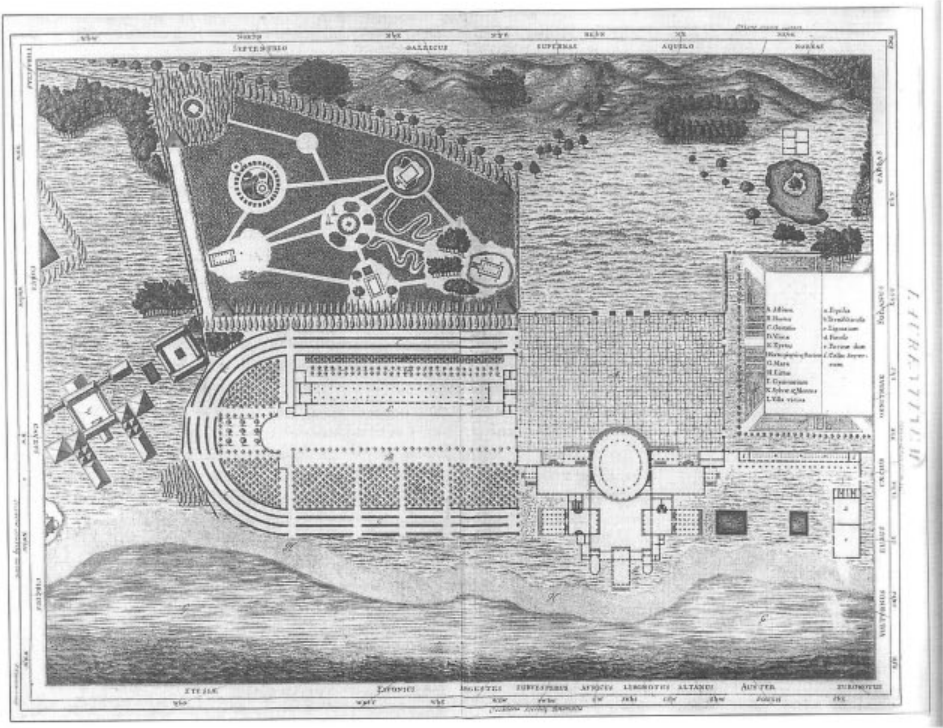


FIG. 7.3 Léon Krier's reconstruction of Pliny's Laurentine villa, painting by Rita Wolf (© Leon Krier and Rita Wolf, Source: du Prey, *The Villas of Pliny*, pl.33).

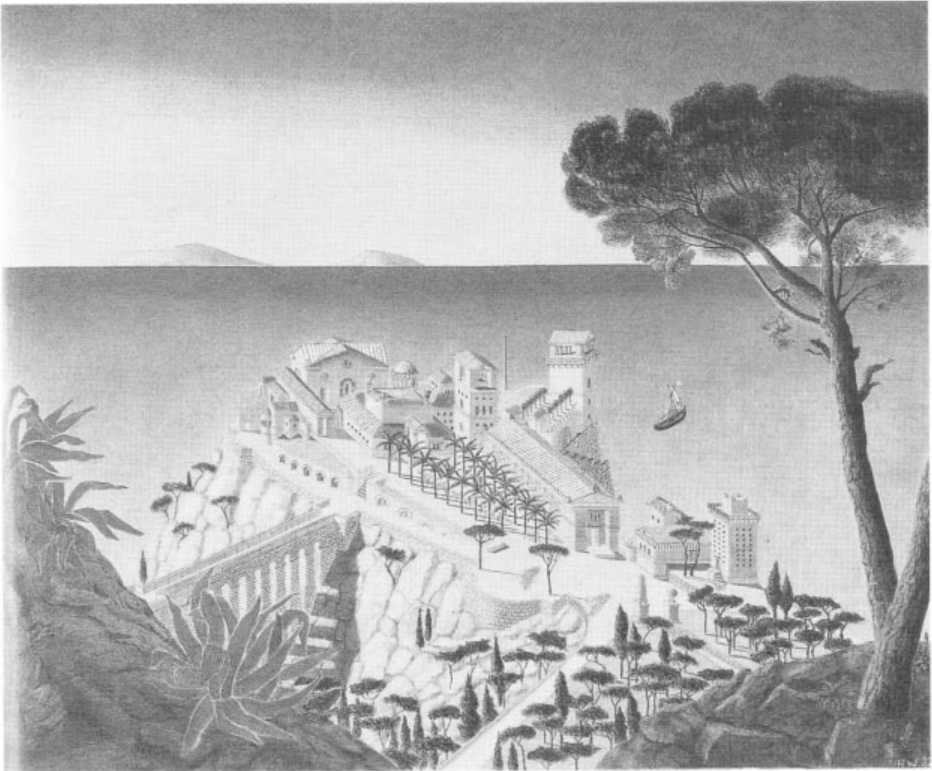


FIG. 7.4 Villa Medici at Fiesole, approaching the villa from the east.

© Mantha Zarmakoupi.



FIG. 7.5 Villa Medici at Fiesole, view from the east garden through the house to the west.

© Mantha Zarmakoupi.



studied ancient ruins, just as humanists studied ancient texts.¹⁹ In the case of Allan Ramsay the two approaches, a romantic take on the material record and an interpretive approach to the literary, come together.²⁰

In the twentieth century architects followed the trends of their Renaissance and post-Renaissance predecessors. Le Corbusier, Louis Kahn, and Charles Moore took a strong interest in Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli and were inspired by it in their designs.²¹ They emphasized an analysis of the villa's architectural composition, an analysis that is most fruitful when documentation of design intentions and processes is available. Hence, it is not by chance that Hadrian's Villa attracted architects' attention since the *Historia Augusta* includes comments about its design concepts and execution—although this is only posthumous gossip. Furthermore, although architects examined its architectural form, design, and composition, they did not combine the analyses with cultural considerations but viewed Hadrian's villa as an autonomous object. Architectural theorists have pointed out the critical instrumentality of this approach in architectural discourse today.²² This approach, however, requires a narrative discourse about the architectural project's 'author',²³ which in the case of ancient historical paradigms, such as Roman villas, is absent. A recent study of the architectural design of Hadrian's Villa exemplifies this approach.²⁴ What is missing in this analysis is an in-depth cultural exploration of Hadrian's concerns and desires as the villa's owner.

As these efforts suggest, in any discourse on the architectural design of a historical paradigm, the language of representation is tinted by an author's intellectual affiliations. This is true for any historical discourse but, as I indicated earlier, in the case of ancient architecture the material and historical records are

¹⁹ G. Clarke, *Roman house—Renaissance Palaces: Inventing Antiquity in Fifteenth Century Italy* (Cambridge 2003); F. Salmon, *Building on Ruins: The Rediscovery of Rome and English Architecture* (Aldershot 2000).

²⁰ B. D. Frischer and I. Gordon Brown (eds), *Allan Ramsay and the Search for Horace's Villa* (Aldershot 2001).

²¹ E. Gentili Tedeschi, G. Denti, and A. Mauri, *Le Corbusier a Villa Adriana: Un atlante* (Florence 1999); V. J. Scully, *Louis I. Kahn: Makers of Contemporary Architecture* (New York 1962) 67; C. W. Moore, 'Hadrian's Villa', *Perspecta* 6 (1960) 16–27; MacDonald and Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa*, 316–30.

²² M. K. Hays, 'Autonomy and Architecture', in M. Kelly (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, vol. 1 (Oxford 1998) 182–5; M. K. Hays, 'The Autonomy Effect', in G. Damiani (ed.), *Bernard Tschumi* (New York 2003) 7–17; P. Eisenmann, 'Autonomy and the Will to the Critical', *Assemblage* 41 (2000) 90–1. Relying on: L. Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses', in L. Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (London 1971) 127–86. See also: M. Müller and H. Bredekamp (eds), *Autonomie der Kunst: Zur Genese und Kritik einer bürgerlichen Kategorie* (Frankfurt 1972).

²³ R. Legault, 'Architecture and Historical Representation', *Journal of Architectural Education* 44 (1984) 200–5.

²⁴ M. Falsitta, *Villa Adriana: Una questione di composizione architettonica* (Milan 2000).

slim and the danger of misconstruing the record is therefore greater. The particularity of the record in question, the architecture of Roman villas, requires a balancing act between literary and material cultures. My study has attempted this balancing act by focusing on four architectural structures and features in chapters three to six. These architectural structures or features relate to four architectural design concepts, which I explored in the previous chapters, and I summarize them briefly here.

First, the dining facilities, as loci of display and socio-political games, required large and flexible spaces, dispersed within the house. Second, the peristylia and gardens, as loci of philosophical discussion and emblems of discipline and pleasure, articulated the ideological underpinnings of the Roman luxury villa (and as large open-air spaces within the house were a response to specific Mediterranean climatic conditions). Third, water features embellished these settings and participated both in the ideological expression of abundance and luxury (in the peristylia–gardens structures) and in the staging of dining encounters. And finally, the porticus and cryptoporticus brought together these elements and provided a number of ways of access, which conformed with certain social concerns. The analysis in chapters three to six offers glimpses of the design concepts that characterize the Roman villas. In the following pages, I pinpoint these concepts, draw attention to the architectural design concerns and priorities to which they relate, and explicate how the designers responded to them. My arguments are based on the analysis of the villas' architectural design, on which contemporary literary sources shed light, while providing modern parallels that, I hope, enrich our understanding of why Roman designers made the choices that they did. My aim is to present the villas' architectural design as a dynamic process relating to cultural, social, and environmental factors, and to exemplify a methodological approach to the architecture of an ancient historical paradigm.

ANALYSIS OF THE ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN OF ROMAN VILLAS

No 'core'

Roman villas had no distinct 'core' in contrast with urban houses where the atrium acted as a centre. It is not incidental that Pliny's descriptions of his villas are so labyrinthine; Vitruvius' simplified account of a typical villa, which assumes such a core,²⁵ should not mislead us. In other historical paradigms, such as

²⁵ *Quod in urbe atria proxima ianuis solent esse, ruri ab pseudourbanis statim peristylia, deinde tunc atria habentia circum porticus pavimentatas spectantes ad palaestras et ambulationes.* 'In the city the atria are

fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian villas, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English country houses, and eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American country houses, a single room, such as the entrance-reception room and the dining room, or a group of rooms, acted as a centre around which other facilities of the house clustered. In Palladio's villas, for example, whether in the compact Villa Almerico ('La Rotonda'), or in the extended forms of Villa Barbaro at Maser (1549/51–8) and Villa Emo (1559–65), there is a central room or group of rooms around which the other rooms are arranged. Even if Palladio changed the villa's perfectly symmetrical design to accommodate the particularities of the site, as at Villa Thiene (1545/6–7/8), symmetry prevailed in the composition. In Roman villas however there was no single 'core', and a symmetrical arrangement around one room, such as an entrance or dining room, or group of rooms, is absent.

The atrium, or entrance room, lost the social significance it had assumed in urban houses and, as a result, it assumed a weakened relation to the rest of the composition. In the Villa of the Papyri (Figure 2.1), the atrium (22), accessible from the sea-level structures through porticus 3, leads to the square peristylum–garden 6–7–8–9–10 (A.1). Its importance as a core was undermined by porticus 3–4, which gave access to the rectangular peristylum–garden 57–58–59–60–61 (A.2) and was the only means of entry to some of the rooms around the atrium (e.g., 17, 18). Villa Oplontis (Figures 2.16–17) is the only site that suggests a symmetrical arrangement and it is assumed that the plan is symmetrically mirrored on the west side of the site. We should be cautious, however, because both the arrangement of the rooms east and west of atrium 5 and the functional asymmetry between the east and west sides, point to an uneven layout. The service rooms (around atrium 32) to the east of atrium 5 and the bath complex to the west (around 15) suggest that the villa's plan may not have been fully symmetrical. Rooms 25, 36, 37, 39, 38, and 41 line the south side of atrium 32 and are screened by cryptoporticus 24, whereas oecus 15 is wide open to both garden 15 to the north and cryptoporticus 13 to the south. It seems that the building of the two cryptoporticus at a later phase than the two complexes was intended to present a unified symmetrical façade to the south, but this was not the case in the original arrangement. The fact that oecus 15 does not extend to the south as much as the rooms south of atrium 32 do, and that cryptoporticus 13 is wider than cryptoporticus 24, presumably to conceal that difference, supports this hypothesis.

The importance of the atrium in the organization of the urban house derived from its instrumental role in the social staging of the owner (Vitr. *De Arch.* 6.5.1).

customarily next to the entrance, whereas in the countryside and in pseudo-urban buildings the peristyle comes first, then afterwards the atria, and these have paved porticoes around them looking into palaestras and walkways.' Vitr. *De Arch.* 6.5.3. Trans. I. D. Rowland.

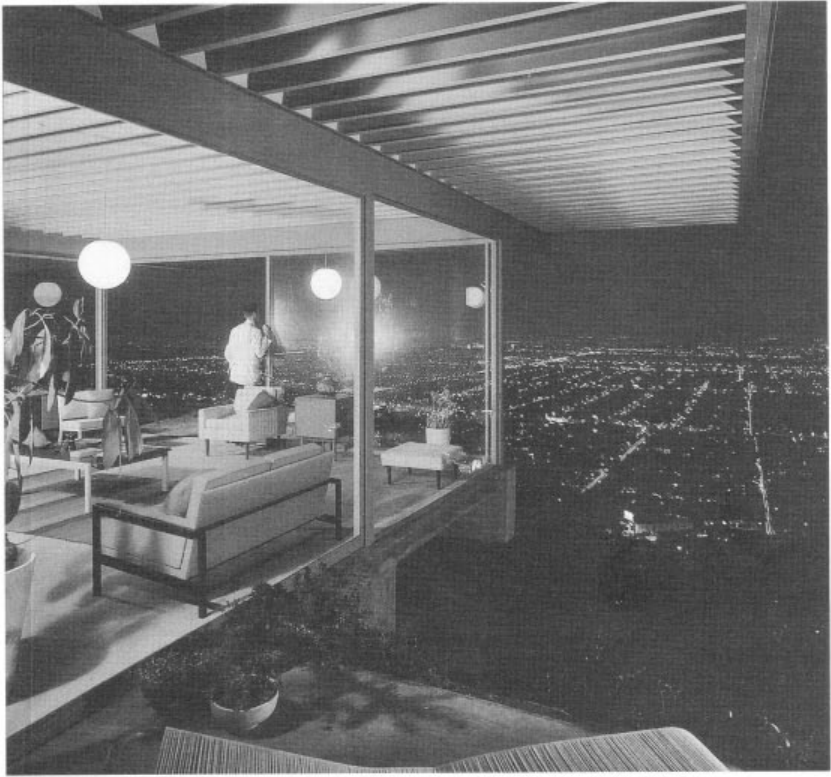
Such a role gradually became less common,²⁶ but the atrium retained its importance in the organization of most houses since it was also their ‘face’, looking on to the street. In the villas, where the atrium had no precedent in importance and the ‘face’ of the house was its porticoed façade, the social performance and elite political games of the owner and his circle took place in the dining rooms.

The banquets that took place in villas required a number of spaces, which were not designed solely for dining. Furthermore, a wish to take advantage of views of the landscape and to provide alternative settings during different seasons led architects to disperse these rooms around the site. These large spaces became more important in the organization of architectural design. For example, in Villa Oplontis A room 78, the corresponding room to the north (unexcavated), rooms 64–65, 69, and 73–74 seem to organize this east part of the house. The objective was to provide as many spaces as possible that could hold a dining party at the same time, but also to take advantage of the view of the interior landscapes of the house—its painted and physical gardens 68, 70, and 89 (Figures 6.8–9), the east garden, with a swimming pool, and the north garden (Figures 6.14–15). We notice the same concerns in Villa San Marco (Figure 2.33) where rooms 21, 30, and the large room 16 are lined up to overlook the view of the bay, the exterior landscape (cf. Figure 5.13); whereas rooms 53 and 12 provide alternative confined vistas looking onto the interior landscape of garden 9 with pool 15 and grotto (see Figure 6.26; cf. Figure 5.4). Rooms 53, 12, and 16 simultaneously had a visual and physical communication (see Figures 4.5, 6.26), and could accommodate a single dinner party. The same is true of rooms 21, 30, and 16.

These big rooms were the loci of important events in the house, and designers sought to accommodate them most of all. Similarly, in Villa Arianna A (Figure 2.26), the large rooms A and 3 lined the cliff granting views of the bay, and the rooms in-between follow this organization. Starting from room 3, they form a row running along the cliff, taking advantage of both the view to the northwest and the ventilation that the windows to the southeast would provide. Room A takes full advantage of its situation with large windows and openings in both directions (see Figures 6.19–21). Room T, at the east side of the rectangular porticus–garden H–Z, has a similar arrangement to room A—looking out at the two interior landscapes of the villa, the porticus garden to the west, and the central garden to the east. These spaces make the most of their location, immersing the viewer in the landscape, just as the living room in Pierre Koenig’s Stahl House does (1959–60, Figure 7.6).

²⁶ A. Wallace-Hadrill, ‘The Social Spread of Roman Luxury: Sampling Pompeii and Herculaneum’, *PBSR* 58 (1990) 145–92, at 166–70, ‘V. Atria and peristyles’; A. Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Rethinking the Roman Atrium House’, in R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds), *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond*, *JRA Supplement* 22 (Portsmouth, RI 1997) 219–40.

FIG. 7.6 Pierre Koenig's Stahl House (Case Study House n. 22, 1959–60). View of the living room looking south (© J. Paul Getty Trust. Used with permission. Julius Shulman Photography Archive, Research Library at the Getty Research Institute (2004.R.10)).



These concerns in organizing the villas' rooms took primacy at the beginning of the first century CE. But at the same time some designers adjusted to some of the pre-existing, and more rigid, villa plans and accommodated the evolving trends in a moderate manner. For example, in the Villa of the Papyri, the big rooms 13, 14, and 19 revolved around the atrium offering views of the sea; room 28 between the square (A.1 in Figure App.1) and the rectangular peristylum (A.2 in Figure App.1) looked onto the interior landscapes. While it is likely that the two secluded rooms to the northwest were used for private study, the care taken in their sculptural (F) and mosaic decoration (67) suggests that they were used for social purposes. One could imagine the owners and their guests here, looking towards the sea and sipping the different Falernian and Surrentinum vintages.

Perforated architectural body

The desire to organize villas' rooms around large (and dispersed) spaces that took full advantage of interior and exterior landscapes related to another architectural design concern: that of air circulation and light. Pliny the Younger's description

of the cryptoporticus in his Laurentine villa (*Ep.* 2.17.16–19), quoted later in this chapter,²⁷ is telling. The cryptoporticus breaks and restrains the winds, holds the warmth of the sun, yet sustains a pleasant coolness, while its windows allow the regulation of fresh air within it, and its shadow moderates the terraces and surrounding walkways.

Indeed, the villas' architecture sometimes seems so perforated that it is difficult to discern what was and what was not an interior space. This is a result of the interior landscapes, which were an integral part of the house, and the liberated designs, which allowed the architectural body to spread across the landscape, in combination with the big room openings that looked onto both interior and exterior landscapes. The perforated architectural body opened up and breathed from all directions. The objective was to have as much contact with the landscape as possible in order to take advantage of the view and also the light and air circulation.

In that respect, the architectural form of Roman villas is very much like Frank Lloyd Wright's Kaufmann house ('Fallingwater') (1936, Figure 7.7), which,



FIG. 7.7 Frank Lloyd Wright's Kaufmann house ('Fallingwater'), 1936. View from southwest.

²⁷ See quotation under the heading 'The Connective Tissue'.

FIG. 7.8 Le
Corbusier's
Villa Stein-de
Monzie, 1926–7.
Front view.



contrary to the geometrical Villa Stein-de Monzie of Le Corbusier (1926–7, Figure 7.8)), is ‘an evocation and extension of the site’.²⁸ Renaissance architects picked up on this aspect of the Roman villa from Pliny’s descriptions and reproduced it in their designs. In Alberti’s Villa Medici at Fiesole, for instance, one can look through the house from the east garden over the west sunken garden towards Florence (see Figures 7.4–5). The rooms of the Roman villas formed lenses from one exterior space to another: in Villa Oplontis A room 69 from garden 90 to garden 56 (Figures 5.10, 6.14–15), in Villa San Marco room 16 from garden 9 to the outside landscape (Figures 4.5, 5.13), and in Villa of the Papyri room 28 from square (A.1) to rectangular peristylum–garden (A.2; see Figures 6.24–5). The gain in terms of architectural design is not only the view but also greater circulation of air and light, which could be regulated with screens, doors, and shutters. The intervening lightwells 68 and 70 in the east wing of Villa Oplontis A (Figures 6.8–9) and the triangular-shaped lightwells 19 and 28 in the area south of the bath complex in Villa San Marco are an excellent illustration of this architectural priority (see Figure 7.9).

As the peristylum–garden transformed, allowing a freer articulation of the porticus–garden, this concept found a more sophisticated expression. At first the villa had a rigid structure, which an interior peristylum–garden would freshen

²⁸ Ackerman, *The Villa*, 281.

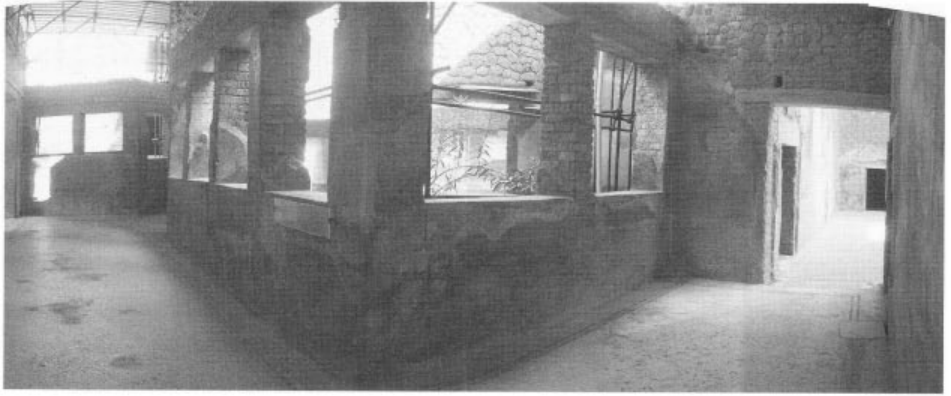


FIG. 7.9 Villa San Marco, view from corridor 32 towards the west. Lightwell 19 on the far end and lightwell 28 on the right-hand side. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archaeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

(for example, the square peristylum–garden (A.1 in Figure App. 1) in the Villa of the Papyri); or it might be a mere addition to the architectural body of the villa—for example, the rectangular peristylum–garden (A.2 in Figure App.1) of the Villa of the Papyri and the central peristylum–garden (E.1 in Figure App.5) in the first phase of the Villa San Marco (see Figure 2.35). Over time the inflexible form of the peristylum–garden broke down to form a freer articulation of rooms, porticus, and gardens, which responded to and exploited the specificities of a site. In Villa Arianna A, the rooms lining the cliff to the north were sheltered by porticus 54, which suddenly met the oblique back wall of peristylum–garden H–Z (C.1 in Figure App.3) at the west. Peristylum–garden H–Z, adjusting to the site, not only had a slightly different direction (northwest) but was also at a lower level. The meeting point of the two grids and levels, which could potentially pose a problem for designers, was not merely resolved but celebrated. At the short west end of porticus 54, a window that looked from porticus 54 over peristylum–garden H–Z towards Monte Faito marked the juncture of the two grids and offered visual communication between the two levels (Figures 7.10–11). Walking through porticus 54 on an east–west axis towards the window, the viewer’s attention would have been attracted by the prospect beyond the villa, and only upon arrival at the window would the visual link to the level below reveal the two different grids. It was only at this point that the viewer would have perceived the beginning of the ramps that led down the side of the cliff and to the beach below (Figure 7.12, cf. Figures 2.29–31). It was a double vantage point. The freedom with which this design conundrum was resolved reminds us of modern architectural compositions, such as in the interior design of the Jewish Museum in Berlin by Daniel Libeskind (1999) (Figure 7.13). However, whereas in the case of the Jewish Museum Libeskind seeks to accentuate the perspectives of the slanted meeting points, by tracing the extensions of the oblique walls on the ground, in the case of the Villa Arianna the designers concealed the irregularities.

FIG. 7.10 Villa Arianna A, view inside porticus 54 towards the southwest, where peristylum garden H-Z is. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

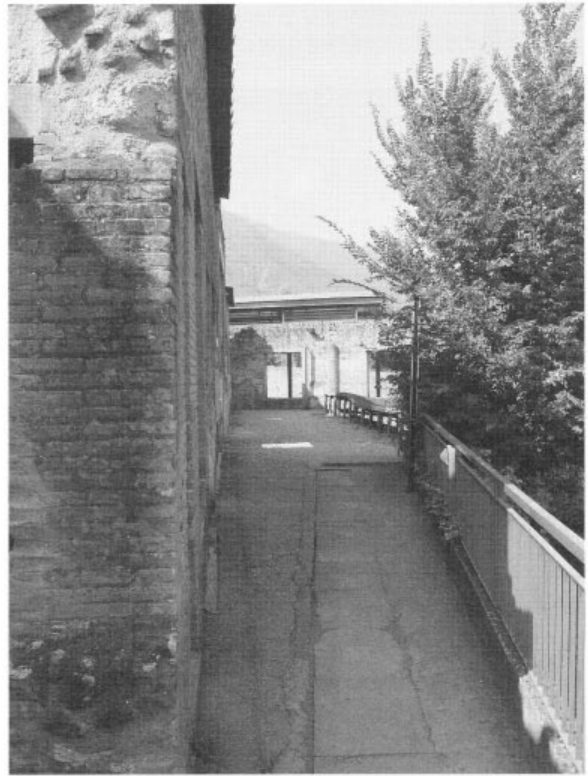


FIG. 7.11 Villa Arianna A, view inside in porticus 54 facing the window that overlooks the peristylum-garden H-Z at its southwest end. The window to the right also looked over the peristylum-garden H-Z. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



FIG. 7.12 Villa Arianna A, view from porticus 54 to the stairs that lead to the ramps below. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



FIG. 7.13 Daniel Libeskind's Jewish Museum in Berlin, 1999. View inside the museum. © Mantha Zarmakoupi.





FIG. 7.14 Villa Arianna A, view from northeast corner of peristylum-garden H-Z towards porticus 54. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

The viewer perceived the two different grids only from the vantage point at the end of porticus 54 from the northeast corner of peristylum-garden H-Z (cf. Figures 7.12, 7.14).

Architecture of the senses

Designers used water installations to complement their conceptual strategies and to organize the interior landscapes of the villas. As an element of landscape, water alone accentuated the vivid character of natural scenery within the villas. In this fluid articulation of their spaces, the sight and sound of water intensified the experience of interior landscapes. Writing about the interior landscape in his villa at Tusculum, Pliny described this enhanced experience (*Ep.* 5.6.23–4. Trans. author):

Fonticulus in hoc, in fonte crater; circa sipunculi plures miscunt iucundissimum murmur. In cornu porticus amplissimum cubiculum triclinio occurrit; aliis fenestris xystum, aliis despicit pratum, sed ante piscinam, quae fenestris servit ac subiacet, strepitu visuque iucunda; nam ex edito desiliens aqua suscepta marmore albescit.

Here is a small fountain with a bowl surrounded by tiny jets which together make a lovely murmuring sound. At the corner of the colonnade is a large bedroom facing the dining-room; some windows look out on to the terrace, others on to the meadow, while just below the windows in front there is an ornamental pool, a pleasure both to see and to hear, with its water falling from a height and foaming white when it strikes the marble.²⁹

Whether spouting from a fountain, springing from a nymphaeum, or falling into a pool, flowing water was an event within a house. Fountains and nymphaea not only created focal points in the layout of the garden but also enhanced the

²⁹ See also: Plin. *Ep.* 5.6.37–40.

FIG. 7.15 Villa San Marco, E.1: view from porticus 20 towards the garden 9. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



experience of landscape. The sound of trickling streams stimulated the visitor to explore the villa's interior in order to discover the source. In Villa San Marco, for example, the water running down in pool 15 from the nymphaeum in the middle of the semicircular exedra 64/65 was not visible upon entering the peristylum–garden 20–5–3–9 from corridor 32a (Figure 7.15). The visitor needed to walk in the porticus in order to glimpse the source between the columns and the plane trees (Figure 7.16, cf. Figure 4.5), and perhaps go all the way around to cryptoporticus 62–63. Having discovered the source, the visitor would indulge aurally in the soothing sound of the bubbling water by walking around the porticus and also visually, in watching the play of light on the water.

The sound of flowing water in the villa's interior landscapes not only took the edge off silence but also served to insulate against the noises of the household, a concern that Pliny mentions a number of times, as here (*Ep.* 5.6.21. Trans. B. Radice, Loeb edn):

FIG. 7.16 Villa San Marco, E.1: view from the entrance to diaeta 12–14–8 over garden 9 towards diaeta 53–50–30. Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



Est in hac diaeta dormitorium cubiculum quod diem clamorem sonum excludit, iunctaque ei cotidiana amicorumque cenatio: areolam illam, porticus alam eademque omnia quae porticus adspicit.

In this suite is a bedroom which no daylight, voice, nor sound can penetrate, and next to it an informal dining-room where I can entertain my personal friends; it looks on to the small courtyard, a wing of the colonnade, and the view from the colonnade.

Flowing water produces a constant low level of noise that belongs to the category of ‘white noise’ signals.³⁰ ‘White noise’ is used in the field of architectural acoustics as a background sound in order to submerge distracting and undesirable sounds (such as conversations or traffic) in interior spaces. An application of ‘white noise’ to an enclosed landscape can be seen at Paley Park, which is situated among high-rise buildings at 5 East 53rd Street in midtown Manhattan. A vertical cascade on the north wall of the site animates the confined space; the sound of falling water distracts those who stroll there from the traffic of the city and transforms this space into an urban oasis (architects: Robert Zion and Harold Brein, 1967, Figure 7.17).³¹ For the parts of interior landscapes of the villas that

FIG. 7.17 Paley Park, 5 East 53rd Street in midtown Manhattan (architects: Robert Zion and Harold Brein, 1967). © Mantha Zarmakoupi.



³⁰ C. W. Moore, *Water and Architecture* (London 1994) 202.

³¹ M. Symmes (ed.) *Fountains, Splash and Spectacle: Water Design from the Renaissance to the Present* (London 1998) 167–8.

were near the service facilities, such as kitchens and baths, the sound of water would have blocked out the disturbing noises of the household. In Villa San Marco, the kitchen and baths were situated close to peristylum–garden 20–5–3–9 and the water falling down from the nymphaeum into the pool produced the desirable background sound. Furthermore, as villas were sometimes in close proximity to one another, such as Villa Arianna A and Villa Arianna B, water screened out the noises of the adjacent household. Unfortunately, aside from a marble basin in the area of porticus 73 of Villa Arianna A (fig. 2.26),³² there are no other known water facilities in the excavated parts of these two villas.

In the case of fountains, water could be regulated to convey a variety of sounds as well as shapes. Literary sources describe the effects of water-propelled automata, the hydraulic technology of which they attribute to Philon of Byzantium (second century BCE) and Heron of Alexandria (first century CE).³³ The giochi d'acqua in the gardens of the Villa d'Este (1550–72), which Pirro Ligorio designed in consultation with Heron's writings, may serve to illustrate the effect of these mechanisms (Figure 7.18).³⁴ Pliny's account of the fountains that embellished a dining room in his villa at Tusculum allow us to imagine that water was moulded like clay in the hands of designers, sculptors, and the inhabitants of the villas (!) (*Ep.* 5.6.37–40. Trans. B. Radice, Loeb edn):

Contra fons egerit aquam et recipit; nam expulsa in altum in se cadit iunctisque hiatibus et absorbetur et tollitur. E regione stibadii adversum cubiculum tantum stibadio reddit ornatus, quantum accipit ab illo. . . . Hic quoque fons nascitur simulque subducitur. . . . Fonticuli sedilibus adiacent; per totum hippodromum inducti strepunt rivi, et qua manus ducit sequuntur: his nunc illa viridia, nunc haec, interdum simul omnia lavantur.

A fountain opposite plays and catches its water, throwing it high in the air so that it falls back into the basin, where it is played again at once through a jet connected with the inlet. Facing the seat is a bedroom which contributes as much beauty to the scene as it gains from its position. . . . Here too a fountain rises and disappears underground. . . . By every chair is a tiny fountain, and throughout the riding-ground can be heard the sound of the streams directed into it, the flow of which can be controlled by hand to water one part of the garden or another or sometimes the whole at once.

³² Ciro Nappo, 'Villa Arianna', 56–8.

³³ For a full discussion of this aspect: Schürmann, 'Pneumatics on stage'. Evidence of such automata in the area of Naples: R. Amedick, 'Il 'cosmo' artificiale degli automi', in E. Lo Sardo (ed.), *Eureka! Il genio degli antichi*, exhibition catalogue (Naples 2005) 125–43; M. P. Guidobaldi, 'Fontana di bronzo raffigurante l'Idra di Lerna', in E. Lo Sardo (ed.), *Eureka! Il genio degli antichi*, exhibition catalogue (Naples 2005) 144–5. Evidence of such automata in Zeugma: R. Bernadet, M. Feugère, and M. Onal, 'Jets d'eau rotatifs d'époque romaine', *Instrumentum* 18 (2003) 37–8.

³⁴ M. Fagiolo and M. L. Madonna, 'Pirro Ligorio and the "teatri delle acque": The Oval Fountain, the Rometta Fountain and the Water Organ', in I. Barisi, M. Fagiolo, and M. L. Madonna (eds), *Villa d'Este a Tivoli* (Rome 2003) 95–109.

FIG. 7.18 Fountain of Diana of
Ephesus in Villa d'Este (Pirro
Ligorio, 1550–72).
© Mantha Zarmakoupi.



A group of four marble centaurs that probably decorated the north garden of Villa Oplontis A (B.4 in Figure App.2) and a bronze raven from Villa San Marco attest to such a hydraulic design.³⁵ Spurting from sculptures, water could assume a variety of visual forms—such as vertical jets or fan-shaped springs. These sculptural fountains with their liquid extensions transformed water into an event, just as *La Fontaine Stravinsky* by Jean Tinguely and Niki de Saint-Phalle does in Paris (Place Igor Stravinsky by Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris, 1983; Figure 7.19). Flowing steadily or gurgling cheekily, water had a presence within the interior landscapes of the villas.

It is not only the sound of water but also its visual qualities that enhanced the experience of landscape. When seen from a distance, the water in outdoor pools took on the colour of the sky above, linking the pools visually with it. In turn the rippling water reflected the sunlight onto the villa's façade and into its interior space. This interplay of liquid and solid accentuated the open character of the villa's perforated architectural body and intensified the experience of landscape

³⁵ We do not know where the bronze raven was placed: Barbet, with Blanc and Eristov, 'Bilancio e prospettiva', 373.



FIG. 7.19 La Fontaine Stravinsky in Place Igor Stravinsky next to Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris (Jean Tinguely and Niki de Saint-Phalle, 1983). © Mantha Zarmakoupi.

that it gave. The big pool in the east garden of Villa Oplontis A ran along the façade of the east wing, where a series of rooms could have accommodated a large dinner party (see Figures 5.10, 6.15). The peaceful view of the pool, reflecting the sunlight and mirroring the row of trees and sculptures running along its east side, accentuated the immediacy of the interior and exterior spaces. The reception room (69) in the middle of the east wing, opening to both east and north gardens, further emphasized this direct experience of landscape. A similar arrangement is found in Villa San Marco, where room 16 privileged its guests with views of both garden 9 with pool 15 to the southwest and the bay of Naples to the northeast (see Figures 4.5, 5.13). Designers opened up the interiors of the villas with brimming pools, while offering privileged vistas of the exterior landscape. Pierre Koenig's Stahl House, where the living room opens onto a swimming pool to the west while overlooking and enjoying a view of LA to the south, illustrates the impact of such physical as well as visual acrobatics (see Figure 7.6).

