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THE NATURE OF THE *VILLA SUBURBANA* IN LATIUM AND CAMPANIA: LITERARY AND SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL AND POTENTIAL ENTERTAINMENT FUNCTIONS FROM THE 2nd CENTURY BC TO THE 2nd CENTURY AD

VOLUME I

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Declaration

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

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ABSTRACT

This study analyses the chief characteristics of the layout of central Italian suburban villas, using specific case studies of 59 villas that have been excavated and/or recorded outside the cities of Rome, Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabiae. This analysis aims to uncover correlations between the literary definition of "suburbia", the identification of villas as "suburban" – as opposed to fully rural, or maritime, for example – and the functions of space as intended in architectural layout. The results should be threefold – to discover whether there was a distinctive ancient understanding of a *villa suburbana* so as to elucidate the nature of the Roman concept of "suburbia"; to bring together a detailed study of the material remains of known and datable *villae suburbanae* in central Italy; and finally to determine if there is a unique pattern to the ratio of public and private spaces in suburban villas, so that such a pattern can be applied to future identifications of villas in heavily urbanised regions of Italy. By looking at architectural spaces (that often do not have a large number of recorded artefacts) in order to determine a trend for social function and the intentions behind their inclusion this methodology should be easily applied elsewhere.

This study of *villae suburbanae* illustrates the dual function of these residences. Suburban villas often had a productive agricultural role but they also had an important social role. The agricultural function at many estates is clearly shown in the inclusion of areas for various types of agricultural production. However, the social function of the *villa suburbana* made them distinct from purely utilitarian complexes. This role is more difficult to determine, often being represented by a series of different areas serving different social roles.

In order to determine the social function of many *villae suburbanae* the rooms that served as potential entertainment space must be identified. The precise nature of social activity undertaken at *villae suburbanae* is rarely shown in the archaeological record, but this is largely owing to the multiple uses the potential entertainment spaces within the complexes. The literary evidence has provided some insight into the activities that different areas within the *domus*

housed, but this discussion has been kept to a minimum in order to avoid over-generalisation about the function of particular areas.

The importance of social activity in suburban villas has been highlighted by the percentage of space within each household that is likely to have been used for entertainment. Entertainment space within a villa was often intended to be used by household visitors. This type of space can be identified by examining the levels of accessibility and inaccessibility of each room: the more accessible a room is, the more likely it is to serve a public function using the Hillier and Hanson model. The focus for analysis of public and private space has been those complexes located in Campania, due to the abundant extant material at many of these sites. Examinations of potential entertainment areas have shown that there was a mean percentage of space likely to have been used for entertainment within these suburban villas. This provides a good indication of the importance of social function within these residences in the extra-urban regions.

In order to analyse the extent of the social function of the *suburbium* in each region, potential entertainment areas within suburban villas have been compared to some urban townhouses in order to establish the continuity in social function in both residences. Each district examined in this study has shown differences in the provision of and access to infrastructure, but there was a consistent level of emphasis upon entertainment at all of the *villae suburbanae*. In general, the different regions under discussion have illustrated different social requirements, but have shown a consistent minimum amount of space within each *villa suburbana* that provided an appropriate setting for entertainment.

Introduction

Nunc quoniam plerosque nostrum civilis ambitio saepe evocat ac saepius detinet evocatus, sequitur ut suburbanum praedium commodissimum esse putem, quo vel occupato cotidianus excursus facile post negotia fori contingat.[1]

The advantages of a suburban estate are explained in this passage by Columella, highlighting the benefits of owning a property close to an urban centre.[2] One of the most significant features in the *suburbium* of Rome and other cities throughout Italy were the *villae suburbanae*. Modern scholarship has undertaken a large amount of research into the residential properties and lifestyles of the Roman nobility, and the Roman villa has been a prime subject area in this regard. But *villae suburbanae* have only received limited detailed analysis from these scholars. To this end, this study examines both the literary and archaeological evidence relating to *villae suburbanae* in an effort to gain a better understanding of this type of residence. The first fundamental feature of this investigation is to understand these buildings within their social and geographical context.[3]

The second fundamental feature of this study is the method employed to interpret the social aspects of *villae suburbanae*, which utilises statistical analysis to determine the percentage of space allocated for potential entertainment. This dual approach makes the study both historically relevant for a more comprehensive analysis of *villae suburbanae*, and methodologically innovative as it introduces a new methodology for analysing floor plans of residences, which should be applicable to other types of structure in future investigations. This method of determining potential entertainment space has been used in conjunction with the Hillier and Hanson method of statistically measuring spatial analysis to, in turn, understand the division of entertainment space between both public and

[1] Columella, 1.1.19. "Now since political ambition often calls most of us away, and even more often keeps us away when called, I therefore rate it as most advantageous to have a suburban estate, which even the busy man may easily visit after his work in the forum is done."
[2] Columella uses the term *praedium* rather than *villa* in this instance because he is referring to the productivity of the property not the benefits of the residence itself.
[3] C. Parslow, "Beyond Domestic Architecture at Pompeii", *AJA* 103.2, 1999, p. 340.

private regions.[4] By examining the accessibility of each room under discussion this method provides a clearer image of different functions performed by varying spaces within the structure.

The prime foci of the case study for this method has been the Campanian villas and townhouses because of the greater amount of existing material and information available about these sites. This is not to say that it is a perfect source of archaeological data, but the comparatively numerous publications on these sites and the extant archaeological evidence still provide some advantages for this analysis. The methodology has been applied to villas outside Rome because of their social and historical significance for suburban villas in general.

Before proceeding further, the phrase 'potential entertainment space', which has been used consistently throughout this study, should be defined. This term is used broadly to describe regions within the residences that may have been used for entertaining guests or for leisure. The exact nature of what can be deemed 'entertainment' is ambiguous and usually impossible to determine absolutely from the archaeological record. However, it emerges from the evidence that most rooms within the residences under examination actually served a variety of roles, which not only makes the use of 'potential' necessary within this phrase, but also the nature of the entertainment somewhat hypothetical. Rooms determined in this study to have been potentially used for entertainment were likely to have had other uses, but it is their use for *otium* in particular that is the present focus of this research.

For the purposes of this study there are four terms in particular that must be defined: 'entertainment space' (and therefore the meaning of 'non-entertainment space'), 'social', 'public' and 'private'. 'Entertainment space' has been used to indicate an area of a residence that could be used for either relaxation or the receipt of visitors by the leading residents of the household. The use of this phrase is intentionally general by reason of allowing a degree of flexibility in regard to the specific activities that occurred in such regions. The 'entertainment space' of the structures under question were those areas that could be used for purposes other than the general duties of the household. With this definition in mind, it is logical

[4] B. Hillier and J. Hanson, *The Social Logic of Space*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1984.

that the definition of 'non-entertainment space' are those areas that functioned as architectural spaces intended to fulfil the utilitarian responsibilities (or daily workings) of the household. The 'non-entertainment space' was not intended for communal gatherings or self-indulgence of any kind, but to provide areas for the smooth running of the residence.

The term 'social', which is often used to clarify the more general phrase of 'entertainment space,' is intended to indicate interactions between the leading members of the household with people from outside the household (typically in an amicable context, although this does not preclude commercial or political contexts). The use of this term is intended to highlight the potential for a communal function with non-household members in a particular architectural setting.

The term 'public' has been used in this study to indicate areas within a residence that could be frequented by groups of residents and non-residents whether they had been formally invited into the architectural setting or not. The 'public' regions were areas that could be easily accessed from the entrance to the structure and that also had a low level of restriction for people from outside the household. 'Public' has frequently been used in this study in conjunction with 'social' in order to indicate the potential for communal gatherings in these areas (for a variety of occasions) that were also quite distinct from the 'private' regions.