In Villa San Marco, the experiences of running and still water were combined. The two diaetae facing each other at the west end of peristylum-garden 20-5-3-9 were linked by a semicircular exedra 64/65, through which water fell into the pool situated between them (see Figure 7.16). The intense experience of this interior

landscape was accentuated by the seclusion of this side of the peristylum–garden. Not only were the diaetae elevated above the rest of the peristylum–garden, but a group of plane trees, located at the east part of the peristylum–garden, screened them from the rest of the architectural complex (see Figure 6.26). Big windows opened up onto the garden and, in doing so, visually linked the diaetae and accentuated their closeness to the pool between them. But while the big windows looked avidly onto the garden and the pool, the semicircular exedra 64/65 concealed the water source, the nymphacum, the sound of which would have been clearly heard as it trickled through cryptoporticus 62/63. In these two diaetae both the water source, which was visually concealed but audibly present, and its inlet, which was visually present but physically inaccessible, intensified the experience of landscape. Designers toyed with the visual, aural, and haptic experiences of water as Carlo Scarpa did in his design for the Brion Tomb in San Vito d'Altivole (1969). Scarpa regulated the perception of water by a series of trenches, paths, and platforms poetically to suggest a connection between life and death. In the case of the Roman villas, designers could plunder a treasure chest of myths to enhance their designs. In Villa San Marco, for example, the niches of the semicircular exedra 64/65 featured scenes from the myths of Diana and Actaeon, and Narcissus and Echo (see Figure 5.12). On the one hand, water installations intensified the link between interior and exterior spaces in the perforated architectural body of the villas, and on the other, the presence of water, its physical qualities and its associated myths, enhanced the experience of landscape within the villas' interior.

The connective tissue

In this fluid articulation of the villas' architectural body, porticus and cryptoporticus operated as the connective tissue—similarly to their function in public architecture. They provided access and protection from the weather, binding together the freely disposed rooms of the villas and creating a façade for the house.

The decision to arrange an architectural unit around a central core facilitated the organization of movement around this core and, in doing so, reduced the space devoted to human traffic within the house. Architects of the modern movement used the efficiency of this approach in their functionalist proposals for collective housing—for example, Le Corbusier's design for a typical apartment of the Unité d'Habitation at Marseilles (1947–53).³⁶ Without an analogous socio-political agenda behind their design concepts, Roman designers seem to have had similar concerns in planning Roman town houses. The physical requirements of air ventilation and light, combined with the limits of available space, led

³⁶ Curtis, *Modern Architecture*, 437–51 (ch. 24).

them to organize the house around the atrium, through which most of the rooms were entered; the impressive views of the atrium were a part of the owner's social staging.³⁷ In the villas, however, where the atrium did not serve such purposes and there were few spatial restraints, dining rooms provided opportunities for the owners' self-presentation and for political games. As I have mentioned,³⁸ designers sought to accommodate those concerns as fully as possible by relaxing the rigid form of the peristylum–garden and by forming chains of rooms in sequence that made the most of their position in the landscape. The villas' sprawling perforated architectural body required a fitting solution to issues of the access to and protection of the villas' spaces. By creating chains of rooms in sequence, as opposed to clustering them around a 'core', designers had to choose between two kinds of movements: passage through the rooms themselves and passage parallel to the rooms. They opted for the latter, in most cases, and porticus and cryptoporticus were the architectural structures that accommodated it. This architectural decision related intrinsically to the form of the interior landscapes, the peristylia–gardens, and consequently to their transformation.

The peristylia–gardens had already created a precedent to the porticus as a kind of passage as it had provided a movement in parallel to a chain of rooms and mediated their relationship with the interior landscape—for example, in the Villa of the Papyri, the northwest and southwest porticus (6, 7) of the square peristylum–garden (A.1 in Figure App.1) and the southeast side (57a–57b) of the rectangular peristylum–garden (A.2 in Figure App.1). By reshaping the rigid form of the peristylia–gardens into looser articulations of porticus and interior or exterior landscapes, designers viewed the concept of the porticus under the light of the larger 'landscape' and employed it as an integral element of the villas' composition. The colonnaded ambulatories were liberated from their rectangular formations and followed the sprawling rooms in order to provide movements in parallel and accesses to them—for example, porticus 60 in Villa Oplontis A (Figures 2.16, 2.19) and porticus 54 in Villa Arianna A (Figures 2.26, 7.10). In doing so they protected the perforated architectural body, now open to the landscape and more exposed to the weather. The invention of the cryptoporticus, the covered and enclosed ambulatories, was a product of this latter concern (see cryptoporticus 13 and 24 in Villa Oplontis A; Figures 3.4–5).

By joining the architectural body of the villas that spread across the landscape, porticus and cryptoporticus created a façade for the houses and signified their presence. The reordering of porticus and garden had a practical motive in Mediterranean villas. In the Mediterranean climate, the strong sun accentuates the volumes and features of a building conceived on multiple planes by casting

³⁷ Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society*, 38–61, ch. 3, 'The Articulation of the House'.

³⁸ See above, No 'core'.

deep shadows; thus, a colonnaded structure and its variants can be imaginatively used to adorn a façade that would strike a viewer from afar. The appreciation of the visual effect of the sun's light entering the receding spaces created by the porticus and cryptoporticus structures is revealed in Pliny's descriptions of his villas. When Pliny talks of his villa in Tusculum, he praises its location in the landscape, citing the visual impact as well as the environmental advantages of its location. He then speaks about the way in which the wide and long porticus, which masked its south façade and entrance, received the sun (*Ep.* 5.6.15. Trans. B. Radice, Loeb edn (adapted)):³⁹

*Magna sui parte meridiem spectat aestivumque solem ab hora sexta, hibernum aliquanto maturius quasi invitat, in porticum latam et prominulam. Multa in hac membra, atrium etiam ex more veterum.*⁴⁰

It (the villa) faces mainly south, and so from midday onwards in summer, a little earlier in the winter, it seems to invite the sun in the wide and proportionately long colonnade (porticus). Many chambers (open) in this (colonnade), as well as an entrance hall of the old-fashioned type.

And in the letter about his villa in Laurentum Pliny described the ways in which the cryptoporticus let in the sun and cast shadows on the terrace in front of it (*Ep.* 2.17.16–19. Trans. B. Radice, Loeb edn (adapted)):

Hinc cryptoporticus prope publici operis extenditur. Utrunque fenestras, a mari plures, ab horto singulae sed alternis pauciores. Hae cum serenus dies et immotus, omnes, cum hinc vel inde ventis inquietus, qua venti quiescunt sine iniuria patent. Ante cryptoporticum xystus violis odoratus. Teporem solis infusi repercussu cryptoporticus auget, quae ut tenet solem sic aquilonem inhibet summovetque, quantumque calor ante tantum retro frigoris; similiter africanum sistit, atque ita diversissimos ventos alium alio latere frangit et finit. Haec iucunditas eius hieme, maior aestate. Nam ante meridiem xystum, post meridiem gestationis hortique proximam partem umbra sua temperat, quae, ut dies crevit decrevite, modo brevior modo longior hac vel illa cadit. Ipsa vero cryptoporticus tum maxime caret sole, cum ardentissimus culmini eius insistit. Ad hoc patentibus fenestris favonios accipit transmittitque nec umquam aere pigro et manente ingravescit.

Here begins a cryptoporticus, nearly as large as a public one. It has windows on both sides, but more facing the sea, as there is one in each alternate bay on the garden side. It has windows on both sides, more numerous from the side of the sea, where they occur in succession, but fewer on the side of the garden, where (corresponding to the sea side) they occur every other one. In front of the cryptoporticus there is a xystus scented with

³⁹ The site at S. Giustino (late first century BCE/first–second century CE), which has been identified as Pliny's villa in *Tuscis*, has a wide south prospect—no remains of a *porticus* have been preserved however: Sáez Braconi and Uroz Sáez, *La Villa di Plinio il Giovane*.

⁴⁰ *Prominulam* and not *pro modo longam* after the Teubner, Oxford, and Budé editions of the text that follow the tradition of *Codex Medicus*. I would like to thank Wolfram Fischer Bossert for pointing out these editions for the correction of the text.

violets. As the sun beats down, the cryptoporticus increases its heat by the reflection of the sun; it not only retains the sun but also drives back the north wind; and as much as it is hot in the front side that much it is cold on the back side. In the same way it stops the southwest wind, thus breaking and restraining the various winds on each side; it is pleasant in winter but still more so in summer when the terrace is kept cool in the morning and the drive and nearer part of the garden in the afternoon, as its shadow falls shorter or longer on one side or the other while the day advances or declines. The cryptoporticus itself does not receive the sun to a great extent because at its highest point the sun stops at the top (*sc.*, of the cryptoporticus), and as its open windows allow the western breezes to enter and circulate, the atmosphere is never heavy with stale air.

And just like the south-facing porticus of Pliny's villa in Tusculum, the west-southwest- and south-facing porticus 3 in Villa of the Papyri screened the entrance of the Villa and cast shadows onto it (see Figures 2.4, 2.12, 7.20–1). Similarly, in Villa San Marco, the porticus 51 provided a front for the entrance to atrium 44 and enveloped the expansion of the villa's volumes towards the south (see Figure 2.33).

The example of porticus 51 in Villa San Marco points to another way in which designers used the porticus and cryptoporticus in the visual composition of the villas' facades: namely, as an architectural element that visually linked its different spaces in order to present a unified front. This use of the porticus and cryptoporticus structures was particularly useful and effective when designers added new wings or rooms to the villa. For example, in Villa Oplontis A, cryptoporticus

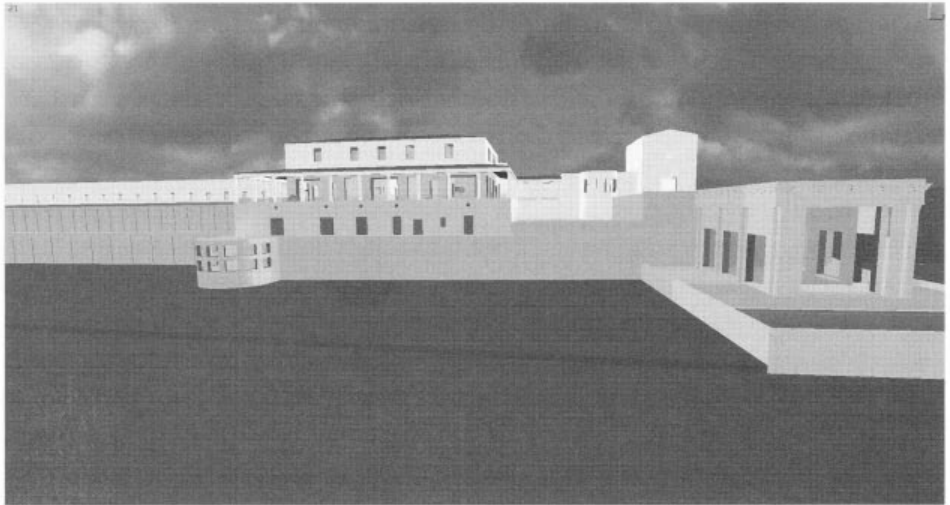


FIG. 7.20 Villa of the Papyri, reconstruction model. View of the villa from the southwest (© Mantha Zarmakoupi. Modelling undertaken at the Experiential Technologies Center, University of California, Los Angeles).

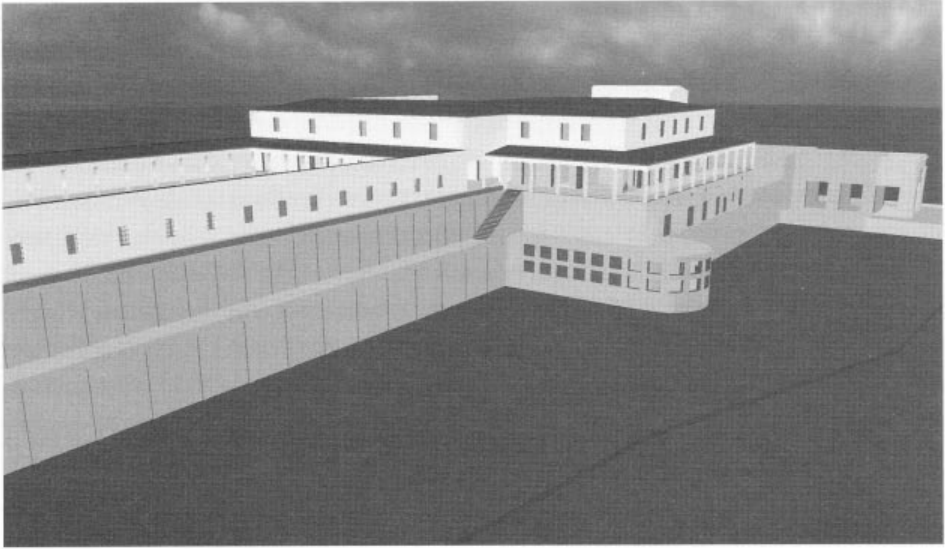


FIG. 7.21 Villa of the Papyri, reconstruction model. View of the villa from the west (© Mantha Zarmakoupi. Modelling undertaken at the Experiential Technologies Center, University of California, Los Angeles).

24 was refurbished and porticus 40 was constructed at the same time as the east wing of the villa (see Figures 3.4, 3.7). They not only gave access to the newly added east wing but also presented a unified south façade that probably faced the seaside. Similarly, in both Villa Arianna A and Villa Arianna B, the extensions of the original core of the villas to the southwest were joined by the porticus along the cliff, porticus 54 and 12 respectively (see Figure 2.24); and in the Villa of the Papyri porticus 3–4 met porticus 58 around the corner of the atrium core of the villa to the northwest, thus uniting the two parts of the villa whose volumes are located at different perspectival depths (see Figures 2.1, 7.21). As the colonnades masked the villas' façade, they signified and accentuated their presence in the landscape, and thus became part of the owner's self-presentation. In a society where houses were associated with personal commemoration, the monumental presence of the villa contributed to the elite owner's self-advertisement.⁴¹

Designers intensified the visual impact of the porticus and cryptoporticus structures by placing them in prominent positions on the landscape—for example, at the edges of the villas' platforms. All three of the Stabian villas conspicuously displayed their porticus structures at the edge of the cliff overlooking the bay of Naples: porticus 54 and north side of porticus H in Villa

⁴¹ Villas were vehicles of self-promotion as well as settings for commemorative monuments, such as familial tombs: Bodel, 'Monumental Villas and Villa Monuments'; J. Griesbach, *Villen und Gräber*.

Arianna A (Figure 2.26), porticus 12 in Villa Arianna B (Figure 2.32), northwest side of porticus 1–2 in Villa San Marco (Figure 2.33), and cryptoporticus 13, 24, and porticus 40 in Villa Oplontis A. The visual potency of these structures was fully exploited when they were piled up on various levels creating monumental facades. In Villa Arianna A, for example, porticus 54 is visually ‘supported’ by the porticus that climbs the cliff from the sea (see Figures 2.29–31), and in the Villa of the Papyri, porticus 3–4 and porticus 58 crowned a line of ramparts that supported the villa (see Figures 2.4, 2.12, 7.20–1). In this way villas seemed to occupy the whole side of a hill or even to construct one in themselves. Cicero complains of the visual impact of such a piling-up of structures in his criticisms of Galbinus villa (*Pis.* 48. Trans. N. H. Watts, Loeb edn):

... *partim nova quaedam et inaudita luxuries, partim etiam in illis locis ubi omnia diripuit emptiones ad hunc Tusculani montem exstruendum...*

... when part had gone in purchases in those districts where he plundered everything, and part had been spent in effecting exchanges of property for the purpose of heaping hill upon hill in this Tusculan estate of his...

Although Cicero does not explicitly identify the porticus or cryptoporticus structures as a part of this process, it is plausible to visualize them as being an object of his critique.

This piling up of structures indicates a freedom of architectural expression that was only achieved after the liberation of the porticus structures from the rectangular formations of the peristylum–garden to form the loose relationships between porticus and interior/exterior landscapes. By transforming the architectural structure of the peristylum–garden, designers employed the porticus and cryptoporticus to fit the requirements of the perforated architectural body of the villas, which opened up onto the landscape. They used these structures as the connecting elements, the ‘cement’, in this fluid architecture, and deployed their monumental outlook and visual potency to signify and accentuate the villas’ presence in the landscape.

CONCLUSIONS

Particular economic, social, political, and cultural factors not only created the conditions for luxurious living but also shaped the spaces in which it occurred. The security of the countryside allowed Romans to conceptualize villas as leisure retreats from their social and political obligations in the city of Rome. Decisive in this conceptualization was the conquest of the Hellenistic East, which brought an abundance of resources to both the Roman aristocracy and the equestrian orders; but the real impetus for the luxury villa trend was the wish to display this wealth

in the private sphere as opposed to doing so only in public, in triumphal processions and public benefactions. The building of luxurious country residences, in which owners engaged in performative activities (e.g., in banquets) and about which they could boast to their peers (e.g., in their letters), was part of the social and political pressures of the period, and served to satisfy the owners' desire for political power and social ascendancy. Such factors allowed, conditioned, and created momentum for this luxury villa trend; but what actually shaped the villas' designs were the owners' cultural choices. In analysing the distinguishing architectural structures and features of Roman luxury villas, as well as the design concepts that underpin them, I hope to have shown that the architecture of Roman luxury villas was a product of a dynamic architectural design process that responded to elite Roman social and political needs, and was shaped by their cultural choices. As a conclusion to my discussion of the design concepts of Roman luxury villas and the ways in which they were informed by the owners' priorities and concerns, I review the constituents of these cultural choices.

Long before its conquest, contact with the Hellenistic East had an impact on Roman culture. The Roman luxury villa trend was formed and informed by this interaction. Countryside living was idealized as a retreat from public affairs and a flirtation with the philosophical life, allowing the elite romantically to imagine that they might engage in Socratic arguments in the gymnasium's garden. Romans had studied and continued to study philosophy in the established gymnasia of the East, and through this contact formed notions about the lifestyle *à la grecque*, a lifestyle of educated leisure, for which the villas were appropriately shaped. Horace's notion of *Graecia capta* evokes the contradictions inherent in these fashions.⁴² Ideas and idealizations of Greek culture were prominent and heatedly contested among the Romans of the Republican and early Imperial periods. The discourse about this lifestyle was infused with references to Greek history, philosophy, art, and mythology, and was peppered with apt 'visual referents', such as Greek architectural elements and structures, wall paintings and sculptural groups featuring Greek mythological themes, busts of Greek philosophers and Hellenistic kings, and famous Greek sculptures of the canon. The Roman luxury villa was shaped in such a way as to enhance this idealized encounter with Greek culture in the private sphere.

At the same time, the Roman luxury villa was influenced by a cultural current that was thoroughly Roman in its conceptualization and expression. The villas were part of a cultural *koine*, attested in contemporary literary and visual sources,

⁴² *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artis intulit agresti Latium*. 'Greece, the captive, took her savage victor captive, and brought the arts into rustic Latium' *Ep.* 2.1.156. Trans. S. E. Alcock, *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece* (Cambridge 1993) 1.

that evinced an appreciation for and praise of landscape. From the late Republic onwards, landscape was singled out as a theme in its own right: it was precisely described, its qualities were eulogized in literature and sought after in everyday life, and its representations permeated the public and private spheres. In the realm of country residences, whether they were luxurious leisure retreats or agricultural farms, notions about landscape could be not only explored but also tested. The villas were a drawing board for Roman lovers of landscape. We encounter discussions about their architectural design in poems, letters, and agricultural treatises; the latter providing more a blueprint of the villa—*villa rustica, urbana, suburbana*, and the like—than realized designs. But it is in the luxurious country homes, which were primarily conceived of as leisure retreats, that ideas about landscape were fully explored and indeed shaped. The interior landscapes were elaborately embellished with water and sculptures, and surrounded by views of painted and real landscapes; the architectural body of the villas opened its spaces to engage with both interior and exterior terrain; the sprawling architectural constituents responded to the surrounding landforms. The visually potent connecting elements of this fluid architecture marked the villas' position in the landscape and, in doing so, served the self-fashioning of the owner. In designing for luxury, Romans tested out sophisticated ideas about the ways in which architectural design could forge a discourse with the landscape.

In conclusion, the cultural choices of luxury villas' owners were shaped, on the one hand, by a wish to make a deliberate reference to Greek culture and, on the other, by an appreciation of landscape. In the new socio-political reality of the Mediterranean world, Roman designers navigated a path through a range of cultural choices in the construction of their architectural language. The architectural vocabulary was indeed Greek, but it was appropriated in order to pose, and to answer, different kinds of design questions. The design of the Roman luxury villas is very modern, in the sense that Romans did not 'study' the Greeks in the same way that Renaissance architects did. Roman designers were freer than their Renaissance successors in interpreting the architectural forms of luxury villas. By comparison, Renaissance villas, French chateaux, and English country houses are more academically conceived in their careful conscious references to architectural precedents.

In any social context, there are usually certain economic, social, and political factors—and to some extent, prerequisites—that allow for the expression of what is subsequently perceived as a cultural trend, an architectural movement or style. In some cases these underlying factors are central to the architectural expression; in others, the architectural language may be informed by, but is not dependent on, them. In the case of Renaissance villas, it is indisputable that the accumulation of property by ruling families, such as the Medici and the Strozzi, enabled the trend of countryside villas to flourish. But what seems to have determined its

architectural expression was the renaissance in humanist studies; the discovery and study of the ancients and, most importantly, the conceptualization of perspective and landscape representation, which informed the cultural choices of the owners and designers.⁴³ In eighteenth-century England, the remoter causes of the country-house building boom were embedded in economic and social history; however, the spirit of 'Palladianism'—informed by the publication of *Vitruvius Britannicus* in 1717 (vol. 1), and 1725 (vol. 2) by Colen Campbell (1679–1729), which provided a conspectus of English country houses considered as 'classics'—shaped the English attitude to the country house and quickened the desire to replace Tudor and Stuart manor houses by houses of a modern type.⁴⁴ In reaction to their Renaissance and post-Renaissance predecessors, modernist architects rejected the authority of tradition and the classical precedent, even if they used historical allusion, and conceptualized their architectural language as symbolizing and embodying the essence of their own era, the Hegelian *Zeitgeist*—expressing and responding to the economic, social, political, and cultural, dimensions of the industrial age.⁴⁵ In the case of Roman luxury villas too, economic, social, and political factors were instrumental in the formation of the architectural language.

The architectural language of Roman luxury villas was a blend of Hellenistic and Roman architectural vocabularies and was part of the construction of Romans' cultural identity in the new socio-political environment of the Mediterranean world. The architectural expression of the luxury villa was formed in response to the overwhelming incoming cultural stimuli of the period and was conditioned by economic, social, and political circumstances. In their effort to accommodate the Greek style, Romans created something completely unprecedented and intrinsically Roman, which became an agent of their cultural identity. The architectural language of the villas, with the monumental colonnades, marble-clad interiors, and flowing water, celebrated a sense of a new era of technological achievement, structural innovations, and supply of goods. I would like to point out, however, that this culturally informed notion of an architectural language is always a matter of conceptualization, perceived either retrospectively (by Renaissance art historians) or contemporaneously (by architects/advocates of modernism) and, in light of such a reservation, I conclude.

⁴³ C. M. Steenbergen and W. Reh, *Architecture and Landscape: The Design Experiment of the Great European Gardens and Landscapes* (Munich 1996).

⁴⁴ Sir J. Summerson, 'The Classical Country House in 18th-Century England: I. Patronage and Performance, 1710–40, II. Progress and Decline of the Greater house, III. The Idea of the Villa', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 107 (1959) 539–87, at 539–53 (I. Patronage and Performance, 1710–40); Sir J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530–1830*, Pelican history of art (New Haven and London 1953) 295–7.

⁴⁵ Williams-Goldhagen, 'CODA', 303–7.

APPENDIX

Porticoed gardens in the five villas

A. VILLA OF THE POPYRI

In Villa of the Papyri there are two peristylia-gardens: (A.1) the small square peristylum-garden (29.624×29.624 m = 878 m²), and (A.2) the big southwest peristylum-garden (94.44×31.74 m = $2,998$ m²) (see Figure App.1, cf. Figure 2.1). They occupied 67 % of the total area of the villa ($5,020$ m²; Tables 1 and 2). Unfortunately, there has been no investigation into planting in either of the two but the abundance of pools and fountains suggests that they must have been richly vegetated.¹

A.1 Square peristylum-garden

The small square peristylum-garden 6-7-8-9-10 (29.624×29.624 m = 878 m²), dating from the third quarter of the first century BCE (c. 40-25 BCE), was situated to the north of the atrium.² The porticus (w. 4.5 m), with ten columns on each side, surrounded the garden (20.624×20.624 m). It featured a pool (w. 1.2 m, l. 14 m, h. 1.69 m) in the middle, which was probably a fishpond.³

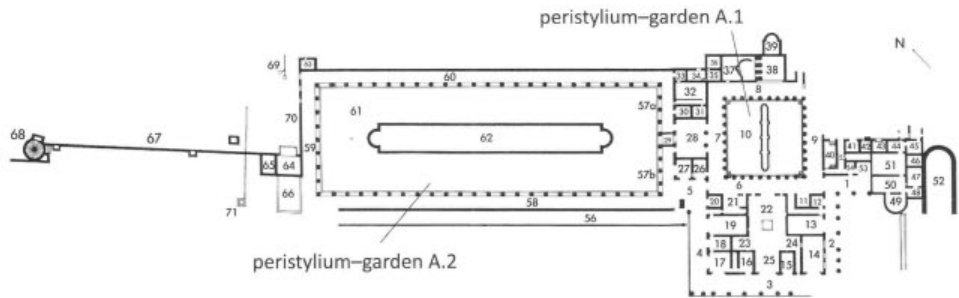


FIG. APP.1 Villa of the Papyri, plan with indications of peristylum-garden A.1 and peristylum-garden A.2. © Mantha Zarmakoupi.

¹ The Getty Villa in Malibu, designed after Villa of the Papyri, gives an idea of the villa's gardens.

² Esposito in Guidobaldi and Esposito, 'New Archaeological Research', 25-8, 33-42. De Simone and Ruffo had proposed a slightly larger chronological span (60-40 BCE) for the atrium quarter: De Simone and Ruffo, 'Ercolano 1996-1998', 342 n. 30; De Simone and Ruffo, 'Ercolano e la Villa dei Papiri', 307, n. 57; De Simone, 'Rediscovering the Villa of the Papyri', 11.

³ Higginbotham, *Piscinae*, 94-6.

Only two fragments of wall painting have been recorded, one from area e of the so-called tablinum (see in Figure 2.7; 28 in Figures App.I, 2.1) at the northwest limit of the peristylum (now lost), a panel with two sea horses and two birds;⁴ and the other from room I (26 in Figures App.I, 2.1) at the southwest of room 28, a winged genius with a fluttering himation along its hips holding a torchlight in its right hand and a crater in its left, depicted on an ochre fond.⁵ Both probably come from pinakes of the Fourth Style.⁶ Bronze statues were placed inside the porticus at the corner columns of the peristylum:⁷ a 'Polykleitan' Doryphoros herm (CDP 3) at the west corner (6–7 in Figures App.I, 2.1),⁸ a herm-head of an idealized 'Polykleitan' young woman (CDP 7) at the north corner (7–8 in Figures App.I, 2.1),⁹ a herm-head of a bearded man with a turban (CDP 8) at the east corner (8–9 in Figures App.I, 2.1),¹⁰ and a herm-head of a bearded man with curly hair (CDP 9) at the south corner (6–9 in Figures App.I, 2.1).¹¹ The two bearded men are probably philosophers or scholars; Architas, Herakleitos, and Pythagoras have been proposed for CDP 8, and Herakleitos, Empedokles, and Demokritos for CDP 9.¹² In front of each one of these herms, there was a small fountain made of a square basin, on which a support was erected for a vase, of square outline on the outside and shell-shaped in the interior.¹³ At the exterior of the southwest porticus (6 in Figures App.I, 2.1), at the two corners of the peristylum, two marble puteals (CDP 157; CDP 158), depicting in relief bucrania woven with patches of ivy, were placed looking on to the garden.¹⁴ Inside the southwest colonnade, two bronze busts were placed looking towards the entrance from the atrium and framing the view into the garden: one (a head of a youth with buckled chlamys) in front of the fourth column from the southwest (CDP 23)¹⁵ and

⁴ On 20 June 1751 Weber recorded only one from the exterior of area e (Weber's plan) situated at the northeast of the peristylum-garden, but Alcubierre recorded three fragments the next day. *Wojcik*, 27–8, n. 15.

⁵ Inv. no. 9319. *Wojcik*, 25–6, n. 14.

⁶ Although the first excavators thought that the fragments of wall paintings belonged to the Second Style, the major part of the remaining fragments dates to the period immediately preceding the eruption of Vesuvius. *Wojcik*, 35, n. 157.

⁷ I use Comparetti and de Petra's concordance, after which numbers are indicated as CDP x (where x is the number indicated in the plan by CDP).

⁸ Inv. no. 4885 (h. 54 cm). A signed copy: ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ. *Wojcik*, G 1, 171–3, pl. XC–XCI; *Neudecker*, 148, n. 14.1; *Mattusch*, 276–7.

⁹ Inv. no. 4889 (h. 53 cm). *Wojcik*, G 2, 173–5, pl. XCII; *Neudecker*, 148, no. 14.2; *Mattusch*, 278–9.

¹⁰ Inv. no. 5607 (h. 51.5 cm). *Wojcik*, G 3, 175–7, pl. XCIII; *Neudecker*, 148, no. 14.3; *Mattusch*, 256–7.

¹¹ Inv. no. 5623 (h. 56 cm). *Wojcik*, G 4, 177–8, pl. XCIV; *Neudecker*, 148, no. 14.4; *Mattusch*, 258–9.

¹² *Mattusch*, 259–60.

¹³ *Wojcik*, 19; Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, 326.

¹⁴ CDP 157: Inv. no. 6676 (h. 75 cm, diam. 53 cm; in the National Museum of Naples), CDP 158 is lost. *Wojcik*, G 9 = CDP 157, G10 = CDP 158, 19–20, 191–2, pl. IC (CDP 157).

¹⁵ Inv. no. 5588 (h. 56 cm). *Wojcik*, G 5, 178–81, pl. XCV; *Neudecker*, 148, no. 14.5; *Mattusch*, 268–70.

the other (a bearded balding man) in front of the fourth column from the southeast (CDP 10), who, like the two herm-heads at the south and east corners of the peristyle, was probably a philosopher or scholar.¹⁶ Two bronze busts on marble pilasters were found in the area of the garden (10 in Figures App.1, 2.1) in the southeast of the water canal. One was damaged (CDP 160);¹⁷ the other was a woman with corkscrew curls (modern restorations), which was identified as Thespis Auletes on the basis of the reading of a now lost inscription on the herm-post (CDP 30).¹⁸ Five bronze female peplophoroi (CDP 36–40),¹⁹ the ‘dancers’, that were found in the southwest long porticus of the big peristylum–garden (58 in Figures App.1, 2.1), are thought to have also decorated the pool in this garden.²⁰ Finally, the over life-size statue of Panathenaic Athena (CDP 81) was found in-between the columns separating the square courtyards from the tablinum (28 in Figures App.1, 2.1).²¹

A.2 Rectangular peristylum–garden

The large southwest peristylum–garden 57–58–59–60–61–62 (94.44 × 31.74 m = 2,998 m²) was thought to have been a later addition²² but it has recently been suggested that it was part of a unified project, and together with the atrium quarter, dates to the third quarter of the first century BCE (c. 40–25 BCE).²³ The peristylum had twenty-five columns on the long sides and ten columns on the short sides. In the middle of the garden there was also a large pool (66.76 × 7.14 m).²⁴ Fragments of wall paintings have been recorded from the

¹⁶ Inv. no. 5602 (h. 61 cm) has been identified as Demokritos, Architas, Solon, Aristotle, and Philopoemen. *Wojcik*, G 6, 181–4, pl. XCVI; *Neudecker*, 148–9, no. 14.6; *Mattusch*, 254–5.

¹⁷ *Wojcik*, G 8, 190–1.

¹⁸ Inv. no. 5598 (h. 40.5 cm; cipollino marble pilaster with base: 1.318 m). Found 1.58 m from the border of the water canal. *Wojcik*, G 7, 184–90, pl. XCVII; *Neudecker*, 149, no. 14.7; *Mattusch*, 230–3.

¹⁹ CDP 36: Inv. no. 5604 (total h. 1.505 m; statue: 1.458 m, base: 4.7 cm). *Wojcik*, H 2, 205–6, pl. CII; CDP 37: Inv. no. 5605 (total h. 1.51 m; statue: 1.458 m, base: 5.8 cm). *Wojcik*, H 1, 203–5, pl. CI; CDP 38: Inv. no. 5621 (total h. 1.552 m; statue: 1.505 m, base: 4.7 cm). *Wojcik*, H 3, 207–8, pl. CIII, CVI A; CDP 39: Inv. no. 5620 (total h. 1.537 m; statue: 1.49 m, base: 4.7 cm). *Wojcik*, H 4, 209–10, pl. CIV, CVI B; CDP 40: Inv. no. 5619 (total h. 1.515 m; statue: 1.468 m, base: 4.7 cm). *Wojcik*, H 5, 210–12, pl. CV; *Neudecker*, 151–2, nos. 14.35–9; *Mattusch*, 195–208, 212–15.

²⁰ I. Sgobbo, ‘Le ‘Danzatrici’ di Ercolano’, *RendNap* 46 (1971) 51–74; *Wojcik*, 203–17, pls. CI–V, CVI, A–B, pls. CA, B (Weber’s [A] and Wojcik’s [B] plan and with indication of the original position of the statues in the big peristylum–garden), pl. CVII A (reconstruction of proposed position of statues); *Mattusch*, 212–15.

²¹ Inv. no. 6007. An Augustan copy of an archaistic type of the second century BCE. *Wojcik*, E 8, 139–41; *Neudecker*, 150, no. 14.24; *Mattusch*, 147–51.

²² D. Mustilli, ‘La villa pseudorurbana ercolanese’, 95; Followed by *Wojcik*: *Wojcik*, 35–6.

²³ Esposito in Guidobaldi and Esposito, ‘New Archaeological Research’, 25–8, 33–42.

²⁴ *Wojcik*, 26. Also: a drainage canal made of peperino runs through the peristyle.

rooms along the southeast side of the peristylum–garden: a fragment depicting a female head from room f (30 in Figures App.I, 2.1) at the east of the tablinum (now lost),²⁵ as well as the fragment from tablinum (28 in Figures App.I, 2.1) described above.²⁶ Most of the sculptures were found in this part of the villa.²⁷ Between the columns of the east porticus (57a and 57b in Figures App.I, 2.1), flanking the entrance from the tablinum to the peristylum–garden, four marble statues of big dimensions were found: a statue of an acephalous man (CDP 83),²⁸ an over life-size statue of a beardless man (CDP 85),²⁹ a statue of fourth-century Athenian orator, Aischines (CDP 84),³⁰ and fragments of a male statue (CDP 88).³¹ A group of bronze statues found at the southeast end of the pool formed an Arcadian cycle: the drunken satyr (CDP 34) at its northwest end,³² the sleeping satyr (CDP 35) at its southeast end,³³ three deer (CDP 62–64),³⁴ and a leaping piglet (CDP 65).³⁵ A Pan and She-goat marble group (CDP 83) found at the southernmost southeast end of the pool is considered to belong in the same Arcadian cycle.³⁶ The northwest end of the pool featured a seated Hermes (CDP 33)³⁷ and two boy athletes or ‘runners’ (CDP 42–43).³⁸ A small Peplophoros (CDP 41) found in the north end of porticus 60 complemented this group of athletic statuary.³⁹ Bronze busts on marble pillars were grouped in the four corners of the peristylum: at the east corner (57a–60 in Figures App.I, 2.1), an archaistic Apollo or kouros (CDP 1)⁴⁰ and the head of a young woman with braids, the so-called bust of Berenice (CDP 24);⁴¹ at the south corner (57b–58 in

²⁵ *Wojcik*, 25, n. 13.

²⁶ The two peristyles ‘share’ this room.

²⁷ *Wojcik*, 39–40.

²⁸ Inv. no. 6126 (h. 1.81 m). A modern replica of a head of Sophokles in the Farnese collection was later added. *Wojcik*, A 1, 41–2, pl. XXIV; *Neudecker*, 151, no. 14.31; *Mattusch*, 144–5.

²⁹ Inv. no. 6210. *Wojcik*, A 2, 42–3, pl. XXVI; *Neudecker*, 151, no. 14.32; *Mattusch*, 146.