'Private' has been used to indicate areas that were only accessible by members of the household and their *invited* guests. These rooms were more secluded in their location and their accessibility had a higher degree of control. These 'private' areas contrasted the 'public'/communal (or social) regions because of their reduced accessibility and limited clientele. The division of areas into 'public' and 'private' spaces has primarily been made through the consideration of their architectural type (see below), the secondary spatial data analysis (or the Hillier and Hanson method) and the other available information on each architectural space, such as décor, aspect and the finds from each room.

Nevertheless, there must be a note of caution. Owing to the meagre publication of the lists of finds at most sites under discussion in the Campanian region, there are limits to this study. Without a comprehensive source of knowledge on the finds of each room, it is difficult to gain a detailed

understanding of the actuality of room function at the time of the eruption.[5] This limitation, however, does not preclude analysis entirely. By examining the architectural spaces and the intentions behind their inclusion in the structure, it is possible to ascertain a pattern of design and potential function in areas that do not have a high number of recorded artefacts. It is certain that the layout and location of most rooms would have governed their role within each structure and their intended function would depend upon the preferences/priorities of the owner. There was certainly some evolution in room function over time, which has been taken into consideration where possible. But it was the intention behind the construction of *villae suburbanae* that is the most fundamental inquiry within this study, particularly in relation to their social role (as shown in the potential entertainment rooms).

Many of these rooms also incorporated a reception function as well as an entertainment role, which indicates more of an official role for these spaces. In the consideration of what was potential entertainment space only the front hall, which was traditionally used for reception, has been excluded. This is owing to the almost universal inclusion of a front hall, which was also frequently used as an entrance vestibule by the first century AD after the introduction of colonnaded courtyards. The social intentions of villa owners were not represented by the inclusion of halls within the group of potential entertainment rooms.

The designation of rooms that possessed a potential entertainment function has been primarily based upon their 'architectural type', or in other words their location within each residence. This approach is following the differentiation of 'type' in accordance with those advocated by Allison, 2004.[6] This work has undertaken a detailed analysis and divided the different architectural types into groups on account of their position within each residence (Table A). The Type Numbers used here are the same as those used by Allison in order for the greatest consistency to be achieved in the conjunction of both studies. However, there will only be six types of room (of 22 types in all used by Allison) that are considered to have possessed a potential entertainment function: Types 6, 7, 9, 10, 11 and 13.

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[5] c.f. P.M. Allison, *Pompeian Households: an analysis of the material culture*, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, Monograph 42: Los Angeles, 2004.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

Table A – Types of Rooms and their Location		
Type Number	**Section**	**Location/Description**
1	Front Hall Area	Main Entranceway
2	Front Hall Area	Room Leading Directly off Front Entranceway
3	Front Hall Area	Front Hall
4	Front Hall Area	Small closed Room off Side of Front Hall
5	Front Hall Area	Open-Fronted Area off Side of Front Hall
6	Front Hall Area	Large/Medium Room off Corner of the Front Hall
7	Front Hall Area	Open-sided Room Opposite Main Entrance or Leading to a Garden
8	Front Hall Area	Long, Narrow Internal Corridor
9	Main Garden Area	Main Garden, Colonnaded Garden/Courtyard and their Ambulatories or Terrace
10	Main Garden Area	Large/Medium Closed Room off a Garden/Terrace but with a Limited View
11	Main Garden Area	Large/Medium Open-Fronted Room off a Garden/Terrace with a Window or wide Entranceway Giving a View of a Garden or Lower Floor
12	Main Garden Area	Small Closed Room off Garden/Terrace or Lower Floor
13	Main Garden Area	Small Open-Fronted Room off a Garden, Terrace or Lower Floor
14	Other Areas (Rear)	Room with Cooking Hearth or Associated Room (Kitchen Area)
15	Other Areas (Rear)	Latrine as Entire Room
16	Other Areas (Rear)	Other Room outside Main Front-Hall/Garden Complex
17	Other Areas (Rear)	Stairway
18	Other Areas (Rear)	Secondary Internal Open Area
19	Other Areas (Rear)	Secondary Entrance
20	Other Areas (Front)	Room at Front of House Open to the Street
21	Other Areas (Rear)	Bath Area
22	Other Areas (Rear)	Upper Floor Rooms and Material in Upper-Level Deposits