³⁰ Inv. no. 6018 (h. 1.99 m). *Wojcik*, A 3, 43–5, pl. XVII; *Neudecker*, 151, no. 14.34; *Mattusch*, 143–4.

³¹ *Wojcik*, A 4, 45.

³² Inv. no. 5628 (h. 1.37 m). *Wojcik*, D 3, 109–10, pl. LIX; *Neudecker*, 154, no. 14.63; *Mattusch*, 321–5.

³³ Inv. no. 5624 (h. 1.42 m). *Wojcik*, D 6 115–6, pl. LX; *Neudecker*, 153, no. 14.54; *Mattusch*, 318–20.

³⁴ CDP 62: Inv. no. 4886 (h. 98 cm). *Wojcik*, D 7, 116–7, pl. LXII A; CDP 63: Inv. no. 4888 (h. 96 cm). *Wojcik*, D 8, 117–8, pl. LXII B; CDP 64 (fragmentary and now lost): *Wojcik*, D 9, 118–19; *Neudecker*, 153, no. 14.55; *Mattusch*, 327–31.

³⁵ Inv. no. 4893 (h. 40 cm). *Wojcik*, D 10, 119, pl. LXIII; *Neudecker*, 153, no. 14.56; *Mattusch*, 327–31.

³⁶ Inv. no. 27709 (total h. 44.42 cm, length 49 × 47 cm). *Wojcik*, 39, D 1, 107–9, pl. LVI; *Neudecker*, 154, no. 14.62; *Mattusch*, 155–7.

³⁷ Inv. no. 5625 (h. 1.15 m). *Wojcik*, D12, 120–1, pl. LXIV; *Neudecker*, 154, no. 14.64; *Mattusch*, 216–22.

³⁸ CDP 42: Inv. no. 5626 (h. 1.18 m). *Wojcik*, D 2, 108–9, pl. LVII; CDP 43: Inv. no. 5627 (h. 1.18 m). *Wojcik*, D 4, 110–11, pl. LVIII; *Neudecker*, 154, no. 14.65; *Mattusch*, 189–94.

³⁹ Inv. no. 5603 (h. 1.22 m). *Wojcik*, D 5, 111–14, pl. LXI; *Neudecker*, 154, no. 14.66; *Mattusch*, 209–11.

⁴⁰ Inv. no. 5608 (h. 43.4 cm). *Wojcik*, C1, 87–9, pl. XLVII; *Neudecker*, 153, no. 14.57; *Mattusch*, 236–41.

⁴¹ Inv. no. 5592 (h. 50 cm). *Wojcik*, C2, 89–91, pl. XLVIII; *Neudecker*, 153–4, no. 14.58; *Mattusch*, 246–9. 225–30.

Figures App.1, 2.1), the bust of a youth with a victor's wreath, possibly a Herakles, which was originally identified as Ptolemaios II Philadelphos (CDP 20),⁴² and the idealized head of a 'Polykleitan' athlete, a Herakles or a Doryphoros (CDP 3);⁴³ at the north corner (59–60 in Figures App.1, 2.1), the bust of the so-called Sappho (CDP 25),⁴⁴ and the bust of a Hellenistic dynast, maybe Seleukos I (CDP 19);⁴⁵ and at the west corner (58–59 in Figures App.1, 2.1), the so-called pseudo-Seneca (CDP 29).⁴⁶ A series of marble herms were also found between the pool and the northeast porticus (60 in Figures App.1, 2.1): a bearded man, the Spartan king Archidamos III or Archimedes (CDP 77),⁴⁷ Philetairos of Pergamon (CDP 78),⁴⁸ a bearded intellectual, identified as Demosthenes or the orator Lysias (CDP 79),⁴⁹ Pyrrhos of Epeiros (CDP 75),⁵⁰ a helmeted Athena (CDP 66),⁵¹ a veiled woman identified as Hestia or Vesta (CDP 67),⁵² a bearded man identified as Hannibal, Juba I, or Menippos (CDP 80),⁵³ a bearded man identified as Demosthenes (CDP 70).⁵⁴ And a series of marble herms were found between the pool and the southwest porticus (58 in Figures App.1, 2.1): a man with a short beard identified as the poet Panyassis or the philosopher Karneades (CDP 72),⁵⁵ a philosopher (CDP 71),⁵⁶ Demetrios Poliorketes (CDP 73),⁵⁷ a bearded man identified as Anakreon (CDP 69),⁵⁸ a Ptolemaic dynast, Ptolemaios Soter II or Ptolemaios III (CDP 76),⁵⁹ and a Macedonian warrior (CDP 74).⁶⁰

B. VILLA OPLONTIS A

In Villa Oplontis A there are four porticus-gardens: (B.1) the small peristylum-garden 32, (B.2) the southeast peristylum-garden 40–59, (B.3) the east

⁴² Inv. no. 5594 (h. 48 cm). *Wojcik*, C 4, 92–4, pl. L; *Neudecker*, 154, no. 14.61; *Mattusch*, 246–9.

⁴³ Inv. no. 5610 (h. 42 cm). *Wojcik*, C 3, 91–2, pl. XLIX; *Neudecker*, 154, no. 14.60; *Mattusch*, 242–5.

⁴⁴ Inv. no. 4896 (h. 47 cm). *Wojcik*, 95–6, pl. LII; *Neudecker*, 154, no. 14.67; *Mattusch*, 224–5.

⁴⁵ Inv. no. 5590 (h. 56 cm). *Wojcik*, 94–5, pl. LI; *Neudecker*, 155, no. 14.69; *Mattusch*, 260–2.

⁴⁶ Inv. no. 5616 (h. 33 cm). *Wojcik*, C 7, 97–9, pl. LIII, LIV; *Neudecker*, 154–5, no. 14.68; *Mattusch*, 249–53.

⁴⁷ Inv. no. 6156 (h. 55 cm). *Wojcik*, B 8, 61–3, pl. XXXVII; *Neudecker*, 152, no. 14.41; *Mattusch*, 172–3.

⁴⁸ Inv. no. 6148 (h. 40 cm). *Wojcik*, B 7, 60–1, pl. XXXVI; *Neudecker*, 152, no. 14.40; *Mattusch*, 159–60.

⁴⁹ Inv. no. 6147 (h. 43 cm). *Wojcik*, B 9, 63, pl. XXXVIII; *Neudecker*, 152, no. 14.42; *Mattusch*, 158–9.

⁵⁰ Inv. no. 6150 (h. 49.5 cm). *Wojcik*, B 10, 64–5, pl. XXXIX; *Neudecker*, 152, no. 14.43; *Mattusch*, 163–4.

⁵¹ Inv. no. 6322 (h. 50 cm). *Wojcik*, B 11, 65–6, pl. XL; *Neudecker*, 152, no. 14.44; *Mattusch*, 180–1.

⁵² Inv. no. 6188 (h. 49.5 cm). *Wojcik*, B 12, 66–7, pl. XLI; *Neudecker*, 152, no. 14.45; *Mattusch*, 179.

⁵³ Inv. no. 6154 (h. 52 cm). *Wojcik*, B 13, 67–8, pl. XLII; *Neudecker*, 152, no. 14.46; *Mattusch*, 169–70.

⁵⁴ Inv. no. 6153 (h. 51 cm). *Wojcik*, B 14, 69–70, pl. XLIII; *Neudecker*, 152, no. 14.47; *Mattusch*, 168–9.

⁵⁵ Inv. no. 6152 (h. 49 cm). *Wojcik*, B 6, 58–60, pl. XXXV; *Neudecker*, 153, no. 14.53; *Mattusch*, 166–7.

⁵⁶ Inv. no. 6155 (h. 52 cm). *Wojcik*, B 2, 53–4, pl. XXXI; *Neudecker*, 153, no. 14.52; *Mattusch*, 170–1.

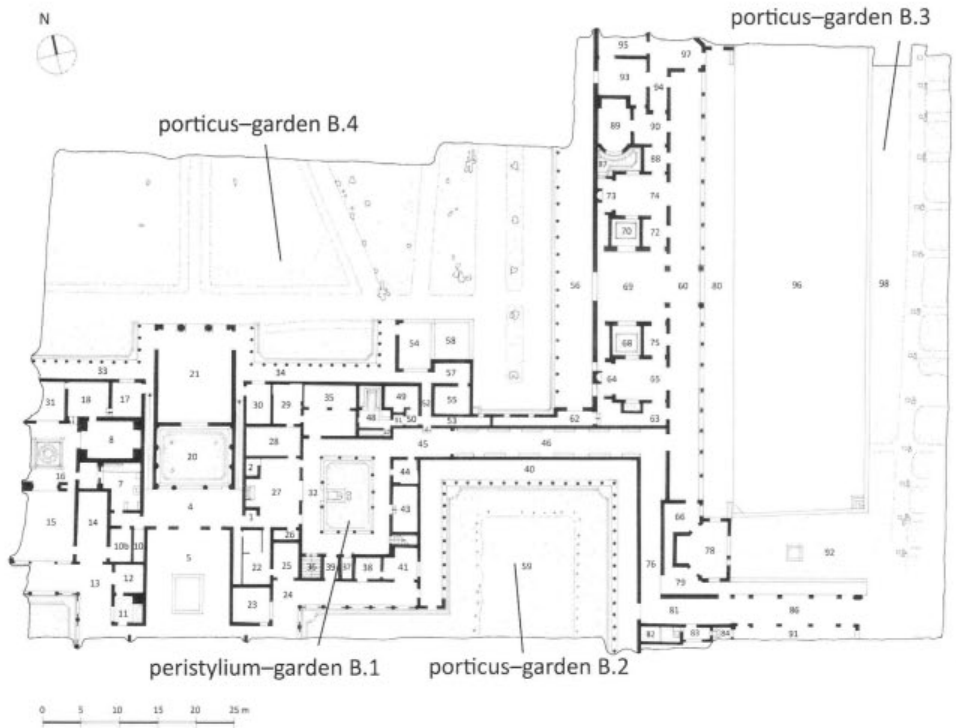
⁵⁷ Inv. no. 6149 (h. 43.5 cm). *Wojcik*, B 1, 52–3, pl. XXX; *Neudecker*, 153, no. 14.51; *Mattusch*, 161–2.

⁵⁸ Inv. no. 6162 (h. 48 cm). *Wojcik*, B 4, 55–7, pl. XXXIII; *Neudecker*, 153, no. 14.50; *Mattusch*, 176–7.

⁵⁹ Inv. no. 6158 (h. 52 cm). *Wojcik*, B 5, 57–8, pl. XXXIV; *Neudecker*, 153, no. 14.49; *Mattusch*, 174–5.

⁶⁰ Inv. no. 6151 (h. 53.5 cm). *Wojcik*, B 3, 54–5, pl. XXXII; *Neudecker*, 152–3, no. 14.48; *Mattusch*, 164–5.

FIG. APP.2 Villa Oplontis A, plan with indications of peristylum-garden B.1, and porticus-gardens B.2, B.3, and B.4.
© Mantha Zarmakoupi.



peristylum-garden 60–80–92–96–98, and (B.4) the north peristylum-garden 33–34–56 (see Figure App.2, cf. Figure 2.16). The four porticus-gardens occupy 67.5% of the villa's excavated area (13,000 m²). If we accept that the villa's plan was symmetrical, we should expect another two peristylia-gardens matching the east and southeast ones. This would mean that peristylia-gardens occupied 57% of the total area in Villa Oplontis A (15,058 m² out of 26,190 m²; Tables 1 and 2).

B.1 Peristylum-garden 32

The small peristylum-garden 32 (12 × 16 m = 192 m²) was probably part of the original core of the villa (mid-first century BCE). It had porticus (w. 2.4 m) on all four sides (four columns to north, west, and south, five to east), which were enclosed by a low masonry wall with a decoration of plants and birds on a red fond on the garden side, zebra-stripe decoration inside the porticus side, and pavement in *cocciopesto*. There was a big fountain in the garden, which was decorated in the same manner as the short wall around it.⁶¹ Against the east of the

⁶¹ Fergola and Pagano, *Oplontis*, 51.

fountain there was a large mature chestnut tree (81 cm wide), probably as old as the villa.⁶² A sundial found near the fountain also adorned this garden.⁶³

B.2 *Porticus-garden 40-59*

The southeast porticus-garden 40-59 (21 [min.] × 30 m = 630 m²) dates from around the middle of the first century CE, as do probably all the rest of the peristylia-gardens in the villa. The southern limit of the east side of the porticus is not yet known.⁶⁴ It consisted of a porticus triplex (40) (w. 4 m, min. l. 68 m, h. c. 3.5 m) around garden 59, which had ten columns at the west, fifteen at the north, and at least fifteen at the east side. Its white plastered brick columns were plain up to 1.2 m and then fluted. The walls of the porticus were decorated in Fourth Style wall paintings divided in three horizontal zones (see Figure 4.16). The lower zone featured plants and birds on a black fond; the medium zone featured red rectangular panels that presented edifices and stylized vegetal motifs, alternating with narrow black ones and bordered with yellow stripes; and the upper zone featured edifices joined by garlands and stripes on a white background. The architraves between the columns were decorated in a similar way to the upper zone of the wall paintings.⁶⁵

The garden (22 × 21 [min.] m) consisted of two rows of evergreen trees (possibly lemons, myrtles, or laurels), outlining the three sides of the porticus. The trees of both rows were planted directly in front of the columns. The row closest to the porticus had two trees planted at a time, one of which was grown in terracotta pots. A larger tree of a different variety stood at the front corner of the west porticus. The middle of the garden was planted with herbaceous plants, possibly violets.⁶⁶

B.3 *Porticus-garden 60-80-92-96-98*

The east peristylum-garden 60-80-92-96-98 (38 × 75 m = 2,850 m²) consists of porticus 60, garden 80-92-98, and pool 96. The long porticus 60 (w. 4.5 m, l. 58 m, h. c. 4.5 m) is decorated in the Fourth Style, starting above a low base in

⁶² Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, 290. The identification of the tree is based on two carbonized chestnuts, found in the southwest corner of the garden, at the height of the ceiling beams, which probably fell from a branch of the tree.

⁶³ Inv. no. OP. 1257 (white marble, h. 34 cm, base w. 27 cm). De Caro 1987, 118-20, n. 34, fig. 31. On sundials: Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, 112, fig. 183.

⁶⁴ The Sarno canal, constructed in 1594-1600 by engineer Fontano, crosses the *porticus* at this point.

⁶⁵ Fergola and Pagano, *Oplontis*, 56-7. There are remains of the decoration of the architraves on the west and north side of the *porticus*.

⁶⁶ Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, 293-6.

marble (see Figure 4.11). On a white background are rectangular panels that are framed by stylized vegetation, about which birds and bugs fly, and there are central pinakes with representations of villas in landscapes alternating with *xenia* (see Figure 4.12). The lower zone of the exterior walls of room 78 and its symmetrical room to the north that are adjacent to the garden bear representations of naturalistic greenery. The pool (w. 17 m, l. 61 m, h. 1.825 [south] – 1.30 [north] m) had a pavement in cocciopesto and was accessed through stairs at the southeast corner. The interior of the pool was painted white with green and yellow rectangular panels.⁶⁷

Areas 80 and 92 around the pool were grass-covered. In area 92, a shallow square marble basin was located in axis with pool 96 and was adorned with a large neo-attic calyx crater made of pentelic marble.⁶⁸ The crater was fitted with pipes and was located on the axis of pool 96, room 78, and porticus 91–86. Between swimming pool 96 and the marble basin in area 92 there was a sculptured group of a hermaphrodite and a faun (see Figure 4.7).⁶⁹ To the east of the pool there was a row of eight statue bases, six of which have been identified:⁷⁰ two Heracles herms,⁷¹ a youth,⁷² two statues of Nike,⁷³ and an Artemis or Amazon.⁷⁴ Directly behind the statues, oleander trees, lemon trees, and plane trees were planted.⁷⁵

⁶⁷ Fergola and Pagano, *Oplontis*, 60–1.

⁶⁸ Inv. no. OP. 1406 (h. 109.5 cm; mouth 94 cm; base 48 × 48 × 6.2 cm) – unpublished. Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, 314, 311, fig. 480; De Caro, 'The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea', 96–8, n. 11, fig. 13–14; Neudecker, 241, n. 71.9 (Neudecker wrongly locates 71.9 in *porticus* 34, p. 242); Fergola and Pagano, *Oplontis*, 58–9, fig. 17.

⁶⁹ Inv. no. OP. 2800 (white marble; h. 1 m, base: 91 × 58 cm) – unpublished. De Caro, 'The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea', n. 12, pp. 98–100, fig. 15a, b and 16a, b; Neudecker, 241, n. 71.8; Fergola and Pagano, *Oplontis*, 59, fig. 18.

⁷⁰ Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, 314, 311, fig. 480 (Jashemski identifies only Ephebos, one Hercules herm, and Artemis/Amazon); Fergola and Pagano, *Oplontis*, 59–60, fig. 20–1; Neudecker, 241–2, n. 71.10 (Ephebos), n. 71.11 (Nike), n. 71.12 (Heracles herm); De Caro, 'The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea', 102–12, n. 13, 14 (two Heracles herms), n. 15 (Ephebos), n. 16, 17 (two statues of Nike), n. 18 (Artemis/Amazon).

⁷¹ (1): Inv. no. OP. 2742 (white marble; h. 42 cm, base w. 27.1 cm). De Caro, 'The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea', 102, n. 13, fig. 17a, b; (2): not yet inventoried (white marble; h. 44 cm, base w. 27.1 cm). De Caro, 'The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea', 102–4, n. 14, fig. 18a, b.

⁷² Inv. no. OP. 2818 (white marble [superficially corroded]; h. 1.54 m, base 1.60 m). De Caro, 'The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea', 104–7, fig. 19a, b, c.

⁷³ (1): Inv. no. OP. 2798 (white marble; h. with base 1.76 m). De Caro, 'The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea', 107, n. 16, fig. 20a, b, c; (2): not yet inventoried (white marble; fragmented – twin of [1]). De Caro, 'The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea', 108–10, n. 17, fig. 21.

⁷⁴ Not yet inventoried (white marble; max. h. of present state: 1.15 m). De Caro, 'The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea', 110–12, n. 18, fig. 22.

⁷⁵ Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, 314; Fergola and Pagano, *Oplontis*, 61.

B.4 Porticus-garden 33-34-56

The north porticus-garden 33-34-56 ($68 \times 107 \text{ m} = 7,276 \text{ m}^2$) consists of porticus 33 (w. 2.2 m, [l. 34 m],⁷⁶ h. c. 3.5 m) and porticus 34 (w. 2.2 m, l. 34 m, h. c. 3.5 m) at the west and east of room 21, and porticus 56 (w. 3.5 m, [min. l. 35 m], h. unknown) on the west side of the villa's east wing. If we accept that the villa had a symmetrical plan, there should have been a porticus diametrically opposite porticus 56, forming a U-shaped porticus that would have framed garden 56; this peristylum-garden would have extended to a total area of $7,276 \text{ m}^2$. The columns of porticus 33 and 34 were plastered white with incised flattened flutes, and their capitals were made of stucco. The roof above terminated at terracotta antefixes with palmettes (see Figure 4.15). The porticus 33 and 34 were paved in white mosaics with black stripes and Fourth Style wall paintings divided in three horizontal zones. The lower zone featured plants, birds, and griffins on a black fond that was divided by vertical yellow and red bands; the medium zone featured red and yellow panels alternating with white intervening panels representing architectural structures in perspective; and the upper zone featured edifices and partitions framed by cornices on a white background.⁷⁷

The garden's design of contoured beds supports the hypothesis that the villa was symmetrical. A central north-south path extended from room 21 and was lined with trees and woody shrubs (maybe boxes; see Figure 4.6). Two diagonal paths began from the furthest east end of the porticus 34 and the furthest west end of porticus 33, presumably to meet this central path further at the north.⁷⁸ At the beginning of the east diagonal path there was a dense thicket of twenty to twenty-five oleanders (d. 345 cm), 70 to 100 years old.⁷⁹ Further to the east, another path began, parallel to porticus 56 in front of room 54. At its corner and further to the north, two dense thickets of oleanders were located.⁸⁰ In front of porticus 56 there were two rows of trees: the one, further from the porticus, was of big plane trees (five; d. 145-213 cm),⁸¹ the other, closer to the porticus, was of small trees, probably chrysanthemums.⁸² Two apple trees were also in this area. At the north limit of the excavations, a very big olive tree was found (branch: 180 cm long). It was probably at least 100 years old.⁸³

⁷⁶ This length is based on the length of the corresponding porticus 34.

⁷⁷ Fergola and Pagano, *Oplontis*, 66-7.

⁷⁸ Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, 297-306, fig. 447, 448, 450, 464; Fergola and Pagano, *Oplontis*, 65-6.

⁷⁹ Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, 297, 300-2.

⁸⁰ Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, 297, 300-2. The one to the south had d. 300 cm.

⁸¹ Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, 297, fig. 449, 451.

⁸² Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, 303-4.

⁸³ Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, 300, fig. 456, 457, 483.

The paths of the garden were adorned with sculptures. At the beginning of the east diagonal path four sculptures were found in a line: a white marble Aphrodite head fixed on a cipollino marble pillar,⁸⁴ a white marble portrait of a boy supported by a herm with blue-grey marble base,⁸⁵ a white marble portrait of a lady on a grey-blue veined pillar,⁸⁶ a crowned head of the child Dionysos (white marble) on a small African marble pillar,⁸⁷ and a herm, of which only the white marble pillar and grey-blue marble plinth have survived.⁸⁸ Four blue-veined white marble statues of centaurs, two male and two female, which were fitted with pipes,⁸⁹ and a white marble sculpture of a boy struggling with a duck,⁹⁰ all found in porticus 33, formed a sculptural group that probably decorated a fountain, or something similar, at the north end of the central north-south path.⁹¹

C. VILLA ARIANNA A

In Villa Arianna A there are three porticus-gardens: (C.1) the west peristylum-garden H-Z (108 × 58 m = 6,264 m²), (C.2) the central porticus-garden 71-73-X-U (c. 40 × 40 m = 1,600 m²), and (C.3) the entrance peristylum-garden W22 (21 × 21 m = 441 m²; see Figure App.3, cf. Figure 2.26). Together they occupied 58.5% of the overall area of the villa (14,200 m²; Tables 1 and 2).

⁸⁴ Inv. no. OP. 1321 (head: white marble h. 36 cm). De Caro, 'The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea', 90, n. 5, fig. 7a, b; Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, 301, fig. 459. Unpublished.

⁸⁵ Inv. no. OP. 2518 (portrait: white marble, h. 28 cm; herm: African marble, h. 97 cm; base: grey-blue marble, 21 × 22 × 13 cm). De Caro, 'The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea', 90, n. 6, fig. 8a, b; Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, 301, fig. 461. Unpublished.

⁸⁶ Inv. no. OP. 1442 (portrait: white marble, h. 32 cm; pillar: grey-blue veined marble, h. 108 cm, base 18.5 × 17.5 cm). De Caro, 'The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea', 92, n. 7, fig. 9a, b; Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, 301, fig. 458. Published in: A. de Franciscis, 'La dama di Oplonti', in R. A. Stucky and I. Jucker (eds), *Eikones: Festschrift H. Jucker zum sechsigsten Geburtstag gewidmet* (1980) 115-17.

⁸⁷ Inv. no. OP. 2517 (head: white marble, h. 28 cm; pillar: African marble, h. 93 cm, base: 15 × 16.5 cm). De Caro, 'The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea', 92-4, n. 8, fig. 10a, b; Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, 301, fig. 460. Unpublished.

⁸⁸ Inv. no. OP. 1455 (pillar: white marble, h. 86 cm; plinth: grey-blue marble, h. 22 cm). De Caro, 'The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea', 94, n. 9, fig. 11. Unpublished.

⁸⁹ The group is published in: De Caro, 'Sculpture dalla villa di Poppea', 198-219 (h. 90 cm). Also: Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, 304, fig. 466; Fergola and Pagano, *Oplontis*, 68, fig. 26. A centaur with a club and a little boar on his shoulder (Inv. no. OP. 68. De Caro, 'The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea', 88, n. 1, fig. 3), a centaur with a club and a crater (Inv. no. OP. 70. De Caro, 'The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea', 88, n. 2, fig. 4), a female centaur with a club and lyre (Inv. no. OP. 55. De Caro, 'The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea', 88, n. 3, fig. 5), and a female centaur with a club and a fawn on her shoulder (Inv. no. OP. 71. De Caro, 'The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea', 88, n. 4, fig. 6).

⁹⁰ Inv. no. OP. 56 (max. h. 46 cm). De Caro, 'The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea', 94, n. 10, fig. 12. Published in: De Caro, 'Sculpture dalla villa di Poppea', 187f. Also: Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, fig. 467.

⁹¹ De Caro, 'The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea', 88 and 96.

FIG. APP.3 Villa Arianna A, plan with indications of peristylum-garden C.1, porticus-garden C.2, and peristylum-garden C.3.
© Mantha Zarmakoupi.



C.1 Peristylum-garden H-Z

The west peristylum-garden H-Z ($10.8 \times 5.8 \text{ m} = 6,264 \text{ m}^2$) dates as a structure from the Augustan period and has a different orientation from the rest of the villa. Bonifacio and Sodo believe that it must have become part of the villa in the Flavian period when the rooms around triclinium A were restructured,⁹² as in the case of peristylum-garden 1-2 in Villa San Marco. Its porticus (H) is 4.5 m wide and had brick columns covered with white stucco that presented fine vertical flutes. There were nineteen columns on the short sides and thirty-six on the long sides. The intervals were irregular, and the columns spaced out in front of important rooms—for example, room T at the east porticus H and the exedra at the south porticus. In the case of room T pilasters replaced the columns, probably to denote this room even more. The walls of the porticus were decorated in white Fourth Style wall paintings divided in three horizontal zones. The lower zone was subdivided into rectangular panels, which presented a candelabrum with a hanging pinakas (cut out and unidentified), to which thyrsos intertwined with garlands were attached, and intervening compartments presenting storks. The medium zone, which was separated from the lower level by a broad red band, presented slender colonnades alternating with floral gilded

⁹² Bonifacio and Sodo, *Stabiae: Guida archeologica*, 156.

candelabra.⁹³ There are no remains of the upper zone. The porticus' floor of beaten earth indicates that work was underway at the time of the eruption.⁹⁴ The garden featured four walks running northeast–southwest, parallel to planting beds that were embellished with a variety of trees and small water basins, as well as an 'opus signinum' semicircular pool roughly in its middle (see Figure 2.28).⁹⁵

C.2 Central porticus–garden

The central porticus–garden 71–73–X–U (40 × 40 m = 1,600 m²) was delimited by cryptoporticus 71 and porticus 73 to the northeast and porticus U and rooms N, M, O, R, T (the east wing of the west peristylum–garden) to the southwest. Both porticus have only been partially excavated, so we do not know their full lengths.

Nine square pilasters of porticus 73 have been found; they were set in a 3 by 3 m grid, which had the same orientation with porticus U. They were 52 cm wide and were covered with green plaster.⁹⁶ The exterior of cryptoporticus 71, which delimited porticus 73, was covered with fine white plaster, which was probably made ready to receive a polychromic decoration.⁹⁷ A marble rectangular basin, found next to column A of the porticus (73), adorned this area. The pilaster had a cavity on one side in order to receive a water pipe, which was probably aimed at feeding this marble basin.⁹⁸

Porticus U is 4 metres wide and 4.8 metres long. Its columns were flat, covered with raw plaster: a column made of a pilaster on which two engaged columns were attached, a flat column, and a corner pilaster looking towards room T, which it delimited. The porticus was decorated with white Fourth Style wall paintings divided in three horizontal zones. The lower zone presented low rectangular panels in the centre of which a red band with carpet-like decoration ran horizontally; small vertical panels with a stylized lotus interrupted its course. The lower zone of the exterior wall of room R bears representations of naturalistic greenery. A yellow-ochre band with red fillets delimited the medium zone; on this band, slender candelabra with vegetal bases stood, placed in front of panels delimited by ochre 'carpet-like' bands. There are no remains of the upper zone. The pavement was made of beaten cocciopesto.⁹⁹ After the big room T there was a corresponding porticus V to the south. The area X between porticus 73 and porticus U and V has

⁹³ Bonifacio and Sodo, *Stabiae: Guida archeologica*, 157.

⁹⁴ Bonifacio and Sodo, *Stabiae: Guida archeologica*, 157.

⁹⁵ Gleason, 'Constructing Nature'; Howe, Gleason, and Sutherland, 'Stabiae, Villa Arianna'.

⁹⁶ Ciro Nappo, 'Villa Arianna', 55–6.

⁹⁷ Ciro Nappo, 'Villa Arianna', 54.

⁹⁸ Ciro Nappo, 'Villa Arianna', 56, n. 12, fig. 7.

⁹⁹ Bonifacio and Sodo, *Stabiae: Guida archeologica*, 162–3.

not been excavated; however, the soil analysis has shown that this area was richly vegetated.¹⁰⁰

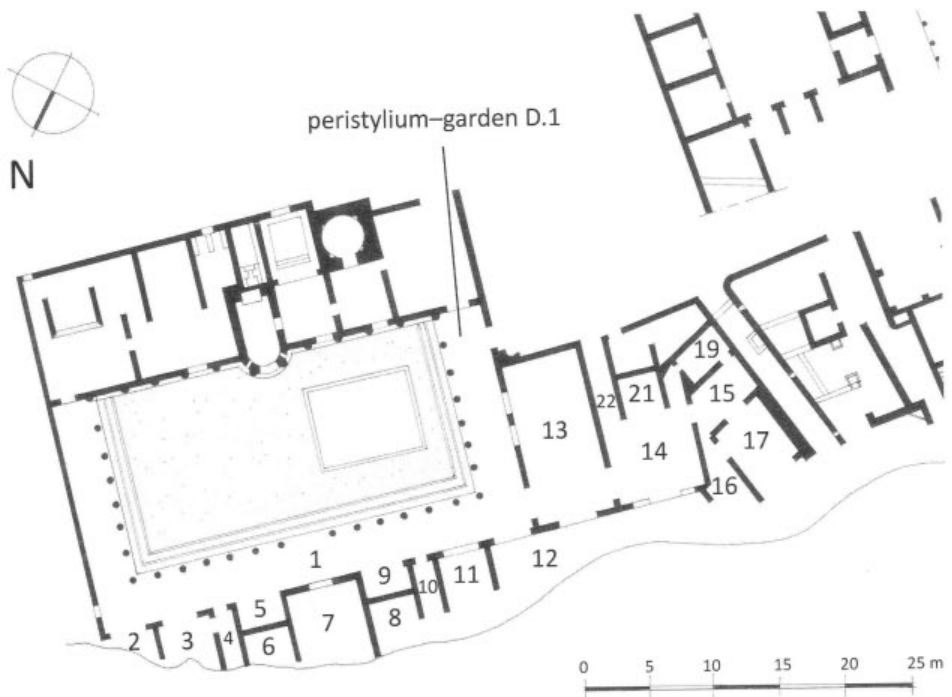
C.3 Peristylum–garden W22

This entrance peristyle ($c.21 \times 21 \text{ m} = 441 \text{ m}^2$) was part of the original core of the villa (beginning of the first century BCE). It had a portico (w. c. 3.2 m) on all four sides (eight columns to northwest and southeast, ten to southwest and northeast). Only a very small part of the peristyle has been recently unearthed. The garden area has not been studied.

D. VILLA ARIANNA B

In the excavated area of Villa Arianna B, a small peristylum–garden 1 ($35 \times 18 \text{ m} = 630 \text{ m}^2$) has been found (D.1). It occupies 25 % of the villa's excavated area ($2,475 \text{ m}^2$; Tables 1 and 2) (see Figure App.4, cf. Figure 2.32).

FIG. APP.4
Villa Arianna
B, plan with
indication of
peristylum–
garden D.1.
© Mantha
Zarmakoupi.



¹⁰⁰ Ciro Nappo, 'Villa Arianna', 156, fig. 8.

D.1 Peristylum-garden 1

Peristylum-garden 1 ($35 \times 18 \text{ m} = 630 \text{ m}^2$) dates from the first half of the first century BCE. Only the north part of this peristylum-garden is visible today, but the plans made during the Bourbons' excavations show its full extent. It consisted of a porticus triplex (east, north, west) surrounding a garden, the north limit of which is defined by a wall with engaged columns. A square pool was located at the east side of the garden; a lead pipe around it had holes in order to jet water in the pool.

The brick columns of the porticus were covered in white stucco, which was incised to present flat vertical flutes. The north wing of the porticus triplex had fourteen columns, with a bigger intercolumniation between the seventh and eighth column, corresponding to the big room 7, which had a marble threshold. The short sides of the porticus triplex had six columns each. The porticus were decorated with early Fourth Style wall paintings divided in three horizontal zones (see Figure 4.17). The lower zone featured upright rectangular panels framing stylized flowers that were connected with stylized architectural structures, which were decorated with oscilla and anthemias, on a red fond. The medium zone (very faintly preserved) had a black base, and presented candelabra placed in front of a red-bordered panel, which gave perspectival views of stylized architecture. There are no remains of the upper zone. The pavement of the porticus was removed by the Bourbons, and as the marble thresholds in the intercolumniations, and the *opus sectile* floors of room 13 (also removed) indicate, it must have been very rich.¹⁰¹

E. VILLA SAN MARCO

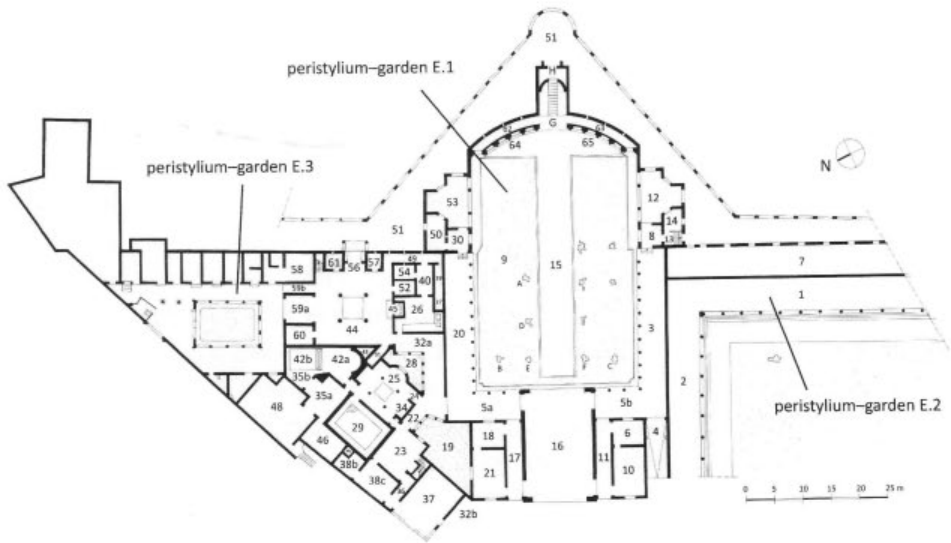
In Villa San Marco there are three peristylia-gardens: (E.1) the central peristylum-garden 20-5-3-9 ($40 \times 50 \text{ m} = 2,000 \text{ m}^2$), (E.2) the southwest peristylum-garden 1-2 ($113 \times 50 \text{ m} = 5,650 \text{ m}^2$), and (E.3) the entrance peristylum-garden ($15 \times 20 \text{ m} = 300 \text{ m}^2$) (see Figure App.5, cf. Figure 2.33). Together they occupied 56.4% of the total area of the villa ($14,100 \text{ m}^2$; Tables 1 and 2).

E.1 Peristylum-garden 20-5-3-9

The peristylum-garden 20-5-3-9 ($40 \times 50 \text{ m} = 2,000 \text{ m}^2$) took the central position in the villa's layout. Its first phase dates from the Augustan period,

¹⁰¹ Pisapia, *Mosaici antichi in Italia*, 51-73; Pisapia, 'I mosaici del secondo complesso'; Bonifacio and Sodo, *Stabiae: Guida archeologica*.

FIG. APP.5 Villa San Marco, plan with indications of peristylum-gardens E.1, E.2, and E.3. © Mantha Zarmakoupi.



when it was a simple porticus triplex (see Figure 2.35).¹⁰² During the Julio-Claudian period it was furnished with pool 15 in the middle and with twenty plane trees in its garden (9),¹⁰³ and was amplified to the southeast: diaetae 53 and 12, accessed from porticus 20 and 3 respectively, the arched nymphaeum 64–65, and behind it cryptoporticus 62–63, defined its limits.¹⁰⁴

Porticus 20–5–3 are 4.60 m wide, the northeast and southwest porticus, 20 and 3 respectively, have eleven columns, 28.5 m long, and the northwest one (5) is interrupted by room 16 into two segments, 5a and 5b, each one of which has three columns and is 10 m long (see Figure 7.15).¹⁰⁵ Their capitals were made of stucco and painted over.¹⁰⁶ The entablatures of porticus 3, 5 (and we shall assume 20 as well) were furnished with white stuccos. These formed long rectangular panels, corresponding with the intercolumniations, and panels that were almost square with triangular or arched tops, corresponding with the columns. The former presented hunting scenes, with Eros, Satyrs, panthers, and deer, and the latter presented female figures, seated with a lyre or in a standing pose in the manner of Venus.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Rougetet, 'L'architettura: 1. Construction et architecture', 55–6.

¹⁰³ Ciarallo, 'L'architettura: 3. Osservazioni sui platani dei portici'.

¹⁰⁴ Rougetet, 'L'architettura: 1. Construction et architecture', 53 and 55–6.

¹⁰⁵ The columns' construction indicates care for 'optical corrections' in regard to the general proportions. At a first stage they were finished with plaster and paint, and then plastered over to increase the thickness by 0.02 m. Rougetet, 'L'architettura: 1. Construction et architecture', 52.

¹⁰⁶ Rougetet, 'L'architettura: 1. Construction et architecture', 52.

¹⁰⁷ N. Blanc, 'Gli stucchi', in *Barbet and Miniero*, 95–129, at 95–102.

The three aisles of the porticus were decorated with Fourth Style wall paintings divided in three vertical zones. The lower zone featured rectangular panels with stylized vegetal bands or simple ochre bands framing lozenges flanked by a pair of panthers or birds that alternated with square panels bordered by green semi-circular shapes and yellow bands framing stylized flowers. The medium zone featured red rectangular panels with thick yellow borders that bore medallions depicting villas in landscapes in their middle (removed by the Bourbons), which alternated with white panels depicting a central tree bearing votive elements, with an imago clipeata above (most removed by the Bourbons) on black pilasters (see Figure 4.14). The upper zone featured, on a white fond, yellow three-dimensional structures emerging above the white panels with trees of the middle zone and black two-dimensional edifices emerging above the middle of the red panels of the middle zone, which are interconnected with garlands and red bands.¹⁰⁸

A few fragments of wall paintings have survived from the floor above the porticus, which presented a vegetal decoration on a red background associated with Nilotic scenes. Above porticus 20, yellow-ochre panels with red borders surmounted this red lower zone. The floor above porticus 20 must have also had a porticus looking towards the garden, the columns of which were partially closed with plutei similar to those in porticus 32.¹⁰⁹

The porticus' ceiling was furnished with frescoes presenting Satyrs, floating female figures, Medusa masks, and Psyche busts on a white fond.¹¹⁰ The porticus' pavement bore geometric black and white mosaics of the mature Fourth Style (Neronian period). The mosaics' design consisted of a 'tapestry' in white tessellatum with black oblique patterns that had black borders towards the columns. The intercolumniations had separate designs that corresponded between porticus 20 and 3, except for one.¹¹¹

The arched nymphaeum 64–65 delimited the peristylum–garden to the south-east.¹¹² Eight niches, separated by engaged columns, adorned the nymphaeum's front, four on each side of the central exedra. The nymphaeum was decorated with a unique combination of stuccos, frescos, and mural mosaics, in the niches (two niches were decorated with mosaics and the other six with stuccos and

¹⁰⁸ Eristov, 'Le pitture del quarto stile: 3. Le quartier de la piscine', 202–10.

¹⁰⁹ Eristov, 'Le pitture del quarto stile: 3. Le quartier de la piscine', 208–10. The presence of mortar and the three-sided decoration of the fragments indicate that the floor above porticus 20 was open.

¹¹⁰ A. Barbet, 'Soffitti e volte dipinti: 2. Autres plafonds et voûtes', in *Barbet and Miniervo*, 293–308, at 293–5.

¹¹¹ Pisapia, 'I mosaici: 1. Pavimenti secondo la classificazione di Pisapia 1989', 81–2.

¹¹² Rougetet, 'L'architettura: 1. Construction et architecture', 55–6. The nymphaeum belongs to Neuerberg's category of semicircular nymphaea with exedra, although Neuerberg did not include it in his category. Blanc, 'Le nymphée de la Villa San Marco', 81, n. 7; N. Neuerberg, *L'architettura delle fontane*, 53–9.

frescos) and frescos on the pedestals.¹¹³ The niches present large figures of Venus, Neptune, Fortuna, an athlete, and a hunter in high relief that are inserted in illusionist architecture, modelled after the Fourth Style (see Figures 5.11–12).¹¹⁴ The combination of high relief stuccowork, illusionist architectural structures, and recessed and non-recessed surfaces creates a trompe l'œil effect comparable to the scaenae frons of theatres.¹¹⁵

The garden was adorned with a pool (15) in the middle (w. 6 m, l. 38 m, depth 1.8–2.5 m, see Figure 4.5), which communicated at its southeast end with the lower arched-shaped basin in front of the arched nymphaeum.¹¹⁶ Twenty plane trees were planted in two rows on each side of the pool (see Figures 2.33, App.5).¹¹⁷ The garden also featured oleanders and oaks, leaves of which were found in pool 15.¹¹⁸ No evidence of the pool's water supply system has been found.¹¹⁹ Water, which came from either a thermal source in Mountain Lattari to the southeast or the aqueduct passing nearby, was directed into the central exedra of the nymphaeum, which was on the same axis with the pool, and cascaded down to the arched-shaped basin and into the pool.¹²⁰

Marble furnishings have been found at the southeast part of the garden. A two-handled alabaster fountain crater with calyces on a marble pilaster, found in front of the south end of the nymphaeum, adorned its southernmost niche.¹²¹ A neo-attic marble crater with Dionysiac scenes, discovered in front of the nymphaeum and on the same axis with the pool, was used as a fountain (see Figure 4.5).¹²² Three marble feet of a marble triangular table, in the form of the head and foot of a lion, were in the central area of the nymphaeum.¹²³ The bronze raven, which was constructed to serve as a fountain structure, must have been placed near the pool too, although it was found in the atrium (44).¹²⁴

¹¹³ Blanc, 'Gli Stucchi', 102–12; Wattel de Croizant, 'I mosaici: 2. Mosaïques pariétales du nymphée'.

¹¹⁴ Blanc, 'Gli Stucchi', 106–12.

¹¹⁵ Blanc, 'Le nymphée de la Villa San Marco', 84.

¹¹⁶ The original depth of the arched-shaped basin is unknown. Barbet, with Blanc and Eristov, 'Bilancio e prospettiva', 373.

¹¹⁷ Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, 330–1.

¹¹⁸ Barbet, with Blanc and Eristov, 'Bilancio e prospettiva', 372, fig. 753b–c.

¹¹⁹ Barbet, with Blanc and Eristov, 'Bilancio e prospettiva', 373.

¹²⁰ Blanc, 'Le nymphée de la Villa San Marco', 86–90.

¹²¹ ACS 63853 (crater: alabaster, h. 63 cm [with base]; diam., 32.5 cm [mouth], 12.5 cm [foot]; pilaster: marble, h. 1.75 m). P. Miniero, 'I reperti della villa: 1. Arredo', in *Barbet and Miniero*, 309–13, at 312, pl. 702–3; Barbet, with Blanc and Eristov, 'Bilancio e prospettiva', 373.

¹²² MANN 6779 (h. 78 cm [86 cm with curves]; diam. 27 cm. [mouth], 10 cm [foot]). Miniero, 'I reperti della villa: 1. Arredo', 311–12, pl. 698–700. The hole at its bottom denotes its function as fountain.

¹²³ Miniero, 'I reperti della villa: 1. Arredo', 311, pl. 701.

¹²⁴ MANN 4891 (h. 27 cm, l. 61 cm). Miniero, 'I reperti della villa: 1. Arredo', 310, fig. 695.

E.2 Peristylum-garden 1-2

The southwest peristylum-garden 1-2 (113 × 50 m = 5,650 m²) dates as a structure from the Augustan period. The Neronian construction of corridor-ramp 4, which connects it with porticus 3, indicates that it was added to Villa San Marco from the next-door villa at this time.¹²⁵ The roof of porticus 1-2 terminated in terracotta antefixes that presented simple palmettes and palmettes with the heads of Gorgons and animals, and with acanthus foliage.¹²⁶ The porticus' floor of beaten earth indicates that it was under construction at the time of the eruption.¹²⁷

Porticus 1-2 were 6 m wide and probably at least 4 m high. The brick columns were plastered white. They had incised flat flutes up to 1.5 m and then flutes in relief spiralled towards the top.¹²⁸ As the level of the porticus was 1 m higher than the level of the garden, three high steps descended to arrive at a big peripheral parterre that bordered the porticus, after which another step arrived at garden level.¹²⁹

The porticus was decorated in Fourth Style wall paintings divided into three vertical zones. The lower zone featured stylized vegetal and architectural borders, which were connected to miniature aediculae that flanked female figures, on a red fond. The medium zone featured central white panels with a red border, which framed big figures from mythological scenes, alternating with architectural structures in perspective on a white fond and with richly decorated white pilasters. There are no remains of the upper zone.¹³⁰

The wall paintings around porticus 1-2 of Villa San Marco formed a mythological programme. The main panels in these two porticus (the ones that have been preserved) depict the myth of Apollo and Daphne, a 'statue' of Apollo, couples of putti, and the god Pan in pastoral settings.¹³¹ All these are represented

¹²⁵ The corridor-ramp 4 is paved with white tessellatum mosaics (Neronian period). Pisapia, 'I mosaici: 1. Pavimenti secondo la classificazione di Pisapia 1989', 82. Below the final pavement, corridor 4 had black tessellatum mosaics similar to the ones in room 23 and corridor 22, which belong to the Augustan period. Rougetet, 'Construction et architecture', 51; Pisapia, 'I mosaici: 1. Pavimenti secondo la classificazione di Pisapia 1989', 79.

¹²⁶ A. Barbet, 'L'architettura: 5 Terrecotte architettoniche', in *Barbet and Miniero*, 73-7, at 73-5, figs. 143-6.

¹²⁷ Rougetet, 'Construction et architecture', 52. Although the wall paintings were finished, the richness of decorations of some ceiling compartments indicates that the decoration was in progress. A.-S. Leclerc, 'Le pitture del quarto stile. 6. Portique supérieur', in *Barbet and Miniero*, 253-66, at 253.

¹²⁸ Rougetet, 'L'architettura: 1. Construction et architecture', 52, figs. 89 and 93.

¹²⁹ A painting from the House of Marcus Lucretius Fronto in Pompeii shows a porticus that has steps descending towards a big peripheral parterre as this one. Rougetet, 'L'architettura: 1. Construction et architecture', 55, figs. 57-61, 751 and 755.

¹³⁰ Leclerc, 'Le pitture del quarto stile. 6. Portique supérieur', 254, figs. 585-6, pl. XVII, XVIII.

¹³¹ Leclerc, 'Le pitture del quarto stile. 6. Portique supérieur', 261-3.

under a trompe-l'œil representation of a porticus that seems to mirror the view of the garden and, through the garden, to the bay of Naples. The thread that pulled these scenes together seems to have been the theme of love.

The porticus' ceiling was adorned with frescos, which were organized in rectangular compartments, each presenting a coherent theme: Helios (porticus 1), celestial sphere, griffins, Minerva, and Mercury (porticus 2). The central panel of each of the compartments was located above every fourth central panel of the wall paintings below.¹³² The decoration on the ceiling of the porticus revolves around the themes of the Seasons: representations of Helios on his quadriga, and probably the Zodiac: Juno, Minerva, Mercury, Apollo, and the celestial sphere.¹³³

A big plane tree graced this garden, and the root cavity of another tree has been found, but no further remains of plants were discovered.¹³⁴ No sculptures have been found in this area. It is thought that a sundial made of grey tufa (h. 38 cm, l. 44 cm), originally found in the atrium (44), adorned this garden.¹³⁵

E.3 Entrance peristylum-garden

The recently unearthed entrance peristyle (c. 21 × 21 m = 441 m²) was part of the original core of the villa (early first century BCE). It had a portico (circa w. 3 m) on all four sides (five columns to northwest and southeast, four to southwest and northeast) and the garden area was enclosed by low masonry wall. The garden area has not been studied.¹³⁶

¹³² R. Nunes Pedroso, 'I soffitti e le volte dipinti: 1 Plafonds du portique supérieur', in *Barbet and Miniero*, 267–91, fig. 590.

¹³³ Nunes Pedroso, 'I soffitti e le volte dipinti. 1 Plafonds du portique supérieur', 288–9.

¹³⁴ Leclerc, 'Le pitture del quarto stile: 6. Portique supérieur', 253; Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii I*, 332.

¹³⁵ Miniero, 'I reperti della villa: 1. Arredo', 309–10, fig. 696.

¹³⁶ Ruffo, 'Stabiae: Villa San Marco', 87–97; Ruffo, 'Sulla topografia dell'antica Stabiae', 235–60; Terpstra, 'The 2011 Field Season at the Villa San Marco, Stabiae'.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The bibliographical references and footnotes follow the style of the *American Journal of Archaeology*, with the exception that in the footnotes the full reference of the cited work is given at the first instance. Abbreviations for titles of journals follow those of the *American Journal of Archaeology* 104 (2000), 3–24. References to classical authorities follow the standard abbreviations for authors and books in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn (Oxford 1996), xxix–liv.

- Ackerman, J. S. 'Style', in J. S. Ackerman and R. Carpenter (eds), *Art and Archaeology* (Engelwood Cliffs, NJ 1963) 164–86. Reprinted with postscript in J. S. Ackerman, *Distance Points: Essays in Theory and Renaissance Art and Architecture* (Cambridge MA 1991) 3–22.
- Ackerman, J. S. 'Toward a New Social Theory of Art', *New Literary History* 4 (1973) 315–30.
- Ackerman, J. S. 'The Villa as a Paradigm', *Perspecta* 22 (1986) 10–31.
- Ackerman, J. S. *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses*, A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts: 1985, Bollingen series 35: 34 (Princeton 1990).
- Adamo Muscetolla, S. 'Il ritratto di Lucio Calpurnio Pisone Pontefice da Ercolano', *CronErcol* 20 (1990) 145–55.
- Adams, G. W. *The Suburban Villas of Campania and their Social function*, BAR-IS 1542 (Oxford 2006).
- Agache, R. *La Somme pré-romaine et romaine: D'après les prospections aériennes à basse altitude* (Amiens 1978).
- Alcock, S. E. *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece* (Cambridge and New York 1993).
- Allen, W. 'Cicero's House and *Libertas*', *TAPA* 75 (1944) 1–9.
- Allison, P. M. 'How Do We Identify the Use of Space in Roman Housing?', in E. M. Moormann (ed.), *Functional and Spatial Analysis of Wall Painting: Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress on Ancient Wall Painting, Amsterdam, 8–12 September 1992*, BABesch Supplement 3 (Leiden 1993) 1–8.
- Allison, P. M. 'Artefact Distribution and Spatial Function in Pompeian Houses', in B. Rawson and P. Weaver (eds), *The Roman Family in Italy: Status, Sentiment, Space* (Canberra and Oxford 1997) 321–54.
- Allison, P. M. (ed.) *The Archaeology of Household Activities* (London 1999).
- Allison, P. M. 'Using the Material and Written Sources: Turn of the Millennium Approaches to Domestic Space', *AJA* 105 (2001) 181–208.
- Allison, P. M. *Pompeian Households: An Analysis of Material Culture* (Los Angeles 2004).
- Allroggen-Bedel, A. 'Die Wandmalereien aus der Villa in Campo Varano (Castellammare di Stabia)', *RM* 84 (1977) 27–89, pl. 1–53.
- Allroggen-Bedel, A. 'Gli scavi borbonici nelle ville stabiane: Pitture antiche e gusto settecentesco', in G. Bonifacio and A. M. Sodo (eds), *Stabiae: Storia e architettura: 2500 anniversario degli scavi di Stabiae 1749–1999: Convegno internazionale, Castellammare*

- di Stabia, 25–27 marzo 2000*, Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei 7 (Rome 2002) 101–107.
- Althusser, L. ‘Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses’, in L. Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (London 1971) 127–86.
- Amandry, P. *La colonne des Naxiens et le portique des Athéniens*, FdD 2, Topographie et architecture II (Paris 1953).
- Amedick, R. ‘Il “cosmo” artificiale degli automi’, in E. Lo Sardo (ed.), *Eureka! Il genio degli antichi*, exhibition catalogue (Naples 2005) 125–43.
- Amici, C. *Il Foro di Cesare* (Florence 1991).
- Anderson, J. C. *Roman Architecture and Society* (Baltimore 1997).
- Andreae, B. ‘Die römischen Repliken der mythologischen Skulpturengruppen von Sperlonga, mit Beitrag von P. C. Bol’, in B. Conticello and B. Andreae (eds), *Die Skulpturen von Sperlonga: I gruppi scultorei di soggetto mitologico a Sperlonga*, AntP 14 (Berlin 1974) 61–105.
- Andreae, B. ‘I gruppi del Polifemo e della Scilla a Villa Adriana’, in B. Andreae and C. P. Presicce (eds), *Ulisse: Il mito e la memoria: Roma, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, 22 febbraio–2 settembre 1996*, exhibition catalogue (Rome 1996) 342–7.
- Andreae, B. ‘Die neronischen Wandmalereien in der Villa der Poppaea von Oplontis’, in L. Castagna and G. Vogt-Spira (eds) *Pervertete: Ästhetik der Verkehrung: Literatur und Kultur neronischer Zeit und ihrer Rezeption* (Munich 2002) 59–62.
- Andreae, B., and Conticello, B. *Skylla und Charybdis: zur Skylla-Gruppe von Sperlonga*, AbhMainz 14 (Stuttgart 1987).
- Andreae, B., and Presicce, C. P. (eds) *Ulisse: Il mito e la memoria: Roma, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, 22 febbraio–2 settembre 1996*, exhibition catalogue (Rome 1996).
- Aoyagi, M., and Pappalardo, U. (eds) *Pompei (regiones VI–IVI): Insula occidentalis* (Naples 2006).
- Angelelli, C., and Matsuyama, S. ‘La cd. Villa di Augusto a Somma Vesuviana (NA) alla luce delle più recenti ricerche archeologiche (campagne di scavo 2002–2008)’, *Amoenitas* 1 (2009) 177–219.
- Archer, J. *Architecture and Suburbia: From English Villa to American Dream House, 1690–2000* (Minneapolis and London 2005).
- Aristophron, P. Z. ‘Αἱ ανασκαφαὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀκαδημία τοῦ Πλάτωνος’, *Πρακτικά της Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 8 (1933) 243–6.
- Arnold, D. (ed.) *The Georgian Villa* (Stroud 1996).
- Arnold, D. (ed.) *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society* (Stroud 1998).
- Ashby, T. *The Aqueducts of Ancient Rome* (Oxford 1935).
- Ashby, T., and Lugli, G. ‘La villa dei Flavi cristiani “ad duas lauros” e il suburbano imperiale ad oriente di Roma’, *MemPontAcc* 2 (1928) 157–92.
- Attolini, I., et al. ‘Ricognizione archeologica nell’ager Cosanus e nella valle dell’Albegna. Rapporto preliminare 1981’, *Archeologia Medievale* 9 (1982) 365–86.
- Auberger, J. ‘Quand la nage devint la natation’, *Latomus* 55 (1996) 48–62.
- Aurigemma, S. *Villa Adriana* (Rome 1961).
- Austin, M. M. *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest: A Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation*, 2nd augmented edn (Cambridge 2006).

- Baatz, D. 'Fensterglastypen, Glasfenster und Architektur', in A. Hoffmann (ed.), *Bautechnik der Antike: Internationales Kolloquium in Berlin vom 15-17. Februar 1990*, Diskussionen zur archäologischen Bauforschung 5 (Mainz am Rhein 1991) 4-13.
- Baldassarre, I. *Pittura romana: Dall'ellenismo al tardo antico*, 1st Italian edn (Milan 2002).
- Ball, L. F. *The Domus Aurea and the Roman Architectural Revolution* (Cambridge 2003).
- Balland, A. 'Une transposition de la grotte de Tibère a Sperlonga, le ninfeo Bergantino à Castel Gandolfo', *MÉFRA* 79 (1967) 421-502.
- Bannon, C. J. *Gardens and Neighbors. Private Water Rights in Roman Italy* (Ann Arbor 2009).
- Barbet, A. 'Introduction', in A. Barbet and P. Miniero (eds), *La Villa San Marco a Stabia* (Naples, Rome, and Pompei 1999) 13-14.
- Barbet, A. 'L'architettura: 5. Terrecotte architettoniche', in A. Barbet and P. Miniero (eds.), *La Villa San Marco a Stabia* (Naples, Rome, and Pompei 1999) 73-7.
- Barbet, A. 'Soffitti e volte dipinti: 2. Autres plafonds et voûtes', in A. Barbet and P. Miniero (eds), *La Villa San Marco a Stabia* (Naples, Rome, and Pompei 1999) 293-308.
- Barbet, A. with the collaboration of N. Blanc and H. Eristov, 'Bilancio e prospettiva', in A. Barbet and P. Miniero (eds), *La Villa San Marco a Stabia* (Naples, Rome, and Pompei 1999) 363-85.
- Barbet, A., and Miniero, P. (eds) *La Villa San Marco a Stabia* (Naples, Rome, and Pompei 1999).
- Barringer, J. M. *Divine Escorts: Nereids in Archaic and Classical Greek Art* (Ann Arbor 1995).
- Becker, J. A. 'The Villa delle Grotte at Grottarossa and the Prehistory of Roman Villas', *JRA* 19 (2006) 213-20.
- Bedal, L.-A. 'A Pool Complex in Petra's City Center', *BASOR* 32 (2001) 23-41.
- Bedal, L.-A. *The Petra Pool-Complex: A Hellenistic Paradeisos in the Nabataean Capital: (Results from the Petra 'Lower Market' Survey and Excavation, 1998)* (Piscataway, NJ 2004).
- Bek, L. *Towards Paradise on Earth: Modern Space Conception in Architecture: A Creation of Renaissance Humanism*, *AnalRom* Supplement 10 (Odense 1980).
- Bek, L. 'Questiones Convivales: The Idea of the Triclinium and the Staging of Convivial Ceremony from Rome to Byzantium', *AnalRom* 12 (1983) 81-107.
- Beltrami, G., and Burns, H. *Andrea Palladio e la villa veneta: Da Petrarca a Carlo Scarpa* (Venice 2005).
- Bencivenga, C., Fergola, L., and Melillo, L. 'Ricerche sulla villa romana di Minori', *AION* 1 (1979) 131-51.
- Beneš, M. 'Recent Developments in the Historiography of Italian Gardens', in M. Conan (ed.), *Perspectives on Garden Histories*, *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture* 21 (Washington DC 1999) 59-76.
- Beneš, M., and Harris, D. S. (eds), *Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France* (Cambridge 2001).
- Bentmann, R., and Müller, M. *Die Villa als Herrschaftsarchitektur: Versuch einer kunst- und sozialgeschichtlichen Analyse* (Frankfurt am Main 1970).
- Bergmann, B. 'Painted Perspectives of a Villa Visit: Landscape as Status and Metaphor', in E. K. Gazda and A. E. Haeckl (eds), *Roman Art in the Private Sphere: New perspectives on the Architecture and Decor of the Domus, Villa, and Insula* (Ann Arbor 1991) 49-70.

- Bergmann, B. 'Exploring the Grove: Pastoral Space on Roman Walls', in J. D. Hunt (ed.), *The Pastoral Landscape*, Studies in the History of Art 36 (Washington DC 1992) 21–48.
- Bergmann, B. 'The Roman House as Memory Theatre: the House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii', *ArtB* 76 (1994) 225–56.
- Bergmann, B. 'Meanwhile, Back in Italy', in S. Alcock, J. Cherry, and J. Elsner (eds), *Pausanias. Travel and Memory in Roman Greece* (Oxford 2001) 144–66.
- Bergmann, B. 'Art and Nature in the Villa at Oplontis', in McGinn et al., *Pompeian Brothels, Pompeii's Ancient History, Mirrors and Mysteries, Art and Nature at Oplontis, The Herculaneum "Basilica"*, JRA Supplement 47 (Portsmouth, RI 2002) 87–120.
- Bergquist, B. 'Symptotic Space: A Functional Aspect of Greek Dining-Rooms', in O. Murray (ed.), *Symptotica: A Symposium on the Symposium* (Oxford 1990) 37–65.
- Bernadet, R., Feugère, M., and Önal, M. 'Jets d'eau rotatifs d'époque romaine', *Instrumentum* 18 (2003) 37–8.
- Berry, C. *The Idea of Luxury: A Conceptual and Historical Investigation* (Cambridge 1994).
- Beyen, H. G. *Über Stilleben aus Pompeji und Herculaneum* (Gravenhage 1928).
- Beyen, H. G. *Die Pompejanische Wanddekoration vom zweiten bis zum vierten Stil*, vol. 2 (The Hague 1960).
- Bigalke, V. *Der gelbe Fries der Casa di Livia auf dem Palatin in Rom* (Münster 1990).
- Blanas, A. 'Kryptoportiken', in W.-D. Heilmeyer and W. Hoepfner (eds), *Licht und Architektur*, Schriften des Seminars für Klassische Archäologie der Freien Universität Berlin (Tübingen 1990) 115–20.
- Blanc, N. 'Au-delà des styles: les entablements peints et stucqués', in E. M. Moormann (ed.), *Functional and Spatial Analysis of Wall Painting: Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress on Ancient Wall Painting, Amsterdam, 8–12 September 1992*, BABesch Supplement 3 (Leiden 1993) 51–8.
- Blanc, N. 'Gli Stucchi', in A. Barbet and P. Miniero (eds), *La Villa San Marco a Stabia* (Rome, Naples, and Pompei 1999) 95–129.
- Blanc, N. 'Le nymphée de la Villa San Marco à Stabies', in G. Bonifacio and A. M. Sodo (eds), *Stabiae: Storia e architettura: 2500 anniversario degli scavi di Stabiae 1749–1999: Convegno internazionale, Castellammare di Stabia, 25–27 marzo 2000*, Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei 7 (Rome 2002) 81–91.
- Bodel, J. 'Monumental Villas and Villa Monuments', *JRA* 10 (1997) 5–35.
- Boëthius, A. *The Golden House of Nero: Some Aspects of Roman Architecture* (Ann Arbor 1960).
- Bonifacio, G., and Sodo, A. M. *Stabiae: Guida archeologica alle ville* (Castellammare di Stabia 2001).
- Bonifacio, G., and Sodo, A. M. (eds), *Stabiae: Storia e architettura: 2500 anniversario degli scavi di Stabiae 1749–1999: Convegno internazionale, Castellammare di Stabia, 25–27 marzo 2000*, Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei 7 (Rome 2002).
- Bonifacio, G., Sodo, A. M., and Ascione, G. C. (eds) *In Stabiano: Cultura e Archeologia da Stabiae, la città e il territorio tra l'età arcaica e l'età romana: Catalogo della mostra, Castellammare di Stabia, Palazzetto del mare, 4 novembre 2000–31 gennaio 2001* (Castellammare di Stabia 2001).

- Borbein, A. H. 'Zur Deutung von Scherwand und Durchblick auf den Wandgemälden des zweiten pompejanischen Stils', in B. Andreae and H. Kyrieleis (eds), *Neue Forschungen in Pompeji und den anderen vom Vesuvausbruch 79 n.Chr. verschütteten Städten (Internationales Kolloquium Essen 11.–14. Juni 1973)* (Recklinghausen 1975) 61–70.
- Borghi, R. 'L'acqua come ornamento nella domus Pompeiana: Documentazione archeologica e fonti letterarie', in L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli (eds), *Architettura e pianificazione urbana nell'Italia antica*, Atlante tematico di topografia antica: Rivista 6 (Rome 1997) 35–50.
- Botti, G., Romanelli, P., and Pietrangeli, C. *Le sculture del Museo Gregoriano egizio*, Monumenti vaticani di archeologia e d'arte 9 (Città del Vaticano 1951).
- Boulvert, G. *Esclaves et affranchis impériaux sous haut-empire: Rôle politique et administrative* (Naples 1970).
- Bowes, K. *Houses and Society in the Later Roman Empire*, Duckworth Debates in Archaeology (London 2010).
- Bradley, K. 'The Roman Family at Dinner', in I. Nielsen and H. Sigismund Nielsen (eds), *Meals in a Social Context: Aspects of the Communal Meal in the Hellenistic and Roman World*, Aarhus Studies in Mediterranean Antiquity 1 (Aarhus 1998) 36–55.
- Bragantini, I. *Pitture e pavimenti di Pompei*, 3 vols (Rome 1981–92).
- Brandt, E. *Untersuchungen zum römischen Kochbuche: Versuch einer Lösung der Apicius-Frage* (Leipzig 1927).
- Bremmer, J. N. *Greek Religion and Culture, the Bible, and the Ancient Near East*, Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture 8 (Leiden 2008).
- Brilliant, R. *Visual Narratives: Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art* (Ithaca 1986).
- Bringmann, K., and von Steuben, H. (eds), *Schenkungen hellenistischer Herrscher an griechische Städte und Heiligtümer 1, Zeugnisse und Kommentare* (Berlin 1995).
- Bringmann, K., and von Steuben, H. (eds) *Schenkungen hellenistischer Herrscher an griechische Städte und Heiligtümer 2, Historische und archäologische Auswertung 1, Geben und Nehmen. Monarchische Wohltätigkeit und Selbstdarstellung im Zeitalter des Hellenismus. Mit einem numismatischen Beitrag von Hans-Christoph Noeske* (Berlin 2000).
- Broise, H. 'Vitragés et rolet des fenêtres thermales à l'époque impériale', in *Les Thermes romains: Actes de la table ronde organisée par l'École française de Rome (Rome, 11–12 novembre 1988)*, CÉFR 142 (Rome 1991) 61–78.
- Broise, H., and Lafon, X. *La villa Prato de Sperlonga*, CÉFR 285 (Rome 2001).
- Bryson, N. *Looking at the Overlooked: Four Essays on Still Life Painting* (Cambridge, MA 1990).
- Bucolo, R. 'La villa romana di Minori', *Forma Urbis* 10 (2010) 20–31.
- Burckhardt, L. 'Die attische Ephebie in hellenistischer Zeit', in D. Kah and P. Scholz (eds), *Das hellenistische Gymnasium*, Wissenskultur und gesellschaftlicher Wandel 8 (Berlin 2004) 193–206.
- Cain, H.-U., and Dräger, O. 'Die Marmorkandelaber', in G. Hellenkemper Salies (ed.), *Das Wrack: Der antike Schiffsfund von Mahdia*, 2 vols, Kataloge des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Bonn 1 (Köln 1994) 239–57.
- Camardo, D. 'Villa Arianna', in D. Camardo and A. Ferrara (eds), *Stabiae: Le ville* (Castellammare di Stabia 1984) 17–40.

- Camardo, D. and Ferrara, A. (eds) *Stabiae: Le ville* (Castellammare di Stabia 1984).
- Camardo, D. and Ferrara, A. (eds) *Stabiae, dai Borbone alle ultime scoperte* (Castellammare di Stabia 2001).
- Capasso, G. *Journey to Pompeii: Virtual Tours Around the Lost Cities*, 3rd edn (Naples 2005).
- Capasso, G. *Viaggio a Pompei* [digital video], 2nd edn (Naples 2002).
- Capasso, M. 'Who Lived in the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum—A Settled Question?', in M. Zarmakoupi (ed.), *The Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum: Archaeology, Reception, and Digital Reconstruction*, *Sozomena: Studies in the Recovery of Ancient Texts* 1 (Berlin and New York 2010) 89–113.
- Capasso, M., and Longo Auricchio, F. 'I rotoli della villa ercolanesi: Dislocazione e ritrovamento', *CronErcol* 17 (1987) 37–47.
- Carandini, A. *Le case del potere nell'antica Roma*, Grandi opere (Bari 2010).
- Carandini, A. (ed.) *Settefinestre: Una villa schiavistica nell'Etruria romana*, 3 vols. (Modena 1985).
- Carandini, A., and Settis, S. *Schiavi e padroni nell'Etruria Romana: La villa Settefinestre dallo scavo alla mostra* (Bari 1979).
- Carandini, A., et al., *Filosofiana, the Villa of Piazza Armerina: The Image of a Roman Aristocrat at the Time of Constantine* (Palermo 1982).
- Carettoni, G. 'Roma (Palatino): Costruzioni sotto l'angolo su-occidentale della *Domus Flavia* (triclinio e ninfeo occidentale)', *NSc* (1949), 48–79.
- Carettoni, G. 'Roma (Palatino): Scavo della zona a sud-ovest della casa di Livia. Prima relazione: La casa repubblicana', *NSc* 21 (1967) 287–319.
- Carey, S. *Pliny's Catalogue of Culture: Art and Empire in the Natural History*, Oxford Studies in Ancient Culture and Representation (Oxford 2003).
- Carosella, A. (ed.) *Libero d'Orsi: Gli scavi di Stabiae: Giornale di scavo*, Monografie (Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei) 11 (Rome 1996).
- Carrington, R. C. 'Studies in the Campanian "Villae Rusticae"', *JRS* 21 (1931) 110–30.
- Carroll-Spillecke, M. *Kepos: Der antike griechische Garten*, Wohnen in der klassischen Polis 3 (Munich 1989).
- Carroll-Spillecke, M. 'Griechische Gärten', in M. Carroll-Spillecke (ed.), *Der Garten von der Antike bis zum Mittelalter*, Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt 57 (Mainz am Rhein 1992) 153–75.
- Caruso, G., Gioia, P., and Volpe, R. 'Indagini archeologiche preliminari alla realizzazione del Sistema Direzionale Orientale', *BullCom* 99 (1998) 280–91.
- Casaburo, S. *Elba romana: La villa delle grotte*, Memoria e progetto 1 (Turin 1997).
- Caspari, F. 'Das Nilschiff Ptolemaios IV', *JdI* 31 (1916) 1–74.
- Castell, R. *The Villas of the Ancients Illustrated* (London 1728).
- Cesaretti, C. 'Il tema decorativo dei "piccoli animali su elementi vegetali"', *OCNUS* 12 (2004) 63–76.
- Champlin, E. 'God and Man in the Golden House', in M. Cima and E. La Rocca (eds), *Horti romani: Atti del Convegno internazionale, Roma, 4–6 maggio 1995*, *BullCom Supplement* 6 (Rome 1998) 333–44.
- Ciarallo, A. 'L'architettura: 3. Osservazioni sui platani dei portici', in A. Barbet and P. Miniero (eds) *La Villa San Marco a Stabia* (Rome, Naples, and Pompei 1999) 61.