Type 6 has been described by Allison as "medium/large rooms off the corners of front halls",[7] which (through her analysis) had a varied role in general terms, but there was a clear trend of possibly being used for dining purposes.[8]

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 78.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

The clear majority of Type 6 rooms were also finely decorated,[9] which seems to further the suggestion that this type of architectural space were used as potential entertainment areas. Type 7 rooms often formed a wide corridor between the front hall and garden areas, which had openings in the form of both doors and windows between each section.[10] This room type also produced a variety of loose finds,[11] but the central location and open aspect indicate that Type 7 rooms were quite accessible in their disposition,[12] and should be included among the areas with a potential entertainment role. Type 9 areas are defined as being gardens and colonnaded gardens/courtyards with ambulatories or terraces. The study of Allison has clearly illustrated that these areas were commonly used for both display and utilitarian roles,[13] which would justify their designation as being potential entertainment areas. Allison's study has also shown that some of these areas were clearly intended for a purely utilitarian function.[14] It is for this reason that the results of the statistical analysis have been performed in two fashions" by collecting data that both includes and excludes these often large areas to maintain the value of the analysis.

Type 10 areas are described by Allison as being "medium/large closed rooms off gardens/terraces without good views."[15] Allison's study found that, of the corpus considered, all of these rooms were decorated and that there was a strong indication within the finds that these rooms were associated with food preparation and dining.[16] It is for this reason that Type 10 rooms have been ascribed a potential entertainment function. Type 11 rooms were similar to those of Type 10, except that they had a more open aspect overlooking the gardens/terraces.[17] Type 11 rooms produced more evidence of dining couches, beds and tables than Type 10 areas,[18] suggesting their use as dining areas. It is for this reason that they are appropriate rooms to be classified as potential entertainment rooms. Type 13 areas have been described by Allison as "small

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 78.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 80.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 82.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 122.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 86-90.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 90.
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 91-2.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 92.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

open-fronted areas off gardens/terraces or lower floors."[19] These rooms produced few finds overall, but did frequently provide pieces of statues, furniture, braziers, lamps and domestic ceramics.[20] In view of the secluded location of Type 13 rooms and the prevalence of finds associated with decoration and dining, it seems likely that they performed a potential entertainment function. These types of rooms provide the clearest examples of areas that potentially served an entertainment role, being the most appropriate architectural types to be designated as having such a function. The remaining 16 room-types have been excluded from this group because of the limited evidence that could suggest a potential entertainment role. This has primarily been determined by their architectural type, but the findings of Allison have also largely determined the reduced possibility for potential entertainment in these areas.[21]

The division between the social roles of rooms with a potential entertainment function and those without has been investigated in order to present a view of the differences between areas intended for large-scale public entertainment and those meant for private/intimate occasions. This has been highlighted by the Hillier and Hanson method, which clearly illustrates the accessibility of particular rooms and in turn their public or private natures.[22] The implications when applying this method to Pompeian residences has been fully discussed by Grahame,[23] but it provides a valuable tool to statistically exhibit the informal social divisions that existed within each residence. Even the criticisms of Clarke and Brown,[24] that this method can only be used for determining the relationship between inhabitants and strangers, are correct, this is precisely the intention for its use within this study. The social features of *villae suburbanae* are the central theme of the statistical interpretations of potential entertainment space.

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[19] *Ibid.*, p. 98.
[20] *Ibid.*
[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 63-123.
[22] Hillier and Hanson, 1984, *op.cit.*, pp. 96-140, 148-75.
[23] M. Grahame, *Reading Space: social interaction and identity in the houses of Roman Pompeii*, BAR Int. Series 886: Oxford, 2000, pp. 37-42.
[24] S. Clarke, "Social Change and architectural diversity in Roman Period Britain", in C. Forcey, J. Hawthorne, C. Lembke and R. Witcher (eds.), *TRAC 97, Proceedings of the Seventh Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Nottingham 1997*, Oxbow: Oxford, 1998, pp. 28-41; F.E. Brown, "Comment on Chapman: some cautionary notes on the application of spatial measures to prehistoric settlements", in R. Samson (ed.), *The Social Archaeology of Houses*, Edinburgh University Press: Edinburgh, 1990, pp. 100-1.