- Ciro Nappo, S. 'Villa Arianna: configurazione della villa verso il pianoro', in G. Bonifacio and A. M. Sodo (eds), *Stabiae: Storia e architettura: 2500 anniversario degli scavi di Stabiae 1749-1999: Convegno internazionale, Castellammare di Stabia, 25-27 marzo 2000*, Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei 7 (Rome 2002) 56-63.
- Clarke, G. *Roman House—Renaissance Palaces: Inventing Antiquity in Fifteenth Century Italy* (Cambridge 2003).
- Clarke, J. R. 'The Early Third Style at the Villa of Oplontis', *RM* 94 (1987) 267-94.
- Clarke, J. R. 'Landscape Paintings in the Villa of Oplontis', *JRA* 9 (1996) 81-107.
- Clarke, J. R. *The Houses of Roman Italy 100 B.C.—A.D. 250: Ritual, Space, and Decoration* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1991).
- Clarke, J. R. *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representation and Non-Elite Viewers in Italy, 100 B.C.—A.D. 315* (Berkeley and London 2003).
- Clarke, J. R. 'The Oplontis Project (2005-2008)', in A. Coralini (ed.), *Vesuviana: Archeologia a confronto: Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Bologna, 14-16 gennaio 2008* (Bologna 2010) 427-30.
- Coarelli, F. 'Crypta, cryptoporticus', in R. Etienne (ed.), *Les cryptoportiques dans l'architecture romaine: École Française De Rome, 19-23 Avril 1972*, CÉFR 14 (Rome 1973) 9-21.
- Coarelli, F. 'Euripus', in *LTUR* 2 (1995) 237-9.
- Coarelli, F. 'Il complesso pompeiano del Campo Marzio e la sua decorazione scultorea', *AttiPontAcc* 44 (1997) 99-122.
- Coarelli, F. *Rome and Environs: An Archaeological Guide*, Joan Palevsky Imprint in Classical Literature (Berkeley 2007).
- Coleman, K. M. 'Launching into History: Aquatic Displays in the Early Empire', *JRS* 83 (1993) 60-83.
- Collingwood, R. G. *The Archaeology of Roman Britain*, Methuen's Handbooks of Archaeology, 1st edn (London 1930).
- Comparetti, D. P. A., and de Petra, G. *La villa ercolanese dei Pisoni i suoi monumenti e la sua biblioteca* (Turin 1883; repr. Naples 1972).
- Constans, L.-A. 'Observations critiques sur quelques lettres de Cicéron', *RPhil* 57 (1931) 222-50.
- Coticello, B., and Andreae, B. *Die Skulpturen von Sperlonga: I gruppi scultorei di soggetto mitologico a Sperlonga*, *AntP* 14 (Berlin 1974).
- Corbier, M. 'Le statut ambigu de la viande à Rome', *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 15 (1989) 107-58.
- Corrado Goulet, C. 'The "Zebra Stripe" Design: An Investigation of Roman Wall Painting in the Periphery', *RStPomp* 12-13 (2001) 53-94.
- Cosh, S. R. 'Seasonal Dining-Rooms in Romano-British Houses', *Britannia* 32 (2001) 219-42.
- Coulton, J. J. *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa*, Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology (Oxford 1976).
- Cozza, L. 'Roma, via Anagnina: Natatio nell'antica villa detta dei Centroni', *NSc* (1952) 257-83.
- Croisille, J.-M. *Les natures mortes campaniennes: Répertoire descriptif des peintures de nature morte du Musée national de Naples, de Pompéi, Herculanium et Stabies*, CollLatomus 76 (Bruxelles 1965).

- Crossley, P., and Clarke, G. 'Introduction', in P. Crossley and G. Clarke (eds), *Architecture and Language: Constructing Identity in European Architecture, c. 1000-c. 1650* (Cambridge 2000) 1-20.
- Crowther, N. B. 'The Palaestra, Gymnasium, and Physical Exercise in Cicero', in N. B. Crowther, *Athletika: Studies on the Olympic Games and Greek Athletics*, Nikephoros Beihefte 11 (Hildesheim 2004) 405-19.
- Crowther, N. B. 'Nudity and Morality: Athletics in Italy', *CJ* 76 (1980-1) 119-23.
- Culot, M., and Pinon, P. (eds.) *La Laurentine et l'invention de la villa romaine* (Paris 1982).
- Cunliffe, B. W. *Fishbourne: A Roman Palace and its Garden*, New Aspects of Antiquity (London 1971).
- Curtis, W. J. R. *Modern Architecture Since 1900*, 3rd edn (London 1996).
- D'Arms, J. H. *Romans on the Bay of Naples: A Social and Cultural Study of the Villas and their Owners from 150 B.C. to A.D. 400* (Cambridge 1970). Reprinted in: J. H. D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples and Other Essays on Roman Campania*, edited by F. Zevi (Bari-S.Spirito 2003) 1-225.
- D'Arms, J. H. 'Puteoli in the Second Century of the Roman Empire: A Social and Economic Study', *JRS* 64 (1974) 104-24.
- D'Arms, J. H. 'Proprietari e ville nel golfo di Napoli', *Atti dei Convegni Lincei* 33 (1977) 347-63.
- D'Arms, J. H. *Commerce and Social Standing in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge, MA 1981).
- D'Arms, J. H. 'Ville rustiche e ville d'otium', in F. Zevi (ed.), *Pompei 79: Raccolta di studi per il decimonono centenario dell'eruzione vesuviana* (Naples 1984) 65-86.
- D'Arms, J. H. 'Control, Companionship, and Clientela: Some Social Functions of the Roman Communal Meal', *EchCl* 28 (1984) 327-48.
- D'Arms, J. H. 'The Roman *Convivium* and the Idea of Equality', in O. Murray (ed.), *Symptica: A symposium on the Symposium* (Oxford 1990) 308-20.
- Dalby, A. *Empire of Pleasures: Luxury and Indulgence in the Roman World* (London 2000).
- Dalley, S. 'Water Management in Assyria from the Ninth to the Seventh Centuries BC', *Aram* 14 (2002) 443-60.
- Darley, G. *John Soane: An Accidental Romantic* (New Haven and London 1999).
- Darmon, J.-P. 'En guise de conclusion: Propositions pour une sémantique des *xenia*', in C. Balmelle et al. (eds), *Recherches franco-tunisiennes sur la mosaïque de l'Afrique antique, 1: Xenia*, CÉFR 125 (Rome 1990) 107-12.
- Darwall Smith, R. 'Albanum and the Villas of Domitian', *Pallas* 40 (1994) 145-65.
- Dawson, C. M. *Romano-Campanian Mythological Landscape Painting*, YCS 9 (New Haven and London 1944).
- De Caro, S. 'Sculture dalla villa di Poppea ad Oplontis', *CronPomp* 2 (1976) 184-225.
- De Caro, S. 'The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea at Oplontis: A Preliminary Report', in E. B. MacDougall (ed.), *Ancient Roman Villa Gardens*, *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium Series in the History of Landscape Architecture* 10 (Washington, DC 1987) 79-133.
- De Caro, S. 'Zwei "Gattungen" der pompejanischen Malerei: Stilleben und Gartenmalerei', in G. Cerulli Irelli et al. (eds), *Pompejanische Wandmalerei* (Stuttgart and Zurich 1990) 263-72.
- De Caro, S. 'Oplontis', in M. R. Panetta (ed.), *Pompei: Storia, vita e arte della città sepolta* (Vercelli 2005) 372-98.

- De Carolis, E. *Il mobile a Pompei ed Ercolano: Letti, tavoli, sedie e armadi: Contributo alla tipologia dei mobili della prima età imperiale*, *Studia archaeologica* 151 (Rome 2007).
- De Franciscis, A. *FA* 18–19 (1963–4) 7420.
- De Franciscis, A. 'La villa romana di Oplontis', *PP* 33 (1973) 453–66.
- De Franciscis, A. *Die Pompejanischen Wandmalereien in der Villa von Oplontis* (Recklinghausen 1975).
- De Franciscis, A. 'Beryllos e la villa "di Poppea" ad Oplontis', in M. B. Moore and G. Köpcke (eds), *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology: A Tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen* (New York 1979) 231–3.
- De Franciscis, A. 'La dama di Oplonti', in R. A. Stucky and I. Jucker (eds), *Eikones: Studien zum griechischen und römischen Bildnis: Hans Jucker zum sechzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet* (Bern 1989) 115–17.
- De Nuccio, M., and Ungaro, L. *I marmi colorati della Roma imperiale*, exhibition catalogue (Venice 2002).
- De Simone, A. 'La Villa dei Papiri: Rapporto preliminare: Gennaio 1986–marzo 1987', *CronErcol* 17 (1987) 15–36.
- De Simone, A. 'Rilievo con satiri e ninfa: Testa di Amazzone', in A. Pagano (ed.), *Gli antichi ercolanesi: Antropologia, società, economia: Guida alla mostra*, exhibition catalogue (Naples 2000) 22–3.
- De Simone, A. 'Villa Arianna: configurazione delle strutture della basis villae', in G. Bonifacio and A. M. Sodo (eds), *Stabiae: Storia e architettura: 2500 anniversario degli scavi di Stabiae 1749–1999: Convegno internazionale, Castellammare di Stabia, 25–27 marzo 2000*, *Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei* 7 (Rome 2002) 41–52.
- De Simone, A. 'Rediscovering the Villa of the Papyri', in M. Zarmakoupi (ed.), *The Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum: Archaeology, Reception, and Digital Reconstruction*, *Sozomena: Studies in the Recovery of Ancient Texts* 1 (Berlin and New York 2010) 1–20.
- De Simone, A., and Ruffo, F. 'Ercolano 1996–1998: Lo scavo della Villa dei Papiri', *CronErc* 32 (2002) 325–44.
- De Simone, A., and Ruffo, F. 'Ercolano e la Villa dei Papiri alla luce dei nuovi scavi', *CronErc* 33 (2003) 279–311.
- De Simone, A., and Ruffo, F. 'I mosaici della Villa dei Papiri ad Ercolano (Na): Il quartiere dell'atrio', in C. Angelleli (ed.), *Atti del X colloquio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico: Lecce, 18–21 febbraio 2004* (Tivoli 2005) 161–82.
- Dean, P. *Sir John Soane and the Country Estate* (Aldershot 1999).
- Dell'Acqua, F. 'Le finestre invetriate nell'antichità romana', in M. Beretta and G. Di Pasquale (eds.), *Vitrum: Il vetro fra arte e scienza nel mondo romano* (Florence 2004) 109–19.
- Dell'Era, F. 'Villa e paesaggio: Gli impianti idraulici', *BullCom* 101 (2000) 249–62.
- Delorme, J. 'La maison dite de l'Hermès, à Délos: Étude architecturale', *BCH* 77 (1953) 444–96.
- Delorme, J. *Gymnasion: Étude sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce (des origines à l'empire romain)* BÉFAR 196 (Paris 1960).
- Di Matteo, T. 'La villa dei Centroni', *RendLinc* 13 (2002) 243–93.

- Dickmann, J.-A. 'The Peristyle and the Transformation of Domestic Space in Hellenistic Pompeii', in R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds), *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond*, JRA Supplement 22 (Portsmouth, RI 1997) 121–36.
- Dickmann, J.-A. *Domus frequentata: Anspruchsvolles Wohnen im pompejanischen Stadthaus*, Studien zur antiken Stadt 4 (Munich 1999).
- Dillon, S. 'Subject Selection and Viewer Reception of Greek Portraits from Herculaneum and Tivoli', *JRA* 13 (2000) 21–40.
- Dodge, H., and Ward-Perkins, B. (eds) *Marble in Antiquity: Collected Papers of J. B. Ward-Perkins*, Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome 6 (London 1992).
- Donahue, J. F. *The Roman Community at Table during the Principate* (Ann Arbor 2004).
- Donderer, M. *Die Architekten der späten römischen Republik und der Kaiserzeit: epigraphische Zeugnisse*, Erlanger Forschungen 69 (Erlangen 1996).
- Donougho, M. 'The Language of Architecture', *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 21 (1987) 53–67.
- Döring, M. 'Wasser für den Sinus Baianus: Römische Ingenieur- und Wasserbauten der Phlegraeschen Felder', *AW* 33 (2002) 305–19.
- Döring, M. 'Die römische Wasserversorgung von Pozzuoli, Baia und Miseno (Italien)', in C. Ohlig, (ed.), *Cura Aquarum in Israel: In Memoriam Dr. Ya'akov Eren: Proceedings of the 11th International Conference on the History of Water Management and Hydraulic Engineering in the Mediterranean Region, Israel, 7–12 May 2001*, Schriften der Deutschen Wasserhistorischen Gesellschaft 1 (Siegburg 2002) 253–65.
- Döring, M. *Römische Häfen, Aquädukte und Zisternen in Campanien: Bestandsaufnahme der antiken Wasserbauten*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Wasserbau und Wasserwirtschaft 142 (Darmstadt 2007).
- Drelion-Herakleidou, A. 'Späthellenistische palastartige Gebäude in der Nähe der Akropolis von Rhodos', in W. Hoepfner and G. Brands (eds), *Basileia: Die Paläste der hellenistischen Könige: Internationales Symposium in Berlin vom 16.12.1992 bis 20.12.1992*, Schriften des Seminars für Klassische Archäologie der Freien Universität Berlin (Mainz am Rhein 1996) 182–92.
- Drerup, H. 'Die römische Villa', *MarbWPr* (1959) 1–24.
- Drerup, H. 'Bildraum und Realraum in der römischen Architektur', *RM* 66 (1959) 147–74.
- Du Prey, P. de la R. *The Villas of Pliny from Antiquity to Posterity* (Chicago and London 1994).
- Dumézil, G. *Archaic Roman Religion; with an Appendix on the Religion of the Etruscans*, trans. by P. Krapp (Chicago 1970).
- Dunbabin, K. M. D. 'Triclinium and Stibadium', in W. J. Slater (ed.), *Dining in a Classical Context* (Ann Arbor 1991) 121–48.
- Dunbabin, K. M. D. 'Wine and Water at the Roman *Convivium*', *JRA* 6 (1993) 116–41.
- Dunbabin, K. M. D. 'Convivial Spaces: Dining and Entertainment in the Roman Villa', *JRA* 9 (1996) 66–80.
- Dunbabin, K. M. D. 'Ut Graeco More Biberetur: Greeks and Roman on the Dining Couch', in I. Nielsen and H. Sigismund Nielsen (eds), *Meals in a Social Context: Aspects of the Communal Meal in the Hellenistic and Roman World*, Aarhus Studies in Mediterranean Antiquity 1 (Aarhus 1998) 81–101.

- Dunbabin, K. M. D. *The Roman Banquet: Images of Conviviality* (Cambridge 2003).
- Echt, R. 'Die römische Villa von Nennig: Neue Ausgrabungen, neue Ansichten', in R. Echt (ed.), *Beiträge zur Eisenzeit und zur gallo-römischen Zeit im Saar-Mosel-Raum*, Saarbrücker Studien und Materialien zur Altertumskunde 9 (Bonn 2003) 137–77.
- Eck, W. 'Senatorial Self-Representation: Developments in the Augustan Period', in F. Millar and E. Segal (eds), *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects* (Oxford 1984) 129–67.
- Eck, W. 'Die Wasserversorgung im römischen Reich: Sozio-politische Bedingungen, Recht und Administration', in E. Eck and F. Glaser (eds), *Die Wasserversorgung antiker Städte: Pergamon, Rechte/Verwaltung, Brunnen/Nymphäen, Brauelemente*, Geschichte der Wasserversorgung 2 (Mainz am Rhein 1987) 49–101.
- Eck, W. 'Auf der Suche nach Architekten in der römischen Welt', *JRA* 10 (1997) 399–404.
- Eckstein, F. *Untersuchungen über die Stilleben aus Pompeji und Herculaneum* (Berlin 1957).
- Eco, U. *La struttura assente: Introduzione alla ricerca semiologica* (Milan 1968).
- Eco, U. 'Linguaggio architettonico', in P. Portoghesi (ed.), *Dizionario enciclopedico di architettura e urbanistica*, vol. 4 (Rome 1969).
- Edwards, C. *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge 1993).
- Edwards, C. 'Incorporating the Alien: The Art of Conquest', in G. Woolf and C. Edwards (eds.), *Rome the Cosmopolis* (Cambridge: (2003) 44–70.
- Ehrlich, T. L. *Landscape and Identity in Early Modern Rome: Villa Culture at Frascati in the Borghese Era* (Cambridge 2002).
- Eisenmann, P. 'Autonomy and the Will to the Critical', *Assemblage* 41 (2000) 90–1.
- Ellis, S. P. 'The End of the Roman House', *AJA* 92 (1988) 565–76.
- Engemann, J. *Architekturdarstellungen des frühen 2. Stils: Illusionistische römische Wandmalerei der ersten Phase und ihre Vorbilder in der realen Architektur*, RM-EH 12 (Heidelberg 1967).
- Eristov, H. 'Le pitture del quarto stile: 3. Le quartier de la piscine', in A. Barbet and P. Miniero (eds), *La Villa San Marco a Stabia* (Rome, Naples, and Pompei 1999) 183–239.
- Eschebach, H. *Die Stabianer Thermen in Pompeji*, Denkmäler antiker Architektur 13 (Berlin 1979).
- Esposito, D. 'Pompei, Silla e la Villa dei Misteri', in B. Perrier (ed.), *Villas, maisons, sanctuaires et tombeaux tardo-républicains: Découvertes et relectures récentes: Actes du colloque international de Saint-Romain-en-Gal en l'honneur d'Anna Gallina Zevi: Vienne, Saint-Romain-en-Gal, 8–10 février 2007* (Rome 2007) 441–65.
- Esposito, D. 'Su un possibile praedium imperiale a Stabiae', *Oebalus: Studi sulla Campania nell'Antichità* 6 (2011) 143–63.
- Etienne, R. (ed.) *Les cryptoportiques dans l'architecture romaine: École Française De Rome, 19–23 Avril 1972*, CÉFR 14 (Rome 1973).
- Evans, H. B. 'Agrippa's Water Plan', *AJA* 86 (1982) 401–11.
- Evans, H. B. *Water Distribution in Ancient Rome: The Evidence of Frontinus* (Ann Arbor 1993).
- Fabbricotti, E. 'I bagni nelle prime ville romane', *CronPomp* 2 (1976) 29–111.
- Fabbrini, L. 'Domus Aurea: Il piano superiore del quartiere orientale', *RendPontAcad* 14 (1982) 5–24.

- Fabbrini, L. 'Domus Aurea: Una nuova lettura planimetrica del palazzo sul Colle Oppio', in K. de Fine Licht (ed.), *Città e architettura nella Roma imperiale*, AnalRom Supplement 10 (Odense 1983) 169–80.
- Fabbrini, L. 'Domus Aurea: Il palazzo sull'Esquilino', *LTUR* 2 (1995), 56–63.
- Fagan, G. G. *Bathing in Public in the Roman World* (Ann Arbor 1999).
- Fagiolo, M., and Madonna, M. L. 'Pirro Ligorio and the "teatri delle acque": The Oval Fountain, the Rometta Fountain and the Water Organ', in I. Barisi, M. Fagiolo, and M. L. Madonna (eds), *Villa d'Este a Tivoli*, Grandi monumenti del Lazio 1 (Rome 2003) 95–109.
- Falsitta, M. *Villa Adriana: Una questione di composizione architettonica* (Milan 2000).
- Falsitta, M. *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome* (Cambridge and New York 1996).
- Falsitta, M. 'From Pleasure, to "Guilty Pleasure", to Simulation: Rebirthing the Villa of the Papyri', in M. Zarmakoupi (ed.), *The Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum: Archaeology, Reception, and Digital Reconstruction*, Sozomena: Studies in the Recovery of Ancient Texts 1 (Berlin and New York 2010) 155–79.
- Fehr, B. 'Plattform und Blickbasis', *MarbWPr* (1970) 31–67.
- Fehr, H. *Römervilla: Führer durch die Ausgrabungen am Silberberg Bad Neuenahr-Ahrweiler*, Archäologie an Mittelrhein und Mosel 7 (Koblenz 2003).
- Félibien des Avaux, J.-F. *Les plans et les descriptions de deux des plus belles maisons de campagne de Pline le consul: Avec des remarques sur tous ses bâtimens, et une dissertation touchant l'architecture antique & l'architecture gothique* (Paris 1699).
- Fentress, E. 'On the Block: Catastae, Chalcidica and Cryptae in Early Imperial Italy', *JRA* 18 (2005) 220–35.
- Fergola, L. 'La Villa di Poppea a Oplontis', in M. R. Borriello (ed.), *Pompei: Abitare sotto il Vesuvio* (Ferrara 1996) 135–41.
- Fergola, L. *Oplontis e le sue ville* (Pompei 2004).
- Fergola, L. and Pagano, M. *Oplontis: Le splendide ville romane di Torre Annunziata: Itinerario archeologico ragionato* (Torre del Greco 1998).
- Fernández Castro, M. C. *Villas romanas en España* (Madrid 1982).
- Ferrara, A. 'Stabiae: Storia dell'insediamento', in G. Bonifacio, A. M. Sodo, and G. C. Ascione (eds), *In Stabiano: Cultura e Archeologia da Stabiae, la città e il territorio tra l'età arcaica e l'età romana: Catalogo della mostra, Castellammare di Stabia, Palazzetto del mare, 4 novembre 2000–31 gennaio 2001* (Castellammare di Stabia 2001) 13–32.
- Ferrari, G. 'The Geography of Time: The Nile Mosaic and the Library of Praeneste', *Ostraka* 8 (1999) 359–86.
- Finsen, H. *Domus Flavia sur le Palatin: Aula Regia-Basilica*, AnalRom Supplement 2 (Hafniae 1962).
- Fiore Cavaliere, M. G., Mari, Z., and Luttazzi, A. 'La villa di Nerone a Subiaco e le fundazione del monastero benedettino di S. Clemente', in Z. Mari, M. T. Petrara, and M. Sperandio (eds), *Il Lazio tra antichità e medioevo: Studi in memoria di Jean Costé* (Rome 1999) 341–62.
- Fischer von Erlach, J. B. *Entwurf einer historischen Architectur* (Vienna 1721).

- Fittschen, K. 'Zur Herkunft und Entstehung des 2. Stils: Probleme und Argumente', in P. Zanker (ed.), *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien: Kolloquium in Göttingen vom 5. bis 9. Juni 1974* (Göttingen 1976) 539–63.
- Flinder, A. 'A Piscina in Caesaria: A Preliminary Survey', *IEJ* 26 (1976) 77–80.
- Flinder, A. 'The Pool of Cleopatra at Caesarea and her Cypriot Sister', *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society* (1982) 25–7.
- Flower, B., and Alföldi-Rosenbaum, E. (eds) *The Roman Cookery Book: A Critical Translation of 'The Art of Cooking by Apicius' for Use in the Study and the Kitchen* (London 1958).
- Forte, M. (ed.) *La villa di Livia: Un percorso di ricerca di archeologia virtuale*, *BibAr* 41 (Rome 2007).
- Förtsch, R. 'Ein Aurea-Aetas-Schema', *RM* 96 (1989) 333–45.
- Förtsch, R. *Archäologischer Kommentar zu den Villenbriefen des jüngeren Plinius*, Beiträge zur Erschließung hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlicher Skulptur und Architektur 13 (Mainz am Rhein 1993).
- Förtsch, R. 'The Residences of King Herod and their Relations to Roman Villa Architecture', in K. Fittschen and G. Foerster (eds), *Judaea and the Greco-Roman World in the Time of Herod in the Light of Archaeological Evidence: Acts of a Symposium Organized by the Institute of Archaeology, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Archaeological Institute, Georg-August-University of Göttingen at Jerusalem, November 3rd–4th 1988*, *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen* 215 (Göttingen 1996) 73–119.
- Fouet, G. *La villa gallo-romaine de Montmaurin, Haute-Garonne* (Paris 1969).
- Frank, T. *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome: Volume 1: Rome and Italy of the Republic* (Baltimore 1933).
- Frayn, J. M. *Markets and Fairs in Roman Italy: Their Social and Economic Importance from the Second Century BC to the Third Century AD* (Oxford 1993).
- Frederiksen, M. 'Republican Capua', *PBSR* 14 (1959) 80–130.
- Frederiksen, M. *Campania*, edited by N. Purcell (London 1984).
- Friedländer, L., et al. *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*, 2nd edn (London 1928).
- Frischer, B. D., and Gordon Brown, I. (eds) *Allan Ramsay and the Search for Horace's Villa* (Aldershot 2001).
- Fuchs, W. *Der Schiffsfund von Mahdia*, Bilderhefte des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Rom 2 (Tübingen 1963).
- Garello, F. 'Sport or Showbiz? The *Naumachiae* of Imperial Rome', in S. Bell and G. Davies (eds), *Games and Festivals in Classical Antiquity: Proceedings of the Conference held in Edinburgh 10–12 July 2000*, *BAR-IS* 1220 (Oxford 2004) 115–24.
- Garnsey, P. *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity*, Key Themes in Ancient History (Cambridge 1999).
- Gasparri, C. 'Due nuove sculture da Ercolano', in P. G. Guzzo (ed.), *Storie da un'eruzione: In margina alla mostra*, exhibition catalogue (Pompeii 2005) 51–74.
- Gentili Tedeschi, E., Denti, G., and Mauri, A. *Le Corbusier a Villa Adriana: Un atlante* (Florence 1999).

- Gianfrotta, P. A. 'L'indagine archeologica e lo scavo', in P. A. Gianfrotta and F. Maniscalco (eds.), *Forma maris: Forum internazionale di archeologia subacquea, Pozzuoli, 22-24 settembre 1998* (Naples 2001) 25-39.
- Giardina, A., and Schiavone, A. (eds) *Società romana e produzione schiavistica* (Bari 1981).
- Gibson, S., De Laine, J., and Claridge, A. 'The Triclinium of the Domus Flavia: A New Reconstruction', *PBSR* 62 (1994) 67-101.
- Giedison, S. *Architecture and the Phenomena of Transition: The Three Space Conceptions in Architecture*, trans. of *Architektur und das Phänomen des Wandels* (Cambridge, MA 1971).
- Gieré, A. *Hippodromus und Xystus: Untersuchungen zu römischen Gartenformen*, PhD diss., Universität Zurich (Zurich 1986).
- Gigante, M. *Catalogo dei papiri ercolanesi* (Naples 1979).
- Gigante, M. *La bibliothèque de Philodème et l'épicurisme romain* (Paris 1987).
- Gigante, M. *Filodemo in Italia* (Florence 1990). Italian edn with additions of Gigante, M. *La bibliothèque de Philodème et l'épicurisme romain* (Paris 1987).
- Gigante, M. *Philodemus in Italy: The Books from Herculaneum*, trans. D. Obbink (Ann Arbor 1995). English translation of Gigante, *Filodemo in Italia* (Florence 1990).
- Giuliani, C. F. *Forma Italiae: Regio I: Tibur, pars prima* (Rome 1970).
- Glaser, F. 'Fountains and *Nymphaea*', in Ö. Wikander (ed.), *Handbook of Ancient Water Technology, Technology and Change in History 2* (Leiden 2000) 413-51.
- Glaser, F. 'Water Landscaping', in Ö. Wikander (ed.), *Handbook of Ancient Water Technology, Technology and Change in History 2* (Leiden 2000) 453-66.
- Glass, S. L. 'The Greek Gymnasium: Some problems', in W. J. Raschke, *The Archaeology of the Olympics: The Olympics and Other Festivals in Antiquity*, Wisconsin Studies in Classics (Madison 1988) 155-73.
- Gleason, K. L. 'Porticus Pompeiana: A New Perspective on the First Public Park of Ancient Rome', *JGH* 14 (1994) 13-27.
- Gleason, K. L. 'Ruler and Spectacle: The Promontory Palace', in A. Raban (ed.), *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (Leiden 1996) 208-27.
- Gleason, K. L. 'Constructing Nature: The Built Garden. With Notice of a New Monumental Garden at the Villa Arianna, *Stabiae*', in M. Dalla Riva (ed.), *Meetings between Cultures in the Ancient Mediterranean: Proceedings of the 17th International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Rome 22-26 Sept. 2008*, Special Volume of *Bollettino di Archeologia Online* 1 (Rome 2010). Online publication: <http://151.12.58.75/archeologia/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=52&Itemid=52>
- Goffman, E. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York 1959).
- Gow, A. S. F., and Page, D. L. (eds) *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip and Some Contemporary Epigrams*, 2 vols (Cambridge 1968).
- Gowers, E. *The Loaded Table: Representations of Food in Roman Literature* (Oxford 1993).
- Grassinger, D. 'Die Marmorkratere', in G. Hellenkemper Salies (ed.) *Das Wrack: Der antike Schiffsfund von Mahdia*, 2 vols, Kataloge des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Bonn 1 (Cologne 1994) 259-83.
- Grenier, J.-C. 'La décoration statuaire du "Serapeum" du "Canope" de la Villa Adriana', *MÉFRA* 101 (1989) 925-1019.

- Griesbach, J. *Villen und Gräber: Siedlungs- und Bestattungsplätze der römischen Kaiserzeit im Suburbium von Rom*, Internationale Archäologie 103 (Rahden 2007).
- Griffin, J. 'Augustan Poetry and the Life of Luxury', *JRS* 66 (1976) 87–105.
- Griffin, J. 'The Pleasures of Water and Nakedness', in J. Griffin, *Latin Poets and Roman Life* (London 1985) 88–III.
- Grimal, P. *Les jardins romains à la fin de la république et aux deux premiers siècles de l'empire: Essais sur le naturalisme romain*, BÉFAR 155 (Paris 1943).
- Grimaldi, M. 'La fase repubblicana della Villa di Arianna a Stabia', in B. Perrier (ed.), *Villas, maisons, sanctuaires et tombeaux tarso-républicains: Découvertes et relectures récentes: Actes du colloque international de Saint-Romain-en-Gal en l'honneur d'Anna Gallina Zevi: Vienne, Saint-Romain-en-Gal, 8–10 février 2007* (Rome 2007) 177–94.
- Gros, P. 'Hermodoros et Vitruve', *MÉFRA* 85 (1973) 137–61.
- Gros, P. 'Les premières générations d'architectes hellénistiques à Rome', in A. Balland (ed.), *Italie préromaine et la Rome républicaine: Mélanges offerts à Jacques Heurgon*, 2 vols, CÉFR 27, vol. 2 (Rome 1976) 387–410.
- Gros, P. 'Statut social et rôle culturel des architectes (période hellénistique et Augustéenne)', in P. Gros, *Architecture et société de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la république romaine: Actes du Colloque international par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique et l'École française de Rome: Rome 2–4 décembre 1980* CÉFR 66 (Rome and Paris 1983) 425–50.
- Gros, P. 'Forum Iulium: Venus Genetrix, aedes', *LTUR* 2 (1995), 306–7.
- Gros, P. *L'architecture romaine du début du IIIe siècle av. J.-C. à la fin du haut-empire I: Les monuments publics*, Les manuels d'art et d'archéologie antiques (Paris 1996).
- Gros, P. 'Porticus Pompei', *LTUR* 4 (1999) 148–9.
- Gros, P. *L'architecture romaine du début IIIe siècle av. J.-C. à la fin du haut-empire II: Maisons, palais, villas et tombeaux*, Les manuels d'art et d'archéologie antiques (Paris 2001).
- Gros, P. *Palladio e l'antico* (Venice and Vicenza 2006)
- Grose, D. F. 'Early Blown Glass: The Western Evidence', *The Journal of Glass Studies* 19 (1977) 9–29.
- Gruen, E. S. *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome* (Ithaca, NY 1992)
- Guidobaldi, M. P. 'Fontana di bronzo raffigurante l'Idra di Lerna', in E. Lo Sardo (ed.), *Eureka! Il genio degli antichi*, exhibition catalogue (Naples 2005) 144–5.
- Guidobaldi, M. P., and Esposito, D. 'Le nuove ricerche archeologiche nella Villa dei Papiri di Ercolano', *CronErcol* 39 (2009) 331–70.
- Guidobaldi, M. P., and Esposito, D. 'New Archaeological Research at the Villa of the Papyri in Herculaneum', in M. Zarmakoupi (ed.), *The Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum: Archaeology, Reception, and Digital Reconstruction*, Sozomena: Studies in the Recovery of Ancient Texts 1 (Berlin and New York 2010) 21–62.
- Guidobaldi, M. P., Esposito, D., and Formisano, E. 'L'Insula I, l'Insula nord-occidentale e la Villa dei Papiri di Ercolano: Una sintesi delle conoscenze alla luce delle recenti indagini archeologiche', *Vesuviana* 1 (2009) 43–180 (accessible at: <<http://www.libraweb.net/articoli.php?chiave=2765&rivista=103>>).
- Guidobaldi, M. P., 'Arredi di lusso in legno e avorio da Ercolano: Le nuove scoperte della Villa dei Papiri', *LANX: Rivista della Scuola di Specializzazione in Archeologia* 6 (2010) 63–99. Online publication: <<http://riviste.unimi.it/index.php/lanx>>

- Guzzo, P. G. *Stabiae: Guida agli scavi* (Castellammare di Stabia 1998).
- de Haan, N. 'Privatbäder in Pompeji und Herculaneum und die städtische Wasserleitung', *Mitteilungen: Leichtweiss-Institut für Wasserbau der Technischen Universität Braunschweig* 117 (1992) 423–45.
- Guzzo, P. G. *Römische Privatbäder: Entwicklung, Verbreitung, Struktur und sozialer Status*, PhD diss., Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen (Nijmegen 2003).
- Guzzo, P. G. 'Luxus Wasser: Privatbäder in der Vesuvregion', in R. Asskamp (ed.), *Luxus und Dekadenz: Römisches Leben am Golf von Neapel*, exhibition catalogue (Mainz am Rhein 2007) 122–37.
- Guzzo, P. G. *Römische Privatbäder: Entwicklung, Verbreitung, Struktur und sozialer Status* (Frankfurt am Main and Oxford 2010).
- Hales, S. *The Roman House and Social Identity* (Cambridge 2003).
- Hall, E. 'Introduction: Pantomime, a Lost Chord of Ancient Culture', in E. Hall and R. Wyles (eds), *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime* (Oxford 2008), 1–40.
- Hall, E. 'The Pantomime Dancer and his Libretto', in E. Hall and R. Wyles (eds), *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime* (Oxford 2008), 157–68.
- Hallett, C. H. 'Emulation Versus Replication: Redefining Roman copying. Review of *The Ancient Art of Emulation: Studies in Artistic Originality and Tradition from the Present to Classical Antiquity*', *JRA* 18 (2005) 419–35.
- Hanoune, R. 'Le dossier des xenia et la mosaïque', in C. Balmelle et al. (eds), *Recherches franco-tunisiennes sur la mosaïque de l'Afrique antique, 1: Xenia*, CÉFR 125 (Rome 1990) 7–13.
- Harris, D. S. *The Nature of Authority: Villa Culture, Landscape, and Representation in Eighteenth-Century Lombardy* (University Park, PA 2003).
- Hatherley, O. *Militant Modernism* (Winchester, UK 2008).
- Hays, K. M. 'Autonomy and Architecture', in M. Kelly (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, vol. 1 (Oxford 1998) 182–5.
- Hays, K. M. (ed.) *Architecture Theory since 1968* (Cambridge MA and London 1998).
- Hays, K. M. 'The Autonomy Effect', in G. Damiani (ed.), *Bernard Tschumi* (New York 2003) 7–17.
- Heinzelmann, M. 'Städtekonkurrenz und kommunaler Bürgersinn. Die Säulenstraße von Perge als Beispiel monumentaler Stadtgestaltung durch kollektiven Euergetismus', *AA* (2003) 197–220.
- Hellenkamper Salies, G. (ed.) *Das Wrack: Der antike Schiffsfund von Mahdia*, 2 vols, Kataloge des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Bonn 1 (Cologne 1994).
- Hellmann, M.-C. 'Les signatures d'architectes en langue grecque: Essai de mise au point', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 104, (1994) 151–78.
- Hellmann, M.-C. *Architecture grecque, vol. 3: Habitat, urbanisme et fortifications*, Les manuels d'art et d'archéologie antiques (Paris 2010).
- Henderson, J. *Pliny's Statue: The letters, Self-Portraiture and Classical Art* (Exeter 2002).
- Henderson, J. 'Portrait of the Artist as a Figure of Style: P.L.I.N.Y's Letters', in R. Gibson and R. Morello (eds), *Re-Imagining Pliny the Younger, Arethusa* 36 (2003) 115–25.
- Henderson, J. *Morals and Villas in Seneca's Letters: Places to Dwell* (Cambridge 2004).