Several aspects of *villae suburbanae* are discussed in this investigation, but the central historical focus is on the purpose of these suburban villas and the function they performed within Roman society. These buildings served a unique role within the community and portrayed an appearance of leisure and culture by remaining detached from the wider community while maintaining an intimate connection with the city centre. The advantages of living in the suburban zone is highlighted in the relief from Avezzano (Plate 1), illustrating both their connection to the city as well as the greater freedom they had to create a personal 'paradise' that this lifestyle allowed. There were also other types of villa erected by the wealthy élite: the coastal villas (*villae maritimae*) and agricultural villas. It is the hypothesis of this thesis that *villae suburbanae* were frequently designed and built for different purposes, but the concept behind them was unique and they were regarded as a distinct type of residence.

Previous Research

The previous studies on archaeological statistical/spatial analysis by Hillier and Hanson, Grahame, Longfellow, Clarke and Brown have all been of great assistance in the development of the statistical/spatial analysis undertaken in this study.[25] Each scholar has added to the discussion of the use of statistics in the interpretation of ancient residences, contributing to the development of this style of analysing potential entertainment space. The work of De Kind,[26] has also been useful having employed a similar method (examining surface areas and their implications for interpretation), but not focusing upon the potential entertainment space at each residence. The study of Champlin,[27] has focused upon the literary terminology for the suburbs of Rome, but it has not applied this investigation to the archaeological sites around Rome or further afield. Purcell has also written several important articles focusing on the use and features of the suburbs around Rome,[28] but again the focus has been predominantly upon the literary evidence.

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[25] Hillier and Hanson, *op.cit.*; Grahame, 2000, *op.cit.*; B. Longfellow, "A Gendered Space? Location and Function of Rooms in the Villa of the Mysteries", in Gazda, E.K. (ed.), *The Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii – ancient ritual, modern muse*, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology: Ann Arbor, 2000, pp. 25-37; Clarke, 1998, *op.cit.*; Brown, 1990, *op.cit.*

[26] R.E.L.B. De Kind, *Houses in Herculaneum: a new view on the town planning and the building of Insulae III and IV*, J.C. Gieben: Amsterdam, 1998.

[27] E. Champlin, "The Suburbium of Rome", *AJAH* 7, 1982, pp. 97-117.

[28] N. Purcell, "Wine and Wealth in Ancient Italy", *JRS* 75, 1985, pp. 1-19; "Tomb and Suburb", in Von Hesberg, H. and Zanker, P. (eds.), *Römische Gräberstraßen*, Bayerischen Akademie der

The research of Allison has also made a significant contribution to this study through her reassessment of previous Pompeian archaeological methodologies and their assumptions.[29] However, the present study is approaching the material from an architectural perspective in order to determine the owners' intentions behind construction, rather than the daily reality of life in suburban villas,[30] which is almost impossible to determine without the publication of the finds at each site. Eleanor Winsor Leach has also undertaken a study of social activity in the Roman house in her latest work, *The Social Life of Painting in Ancient Rome and on the Bay of Naples*,[31] but has used the evidence of the wall paintings rather than floor plans. These different approaches to study of domestic activities have different merits and intentions, but the possibility to comprehensively include all three methods is beyond the scope of this study.