- von Hesberg, H. 'Platzanlagen und Hallenbauten in der Zeit des frühen Hellenismus', in *Akten des XIII. internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988* (Mainz am Rhein 1988) 231–41.
- von Hesberg, H. *Publica magnificentia: Eine anticlassizistische Intention der frühen augusteischen Baukunst*, *JdI* 107 (1992) 125–47.
- Higginbotham, J. *Piscinae: Artificial Fishponds in Roman Italy*, *Studies in the History of Greece and Rome* (Chapel Hill 1997).
- Hiller, H. 'Zwei bronzene Figurenlampen', in G. Hellenkemper Salies (ed.), *Das Wrack: Der antike Schiffsfund von Mahdia*, 2 vols, Kataloge des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Bonn 1 (Köln 1994) 515–30.
- Himmelman, N. 'Hellenistische Herrscher und bürgerliche Ehrenstatuen', in N. Himmelman (ed.), *Herrscher und Athlet: Die Bronzen vom Quirinal*, exhibition catalogue (Milan 1992) 100–25.
- Hodge, A. T. *Roman Aqueducts and Water Supply*, 1st edn (London 1993).
- Hoepfner, W., and Schwander, E.-L. (eds) *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland*, *Wohnen in der klassischen Polis* 1, 2nd edn (Munich 1994).
- Hoffer, S. E. *The Anxieties of Pliny the Younger*, *American Classical Studies* 43 (Atlanta, GA 1999).
- Horsfall, N. '“The Uses of Literacy” and the *Cena Trimalchionis*: I', *GaR* 36 (1989) 74–89.
- Hoss, S. *Baths and Bathing: The Culture of Bathing and the Baths and Thermae in Palestine from the Hasmonaean to the Moslem Conquest*, BAR-IS 1346 (Oxford 2005).
- Howe, T. N., Gleason, K. L., and Sutherland, I. 'Stabiae, Villa Arianna: Scavi e studi nel giardino del Grande Peristilio, 2007–2011', *RStPomp* 22 (2011).
- Hurst, H. 'Domus Gai', *LTUR* 2 (1995), 106–8.
- Iacopi, G. 'Scavi nella villa di Domiziano in località “Palazzo” sul lago di Paola', *NSe* (1936) 21–50.
- Iacopi, I. *Domus Aurea* (Milan 1999).
- Jacques, A., De Caro, S., and Pinon, P. *Pompéi: Travaux et envois des architectes français au XIXe siècle: École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, Chapelle des Petits-Augustins, 14 janvier–22 mars 1981, Institut français de Naples, 11 avril–13 juin 1981* (Paris and Rome 1981).
- Jacques, A., De Caro, S., and Pinon, P. *Italia antiqua: Envois de Rome: Des architectes français en Italie et dans le monde méditerranéen aux XIXe au XXe siècles: École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, Paris, 12 février–21 avril 2002, Villa Médicis, Rome, 5 juin–9 septembre 2002* (Paris 2002).
- Jansen, G. C. M. 'Water Systems and Sanitation in the Houses of Herculaneum', *Meded* 50 (1991) 145–66.
- Jansen, G. 'Water and Water Technology in the Pompeian Garden', in S. T. A. M. Mols and E. M. Moormann (eds), *Omni pede stare: Saggi architettonici e circumvesuviani in memoriam Jos de Waele*, *Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei* 9 (Naples 2005) 277–90.
- Jansen, G. 'The Water System: Supply and Drainage', in J. J. Dobbins and P. W. Foss (eds), *The World of Pompeii* (London and New York 2007) 257–66.

- Japp, S. *Die Baupolitik Herodes' des Großen: Die Bedeutung der Architektur für die Herrschaftslegitimation eines römischen Klientelkönigs*, *Internationale Archäologie* 64 (Rahden 2000).
- Jashemski, W. M. F. *The Gardens of Pompeii: Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius: Volume I* (New Rochelle, NY 1979).
- Jashemski, W. M. F. 'The Campanian Peristyle Garden', in W. M. F. Jashemski and E. B. MacDougall (eds), *Ancient Roman Gardens*, *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium Series in the History of Landscape Architecture* 7 (Washington, DC 1981) 29–48.
- Jashemski, W. M. F. 'Recently Excavated Gardens and Cultivated Land of the Villas at Boscoreale and Oplontis', in E. B. MacDougall (ed.), *Ancient Roman Villa Gardens*, *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium Series in the History of Landscape Architecture* 10 (Washington DC 1987) 31–75.
- Jashemski, W. M. F. *The Gardens of Pompeii: Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius: Volume II: Appendices* (New Rochelle, NY 1993).
- Jashemski, W. M. F. 'The Use of Water in Pompeian Gardens', in N. de Haan and G. C. M. Jansen (eds), *Cura Aquarium in Campania: Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress on the History of Water Management and Hydraulic Engineering in the Mediterranean Region, Pompeii 1–8 October 1994*, *BABesch Supplement* 4 (Leiden 1996) 51–8.
- Jashemski, W. M. F., and Meyer, F. G. *The Natural History of Pompeii* (Cambridge 2002).
- Jolivet, V. 'Xerxes togatus: Lucullus en Campanie', *MÉFRA* 99 (1987) 875–904.
- Jones, C. P. 'Dinner Theater', in W. J. Slater (ed.), *Dining in a Classical Context* (Ann Arbor 1991) 185–98.
- Jongman, W. *The Economy and Society of Pompeii*, *Dutch Monographs on Ancient History and Archaeology* 4 (Amsterdam 1988).
- Joshel, S. 'Geographies of Slave Containment and Movement', in M. George (ed.), *Roman Slavery and Material Culture* (Toronto 2013) 99–128.
- Joulin, L. *Les établissements gallo-romains de la plaine de Martres-Tolosanes* (Paris 1901).
- Junker, K. 'Antike Stilleben', in E. König and C. Schön (eds), *Stilleben: Geschichte der klassischen Bildgattungen in Quellentexten und Kommentaren*, vol. 5 (Berlin 1996) 93–105.
- Junker, K. 'Täuschend echt: Stilleben in der römischen Wandmalerei', *Antike Welt* 34 (2003) 471–89.
- Kähler, H. *Seethiasos und Census: Die Reliefs aus dem Palazzo Santa Croce in Rom*, *Monumenta artis Romanae* 6 (Berlin 1966).
- Kästner, V. 'Das Heiligtum der Athena', in R. Grüßinger, V. Kästner, and A. Scholl (eds), *Pergamon: Panorama der antiken Metropole*, exhibition catalogue (Petersberg 2011) 185–93.
- Kellum, B. A. 'The Construction of Landscape in Augustan Rome: The Garden Room at the Villa ad Gallinas', *ArtB* 76 (1994) 211–24.
- Kienast, D. *Cato der Zensor: Seine Persönlichkeit und seine Zeit* (Heidelberg 1954).
- Kisa, A. C. *Das Glas im Altertume*, 3 vols, *Hiersemanns Handbücher* 3 (Leipzig 1908).
- Klynne, A. 'The Laurel Grove of the Caesars: Looking in and Looking out', in B. S. Frizell and A. Klynne (eds), *Roman Villas around the Urbs: Interaction with Landscape and Environment: Proceedings of a conference at the Swedish Institute in Rome, September 17–18, 2004*, *Swedish Institute in Rome: Projects and seminars* 2 (Rome 2005) 1–9.

- Klynne, A. and Liljenstolpe, P. 'Investigating the Gardens of the Villa of Livia', *JRA* 13 (2000) 221–33.
- Knell, H. *Die Nike von Samothrake: Typus, Form, Bedeutung und Wirkungsgeschichte eines rhodischen Sieges-Anathems im Kabirenheiligtum von Samothrake* (Darmstadt 1995).
- Kockel, V. 'Archäologische Funde und Forschungen in den Vesuvstädten', *AA* (1985) 495–571.
- Kockel, V. 'Forum Augustum', *LTUR* 2 (1995) 289–95.
- Koloski-Ostrow, A., de Haan, N., and de Kleijn, G. 'Water in the Roman Town: New Research from Cura Aquarium and the Frontinus Society', *JRA* 10 (1997) 181–90.
- Krause, C. *Villa Jovis: Die Residenz des Tiberius auf Capri*, Sonderbände der Antiken Welt: Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie (Mainz am Rhein 2003).
- Kropp, A. J. M. 'Nabataean Petra: The Royal Palace and the Herod Connection', *Boreas* 32 (2009) 43–57.
- Kuttner, A. 'Delight and Danger in the Roman Water Garden: Sperlonga and Tivoli', in M. Conan (ed.), *Landscape Design and the Experience of Motion*, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium Series in the History of Landscape Architecture 24 (Washington, DC 2003) 104–57.
- Kuttner, A. 'Prospects of Patronage: Realism and *Romanitas* in the Architectural Vistas of the 2nd Style', in A. Frazer (ed.), *The Roman Villa: Villa Urbana: First Williams Symposium on Classical Architecture held at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, April 21–22, 1990*, University Museum Monograph 101, University Museum Symposium Series 9 (Philadelphia 1998) 93–107.
- Kuttner, A. 'Culture and History at Pompey's Museum', *TAPA* 129 (1999) 343–73.
- La Rocca, E. 'Il Foro di Traiano ed i fori tripartiti. Appendice: Porticus e basiliche nel Foro di Augusto', *RM* 105 (1998) 169–72.
- La Rocca, E. *Lo spazio negato: Il paesaggio nella cultura artistica greca e romana* (Milan 2008).
- Lafon, X. 'À propos des villas de la zone de Sperlonga: Les origines et le développement de la villa maritime sur le littoral tyrrhénien à l'époque républicaine', *MÉFRA* 93 (1981) 297–353.
- Lafon, X. 'Les bains privés dans l'Italie romaine au IIe siècle av. J.-C.', in *Les Thermes romains: Actes de la table ronde organisée par l'École française de Rome: Rome, 11–12 novembre 1988*, CÉFR 142 (Rome 1991) 97–114.
- Lafon, X. *Villa maritima: Recherches sur les villas littorales de l'Italie romaine (IIIe siècle av. J.-C. / IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.)*, BÉFAR 307 (Rome 2001).
- Laidlaw, W. A. 'Otium', *GaR* 15 (1968) 42–52.
- Laken, L. 'Zebra patterns in Campanian Wall Painting: A Matter of Function', *BaBesch* 78 (2003) 167–89.
- Landolfi, L. *Banchetto e società romana: Dalle origini al I sec. a.C.*, *Filologia e critica* 64 (Rome 1990).
- Lapatin, K. 'The Getty Villa: Recreating the Villa of the Papyri in Malibu', in M. Zarmakoupi (ed.), *The Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum: Archaeology, Reception, and Digital Reconstruction*, *Sozomena: Studies in the Recovery of Ancient Texts* 1 (Berlin and New York 2010) 129–38.

- Laurence, R., and Wallace-Hadrill, A. (eds) *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond*, JRA Supplement 22 (Portsmouth, RI 1997)
- Lauter, H. 'Zur Datierung der Skulpturen von Sperlonga', *RM* 76 (1969) 162–73, pl. 55–7.
- Lauter, H. 'Ptolemais in Libyen: Ein Beitrag zur Baukunst Alexandrias', *JdI* 86 (1971) 149–78.
- Lauter, H. *Die Architektur des Hellenismus* (Darmstadt 1986).
- Lauter, H. 'Hellenistische Vorläufer der römischen Villa', in A. Frazer (ed.), *The Roman villa: Villa urbana: First Williams Symposium on Classical Architecture held at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, April 21–22, 1990*, University Museum Monograph 101, University Museum Symposium Series 9 (Philadelphia 1998) 21–7.
- Lavagne, H. *Operosa antra: Recherches sur la grotte à Rome de Sylla à Hadrien*, BÉFAR 272 (Rome 1988).
- Le Corbusier, *Vers une architecture* (Paris 1923).
- Le Roy, C. 'Le tracé et le plan d'une villa hellénistique: La maison de Fourni à Délos', in *Le dessin d'architecture dans les sociétés antiques: Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 26–28 janvier 1984*, Travaux du Centre de recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce antiques 8 (Leiden 1985) 167–73.
- Leach, E. W. *The Rhetoric of Space: Literary and Artistic Representations of Landscape in Republican and Augustan Rome* (Princeton 1988).
- Leach, E. W. 'Oculus on Ibycus: Investigating the Vocabulary of the Roman House', in S. E. Bon and R. Jones (eds), *Sequence and Space in Pompeii*, Oxbow Monograph 77 (Oxford 1997) 50–72.
- Leach, E. W. 'Otium as Luxuria: Economy of Status in the Younger Pliny's Letters', in R. Gibson and R. Morello (eds), *Re-Imagining Pliny the Younger, Arethusa* 36 (2003) 147–65.
- Leach, E. W. *The Social Life of Painting in Ancient Rome and on the Bay of Naples* (Cambridge 2004).
- Leary, T. J. *Martial Book XIII: The Xenia* (London 2001).
- Leclerc, A.-S. 'Le pitture del quattro stile: 5. Peintures du nymphée', in A. Barbet and P. Miniero (eds), *La Villa San Marco a Stabia* (Rome, Naples, and Pompei 1999) 247–52.
- Leclerc, A.-S. 'Le pitture del quarto stile: 6. Portique supérieur', in A. Barbet and P. Miniero (eds), *La Villa San Marco a Stabia* (Rome, Naples, and Pompei 1999) 253–66.
- van Leeuwen, T. A. P. *The Springboard in the Pond: An Intimate History of the Swimming Pool* (Cambridge, MA, and London 1998).
- Legault, R. 'Architecture and Historical Representation', *Journal of Architectural Education* 44 (1984) 200–5.
- Lehmann, P. W. *Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Cambridge MA 1953).
- Leospo, E. 'Le coppe stabiane: Un pregevole esempio di stile egittizzante in ambito culturale romano', in *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano: 1. centenario del Museo greco-romano: Alessandria, 23–27 novembre 1992: Atti del 2. Congresso internazionale italo-egiziano* (Rome 1997) 343–7.
- Leospo, E. 'I reperti della villa: 5. Le coppe di ossidiana', in A. Barbet and P. Miniero (eds), *La Villa San Marco a Stabia* (Naples, Rome, and Pompei 1999) 333–41.
- Leveau, P. 'La ville antique et l'organisation de l'espace rural: Villa, ville, village', *AnnÉconSocCiv* 38 (1983) 920–42.

- Levi, A. C., and Levi, M. A. *Itineraria picta: Contributo allo studio della Tabula Peutingeriana*, Studi e materiali del Museo della civiltà romana 7 (Rome 1967).
- Lewis, D. *The Drawings of Andrea Palladio* (New Orleans 2000).
- Lichtenberger, A. *Die Baupolitik Herodes des Großen*, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinavereins 26 (Wiesbaden 1999).
- Lichtenberger, A. 'Herod and Rome: Was Romanisation a Goal of the Building Policy of Herod?', in D. M. Jacobson and N. Kokkinos (eds), *Herod and Augustus: Papers Presented at the IJS Conference, 21st–23rd June 2005*, IJS Studies in Judaica 6 (Leiden and Boston 2009) 43–62.
- de Ligt, L. *Fairs and Markets in the Roman Empire: Economic and Social Aspects of Periodic Trade in a Pre-Industrial Society*, Dutch Monographs on Ancient History and Archaeology 11 (Amsterdam 1993).
- Lilja, S. 'Sunbathing in Antiquity', *Arctos* 21 (1987) 53–60.
- Lillie, A. *Florentine Villas in the Fifteenth Century: An Architectural and Social History* (Cambridge 2005).
- Ling, R. 'Hylas in Pompeian Art', *MÉFRA* 91 (1979) 773–816.
- Ling, R. *Roman Painting* (Cambridge 1991).
- Lintott, A. 'Electoral Bribery in the Roman Republic', *JRS* 80 (1980) 1–16.
- Liverani, P. 'L'antro cyclope a Castel Gandolfo: Ninfeo Bergantino', in *Ulisse: Il mito e la memoria: Roma, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, 22 febbraio–2 settembre 1996*, exhibition catalogue (Rome 1996) 332–41.
- Lloyd, R. B. 'The Aqua Virgo, Euripus and Pons Agrippae', *AJA* 83 (1979) 193–204.
- Lorenz, T. *Galerien von griechischen Philosophen- und Dichterbildnissen bei den Römern* (Mainz am Rhein 1965).
- Ludolph, M. *Epistolographie und Selbstdarstellung: Untersuchungen zu den 'Paradebriefen' Plinius des Jüngeren*, Classica Monacensia 17 (Tübingen 1997).
- Luschin, E. M. *Cryptoporticus: Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte eines multiunktionalen Baukörpers*, Ergänzungshefte zu den Jahreshften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes 5 (Vienna 2002).
- Lygouri-Tolia, E. 'Excavating an Ancient Palaestra in Athens', in M. Stamatopoulou and M. Yeroulanou (eds), *Excavating Classical Culture: Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Greece*, Studies in classical archaeology 1 (Oxford 2002) 203–12.
- Macaulay Lewis, E. 'The Role of *Ollae Perforatae* in Understanding Horticulture, Planting Techniques, Garden Design, and Plant Trade in the Roman World', in J. P. Morel, J. T. Juan, and J. C. Matamala (eds), *The Archaeology of Crop Fields and Gardens: Proceedings from 1st Conference on Crop Fields and Gardens Archaeology, University of Barcelona, Barcelona (Spain), June 1–3rd 2006* (Bari 2006) 207–20.
- Macaulay Lewis, E. 'Fruits of Victory: Generals, Plants, and Power in the Roman World', in E. Bragg, L. I. Hau, and E. Macaulay Lewis (eds), *Beyond the Battlefields: New perspectives on Warfare and Society in the Graeco-Roman World* (Newcastle 2008) 205–25.
- Macaulay Lewis, E. 'The City in Motion: Walking for Transport and Leisure in the City of Rome', in R. Laurence and D. J. Newsome (eds), *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space* (Oxford 2011) 262–289.

- MacDonald, W. L. *The Architecture of the Roman Empire, II: An urban appraisal*, Yale Publications in the History of Art 35 (New Haven and London 1986).
- MacDonald, W. L. and Pinto, J. A. *Hadrian's Villa and its Legacy* (New Haven and London 1995).
- Magalhaes, M. M. 'La cd. Villa del Fauno: Un possedimento imperiale a *Stabiae*?', in D. Camardo and A. Ferrara (eds), *Stabiae, dai Borbone ai ultime scoperte* (Castellammare di Stabia 2001) 105–8.
- Magalhaes, M. M. *Stabiae romana la prosopografia e la documentazione epigrafica: Iscrizioni lapidarie e bronzee, bolli laterizi e sigilli* (Castellammare di Stabia 2006).
- Maischberger, M. *Marmor in Rom: Anlieferung, Lager- und Werkplätze in der Kaiserzeit*, Palilia 1 (Wiesbaden 1997).
- Maiuri, A. *La villa dei Misteri*, 2nd edn (Rome 1947).
- Maiuri, A. *Ercolano: I nuovi scavi (1927–1958)* (Rome 1958).
- Malissard, A. *Les Romains et l'eau: Fontaines, salles de bains, thermes, égouts, aqueducs*, Réalia (Paris 1994).
- Maniscalco, F. *Il nuoto nel mondo greco-romano* (Naples 1995).
- Maniscalco, F. 'Pratica ed insidie del nuoto nel mondo antico', *MÉFRA* 111 (1999) 145–55.
- Marcadé, J. 'Les trouvailles de la maison dite de l'Hermès, à Délos', *BCH* 77 (1953) 497–615.
- Marchesi, I. *The Art of Pliny's Letters: A Poetics of Allusion in the Private Correspondence* (Cambridge 2008).
- Marchis, V., and Scalva, G. 'The Engine Lost: Hydraulic Technologies in Pompeii', in G. Castagnetti, A. Ciarallo, and J. Renn (eds), *Homo Faber: Studies in Nature, Technology, and Science at the Time of Pompeii: Presented at a Conference at the Deutsches Museum, Munich 21–22 March 2000*, Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei 6 (Rome 2002) 25–34.
- Mari, Z. *Forma Italiae: Regio I: Tibur, pars quarta* (Florence 1991).
- Mari, Z. 'La valle dell'Aniene nell'antichità', *Atti e memorie della società tiburtina di storia e d'arte* 68 (1995) 25–52.
- Mari, Z. and Fiore Cavaliere, M. G. 'Subiaco: I due ninfei della villa di Nerone', in V. Cazzato, M. Fagiolo, and M. A. Giusti (eds), *Atlante delle grotte e dei ninfei in Italia: Toscana, Lazio, Italia meridionale e isole* (Milan 2001) 268–75.
- Mari, Z. and Boanelli, F. 'La villa di Quintilio Varo', *Bollettino di archeologia* 10 (1991) 37–50.
- Marrou, H. I. *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*, 6th rev. and enlarged edn (Paris 1965).
- Marvin, M. 'Copying in Roman Sculpture: The Replica Series', in E. D'Ambra (ed.), *Roman Art in Context: An Anthology* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ 1993) 161–88.
- Marzano, A. *Roman Villas in Central Italy: A Social and Economic History*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 30 (Leiden and Boston 2007).
- Marzano, A. 'Le ville marittime dell'Italia romana: Tra *amoenitas* e *fructus*', *Amoenitas* 1 (2010) 21–33.
- Marzano, A. and Brizzi, G. 'Costly Display or Economic Investment? A quantitative Approach to the Study of Marine Aquaculture', *JRA* 22 (2009) 215–30.
- Marzolff, P. 'Der Palast von Demetrias', in W. Hoepfner and G. Brands (eds), *Basileia: Die Paläste der hellenistischen Könige: Internationales symposium in Berlin vom 16.12.1992 bis*

- 20.12.1992, Schriften des Seminars für Klassische Archäologie der Freien Universität Berlin (Mainz am Rhein 1996) 148–63.
- Mattusch, C. C., with Lie, H. *The Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum: Life and Afterlife of a Sculpture Collection* (Los Angeles 2005).
- Mattusch, C. C. 'Programming Sculpture? Collection and Display in the Villa of the Papyri', in M. Zarmakoupi (ed.), *The Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum: Archaeology, Reception, and Digital Reconstruction*, Sozomena: Studies in the Recovery of Ancient Texts 1 (Berlin and New York 2010) 79–88.
- McEwen, I. K. *Vitruvius: Writing the Body of Architecture* (Cambridge, MA 2003).
- McKay, A. G. 'Pleasure Domes at Baiae', in W. M. F. Jashemski and R. I. Curtis (eds), *Studia Pompeiana and Classica in Honor of Wilhelmina F. Jashemski. Vol. 2. Classica* (New Rochelle, NY 1989) 155–72.
- McKenzie, J. *The Architecture of Alexandria and Egypt, c. 300 B.C. to A.D. 700*, Pelican History of Art (New Haven and London 2007).
- Meiggs, R. *Roman Ostia*, 2nd edn (Oxford 1973).
- Messineo, G. (ed.) *Ad gallinas albas: Villa di Livia*, BullCom Supplement 8 (Rome 2001).
- Messineo, G. 'Piscinae Calidae', *RendPontAcc* 74 (2002) 233–52.
- Meyboom, P. G. P. 'I mosaici pompeiani con figure di pesci', *Meded* 39 (1977) 49–93, pl. 46–58.
- Michel, D. 'Pompejanische Gartenmalereien', in H. A. Cahn and E. Simon (eds), *Tainia: Roland Hampe zum 70. Geburtstag am 2. Dezember 1978* (Mainz am Rhein 1980) 373–404.
- Mielsch, H. *Römische Stuckreliefs* (Heidelberg 1975).
- Mielsch, H. *Die römische Villa: Architektur und Lebensform* (Munich 1987).
- Mielsch, H. 'Die Bibliothek und die Kunstammlung der Könige von Pergamon', *AA* (1995) 765–79.
- Mielsch, H. *Römische Wandmalerei* (Darmstadt 2001).
- Millar, F. 'Politics, Persuasion and the People before the Social War (150–90 B.C.)', *JRS* 76 (1986) 1–11.
- Miller, K. *Itineraria romana* (Stuttgart 1915).
- Miller, S. G. *Arete: Greek sports from Ancient Sources*, 3rd expanded edn (Berkeley and London 2004).
- Miniero Forte, P. *Stabiae: Pitture e stucchi delle ville romane* (Naples 1989).
- Miniero, P. 'Studio di un carro romano della villa c.d. di Arianna a Stabia', *MÉFRA* 99 (1987) 171–209.
- Miniero, P. 'Presentazione storica: 1. La villa nel contesto dell'ager Stabianus', in A. Barbet and P. Miniero (eds), *La Villa San Marco a Stabia* (Naples, Rome, and Pompei 1999) 15–20.
- Miniero, P. 'L'architettura: 4. Produzione laterizia', in A. Barbet and P. Miniero (eds), *La Villa San Marco a Stabia* (Naples, Rome, and Pompei 1999) 63–71.
- Miniero, P. 'I reperti della villa: 1. Arredo', in A. Barbet and P. Miniero (eds), *La Villa San Marco a Stabia* (Naples, Rome, and Pompei 1999) 309–13.
- Miniero, P. 'La villa romana tardo-repubblicana nel Castello Aragonese di Baia', in B. Perrier (ed.), *Villas, maisons, sanctuaires et tombeaux tardo-républicains: Découvertes et relectures récentes: Actes du colloque international de Saint-Romain-en-Gal en l'honneur d'Anna Gallina Zevi: Vienne, Saint-Romain-en-Gal, 8–10 février 2007* (Rome 2007) 157–76.

- Moeller, W. O. 'The Building of Eumachia: A Reconsideration', *AJA* 76 (1972) 323–7.
- Moeller, W. O. 'The Date and Dedication of the Building of Eumachia', *CronPomp* 1 (1975) 232–6.
- Moesch, V. 'La Villa dei Papiri', in M. P. Guidobaldi, (ed.), *Ercolano: Tre secoli di scoperte*, exhibition catalogue (Milan 2008) 70–9.
- Moesch, V. *Sculture in marmo dalla Villa dei Papiri ad Ercolano: Contributo alla conoscenza delle botteghe di scultori di età romana in Campania*, PhD diss. Università degli Studi di Napoli 'Federico II' (Naples 2009).
- Moesch, V. (ed.) *La Villa dei Papiri* (Verona 2009).
- Mols, S. T. A. M. *Wooden Furniture in Herculaneum: Form, Technique and Function* (Amsterdam 1999).
- Moore, C. W. 'Hadrian's Villa', *Perspecta* 6 (1960) 16–27.
- Moore, C. W. *Water and Architecture* (London 1994).
- Moormann, E. M. (ed.) *Functional and Spatial Analysis of Wall Painting: Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress on Ancient Wall Painting, Amsterdam, 8–12 September 1992*, BABesch Supplement 3 (Leiden 1993).
- Moormann, E. M. 'Der römische Freskenzyklus mit großen Figuren in der Villa 6 in Terzigno', in T. Ganschow et al. (eds), *Otium: Festschrift für Volker Michael Strocka* (Ramshaden 2005) 257–66.
- Moormann, E. M. 'Villas Surrounding Pompeii and Herculaneum', in J. J. Dobbins and P. Foss (eds), *The World of Pompeii* (London 2007) 435–54 (ch. 28).
- Moormann, E. M. 'Wall Paintings in the Villa of the Papyri: Old and New Finds', in M. Zarmakoupi (ed.), *The Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum: Archaeology, Reception, and Digital Reconstruction*, *Sozomena: Studies in the Recovery of Ancient Texts* 1 (Berlin and New York 2010) 63–88.
- Morello, R., and Morrison, A. D. (eds) *Ancient Letters: Classical and Late Antique Epistolography* (Oxford 2006).
- Morgan, M. G. 'The Portico of Metellus: A Reconsideration', *Hermes* 99 (1971) 480–505.
- Morricone, M. (ed.) *Mosaici antichi in Italia. Regione prima, Roma: Reg. X: Palatium* (Rome 1967).
- Morselli, C. 'Forum Iulium', *LTUR* 2 (1995), 299–306.
- Morselli, C., and Tortorici, E. *Curia, Forum Iulium, Forum Transitorium* (Rome 1989).
- Müller, M., and Bredekamp, H. (eds) *Autonomie der Kunst: Zur Genese und Kritik einer bürgerlichen Kategorie* (Frankfurt 1972).
- Munro, H. A. J. (ed.) *T. Lucreti Cari De rerum natura libri sex*, 3 vols (London 1866).
- Mustilli, D. 'La villa pseudourbana ercolanese', *RendNap* 31 (1956) 77–97, reprinted in: *La Villa dei Papiri*, Second Supplement to *CronErcol* 13 (Naples 1983), 7–18.
- Muth, S. *Erleben von Raum – Leben im Raum: Zur Funktion mythologischer Mosaikbilder in der römisch-kaiserzeitlichen Wohnarchitektur*, *Archäologie und Geschichte* 10 (Heidelberg 1998).
- Muth, S. 'Gegenwelt als Glückswelt? Die Welt der Nereiden, Tritonen und Seemonster in der römischen Kunst', in T. Hölscher (ed.), *Gegenwelten: Zu den Kulturen Griechenlands und Roms in der Antike* (Munich 2000) 467–98.
- Mylius, H. 'Die Rekonstruktion der römischen Villen von Nennig und Fliessem', *BJb* 129 (1924) 109–28.

- Neal, D. S. *The Excavation of the Roman Villa in Gadebridge Park, Hemel Hempstead, 1963–8* (London 1974).
- de Neeve, P. W. 'Ancient Periodic Markets: Festivals and Fairs', *Athenaeum* 66 (1988) 391–416.
- Netzer, E. 'The Hasmonean and Herodian Winter Palaces at Jericho', *IEJ* 25 (1975) 89–100.
- Netzer, E. *Greater Herodium*, Quedem 13 (Jerusalem 1981).
- Netzer, E. 'The Swimming Pools of the Hasmonean Period in Jericho', in *Geschichtliche Wasserbauten in Ägypten: Vorträge der Tagung, Kairo 10. bis 17. Februar 1986* (Braunschweig 1986) 1–12.
- Netzer, E. 'The Hasmonean Palaces in Palaestina', in W. Hoepfner and G. Brands (eds), *Basileia: Die Paläste der hellenistischen Könige: Internationales Symposium in Berlin vom 16.12.1992 bis 20.12.1992*, Schriften des Seminars für Klassische Archäologie der Freien Universität Berlin (Mainz am Rhein 1996) 203–8.
- Netzer, E. 'The Promontory Palace', in A. Raban (ed.), *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (Leiden 1996) 193–207.
- Netzer, E. 'Floating in the Desert: A Pleasure Palace in Jordan', *Odyssey* 2 (1998) 46–55.
- Netzer, E. *Die Paläste der Hasmonäer und Herodes' des Grossen* (Mainz am Rhein 1999).
- Netzer, E. *Hasmonean and Herodian palaces at Jericho: Final Reports of the 1973–1987 Excavations* (Jerusalem 2001).
- Netzer, E. *The Architecture of Herod, the Great Builder*, Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 117 (Tübingen 2006).
- Netzer, E. 'In Search of Herod's Tomb', *Biblical Archaeology Review* (2011). Online publication: <<http://www.bib-arch.org/article.asp?PubID=BSBA&Volume=37&Issue=1&ArticleID=7&UserID=0>> (accessed on 26.2.2011).
- Neudecker, R. *Die Skulpturenausstattung römischer Villen in Italien*, Beiträge zur Erschließung hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlicher Skulptur und Architektur 9 (Mainz am Rhein 1988).
- Neuerberg, N. *L'architettura delle fontane e dei ninfei nell'Italia antica* (Naples 1965).
- Neuerberg, N. *Herculaneum to Malibu: A Companion to the Visit of the J. Paul Getty Museum Building: A Descriptive and Explanatory Guide to the Re-Created Ancient Roman Villa of the Papyri Built at the Wishes of J. Paul Getty in Malibu, California, 1970–1974* (Malibu, CA 1975).
- Newby, Z. *Greek Athletics in the Roman World*, Oxford Studies in Ancient Culture and Representation (Oxford 2005).
- Newlands, C. E. *Statius' Silvae and the Poetics of Empire* (Cambridge and New York 2002).
- Nielsen, I. *Hellenistic Palaces: Tradition and Renewal*, Studies in Hellenistic Civilization 5 (Aarhus 1999).
- Nielsen, I. 'The Gardens of Hellenistic Palaces', in I. Nielsen (ed.), *The Royal Palace Institution in the First Millennium BC*, Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 4 (Athens 2001) 165–87.
- Ninck, M. H. *Die Bedeutung des Wassers im Kult und Leben der Alten: Eine symbolgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, 2nd edn (Darmstadt 1960).

- Nunes Pedroso, R. 'I soffitti e le volte dipinti: 1. Plafonds du portique supérieur', in A. Barbet and P. Miniero (eds), *La Villa San Marco a Stabia* (Rome, Naples, and Pompei 1999) 267–91.
- Nünnerich-Asmus, A. *Basilika und Portikus: Die Architektur der Säulenhallen als Ausdruck gewandelter Urbanität in später Republik und früher Kaiserzeit*, Arbeiten zur Archäologie (Cologne 1994).
- O'Sullivan, T. M. *The Mind in Motion: The Cultural Significance of Walking in the Roman World*, Ph.D. diss., Harvard University (Cambridge, MA 2003).
- O'Sullivan, T. M. 'The Mind in Motion: Walking and Metaphorical Travel in the Roman Villa', *CP* 101 (2006) 133–52.
- O'Sullivan, T. M. *Walking in Roman Culture* (Cambridge 2011).
- Olshausen, E. 'Soziokulturelle Betrachtungen zur *Cena Trimalchionis*', in L. Castagna and E. Lefèvre (eds), *Studien zu Petron und seiner Rezeption*, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 241 (Berlin and New York 2007) 15–31.
- Ørsted, P. 'Salt, Fish and the Sea in the Roman Empire', in I. Nielsen and H. Sigismund Nielsen (eds), *Meals in a Social Context: Aspects of the Communal Meal in the Hellenistic and Roman World*, Aarhus Studies in Mediterranean Antiquity 1 (Aarhus 1998) 13–35.
- Ortloff, C. R. 'The Water Supply and Distribution System of the Nabataean City of Petra (Jordan), 300 BC–AD 300', *CJ* 15 (2005) 93–109.
- Östenberg, C. E. 'Luni and Villa Sambuco', in *Etruscan Culture, Land and People: Archaeological Research and Studies Conducted in San Giovenale and its Environs by Members of the Swedish Institute in Rome* (New York 1962) 313–28.
- Pagano, M. 'Ricerche archeologiche subacquee lungo il litorale stabiano', in G. Bonifacio and A. M. Sodo (eds), *Stabiae: Storia e architettura: 2500 anniversario degli scavi di Stabiae 1749–1999: Convegno internazionale, Castellammare di Stabia, 25–27 marzo 2000*, Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei 7 (Rome 2002) 163–5.
- Painter, K. (ed.) *Roman Villas in Italy: Recent Excavations and Research* (London 1988).
- Palladio, A. *I quattro libri dell'architettura* (Venice 1570).
- Palmer, R. E. A. 'Severan Ruler-Cult and the Moon in the City of Rome', in *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (Berlin 1978) 1085–120.
- Panciera, S. 'Domus augustana', *LTUR, Supplementum* 4 (2007) 293–308.
- Pancrazzi, O., and Ducci, S. (eds.) *Ville e giardini nell'Elba romana* (Florence 1996).
- Pandermalis, D. 'Statuenausstattung in der Villa dei Papiri', *RM* 86 (1971) 173–209.
- Pandermalis, D. 'Beobachtungen zur Fassadenarchitektur und Aussichtsveranda in hellenistischen Makedonien', in P. Zanker (ed.), *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien: Kolloquium in Göttingen vom 5. bis 9. Juni 1974* (Göttingen 1976) 387–95.
- Pandermalis, D. 'Η κεράμωση του ανακτόρου της Βεργίνας', in *Αιμητός, τμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Μανόλη Ανδρόνικο* (Salonica 1987) 579–605.
- Parslow, C. C. *Rediscovering Antiquity: Karl Weber and the Excavation of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiae* (Cambridge 1995).
- van Pelt, R. J., and Westfall, C. W. *Architectural Principles in the Age of Historicism* (New Haven and London 1991).
- Penna, A. *Viaggio pittorico della Villa Adriana*, 4 vols (Rome 1831–6).