Percival, however, saw suburban villas as only being distinguishable from townhouses because of their location on the outskirts of town rather than at its centre.[32] This perspective is incorrect because it neglects the differences in plan, function and lifestyle between the two types of residence. The definition of a suburban villa as being truly urban is fraught with difficulties, as is its definition as being strictly rural. That being said, the majority of suburban villas follow a floor plan, which is closer to that of its agricultural counterparts. There are, of course, exceptions to this rule, but it would be inaccurate to class a suburban villa

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Wissenschaften: Munich, 1987a, pp. 25-41; "Town in Country and Country in Town", in MacDougall, E.B. (ed.), *Ancient Roman Villa Gardens*, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture 10: Washington, 1987b, pp. 187-203; "The City of Rome and the Plebs Urbana in the Late Republic", *CAH* 9, 2nd ed., Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1994, pp. 644-88; "The Roman villa and the landscape of production", in Cornell, T.J. and Lomas, K. (eds.), *Urban Society in Roman Italy*, University College London Press: London, 1995, pp. 151-79; "The Roman Garden as a Domestic Building", in I.M. Barton (ed.), *Roman Domestic Buildings*, University of Exeter Press: Exeter, 1996, pp. 121-51; "Dialectical gardening", *JRA* 14.2, 2001, pp. 546-56.

[29] P.M. Allison, "The relationship between wall-decoration and room-type in Pompeian houses: a case study of the Casa della Caccia Antica", *JRA* 5, 1992, pp. 235-49; "Artifact Distribution and Spatial Function in Pompeian Houses", in Rawson, B. and Weaver, P. (eds.), *The Roman Family in Italy: status, sentiment and space*, Humanities Research Centre: Canberra, 1997, pp. 321-54; "Using the Material and Written Sources: turn of the Millennium Approaches to Roman domestic Space", *AJA* 105.2, 2001a, pp. 181-208; "Placing Individuals: Pompeian Epigraphy in Context", *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 14.1, 2001b, pp. 53-74; *Pompeian Households: an analysis of the material culture*, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, Monograph 42: Los Angeles, 2004.

[30] Owing to the publication of *Pompeian Households* by Allison just prior to the completion of this thesis, only certain elements have been able to be fully taken into consideration.

[31] E.W. Leach, *The Social Life of Painting in Ancient Rome and on the Bay of Naples*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2004.

with the townhouses as Percival has done. Brion has referred to suburban villas as having the advantage of being close enough to the city so as to be intimately connected with it, while enjoying the privacy and comfort of a rural lifestyle.[33] This reference to suburban villas has its merits, but it falls short of an encompassing description of this type of structure, failing to take into account the layout and functions of a suburban villa that made it unique.

There have also been regional studies conducted on Italian housing, particularly around the Bay of Naples. Owing to the vast amount of archaeological material still extant in this region the focus on this area is understandable, but the need to examine the known villas around Rome is also essential for more comprehensive analysis of suburban villas, in view of Rome's social and political importance. The most notable studies on these suburban villas in the Campanian region are by D'Arms, Wallace-Hadrill and Clarke. *Romans on the Bay of Naples* (1970) by D'Arms discusses villas in the Bay of Naples and he has compiled an impressive corpus of reference material and discussion on these villas, but he has focused primarily upon *villae maritimae*, not *villae suburbanae*.[34] According to D'Arms suburban villas were only used for short visits,[35] which generalises the divergent use of this particular type of residence. His focus upon villas in this region is also a limitation in kind, almost completely disregarding suburban villas around Rome, but this was not the authors' focus area.

Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum by Wallace-Hadrill has produced a thorough social study of the houses from Pompeii and Herculaneum, but the suburban villas are grouped with the townhouses instead of being examined as a distinct type of residence.[36] The study of *villae suburbanae* within a broader social context is important, but their differences from townhouses should not be ignored. *The Houses of Roman Italy, 100 B.C.-A.D. 250* by Clarke examines two Campanian suburban villas in great detail, namely the Villa of the

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[32] J. Percival, *The Roman Villa*, Book Club Associates: London, 1976, p. 54.
[33] M. Brion, *Pompeii and Herculaneum: the Glory and the Grief*, Sphere Books: London, 1973, p. 159.
[34] J.H. D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples*, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass., 1970.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 49.
[36] A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*, Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1994.