- Pensabene, P. 'Elementi architettonici dalla casa di Augusto sul Palatino', *RM* 104 (1997) 149–92.
- P. Pensabene, 'Il fenomeno del marmo nella Roma tardo-republicana e imperiale', in P. Pensabene and A. Alvarez i Pérez (eds), *Marmi antichi II: Cave e tecnica di lavorazione, provenienze e distribuzione*, *StMisc* 31 (Rome 1998) 333–73.
- Percival, J. *The Roman Villa: An Historical Introduction* (London 1988).
- Pesando, F., and Guidobaldi, M. P. *Pompei, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*, Guide archeologiche Laterza 14 (Rome 2006).
- Pesce, A. (ed.) *In Stabiano: Exploring the Ancient Seaside Villas of the Roman Elite* (Castellamare di Stabia 2004).
- Pesce, G. *Il Palazzo delle Colonne in Tolemaide di Cyrenaica* (Rome 1950).
- Peters, W. J. T. *Landscape in Romano-Campanian Mural Painting* (Assen 1963).
- Peters, W. J. T. 'Die Landschaft in der Wandmalerei Kampaniens', in G. Cerulli Irelli et al. (eds), *Pompejanische Wandmalerei* (Stuttgart and Zurich 1990) 249–262.
- Phillips, E. D. 'Odysseus in Italy', *JHS* 73 (1953) 53–67.
- Pietrangeli, C. 'La villa tiburtina detta di Cassio', *AttPontAcc* 25–6 (1949) 157–81.
- Pinon, P., and Amprimoz, F. X. *Les envois de Rome, 1778–1968: Architecture et archéologie* (Rome, Paris and Padova 1988).
- Pinto-Guillaume, E. M. 'Mollusks from the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta (Rome): Swedish Garden Archaeological Project, 1996–1999', *AJA* 106 (2002) 37–58.
- Piras, S. A. G. 'Cura Aquarum in Campania: Eine Einführung', in N. de Haan and G. C. M. Jansen (eds), *Cura Aquarum in Campania: Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress on the History of Water Management and Hydraulic Engineering in the Mediterranean Region, Pompeii, 1–8, 1994*, *BABesch Supplement* 4 (Leiden 1996) 87–91.
- Pisapia, M. S. *Mosaici antichi in Italia. Regione prima, Stabiae* (Rome 1989).
- Pisapia, M. S. 'I pavimenti di II stile della Villa A di Oplontis', in R. M. Carra Bonacasa and F. Guidobaldi (eds), *Atti del IV Colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico* (Palermo 1996) 555–64.
- Pisapia, M. S. 'I pavimenti a mosaico di III e IV stile della villa romana di Oplontis', in F. Guidobaldi and A. Paribeni (eds), *Atti del V Colloquio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico, Roma, 3–6 novembre 1997* (Ravenna 1998) 371–84.
- Pisapia, M. S. 'I mosaici: I. Pavimenti secondo la classificazione di Pisapia 1989', in A. Barbet and P. Miniero (eds), *La Villa San Marco a Stabia* (Naples, Rome, and Pompei 1999) 79–84.
- Pisapia, M. S. 'I mosaici del secondo complesso al Museo Nazionale di Napoli', in G. Bonifacio and A. M. Sodo (eds), *Stabiae: Storia e architettura: 2500 anniversario degli scavi di Stabiae 1749–1999: Convegno internazionale, Castellammare di Stabia, 25–27 marzo 2000*, *Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei* 7 (Rome 2002) 109–17.
- Platz-Horster, G. 'Zu Erfindung und Verbreitung der Glasmacherpfeife', *The Journal of Glass Studies* 21 (1979) 27–31.
- Polito, E. *Fulgentibus Armis. Introduzione allo studio dei fregi d'armi antichi*, *Xenia antiqua* 4 (Rome 1998).
- Pollard, E. A. 'Pliny's Natural History and the Flavian Templum Pacis: Botanical Imperialism in First-Century C.E. Rome', *Journal of World History* 20 (2009) 309–38.

- Potenza, U. 'Gli acquedotti romani di Serino', in N. de Haan and G. C. M. Jansen (eds), *Cura Aquarum in Campania: Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress on the History of Water Management and Hydraulic Engineering in the Mediterranean Region, Pompeii, 1-8, 1994*, BABesch Supplement 4 (Leiden 1996) 93-9.
- Potter, T. W. *The Changing Landscape of South Etruria* (London 1979).
- Pugliese Carratelli, G., and Baldassarre, I. (eds) *Pompeii, pitture e mosaici*, 10 vols (Rome 1990-2003).
- Purcell, N. 'Rediscovering the Roman Forum', *JRA* 2 (1989) 156-66.
- Purcell, N. 'The Economy of an Ancient Town. Review of: Willem Jongman: *The Economy and Society of Pompeii*. (Dutch Monographs on Ancient History and Archaeology, 4). Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1988', *CR* 40 (1990) 111-16.
- Purcell, N. 'The Roman Villa and the Landscape of Production', in T. J. Cornell and K. Lomas (eds), *Urban Society in Roman Italy* (New York 1995) 151-79.
- Purcell, N. 'Forum Romanum', *LTUR* 2 (1995) 325-41.
- Purcell, N. 'The Roman Garden as a Domestic Building', in I. M. Barton (ed.), *Roman Domestic Buildings*, Exeter Studies in History (Exeter 1996) 121-51.
- Purcell, N. 'Dialectical Gardening', *JRA* 14 (2001) 546-56.
- Purcell, N. 'Eating Fish: The Paradoxes of Seafood', in J. Wilkins, M. Dobson, and F. D. Harvey (eds), *Food in Antiquity* (Exeter 1995) 132-49.
- Raeder, J. *Die statuarische Ausstattung der Villa Hadriana bei Tivoli* (Frankfurt am Main 1983).
- Rakob, F. 'Ein Grottentriklinium in Pompeji', *RM* 71 (1964) 182-94.
- Rakob, F. 'Der Bauplan einer kaiserlichen Villa', in W. Hartman (ed.), *Festschrift Klaus Lankheit: Zum 20. Mai 1973* (Cologne 1973) 113-25.
- Rakob, F. 'Hellenismus in Mittelitalien: Bautypen und Bautechnik', in P. Zanker (ed.), *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien: Kolloquium in Göttingen vom 5. bis 9. Juni 1974* (Göttingen 1976) 366-86.
- Ramieri, A. M. 'La villa di Plinio a Castel Fusano', *Archeologia Laziale 12: Dodicesimo incontro di studio del Comitato per l'archeologia laziale (Quaderni del Centro del Studio per l'Archeologia Etrusco-Italica 24)* (Rome 1995) 407-16.
- Reader, J. C. 'The Statue of Augustus from Prima Porta, the Underground Complex, and the Omen of the *Gallina Alba*', *AJP* 118 (1997) 89-118.
- Reader, J. C. *The Villa of Livia Ad Gallinas Albas: A Study in the Augustan Villa and Garden*, *Archaeologia Transatlantica* 20 (Providence, RI 2001).
- Rega, L. 'Progetto di ricostruzione del carro della Villa di Arianna', *RStPomp* 5 (1991) 228.
- Reinmuth, 'I.G. II², 1006 and 1301', *Hesperia* 41 (1972) 185-91.
- Reutti, F. (ed.) *Die römische Villa* (Darmstadt 1990).
- Rice, E. E. 'Grottoes on the Acropolis of Hellenistic Rhodes', *BSA* 90 (1995) 383-404.
- Richardson, L., Jr 'Water Triclinia and Biclinia in Pompeii', in R. I. Curtis (ed.), *Studia Pompeiana and Classica in Honor of Wilhelmina F. Jashemski: Vol. 1. Pompeiana* (New Rochelle, NY 1988) 305-12.
- Riggsby, A. M. 'Public and Private in Roman Culture: The Case of the Cubiculum', *JRA* 10 (1997) 36-56.

- Riggsby, A. M. 'Pliny in Space (and Time)', in R. Gibson and R. Morello (eds), *Re-Imagining Pliny the Younger, Arethusa* 36 (2003) 167–86.
- Rinkiewitz, W. *Pastio villatica: Untersuchungen zur intensiven Hof-tierhaltung in der römischen Landwirtschaft* (Frankfurt am Main and New York 1984).
- Rivet, A. L. F. 'Social and Economic Aspects', in A. L. F. Rivet (ed.), *The Roman Villa in Britain* (London 1969) 173–216.
- Rizzo, E. G. *Le pitture della Casa di Livia*, Monumenti della pittura antica scoperti in Italia 3 (Rome 1936).
- Rodgers, R. H. (ed.) *Frontinus: De aquaeductu urbis Romae*, Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries 42 (Cambridge and New York 2004).
- Roller, D. W. *The Building Program of Herod the Great* (Berkeley 1998).
- Romizzi, L. *Ville d'otium dell'Italia antica: (II sec. a.C.–I sec. d.C.)*, Aucnus 10 (Naples 2001).
- Ronchi, G. 'Il papiro cairene 65445 (vv. 140–154) e l'obelisco di Arsinoe II', *Studi classici e orientali* 17 (1968) 56–75.
- Rossiter, J. 'Wine Processing at Roman Farms in Italy', *Phoenix* 35 (1981) 345–61.
- Rossiter, J. 'Convivium and Villa in Late Antiquity', in W. J. Slater (ed.), *Dining in a Classical Context* (Ann Arbor 1991) 199–214.
- Rostovtzeff, M. 'Pompeianische Landschaften und römische Villen', *JdI* 19 (1904) 103–26.
- Rostovtzeff, M. *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 2 vols, 2nd edn rev. by P. M. Fraser, 1st edn 1926 (Oxford 1957).
- Rougetet, J. 'L'architettura: 1. Construction et architecture', in Barbet and Miniero (eds), *La Villa San Marco a Stabia* (Naples, Rome, Pompei 1999), 41–58.
- Rowland, I. D., and Howe, T. N. (eds) *Vitruvius: Ten Books on Architecture*, Translation by I. D. Rowland, Commentary and Illustrations by T. N. Howe (Cambridge 1999).
- Royo, M. *Domus imperatoriae: Topographie, formation et imaginaire des palais impériaux du Palatin (IIe siècle av. J.-C.–Ier siècle ap. J.-C.)* (Rome 1999).
- Ruffo, F. 'Stabiae: Villa San Marco e l'impianto urbano alla luce delle recenti indagini archeologiche (2008). Osservazioni preliminari', *RStPomp* 20 (2009) 87–102.
- Ruffo, F. 'Sulla topografia dell'antica Stabiae. Osservazioni sulla Villa San Marco e sul cosiddetto impianto urbano alla luce delle recenti indagini archeologiche (2008–2009)', *Oebalus: Studi sulla Campania nell'Antichità* 4 (2009) 235–71.
- Ruffo, F. 'L'insula sud-occidentale del cosiddetto "impianto urbano" di Stabiae. Nuovi dati dalla recente campagna di scavo (2009)', *Oebalus: Studi sulla Campania nell'Antichità* 5 (2010) 177–239.
- Ruggiero, M. *Degli scavi di Stabia dal 1749–1782* (Naples 1881).
- Ruggiero, M. *Storia degli scavi di Ercolano, ricomposta su' documenti superstiti da M. Ruggiero* (Naples 1885).
- Ruggiero, M. *Scavi di antichità nelle provincie di terraferma* (Naples 1888).
- Russo, A. 'Ostia' Pompeiana: Una proposta di classificazione, ricomposizione e valorizzazione, Ph.D. diss., Università degli studi di Firenze, Facoltà di Architettura (Florence 2001).
- de Ruyt, C. *Macellum: Marché alimentaire des romains* (Louvain-La-Neuve 1983).

- Sáez Braconi, P., and Uroz Sáez, J. *La Villa di Plinio il Giovane a San Giustino: Primi risultati di una ricerca in corso* (Perugia 1999).
- Salmon, F. *Building on Ruins: The Rediscovery of Rome and English Architecture* (Aldershot 2000).
- Salza Prina Ricotti, E. 'Le ville marittime di Silin (Leptis Magna)', *RendNap* 43 (1970-71) 135-63.
- Salza Prina Ricotti, E. 'La Villa Magna a Grotte Di Piastra', in *Castelporziano I: Campagna di scavo e restauro 1984* (Rome 1985) 53-66.
- Salza Prina Ricotti, E. 'The Importance of Water in Roman Garden Triclinia', in E. B. MacDougall (ed.), *Ancient Roman Villa Gardens*, *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium Series in the History of Landscape Architecture* 10 (Washington, DC 1987) 135-84.
- Salza Prina Ricotti, E. *Villa Adriana: Il sogno di un imperatore* (Rome 2001).
- Salza Prina Ricotti, E. 'Sistemazione paesaggistica del fronte a mare nelle ville marittime di epoca romana', in G. Bonifacio and A. M. Sodo (eds), *Stabiae: Storia e architettura: 2500 anniversario degli scavi di Stabiae 1749-1999: Convegno internazionale, Castellammare di Stabia, 25-27 marzo 2000*, *Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei* 7 (Rome 2002) 9-19.
- Sarnowski, T. *Les représentations de villas sur les mosaïques africaines tardives* (Wrocław 1978).
- Sasso D'Elia, L. 'Domus Augustana, Augustiana', *LTUR* 2 (1995) 40-5.
- Sauron, G. 'Templa serena: A propos de la "Villa des Papyri" d'Herculaneum: Contribution à l'étude des comportements aristocratiques romains à la fin de la république', *MÉFRA* 92 (1980) 277-301.
- Sauron, G. *L'histoire végétalisée: Ornement et politique à Rome*, *Antiqua* (Paris 2000).
- Sauron, G. 'Un *Amaltheum* dans la villa d'Oplontis/Torre Annunziata?', *RStPomp* 18 (2007) 41-6.
- Sauron, G. *La peinture allégorique à Pompeii: Le regard de Cicéron*, *Antiqua* 10 (Paris 2007).
- Scagliarini Corlàita, D. 'Spazio e decorazione nella pittura pompeiana', *Palladio* 23-5 (1974) 3-44.
- Scagliarini Corlàita, D. 'La villa di Desenzano del Garda. Appendice: Il settore rustico (F). Recenti indagini by E. Roffia', in E. Roffia (ed.), *Ville romane sul Lago di Garda* (Desenzano del Garda 1997) 191-215.
- Schapiro, M. 'Style', in A. L. Kroeber (ed.), *Anthropology Today: An Encyclopedic Inventory* (Chicago 1953) 137-44.
- Scheid, J. 'La spartizione sacrificale a Roma', in C. Grotanelli and N. Parise (eds), *Sacrificio e società nel mondo antico* (Rome 1988) 267-92.
- Scheid, J. *Romulus et ses frères: Le Collège des frères arvales, modèle du culte public dans la Rome des empereurs*, *BÉFAR* 275 (Rome 1990).
- Schiesaro, A. *Simulacrum et imago: Gli argomenti analogici nel De rerum natura* (Pisa 1990).
- Schluntz, E. *From Royal to Public Assembly Space: The Transformation of the 'Great Temple' Complex at Petra*, Ph.D. diss., Brown University (Providence, RI 1999).
- Schmeling, G. 'Trimalchio's Menu and Wine List', *CP* 65 (1970) 248-51.
- Schmidt, O. E. *Ciceros Villen* (Leipzig 1899). Republished in: F. Reutti (ed.), *Die Römische Villa* (Darmstadt 1990) 13-40.
- Schmidt, O. E. 'Ciceros Villen', in F. Reutti (ed.), *Die Römische Villa* (Darmstadt 1990) 13-40.

- Schmidt-Dounas, B. (ed.) *Schenkungen hellenistischer Herrscher an griechische Städte und Heiligtümer 2, Historische und archäologische Auswertung. 2. Archäologische Auswertung. Geschenke erhalten die Freundschaft* (Berlin 2000).
- Schnurbusch, D. *Convivium: Form und Bedeutung aristokratischer Geselligkeit in der römischen Antike*, Historia Einzelschriften 219 (Stuttgart 2011).
- Schürmann, A. 'Pneumatics on Stage in Pompeii: Ancient Automatic Devices and their Social Context', in G. Castagnetti, A. Ciarallo, and J. Renn (eds), *Homo Faber: Studies in Nature, Technology, and Science at the Time of Pompeii: Presented at a Conference at the Deutsches Museum, Munich 21–22 March 2000*, Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei 6 (Rome 2002) 35–55.
- Schweitzer, B. *Ein Nymphäum des frühen Hellenismus: Festgabe zur Winckelmannsfeier des Archäologischen seminars der Universität Leipzig am 10. Dezember 1938* (Leipzig 1938).
- Scruton, R. *The Classical Vernacular: Architectural Principles in an Age of Nihilism* (Manchester 1994).
- Scully, V. J. *Louis I. Kahn: Makers of Contemporary Architecture* (New York 1962).
- Seigne, J. 'M. Sharp Joukowsky, Petra Great Temple vol. 1: Brown University Excavations 1993–7 (review article)', *Topoi* 10 (2000) 507–16.
- Senatore, F. *Stabiae: Dalla preistoria alla guerra greco-gotica* (Pompei 2003).
- Senseney, J. R. 'Adrift Towards Empire: The Lost Porticus Octavia in Rome and the Origins of the Imperial Fora', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 70 (2011) 421–41.
- Settis, S. 'Descrizione di un ninfeo ellenistico', *Studi classici e orientali* 14 (1965) 247–57.
- Settis, S. 'Esedra e ninfeo nella terminologia architettonica del mondo romano dall'età repubblicana alla tarda Antichità', *ANRW I: 1* (1973) 683–740.
- Settis, S., and Donati, F. *Le pareti ingannevoli: La Villa di Livia e la pittura di giardino* (Milan 2002).
- Sgobbo, I. 'Serino: L'acquedotto romano della Campania: "Fontis Augustei Aqueductus"', *NSc* (1938) 75–97.
- Sgobbo, I. 'Le "Danzatrici" di Ercolano', *RendNap* 46 (1971) 51–74.
- Sider, D. *The Library of the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum* (Los Angeles 2005).
- Sider, D. 'The Books of the Villa of the Papyri', in M. Zarmakoupi (ed.), *The Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum: Archaeology, Reception, and Digital Reconstruction*, Sozomena: Studies in the Recovery of Ancient Texts 1 (Berlin and New York 2010) 115–27.
- Sider, S. 'Herculaneum's Library in 79 A.D.: The Villa of the Papyri', *Libraries and Culture* 25 (1990) 534–42.
- Siganidou, M. 'Die Basileia von Pella', in W. Hoepfner and G. Brands (eds), *Basileia: Die Paläste der hellenistischen Könige: Internationales Symposium in Berlin vom 16.12.1992 bis 20.12.1992*, Schriften des Seminars für Klassische Archäologie der Freien Universität Berlin (Mainz am Rhein 1996) 144–7.
- Slater, W. J. 'Three Problems in the History of Drama', *Phoenix* 47 (1993) 189–212.
- Slater, W. J. 'Pantomime Riots', *CLAnt* 13 (1994) 120–44.
- Smith, J. T. *Roman Villas: A Study in Social Structure* (London 1997).
- Smith, N. A. F. *A History of Dams* (London 1971).

- Smith, R. R. R. *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology (Oxford 1988).
- Smith, R. R. R. 'Simulacra Gentium: The Ethne from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias', *JRS* 78 (1988) 50–77.
- Smith, R. R. R. *Hellenistic Sculpture: A Handbook*, World of Art (London 1991).
- Smith, R. R. R. 'Die Skulpturenausstattung römischer Villen in Italien (review article)', *JRS* 82 (1992) 270–2.
- Smith, R. R. R. 'Kings and Philosophers', in A. Bulloch et al. (eds), *Images and Ideologies: Self-Definition in the Hellenistic World*, Hellenistic Culture and Society 12 (Berkeley and London 1993) 202–11.
- Sodo, A. M. 'I rinvenimenti recenti: Nuovi ambienti in luce a Villa Arianna', in D. Camardo and A. Ferrara (eds), *Stabiae, dai Borbone alle ultime scoperte* (Castellammare di Stabia 2001) 85–7.
- Solin, H. 'Analecta Epigraphica. CLXVII. Architectus', *Arctos* 31 (1997) 135–47.
- Soprano, P. 'I triclini all'aperto di Pompei', in A. Maiuri (ed.), *Pompeiana: Raccolta di studi per il secondo centenario degli scavi di Pompei* (Naples 1950) 288–310.
- Spencer, D. *Roman Landscape: Culture and Identity*, Greece & Rome: New Surveys in the Classics 39 (Cambridge 2011).
- Sperl, D. 'Glass und Licht in Architektur und Kunst', in W.-D. Heilmeyer and W. Hoepfner (eds), *Licht und Architektur*, Schriften des Seminars für Klassische Archäologie der Freien Universität Berlin (Tübingen 1991) 61–71.
- Squire, M. *Image and Text in Graeco-Roman Antiquity* (Cambridge 2009).
- von Stackelberg, K. T. *The Roman Garden: Space, Sense and Society*, Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies (London and New York 2009).
- Stanford, W. B. *The Ulysses Theme: A Study in the Adaptability of a Traditional Hero*, 2nd edn (Oxford 1968).
- Stangl, L. *Ciceronis Orationum scholiastae: Asconius, Scholia Bobiensia, Scholia Pseudasconii Sangallensia, Scholia Cluniacensia et recentiora Ambrosiana ac Vaticana, Scholia Lugdunensia sive Gronoviana et eorum excerpta Lugdunensia. Commentarii* (Hildesheim 1964).
- Steenbergen, C. M., and Reh, W. *Architecture and Landscape: The Design Experiment of the Great European Gardens and Landscapes* (Munich 1996).
- Stein-Hölkeskamp, E. *Das römische Gastmahl: Eine Kulturgeschichte* (Munich 2005).
- Stewart, A. F. 'To Entertain an Emperor: Sperlonga, Laokoon and Tiberius at the Dinner-Table', *JRS* 67 (1977) 76–90, pl. IX–XII.
- Strocka, V. M. 'Pompejanische Nebenzimmer', in B. Andreae and H. Kyrieleis (eds), *Neue Forschungen in Pompeji und den anderen vom Vesuvausbruch 79 n. Chr. verschüttet Städten* (Recklinghausen 1975).
- Stronach, D. *Pasargadae: A Report on the Excavations Conducted by the British Institute of Persian Studies from 1961 to 1963* (Oxford 1978).
- Stronach, D. 'The Royal Garden at Pasargadae: Evolution and Legacy', in L. de Meyer and E. Haerincx (eds), *Archeologia Iranica et Orientalis: Miscellanea in Honorem Louis Vanden Berghe* (Gant 1989) 475–502.
- Stronach, D. 'The Garden as a Political Statement: Some Case Studies from the Near East in the First Millennium BC', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 4 (1990) 171–80.

- Summerson, J., Sir. *Architecture in Britain 1530–1830*, Pelican History of Art (New Haven and London 1953).
- Summerson, J., Sir. 'The Classical Country House in 18th-Century England: I. Patronage and Performance, 1710–40, II. Progress and Decline of the Greater house, III. The Idea of the Villa', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 107 (1959) 539–87.
- Summerson, J., Sir. *The Classical Language of Architecture*, rev. and enlarged edn, World of Art (London 1980).
- Swetnam-Burland, M. 'Egyptian Objects, Roman contexts: A Taste for Aegyptiaca in Italy', in M. J. Versluys, L. Bricault and P. G. P. Meyboom (eds), *Nile Into Tiber: Egypt in the Roman World: Proceedings of the IIIrd International Conference of Isis Studies, Leiden, May 11–14 2005*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 159 (Leiden and Boston 2007) 113–36.
- Swoboda, K. M. *Römische und romanische Päläste: Eine architekturgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Vienna 1919).
- Symmes, M. (ed.) *Fountains, Splash and Spectacle: Water Design from the Renaissance to the Present* (London 1998).
- Tamm, B. *Auditorium and Palatium* (Lund 1963).
- Taylor, R. M. 'Torrent or Trickle? The Aqua Alsietina, the Naumachia Augusti, and the Transtiberim', *AJA* 101 (1997) 465–92.
- Taylor, R. M. *Public Needs and Private Pleasures: Water Distribution, the Tiber River and the Urban Development of Ancient Rome*, *Studia archaeologica* 109 (Rome 2000).
- Taylor, R. M. *Roman Builders: A Study in Architectural Process* (Cambridge 2003).
- Terpstra, T. T. 'The 2011 Field Season at the Villa San Marco, Stabiae: Preliminary Report on the Excavations', *The Journal of Fasti Online* 259 (2012). Online publication: <<http://www.fastionline.org/docs/FOLDER-it-2012-259.pdf>>
- T. Terpstra, L. Toniolo, and P. Gardelli, 'Campagna di scavo APAHA 2011 a Villa San Marco, Stabiae: relazione preliminare sull'indagine archeologica', *RStPomp* 22 [2011] 199–204.
- Terrenato, N. 'The Auditorium Site in Rome and the Origins of the Villa', *JRA* 14 (2001) 5–31.
- Thomas, E. 'Monochromata', in D. Scagliarini Corlàita (ed.), *I temi figurativi nella pittura parietale antica (IV sec. a.C. – IV sec. d.C.): Atti del VI Convegno internazionale sulla pittura parietale antica*, *Studi e Scavi* 5 (Bologna 1997) 135–41.
- Thomas, M. L., and Clarke, J. R. 'The Oplontis Project 2005–6: Observations on the Construction History of Villa A at Torre Annunziata', *JRA* 20 (2007), 223–32.
- Thomas, M. L., and Clarke, J. R. 'The Oplontis Project 2005–2006: New Evidence for the Building History and Decorative Programs at Villa A, Torre Annunziata', in P. G. Guzzo and M. P. Guidobaldi (eds), *Nuove ricerche archeologiche nell'area vesuviana (scavi 2003–2006)*, *Studi della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei* 25 (Rome 2008) 465–71.
- Thomas, M. L., and Clarke, J. R. 'Evidence of Demolition and Remodeling at Villa A at Oplontis (Villa of Poppaea) after A.D. 45', *JRA* 22 (2009) 355–64.
- Thomas, M. L., and Clarke, J. R. 'Water Features, the Atrium, and the Coastal Setting of Oplontis Villa A at Torre Annunziata', *JRA* 24 (2011) 370–81.

- Thomas, R. and Wilson, A. 'Water Supply for Roman Farms in Latium and South Etruria', *PBSR* 62 (1994) 139–96.
- Tocco Sciarelli, G. *Baia: Il ninfeo imperiale sommerso di punta Epitaffio* (Naples 1983).
- Tombrägel, M. 'Überlegungen zum Luxus in der hellenistischen Wohnarchitektur: Das Bild der römischen Otiumvillen', in S. Ladstätter and V. Scheibelreiter (eds), *Städtisches Wohnen im östlichen Mittelmeerraum 4. Jb. v.–I. Jb. n. Chr.: Akten des Kolloquiums von 24.–27. 10. 2007 an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, DenkschrWien 397, Archäologische Forschungen 18 (Vienna 2010) 605–20.
- Tomei, M. A. 'La villa di Nerone a Subiaco: Scavi e ricerche', *Archeologia Laziale* 6 (1984) 250–9.
- Torelli, M. 'La formazione della villa', in A. Momigliano and A. Schiavone (eds), *Storia di Roma: 2, L'impero mediterraneo: 1, La repubblica imperiale* (Turin 1990) 123–32.
- Tracy, S. V. 'Ephebic Inscriptions from Athens: Addenda and Corrigenda', *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 249–52.
- Tracy, S. V. 'Reflections on the Athenian Ephebeia in the Hellenistic Age', in D. Kah and P. Scholz (eds), *Das hellenistische Gymnasion*, Wissenskultur und gesellschaftlicher Wandel 8 (Berlin 2004) 207–10.
- Treggiari, S. 'Jobs in the Household of Livia', *PBSR* 43 (1975) 48–77.
- True, M., and Silveti, J. *The Getty Villa* (Los Angeles 2005).
- Trümper, M. *Wohnen in Delos: Eine baugeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Wandel der Wohnkulture in hellenistischer Zeit*, Internationale Archäologie 46 (Rahden 1998).
- Tuplin, C. *Achaemenid Studies*, Historia: Einzelschriften 99 (Stuttgart 1996).
- Turcan, R. *The Gods of Ancient Rome: Religion in Everyday Life from Archaic to Imperial Times*, trans. by A. Nevill (Edinburgh 2000).
- Tybout, R. A. *Aedificiorum figurae: Untersuchungen zu den Architekturdarstellungen des frühen zweiten Stils*, Dutch Monographs on Ancient History and Archaeology 7 (Amsterdam 1989).
- Tybout, R. A. 'Roman Wall-Painting and Social Significance', *JRA* 14 (2001) 33–56.
- Vallifuoco, M. 'Oggetti in ossidiana di Stabiae: Materiale e tecnica', in A. Corralini (ed.), *Vesuviana: Archeologie a confronto: Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Bologna, 14–16 gennaio 2008* (Bologna 2010) 485–96.
- Vighi, R. 'Anquillara Sabazia: Scoperta di una grande villa d'età repubblicana all'Acqua Claudia', *NSc* (1940) 398–419.
- Vighi, R. 'Architettura curvilinea romana: La villa ad esedra dell'Acqua Claudia', *Palladio* 5 (1941) 145–60.
- Villedieu, F. 'I giardini del tempio', in F. Villedieu (ed.), *Il giardino dei Cesari: Dai palazzo antichi all Vigna Barberini sul Monte Palatino: Scavi dell'Ecole française de Rome 1985–1999*, exhibition catalogue (Rome 2001) 94–100.
- Viscogliosi, A. 'Porticus Metelli', *LTUR* 4 (1999), 130–32.
- Vitanen, E.-M. *Locus Bonus: The Relationship of the Roman Villa to its Environment in the Vicinity of Rome*, PhD diss., Helsinki University (Helsinki 2010). Available at: <<https://helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10138/19448>>
- Volpe, R. 'Via Labicana', *Suburbium* (2003) 211–39.

- Vössing, K. *Mensa Regia: Das Bankett beim hellenistischen König und beim römischen Kaiser* (Leipzig 2004).
- Wacker, C. *Das Gymnasium in Olympia: Geschichte und Funktion*, Würzburger Forschungen zur Altertumskunde 2 (Würzburg 1996).
- Wacker, C. 'Die bauhistorische Entwicklung der Gymnasien: Von der Parkanlage zum "Idealgymnasium des Vitruv"', in D. Kah and P. Scholz (eds), *Das hellenistische Gymnasium*, Wissenskultur und gesellschaftlicher Wandel 8 (Berlin 2004) 349–62.
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. 'The Social Structure of the Roman House', *PBSR* 56 (1988) 43–97.
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. 'The Social Spread of Roman Luxury: Sampling Pompeii and Herculaneum', *PBSR* 58 (1990) 145–92.
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum* (Princeton 1994).
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. 'Rethinking the Roman Atrium House', in R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds), *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond*, JRA Supplement 22 (Portsmouth, RI 1997) 219–40.
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. 'The Villa as a Cultural Symbol', in A. Frazer (ed.), *The Roman Villa: Villa Urbana: First Williams Symposium on Classical Architecture held at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, April 21–22, 1990*, University Museum Monograph 101, University Museum Symposium Series 9 (Philadelphia 1998) 43–53.
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge 2008).
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. 'The Villa of the Mysteries and the Ideals of Hellenistic Hospitality', in G. P. R. Métraux and A. Marzano (eds), *Roman Villas in the Mediterranean Basin* (Cambridge and New York [forthcoming]).
- Wallat, K. *Die Ostseite des Forums von Pompeji* (Frankfurt am Main 1997).
- Walter-Karydi, E. 'Dangerous is Beautiful: The Elemental Quality of a Hellenistic Scylla', in O. Palagia and W. Coulson (eds), *Regional Schools in Hellenistic Sculpture: Proceedings of an International Conference Held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, March 15–17, 1996*, Oxbow Monograph 90 (Oxford 1998) 271–83.
- Warden, P. G. 'The Sculptural Program of the Villa of the Papyri', *JRA* 4 (1991) 257–61.
- Wattel de Croizant, O. 'I mosaici: 2. Mosaiques pariétales du nymphée', in A. Barbet and P. Miniero (eds), *La Villa San Marco a Stabia* (Rome, Naples, and Pompei 1999) 85–93.
- Weaver, P. R. C. *Familia Caesaris: A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves* (Cambridge 1972).
- Welch, K. E. 'Domi Militiaque: Roman Domestic Aesthetics and War Booty in the Republic', in S. Dillon and K. E. Welch (eds), *Representations of War in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge and New York 2006) 91–161.
- Wesenberg, B. 'Zum integrierten Silleben in der Wanddekoration des zweiten pompejanischen Stils', in E. M. Moormann (ed.), *Functional and Spatial Analysis of Wall Painting: Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress on Ancient Wall Painting, Amsterdam, 8–12 September 1992*, BABesch Supplement 3 (Leiden 1993) 160–7.
- Wigley, M. 'The Translation of Architecture, the Production of Babel', in K. M. Hays (ed.), *Architecture Theory since 1968* (Cambridge MA and London 1998) 660–75.
- Wilkins, J. 'Social Status and Fish in Ancient Rome', *Food Culture and History* 1 (1993) 191–203.

- Will, E., and Larché, F. *Traq al-Amir: Le château du tobiade Hyrcan. Volume I: Texte*, 2 vols (Paris 1991).
- Will, E., and Larché, F. *Traq al-Amir: Le château du tobiade Hyrcan. Volume II: Restitution et reconstruction*, 2 vols (Beyrouth 2005).
- Williams-Goldhagen, S. 'CODA: Reconceptualizing the Modern', in S. Williams-Goldhagen and R. Legault (eds), *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture* (Montréal and Cambridge, MA 2000) 301–23.
- Wilson, A. 'Running Water and Social Status in North Africa', in M. C. Horton and T. E. J. Wiedemann (eds), *North Africa from Antiquity to Islam: Papers of a Conference Held at Bristol, October 1994* (Bristol 1995) 52–6.
- Wilson, A. 'Hydraulic Engineering and Water Supply', in J. P. Oleson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Engineering and Technology in the Classical World* (Oxford and New York 2008) 285–318.
- Wilson, A. 'Villas, Horticulture and Irrigation Infrastructure in the Tiber Valley', in F. Coarelli and H. Patterson (eds), *Mercator Placidissimus: The Tiber Valley in Antiquity: New Research in the Upper and Middle River Valley, Rome 27–28 February 2004*, *Quaderni di Eutopia* 8 (Rome 2009) 731–68.
- Wilson, R. J. A. *Piazza Armerina* (London 1983).
- Wilson, R. J. A. 'Review of: *Die römische Villa: Architektur und Lebensform* by H. Mielsch', *JRS* 78 (1988) 244–5.
- Wilson, R. J. A. 'On the Origin of the Roman Civic Basilica: The Egyptian Connection', in S. T. A. M. Mols and E. M. Moormann (eds), *Omni pede stare: Saggi architettonici e circumvesuviani in memoriam Jos de Waele*, *Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei* 9 (Naples 2005) 128–39.
- Wilson, R. J. A. 'The Fourth-Century Villa at Piazza Armerina (Sicily) in its Wider Imperial Context: A Review of Some Aspects of Recent Research', in G. von Bülow and H. Zabelhicky (eds), *Bruckneudorf und Gamzigrad Spätantike Paläste und Großvillen im Donau-Balkan-Raum: Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums in Bruckneudorf vom 15. bis 18. Oktober 2008* (Bonn 2011) 55–87.
- Wilson Jones, M. *Principles of Roman architecture* (New Haven and London 2000).
- Wittkower, R. *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, 3rd rev. edn (London 1962).
- Wojcik, M. R. *La Villa dei Papiri ad Ercolano: Contributo alla ricostruzione dell'ideologia della nobilitas tardorepubblicana* (Rome 1986).
- Wood, C. S. *The Vienna School Reader: Politics and Art Historical Method in the 1930s* (New York and Cambridge 2000).
- Wuttmann, M. 'Les Quants De 'Ayn-Manâwîr (oasis de Kharga, Égypte)', in P. Briant (ed.), *Irrigation et drainage dans l'antiquité: Qanats et canalisations souterraines en Iran, en Égypte et en Grèce*, *Persika* 2 (Paris 2001) 109–35.
- Yegül, F. K. *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (New York and London 1992).
- Yegül, F. K. 'The Palaestra at Herculaneum as a New Architectural Type', in *Eius Virtutis Studiosi: Classical and Postclassical Studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown (1908–1988)*, *Studies in the History of Art* 43, *Symposium Papers* 23 (Washington, DC 1993) 368–93.