Mysteries and the Villa of Poppea at Oplontis, but the focus is primarily upon the development of decorative styles rather than analysing the type of residences.[37] Both Wallace-Hadrill and Clarke have made valuable contributions to our understanding of domestic space, architecture and décor, but they have not properly treated *villae suburbanae* as separate entities to other types of residence.

There has been no previous attempt to analyse suburban villas as a whole, but there are many studies that examine several examples individually. Works of this kind include the archaeological reports by Amedeo Maiuri, such as *La Villa dei Misteri* and *La casa di Loreio Tiburtino e la villa di Diomede in Pompei.*[38] Both reports provide detailed information about two important suburban villas. Carrington, Day and Rostovtzeff have previously analysed many of the sites under discussion,[39] but included little detailed comment upon each structure, limiting their use for examining *villae suburbanae* as a group. Jashemski has also made a valuable contribution for understanding the gardens at many of the sites under discussion,[40] but these gardens and not the *villae suburbanae* have been the prime focus of the study.

There are also other works of note for this study, but they do not directly focus upon the topic under discussion. One is *Pompeii: public and private life* by Zanker,[41] which focuses upon the urban lifestyle and many of the progressions in architecture and decorative fashions during the development of the city until AD 79. A great deal of the concentration is upon urban structures, arguing that villa architecture influenced the construction of several Pompeian townhouses. He also provides useful information concerning the development of architecture in Pompeii, but does not discuss *villae suburbanae* there. Another important study is *Roman Pompeii: space and society* by Ray Laurence.[42] It also focuses upon the

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[37] J. Clarke, *The Houses of Roman Italy, 100 BC-AD 250: ritual space and decoration*, University of California Press: Berkeley, 1991.
[38] A. Maiuri, *Villa dei Misteri*, La Libreria dello Stato: Rome, 1948; A. Maiuri and R. Pane, *La Casa di Loreio Tiburtino e la Villa di Diomede in Pompei*, I Monumenti Italiani Series 2, Fasc. I, La Libreria dello Stato: Rome, 1947.
[39] R.C. Carrington, "Studies in the Campanian 'Villae Rusticae'", *JRS* 21, 1931, pp. 110-30; J. Day, "Agriculture in the life of Pompeii", *Yale Classical Studies* 4, 1932, pp. 165-208; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 2nd ed., Vol. 2, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1957, p. 552.
[40] W.F. Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villas destroyed by Vesuvius*, Vol. 1 and 2, Aristide D. Caratzas: New Rochelle, 1979.
[41] P. Zanker, *Pompeii: public and private life*, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass., 1998.
[42] R. Laurence, *Roman Pompeii: space and society*, Routledge: London, 1994.

urban environment, assessing many of the archaeological remains in order to gain some understanding of the public life in ancient Pompeii. Again, this analysis is an important source of reference, but it too disregards suburban villas. All of these studies have made valuable contributions towards the present topic, but a comprehensive and detailed analysis of *villae suburbanae*, on both a literary and archaeological level, has not been previously undertaken.

Overall Method

It is possible to understand *villae suburbanae* by examining both the literary and archaeological evidence to investigate the ideal conception and practical realities of these structures. The collective inconsistencies and subjectivity of the ancient literary sources containing information about *villae suburbanae* has been complemented by a similar variation in the archaeological record, but this is indicative of the diverse roles that many *villae suburbanae* performed, frequently epitomising *luxuria* and *fecundus*, *urbanitas* and *rusticitas*, *otium* and *negotium*. As stated by Columella in the initial passage of this study, the advantages of suburban estates were diverse.[43]

For the purpose of this study central Italy provides the most manageable and relevant area within the Roman social and political climate. The study focuses upon two main parts of central Italy: the political capital at Rome and three centres in Campania, namely Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabiae. A limited amount of evidence is used from other regions in Italy for comparative purposes, but there are two strong reasons for choosing these sites.