- Yegül, F. K. 'The Street Experience of Ancient Ephesus', in Z. Celik, D. G. Favro, and R. Ingesoll (eds), *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London 1994) 95–110.
- Yegül, F. K. *Bathing in the Roman World* (Cambridge 2010).
- Yerkes, S. R. 'Vitruvius' *Monstra*', *JRA* 13 (2000) 234–51.
- Zanker, P. 'Die Villa als Vorbild des späten Pompejanischen Wohngeschmacks', *JdI* 94 (1979) 460–523.
- Zanker, P. *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, Jerome Lectures, Sixteenth Series, trans. A. Shapiro (Ann Arbor 1988).
- Zanker, P. *Pompeji: Stadtbild und Wohngeschmack*, Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt 61 (Mainz am Rhein 1995).
- Zanker, P. *Pompeii: Public and Private Life*, Revealing antiquity 11 (Cambridge, MA 1998).
- Zanker, P. 'Domitian's Palace on the Palatine and the Imperial Image', in A. K. Bowman and F. Millar (eds), *Representations of Empire: Rome and the Mediterranean World*, *ProcBritAc* 114 (Oxford 2002) 105–30.
- Zanker, P. and Ewald, B. C. *Mit Mythen leben: Die Bilderwelt der römischen Sarkophage* (Munich 2004).
- Zarmakoupi, M. 'The Roman Villa and its Cultural Landscape from the Late Republic to the Early Empire', in A. Brauer, C. Mattusch, and A. Donohue (eds), *Common Ground: Archaeology, Art, Science and Humanities: The Proceedings of the 16th International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Boston 2003* (Oxford 2006) 245–8.
- Zarmakoupi, M. 'Designing the Landscapes of the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta', in D. Kurtz, C. Meyer, D. Saunders, A. Tsingarida, and N. Harris (eds), *Essays in Classical Archaeology for Eleni Hatzivassiliou 1977–2007*, BAR international series no. 1796, *Studies in classical archaeology* 4 (Oxford 2008) 269–76.
- Zarmakoupi, M. 'The Architectural Design of the Peristylum–Garden in Early Roman Luxury Villas', in S. Ladstätter and V. Scheibelreiter (eds), *Städtisches Wohnen im östlichen Mittelmeerraum 4. Jh. v.–1. Jh. n. Chr.: Akten des Kolloquiums von 24.–27. 10. 2007 an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, *DenkschrWien* 397, *Archäologische Forschungen* 18 (Vienna 2010) 621–31.
- Zarmakoupi, M. 'The Digital Model of the Villa of the Papyri: Issues of Reconstruction', in M. Zarmakoupi (ed.), *The Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum: Archaeology, Reception, and Digital Reconstruction*, *Sozomena: Studies in the Recovery of Ancient Texts* 1 (Berlin and New York 2010) 181–93.
- Zarmakoupi, M. 'Porticus and Cryptoporticus in Luxury Villa Architecture', in E. Poehler, M. Flohr, and K. Cole (eds), *Pompeii: Art, Industry and Infrastructure* (Oxford 2011) 41–52.
- Zarmakoupi, M. (ed.) *The Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum: Archaeology, Reception, and Digital Reconstruction*, *Sozomena: Studies in the Recovery of Ancient Texts* 1 (Berlin and New York 2010).
- Zevi, F. 'Claudio e Nerone: Ulisse a Baia e nella Domus Aurea', in B. Andreae and B. Conticello (eds), *Ulisse: Il mito e la memoria: Roma, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, 22 febbraio–2 settembre 1996*, exhibition catalogue (Rome 1996) 316–31.

FIGURE ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

5.7: Source: Aurigemma, *Villa Adriana*, 112, fig. 94; 2.3, 2.16, 2.24, 2.26, 2.32, 2.33, 4.1, 4.8, 5.12, 7.4, 7.5, 7.13, 7.17, 7.18, 7.19, App. 1, App. 2, App. 3, App. 4, App. 5: © The Author; 2.4, 2.12, 4.18, 4.19, 6.24, 6.25, 7.20, 7.21: © The Author. Modeling undertaken at the Experiential Technologies Center, University of California, Los Angeles; 2.5: © The Author, Plan based on: De Simone and Ruffo, 'Ercolano 1996–1998', 282, fig. 2; 2.8: © The Author, Plan based on: De Simone and Ruffo, 'Ercolano e la Villa dei Papiri', 286, fig. 7; and Guidobaldi and Esposito, 'New Archaeological Research', fig. 1; 2.6: © The Author, Plan based on: Guidobaldi and Esposito, 'New Archaeological Research', fig. 2; 2.9: © The Author, Plan based on: Guidobaldi and Esposito, 'New Archaeological Research', fig. 35; 5.5: Source: Bencivega, Fergola and Melillo, 'Ricerche sulla villa romana di Minori' fig. 53; 5.3: P. G. P. Meyboom and E. M. Moormann (eid., 'L'interpretazione delle scene figurative nelle decorazioni dipinte della Domus Aurea', in J.-M. Croiselle and Y. Perrin [eds.], *Neronia VI. Rome à l'époque néronienne. Institutions et vie politique, économie et société, vie intellectuelle, artistique et spirituelle* [Brussels 2002] 46–53, at 47, fig. 1); 7.2: Source: Castell, *The Villas of the Ancients*; 2.2, 2.7: Karl Weber's plan. Redrawn version of Weber's plan by Domenico Comparetti and Giulio De Petra (1883); 7.1: Source: Félibien des Avaux, *Les plans et les descriptions*, pl. 1; 4.4: Foundation of the Hellenic World, Athens, Greece; 3.3: After I. Arvanitis. Source: G. Gruben, *Ιερά και Ναοί των Αρχαίων Ελλήνων* (Athens 2000) 481, fig. 354a; 7.6: © J. Paul Getty Trust. Used with permission. Julius Shulman Photography Archive, Research Library at the Getty Research Institute (2004.R.10); 4.3: after E. Mango, 'Bankette im hellenistischen Gymnasion', in D. Kah, and P. Scholz (eds.), *Das hellenistischen Gymnasion* (Berlin 2004) 273–311, pl. 4; 2.23: plan based on Kockel 1985; 7.3: © Leon Krier and Rita Wolf, source: du Prey, *The Villas of Pliny*, pl.33; 5.9: Source: Maiuri, *Ercolano*; 2.10, 2.11, 2.13, 2.14, 2.18, 2.19, 2.20, 2.21, 2.22, 2.27, 3.1, 3.4, 3.5, 3.6, 3.7, 3.8, 3.9, 3.10, 3.11, 4.5, 4.6, 4.9, 4.10, 4.11, 4.12, 4.13, 4.14, 4.15, 4.16, 4.17, 4.20, 4.21, 5.4, 5.6, 5.8, 5.10, 5.11, 5.13, 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, 6.6, 6.7, 6.8, 6.9, 6.10, 6.11, 6.12, 6.13, 6.14, 6.15, 6.17, 6.18, 6.19, 6.20, 6.21, 6.22, 6.23, 6.26, 6.27, 7.9, 7.10, 7.11, 7.12, 7.14, 7.15, 7.16: Published with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali - Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei; 5.1: Source: Netzer, 'The Swimming Pools of the Hasmonean Period in Jericho', fig. 7; 5.2: Source: Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces*, 185, fig. 95; 4.2: after D. Pandermalis, 'Η κεράμωση του ανακτόρου της Βεργίνας', in Αμητός, *τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Μανόλη Ανδρόνικο*

(Salonica 1987) 579–605, fig. 17; 2.34, 2.35: Jacques Rougetet. Source: *Barbet and Miniero*, figs. 112, 65a; 2.17: © James Statton-Abbott and Victoria I; Bergmann, ‘Art and Nature’, pl. 1; 1.1: Talbert, Richard, J.A. (Ediotr); *The Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*. © 2000 Princeton University Press, reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press; 2.1: plan based on Weber’s plan published in *Wojcik*, pl. 1.

INDEX LOCORUM

- Antipater of Thessalonica
On Piso's defeat of the Bessi 137
Deserted Islands 138
- Aulus Gellius
Noctes Atticae
2.20.6 (= ORF 20) 4
- Cato the Elder
De Agricultura
1.1.-7 4
6.1 4
- Catullus
Carmina
64.60-4 164
- Cicero
Brutus
3.10 86
Epistulae ad Atticum
5.2.2 26
1.5.7 86
1.6.2 86, 118
1.7 86
1.8.2 86
2.3.2 82
Epistulae ad Familiares
7.1 27
7.23.2 119
Epistulae ad Quintum fratrem
3.1 18
3.1.3 104
3.1.5 117
De Finibus
5.2 108
De Legibus
2.2 162
De oratore
1.7.28 78, 86
1.98 104
2.20 76, 86, 91, 107
In Pisonem
48 240
De Re publica
1.9.14 78, 86
1.12.18 78, 86
Pro Plancio
65 26
Tusculanae Quaestiones
4.70 118
- Columella
De Re Rustica
1.6.1 6
1.6.21 3
8.17.1-6 167
8.17.1-11 21
- Dio Cassius
48.54.3-4 112
- Athenaeus
Deipnosophistae
12.542a 154
- Festus
282, 4 (= ORF 185) 4
- Frontinus
De Aqueductu
11 142
11.2 143
25.1-5 142
93.2 143
99.4 142
- Horace
Carmina
3.7.25-8 165
- Lucretius
De rerum natura
4.426-31 82

Martial

- 10.2 166
11.52.1-5 199

Ovid

Ars Amatoria

- 1.171-2 142
1.721-30 166

Petronius

Satyricon

- 26.20-27.1 199
53.8-11 190
59 190

Pliny the Elder

Historia Naturalis

- 3.109 143
7.184 190
9.170 149
12.3 22
12.9.20 112
12.54.111-12 112
15.136-7 112
17.65-6 74
19.19.51 109

Pliny the Younger

Epistulae

- 1.3 88
2.17.4-5 94
2.17.11 169
2.17.16-19 87, 89, 93, 94, 223-4, 237
2.17.16 75, 85
2.17.17 86, 87, 89
2.17.19-20 87
2.17.25 199
3.1.8 166
3.5.10 166
5.6.14-15 86
5.6.15 237
5.6.16 89
5.6.19 86
5.6.20 114
5.6.19-22 94

- 5.6.21 230-1
5.6.23-24 229
5.6.27-31 87, 94
5.6.30 87
6.16 27
7.21.2 87
9.7.4 86, 93
9.36.1-3 89, 90, 199
9.36.3 86, 87
9.36.3-4 91, 93

Plutarch

*Vitae Parallelae**Gaius Gracchus*

19.1-2 25

Lucullus

39.3 149

Marius

34.2 25

*Moralia**Quaestiones Convivales*

7.8.3 (711 E) 190

Propertius

1.11 164

Seneca

Epistulae

- 47.17 190
51.3 161
51.11 25
86.6-7 8

Sidonius Apollinaris

Epistulae

2.2.10 87

Statius

Silvae

- 1.3.1-6 21
1.3.20-3 21
1.3.64-9 21
2.2 20
2.2.15 20
2.2.30 75, 85
2.2.52-9 20-1

2.2.72–83 20

2.2.82–94 22

Strabo

Geographica

5.4.8 26, 157

Tacitus

Annales

14.22.2 143

Valerius Maximus

4.4.1 25

Varro

De Lingua Latina

6.22 153

De Re Rustica

3.2.13–16 6

3.13.2–3 190

3.17.1–9 21, 149

3.17.8–9 167

Vitruvius

De Architectura

3.2.5 81

5.5.3 60, 72

5.9.1 83

5.11.1 104

6.5.1 221

6.7.3 86

6.7.4 183

GENERAL INDEX

- Ackerman, James S. 10, 214
aedes, see *nymphaeum*
ager Campanus 25
ager Sabinus, villas 4–5
ager Tiburtinus, villas 4–5
agriculture 7
Aigai
 palace 19, 105
 theatre 75
Alberti 215, 225
 Villa Medici, Fiesole 225
Amaltheion, see *nymphaeum*
ambulationes 104
amoenitas 5
Anio river 6, 21, 143
Antioch, Seleucid Palace 113
Antipater of Thessalonica 137, 138
antrum, see *nymphaeum*
Apicius 181, 185
Appius Claudius Pulcher 44
aqueducts 6, 21, 50, 122, 141–4, 145–6, 150,
 166, 177, 261
 Aqua Alsietina 142, 143
 Aqua Augusta (Serino Aqueduct) 143–4
 Aqua Claudia 142, 151
 Aqua Julia 142
 Aqua Marcia 21, 142, 143
 Aqua Virgo 142
architecture
 and control of resources 22–3
 and design 14–15, 23, 67–8, 74, 101–2,
 213–43
 and social structure 8, 9, 23, 75
 as language 15–6, 17–23, 114–39, 212
 domestic 9, 75, 101, 103, 104–7, 113
 Greek exempla 18, 19, 75, 81, 103, 108
 Hellenistic 14, 18, 19, 80–1, 93, 103
 Herrschaftsarchitektur 213–4
 of travel 93–4
 public 23, 75, 79, 80–5, 101, 142–3
 Roman 14, 18, 19, 79, 81–5, 114, 139, 203
 water structures and features 14, 15, 17, 21,
 141–77
Aristotle 161
Athens, Akademia 107–8, 109
Atticus 162–3
 villa at Tusculum 162
Augustus 43, 112, 142
 house of 84, 106, 150
 naumachia 142
Badajoz, villa la Cocosa 120
Bad Neuenahr-Ahrweiler, villa in 122
Baiae, grotto at Punta Epitaffio
 154, 175–6
bases villae, see villa, terracing structures
Bergmann, Bettina 13
Bigelman, David, and Léon Krier 215
 Pliny's villas, reconstructions of 215
Boscotrecase 130
 Macedonian painting cycle 43
Brein, Harold, see Zion, Robert
building techniques
 wooden frames filled with sun-dried
 clay 4
 opus caementicium 20, 85, 142
C. Marius 76
 villa of 25
Caesaria, Herodian palace 149
Campania 2, 8, 175
 buildings 41, 154
 cities 25
 coastal investments 48, 154
 landscape in art of 122–39
 market lists of 186
Capasso, Gateano 30
 Villa of the Papyri, reconstruction of 30
Capri, grottos 154
Cassius' villa, Tivoli 159
Castell, Robert 215, 217
 Pliny's villas, reconstructions of 215, 217

- Cato the Elder 4, 5, 7, 25
 Celer 214
 Champlin, Edward 84
 Chiragan villa, near Toulouse 120
 baths of 200
 Cicero 7–8, 16, 26–7, 76, 78, 85–6, 107, 109,
 116–17, 118–19, 240
 Clarke, John R. 45, 49–50
 Claudius 28, 151
 Claudius Etruscus, baths of 173
 Columella 4, 6
 Cornelia, villa of 25
 Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus 4
 Corrado Goulet, Crispin 95
crypta / crupta 87–8
 Cumae 26
 Cyrus 82
- D'Arms, John H. 9
 D'Orsi, Libero 59, 68
 De Angelis, Francesco 71
 De Simone, Antonio 30
 Delos 138–9
 House of Hermes 152, 176–7
 Villa at Fourni 152
 Delphi
 Stoa of Athenians 80
 Demetrias, palace 105
 Demosthenes 43
 Dickmann, Jens-Arne 106
 Dillon, Sheila 42, 44
 display
 of acrobats 190
 of portraits 42–3
 of spoils 80
 of status 5, 8, 220
 of wealth 1, 5, 6, 7, 17, 166, 240
 sculptural 43–5, 118–19, 172, 174–7
 Domitian 205
 Colosseum, Saturnalia feast 180
 see also Rome, Domus Augustana
 villa of at Sabaudia 159
domus, see nymphaeum
 Dunbabin, Katherine M. D. 191
 Duris 154
- Edwards, Catharine 8
 Egypt 158–9
 cup with scenes from 28
 marble from 22
 Roman fascination with 157–61
 themes in Roman architecture 159–61
 themes in Roman art 158–9
 Epicurean ideals 43–4
 Epicurus 43, 109–10
 garden 109–10
 Esposito, Domenico 41
 Eumenes II 80
- farmhouses 3, 4, 5, 26, 241–2
 farmsteads *see* farmhouses
 Félibien des Avaux 215
 Pliny's villas, reconstructions of 215
 Fishbourne villa 120
fistulae aquariae, see water pipes
 Fontana 153
Fonta/Fontinalia 153
 Fontanus 152
 Förtsch, Reinhard 11
- Gadebridge Park, villa in 122
 garden
 and imperialism 111–12, 114
 in art 20, 50, 79, 122–39, 222
 ornamental 7
 porticoed 15, 19, 37, 38, 41, 42, 59, 62, 63,
 70, 71, 72, 90, 92, 103–40, 154, 156, 162,
 165, 172, 192, 196, 199, 200, 203, 206,
 211–12, 213, 220, 221, 222, 225–6, 230,
 234–5, 232, 236, 240, 245–63
 studies 12–3
 terraced 5
 trees and plants 22, 63, 72–4, 112, 113,
 114–17, 145–6
 see also hortus, paradeisos
- Gelon of Suracusa 154
 Giardino Vecchio, villa at 4
 Gleason, Kathryn 13
 Greek culture 5, 50, 76, 103, 119,
 241, 242
 Griffin, Jasper 164–5

- Guidobaldi, Maria Paola 30
gymnasium 16, 19, 78, 85–6, 103, 104, 106,
 107–11, 120, 164, 241
- Hadrian 18, 219
 Villa at Tivoli 192, 219
 Canopus, at Tivoli Villa 159–61, 175
 Villa Tivoli, statues 175, 176
- Hellenistic East
 conquest of 7, 17–18, 19
 contact with 241
 travels to 19
 ‘Hellenization’ 18–19
- Hemarchos 43
- Herculaneum 44, 48
 excavations 32
 houses at 9
 mosaics 12
 wall paintings 12
 Insula I 32
 North-West Insula 32
 Palaestra at Insula Orientalis II 98, 167, 168
 Thermal complex 32–7
 House of Mosaic Atrium 195
 House of the Relief of Telephus 32, 138
- Hermodorus of Salamis 79, 81
- Herod the Great
 encounters with Roman architecture 149
 palaces of 147–9
- Herodes Atticus
 villa at Loukou 165
- Heron of Alexandria 232
- Himmelmann, Nikolaus 42
- Historia Augusta* 159–61, 219
- Hoffer, Stanley E. 88
- Horace 182, 241
 villa of at Licenza 169
- hortus* III, 114
- Hyrchanus, palace of 147
- Italy 1, 3, 11, 22, 26, 74, 79, 114, 153, 157, 173,
 175, 186, 190
- Jashemski, Wilhelmina M. F. 12, 45, 145
- J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu 30
- Jericho, Hasmonean winter palaces 147,
 148–9
- Kahn, Louis 219
 Hadrian’s villa, interest in 219
- Koenig, Pierre 194, 222, 223, 234
 Stahl House 194, 222, 223, 234
- Kos, sanctuary of Asklepios 19
- Krier, Léon, *see* Bigelman, David
- Kuttner, Ann 176
- L. Calpurnius Piso Caesonius 27, 43, 108, 137
- L. Licinius Crassus 76, 107
- La Vega, Francesco 66
- Laken, Lara 95
- landowning 7
- landscape 1, 12–3, 20, 78–9, 103, 109, 194–5
 and aesthetics 7, 14, 18, 180, 211–12, 222
 and architecture 3, 14, 19–20, 48, 103–40,
 141, 144–5, 154–5, 180, 194–6, 203–11,
 214, 222–3, 224–43
 in art 19–20, 50, 75, 78–9, 122–39, 197–8
 of production 7, 10, 194
 studies 12
 urban 83, 85, 152
- Lauter, Hans 3
- Lavagne, Henri 156
- Le Corbusier 93–4, 219, 225, 235
 architecture of travel 93
 Hadrian’s villa, interest in 219
 Unité d’Habitation, Marseilles 235
Vers une architecture 93–4
 Villa Savoye, Poissy 94
 Villa Stein - de Monzie 225
- Libeskind, Daniel 226
 Jewish Museum, Berlin 226
- lifestyle *à la grecque* 7, 14, 18, 241
- Ligorio, Pirro 232
 fountain of Diana of Ephesus, Villa
 d’Este 232
- Livy 180–1
- Lloyd Wright, Frank 224–5
 Kaufmann house (‘Fallingwater’) 224–5
- Lucilius 138
- Lucius Sulla 48

- Lucullus, fishponds 149
 Luschin, Edgar Markus 93
luxuria, see luxury
 luxury 5, 22, 26, 75, 106, 113, 114, 120, 141,
 146–52, 161, 162, 163, 173, 174, 180–8, 190,
 194, 205, 213–43
 Lyons, Israel and Ellis, architectural firm 94
 Wyndham Court, Southampton 94
- MacDonald, William L. 83
macellum 186–7
 Maiuro, Marco 71
 Manlius Vopiscus, villa of 21, 143
 marble trade 11, 22, 173
 Marcus Marius, villa of 27
 M. Vipsanius Agrippa 27, 143, 161
 Martial 164, 166, 184
 Marzano, Annalisa 11
 Mattusch, Carol 44
 Mielsch, Harald 9, 75
 Miletus, Portico of Antiochos I 81
 Misenum 25, 26, 143, 149
 Moesch, Valeria 43
 monumental terraces 19
 Moore, Charles 219
 Hadrian's villa, interest in 219
museum, see *nymphaeum*
- Naples, bay of 1, 2, 25–6, 143, 173
 Aqua Augusta (Serino Aqueduct), see
 aqueducts
 Narcissus 28
negotium 1, 43, 44
 Nennig, villa at 121, 122
 Nero 27, 84, 142
 Domus Aurea 84, 99, 142, 151, 154,
 176, 214
 Sublaqueum, villa at 143
 Neudecker, Richard 12, 42, 44
 Neuerberg, Norman 153
 'New Brutalists' 94
 Ninfio Bergantino 175, 176
nymphaeum 37, 66, 72, 74, 93, 118, 120, 142,
 150, 151, 152–7, 167, 168, 172, 174, 175–6,
 229, 230, 232, 235, 259, 260–1
- Olympia, *palaestra* 19
 Oplontis 48
 Second Style wall paintings 43
The Oplontis Project 45
 O'Sullivan, Timothy 78
otium 1, 5, 7, 9, 43, 44, 76, 88–9, 101, 162
- palaestra* 16, 19, 78, 104, 107
 Palladio 213, 215, 221
 'Palladianism' 243
 Villa Almerico ('La Rotonda'),
 Vicenza 215, 221
 Villa Barbaro, Maser 221
 Villa Emo 221
 Villa Thiene 221
 Pandermalis, Dimitrios 43
paradeisos 113, 146–50
 Pasargadae, palace 147
 Pella palace 105
peristylum 86, 104, 105, 106, 114, 119–20
 Pergamon
 Acropolis 19
 Demeter sanctuary 75
 Temple of Athena Nikephoros, portico 80
 Perseus 7
 defeat at Pydna 7
 Petra, market complex 149–50
 Petronius 182, 190
 Peutinger Map 48
 Philodemus of Gadara 43
 Philon of Byzantium 232
piscinae 5, 21, 37
 Pliny the Elder 22, 109–10, 111–12
 Pliny the Younger 11, 16–7, 20, 87–9, 91–2,
 93, 94, 101, 146, 166, 168–9, 172, 215, 220,
 223–4, 225, 229, 230, 232, 237
 Laurentine villa of 89, 146, 169, 223–4, 237
 Tuscan villa of 89, 91, 114, 229, 232,
 237, 238
 Pollius Felix, villa of, Surrentum 22, 102
 Pompeii 26–7, 48
 Alexander Mosaic 43
 apartments above Suburban Baths 98
 building of Eumachia 88
 Herculaneum Gate 48

- Pompeii (*cont.*)
- house gardens 145–6
 - House I 12, 11 145
 - House of Ceii 157
 - House of the Chaste Lovers 145
 - House of C. Iulius Polybius 98
 - House of the Ephebos 145
 - House of the Golden Bracelet 145
 - House of the Faun 27, 106
 - House of the Labyrinth 106
 - House of the Orchard 157
 - House of Orpheus 190
 - House of Pansa 27
 - House of Polybius 145
 - House of Sallustius 27
 - House of the Vettii 145
 - houses at 9
 - mosaics 12
 - Stabian Baths 98
 - Villa of Diomedes 169, 172
 - wall paintings 12
- Pomponianus, villa of 27
- Poppaea Sabina 27
- porticus* 14, 15, 17, 19, 75–102, 104, 106, 111, 119–20, 122, 127, 128, 159, 167, 172, 177, 196, 211, 212, 235–40
- Ptolemais, Palazzo delle Colonne 147
- Ptolemy IV, Nile ship 93–4
- Punta della Vipera, villa at 6
- fishpond 6, 166, 167
- Purcell, Nicholas 7, 11
- Q. Lutatius Catulus 76, 78, 84, 107
- Quintilius Varro, villa of 5, 166
- fishpond 6, 166
- Quintus, estate of 146
- Ramsay, Allan 219
- Raphael 215
- Villa Madama, outside Rome 215
- Renaissance 16
- architecture 16, 165, 213, 215, 225, 242
 - discovery and reinvention of Roman architecture 3, 215, 225, 2427
 - modern studies of houses 10
- res privata* 43
- res publica* 43
- Roman
- ancestral values 5
 - aristocracy 7, 8, 50, 79
 - bathing habits 15, 142, 173–4
 - baths 8
 - cultural negotiations 1, 103
 - dining habits 15, 179–87
 - four styles of wall painting 12
 - elite lifestyle 1, 11, 15, 27, 44, 78, 89, 101, 103, 108–9, 112, 119, 120–2, 141, 174, 181, 190, 212, 213, 241
 - equestrian order 7, 18
 - freedmen 8
 - identity 5
 - mores* 22, 118
 - self-fashioning 7, 16–7, 119, 239, 241
 - senatorial order 1, 18, 25, 26, 27, 28
 - sumptuary legislation 7
- ‘Romanization’ 18–19
- Rome 25
- Aqua Alsietina, *see* aqueducts
 - Aqua Claudia, *see* aqueducts
 - Aqua Julia, *see* aqueducts
 - Aqua Marcia, *see* aqueducts
 - Aqua Virgo, *see* aqueducts
 - Ara Pacis Augustae 20
 - Baths of Agrippa 161
 - Curia 81
 - Domus Augustana 151–2
 - Domus Aurea 84, 99, 142, 151, 154, 176, 214
 - Domus Flavia 84, 151, 192
 - Domus Gai 150–1
 - Forum Augusti 83
 - Forum Iulium 83
 - Forum Transitorium 83
 - gardens of Sallust 161–2
 - House of Livia 157
 - Julia Aqueduct 142
 - Palatine 84, 150–1
 - pool built by Claudius 150–1
 - Portico of the Danaids 84
 - Porticus of Metellus 80, 81
 - Porticus of Pompey 81, 111, 114

- Roman Forum 83
 Sanctuary of Elagabalus 112
 Temple of Apollo 84
 Temple of Divus Claudius 142
 Templum Pacis 112
 Theatre of Pompey 81
 Venus Victrix Temple 81
 Via Appia, villas 143
 Villa Farnesina 126, 157
 Virgo Aqueduct 142, 161
 Rostovtzeff, Michael 10
 Ruffo, Fabrizio 30
- Saint Phalle, Niki de, and Jean Tinguely 233
 Fontaine Stravinsky, Paris 233, 234
 Samothrace, Nike of 177
 Sauron, Gilles 43
 Scarpa, Carlo 235
 Brion Tomb, San Vito d'Altivole 235
 Scipio, villa of 8
 bath of 8
 Second Punic War 8, 25
 Seneca 8, 16, 190
 Serino, Aqua Augusta (Serino aqueduct),
 see aqueducts
 Settefinestre, Etruria, villa at 6, 7, 203
 aviary upbringing 6
 pigsty 6
 farmland 7
 ornamental garden 7
 Settis, Salvatore 153
 Severus 214
 Sidonius Apollinaris 87
 slavery
 economic model of 10
 Smith, R. R. R. 42, 44
 Soane, John, Sir 215
 Pitshanger Manor 215
 Somme valley, villas 122
specus, *see* *nymphaeum*
spelunca, *see* *nymphaeum*
 Spencer, Diana 13
 Sperlonga 172, 175, 188
 villa grotto 154, 176
 Stabiae 27, 50
 mosaics 12
 wall paintings 12
 Restoring Ancient Stabiae Foundation 58,
 59, 70
 Stackelberg, von, Katharine 13
 Statius 16, 17, 20, 21, 85, 101, 102, 173, 180
 statues 8, 41
 Roman copies of Greek 11
 Susa, Darius' Palace 113
 Summerson, John, Sir 16
 Swoboda, Karl M. 9, 104
- Terpstra, Taco 71
 Terzigno, villa of 131
Templum nymphaeum, *see* *nymphaeum*
 Thomas, Michael L. 45, 49–50
 Tiberius
 villa of, Capri 137, 145
 Tinguely, Jean, *see* Saint Phalle, Niki
 Trimalchio 181–2, 184, 190
- Varro 4, 5, 6, 14, 21, 166
 villa 3–8
 expolita/polita 4, 7
 maritima 6
 pseudo-urbana 6
 rustica 5, 25, 26–7
 suburbana 6
 urbana 5, 14
 pars fructuaria 6
 pars rustica 6
 pars urbana 6, 7
 'schiavistica' 10–11
 'system' 10–11
 and landscape 10, 12–3, 14, 19–23
 animal breeding 6
 architecture 8–9, 11, 13–17, 18
 as a cultural phenomenon 8, 13
 as metaphor 17
 as utopia 17
 atrium 60, 212, 220–2, 235–6
 bathing 198–203
 bird breeding 6
 cryptoporticus 87–102
 culture 18

- villa (*cont.*)
- design 20–1, 23
 - diaeta* 22, 72, 114, 191, 205, 210, 212, 230–1, 234–5, 259
 - economic activities 6, 7, 10–11, 166, 193
 - equipment 11–12, 22
 - Euripus 161, 162
 - fish breeding 6
 - gardens 22, 103–40, 111
 - glass use 194–5
 - horticulture 6
 - intellectual activities 88–94
 - literary descriptions of 16
 - marble cladding 22–3
 - mythological subjects as
 - decoration 174–7, 235
 - Nile 157–61
 - pools 165–74
 - porticus*, *see porticus*
 - porticoed gardens 14, 15, 19, 103–40
 - statuary 11, 41, 114–19, 175–7
 - study of 8–13
 - terracing structures 19, 20, 41, 135, 136, 157
 - triclina* 14, 189–212
 - water features 114, 174–7, 220, 247, 256, 258, 261
 - water 15, 17, 20, 21, 48, 49–50, 74, 113, 114, 117, 119, 141–77, 229–35, 242, 243
- Villa Arianna A, Stabiae 14, 28, 54–66, 68, 71, 72, 74, 90, 91–2, 104, 105, 116, 128, 137, 140, 144, 175, 187, 192, 194, 205–6, 212, 222, 226, 232, 236, 239, 254–7
- atrium* 60
 - chronology 60–66
 - cryptoporticus* 89
 - excavations 54–60
 - Fourth style wall paintings 127–8, 255, 256
 - nymphaeum* 156
 - walkways 91–92
 - water supply 144
 - west peristylum garden 104
- Villa Arianna B, Stabiae 14, 28, 54, 59, 66–8, 71, 105, 128, 137, 140, 144, 162, 173, 187, 192, 205, 232, 239, 257–8
- chronology 67
 - excavations 66
 - Fourth style wall paintings 62, 67, 128, 258
 - pool 162
 - villa plan 67–8
 - water supply 144
- Villa Adrianna 155
- Villa of Anteros and Heracleo 54, 68
- Villa Anguillara Sabazia 144–5
- ‘Villa of Caesar’, Baiae 25
- Villa at Centocelle 200
- Villa Centroni 165, 167
- Villa d’Este 232
- Villa at Desenzano, lake Garda 192
- Villa of the Faun 54, 68
- Villa Fusco 54
- Villa delle Grotte, Elba island 157, 165, 167, 168
- Villa of Livia, Prima Porta 20, 112, 154, 185
- Villa of Maritime Odeon, Silin 203
- Villa Minori 155, 169, 172, 191
- Villa at Montmaurin 192
- Villa of Mysteries 131, 173
- Villa Oplontis A, Torre Annunziata 14, 27, 45–54, 68, 72, 74, 88, 90–1, 92, 94, 104, 105, 106, 114, 115, 116, 117, 119, 122–7, 128, 129–130, 133, 135, 136, 137, 139, 140, 144, 157, 162, 167, 168, 172, 182–3, 185, 187, 191, 192, 194, 196–8, 205–11, 212, 225, 233, 234, 236, 238–9, 249–54
- atrium* 48–9, 50–2, 221
 - chronology 48–50
 - cryptoporticus* 90–1
 - excavations 45–8, 49
 - Fourth style wall paintings 49, 52, 101, 123–6, 127, 128, 251, 253
 - garden 48–9
 - landscape paintings 122–7
 - pool 49, 162, 165, 167
 - porticoes 48, 79, 88, 167, 236
 - sculptures 117–8
 - Second Style wall paintings 50, 79, 123, 127
 - The Oplontis Project*, *see* Oplontis
 - Third Style wall paintings 48–9, 99, 123, 127
 - ‘Third Style renovation’ 48, 49, 50
 - villa plan 48–52

- walkways 92, 94–101
 water features 49–50, 233
 water supply 144
 ‘zebra-patterns’ decoration 50–2, 95–9
- Villa Oplontis B, Torre Annunziata 48, 187
- Villa Oplontis C, Torre Annunziata 48
- Villa of the Papyri 6, 14, 28–45, 59, 68, 72,
 91–2, 100, 104, 119, 122, 129–137, 138, 139,
 140, 144, 169, 187, 192, 194–5, 205–6, 212,
 221, 223, 225–6, 236, 238, 239, 240, 245–9
- accessible areas 37–40
- atrium* 37, 41, 42, 135–7, 221, 223
- chronology 40–1
- digital model 44–5
- excavations 30–3, 41
- fishpond 6–7, 188
- Fourth style wall paintings 135, 136
- grotto 40, 156–7
- landscape paintings 129–37
- library 28, 43
- plan 37–45
- rectangular *peristylum*-garden 37, 42, 104,
 162, 172, 247–9
- sculptural decorations 41–4
- Second Style wall paintings 41, 129–35, 136–7
- square *peristylum*-garden 37, 42, 162, 166,
 245–7
- tablinum* 42, 43, 172
- walkways 91–2
- water supply 144
- Villa del Pastore 54, 71, 100
- Villa di Pompeo 157
- Villa Piazza Armerina 192, 200
- Villa Sambuco, Etruria 4
- Villa San Marco, Stabiae 14, 28, 50, 68–74,
 88, 92, 93, 100, 105, 114, 115, 118, 119,
 127–9, 140, 144, 145–6, 159, 162, 168–9,
 187, 192, 194, 199, 205–11, 222, 225, 226,
 230, 232, 233, 234–5, 238, 258–63
- bath suite 199
- chronology 71
- excavations 68–71
- Fourth style wall paintings 127, 174, 260,
 261, 262
- garden 71–4, 172
- landscape paintings 127–9
- nymphaeum* 154–7, 172, 174, 176
- pool 162, 165, 168–9
- porticus* 88
- statues 118
- villa plan 71–4
- walkways 92
- water features 233
- water supply 144
- Villa Tabarca 193–4
- Virgil 20
- Vitruvius 16, 60, 72, 86, 123, 183, 190,
 203, 220
- voluptas* 5
- voluptariae possessiones* 5–6
- Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew 9
- wall paintings, Pompeian styles of
- Second Style 41, 43, 50, 78–9, 84 fn.34,
 103, 106, 116, 122–3, 126, 129–36,
 137, 139
- Third Style 48, 49, 50, 75, 79, 99, 101,
 122–3, 136, 138, 139, 211
- Fourth Style 49, 52, 62, 67, 75, 100–1, 103,
 122–9, 135–6, 139, 174, 211, 246, 251, 253,
 255, 256, 258, 260, 261, 262
- Mau and 12
- water
- and luxury 146–152
- and sensuality 141, 164, 165–6, 174–7
- myths associated with 163–5
- pipe(s) 27, 28
- volume measurement 142, 161
- Watters, Meg 70
- Weber, Karl 30, 32, 42, 54, 68, 71
- Wojcik, Maria Rita 42, 43–4
- xystus* 16, 19, 86, 87, 89, 91, 93, 100
- Zanker, Paul 9, 75, 192
- Zeno 43
- Zion, Robert, and Harold Brein 231
- Paley Park, New York 231