Firstly, the wealth of archaeological and literary evidence for this region is highly significant. The eruption of Mount Vesuvius in AD 79, which covered a wide area including Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabiae, has provided a unique location for analysing the architecture, decoration and lifestyles of residences from the period. In addition, the majority of the literary evidence was concerned with estates either around Rome or throughout Italy.

Secondly, this region was of great social importance to the upper echelons of Roman society. The literary evidence has shown that the regions around Rome and the Bay of Naples contained many villas that were owned by leading Roman

[43] See Volume I, p. 1.

citizens, and by examining these structures we gain a greater understanding of their lifestyles and the social climate within the upper levels of these communities.

The *villae suburbanae* in this study were appealing to wealthy members of each community because of the possibilities of their use for a number of purposes both social and economic. Life in the *suburbium* varied in accordance with the finances and lifestyles of its inhabitants, which changed over time, depending upon the social, political and fiscal climate in each region.

Not every building in the *suburbium* was a *villa suburbana*, but this study exhibits how *villae suburbanae* differed from other surrounding structures, epitomising their prominence throughout the extra-urban areas. This prominence resulted not only from their impressive architectural and decorative features, but also from the highly social function that these residences allowed their owners to perform. It was this public role that distinguished them from the typical agricultural farmsteads that were so common throughout the extra-urban hinterland of the cities under examination.

In this study suburban villas are compared to the local townhouses in their surrounding locations. Being frequently located close to the urban centres, often just outside the walls, the comparison between these structures is essential. One of the most important aspects of this is the comparison of structural floor plans. The differences between urban and suburban residences are quite obvious. *Villae suburbanae* were not as limited with their use of space, allowing for an increasingly open aspect. Townhouses, however, were comparatively constrained by other structures and the intricate road network within the city precincts, which made their focus more insular. Even with some of the largest houses, such as the House of the Faun in Pompeii that covered an extremely large amount of space, the plan was still introspective in its focus. Many large townhouses were designed to create a private sanctuary towards the rear of the building by constructing large *peristyla* and ornate gardens. By comparison, the additional space and the open planning of *villae suburbanae* allowed a more sweeping perspective. This was a fundamental difference between the layout of townhouses and suburban villas. The size of these establishments and the social standing of

the inhabitants has been another consideration when discussing the different residences.

Despite differences in structure, the social role of both large urban townhouses and many *villae suburbanae* were quite similar. The direct literary references to *villae suburbanae* and the areas within the known suburban villas designated for potential entertainment purposes make this clear. Entertainment areas for residents and guests at many *villae suburbanae* were an important feature of these residences and seem to have been one of the features that distinguished them from other non-urban structures. The provision of social areas was commonly complemented by facilities for *luxuria* and *otium*, thus highlighting the intended lifestyles of their owners.

Villae suburbanae were domestic residences that were intended to maintain a luxurious lifestyle and make use of their position to the fullest extent. One of the most compelling features of suburban villas, in fact often with the majority of villas, was the view. It was a common characteristic for the building to be orientated towards the best views of the local landscape. It was for this reason that the Bay of Naples region was one of the most popular with the Roman aristocracy. Terraces, sitting rooms and colonnades were frequently constructed for the view over the bay, adding to the leisurely and cultured lifestyle that was commonly a prime consideration for the aristocracy. However, at many complexes there was still agricultural productivity. Agricultural production was quite important at many *villae suburbanae*, but this was not always the case. It is clear that suburban villas cannot be overly generalised, with different structures ranging in their main purpose from providing luxury to productivity. It is often the balance of these elements that determined the characteristics of *villae suburbanae*.

It is the diversity of uses for these buildings that distinguishes suburban villas from the coastal and agricultural villas. Coastal villas were built primarily as a place to escape the hectic lifestyle of urban society, while many Italian agricultural villas maintained a prime focus upon production (leisurely aspects of rural living were not neglected, but productivity seems to have been the most important feature of these residences). In many ways, suburban villas were a combination of coastal and agricultural villas. Several *villae suburbanae* have

archaeological evidence for the manufacture of wine and oil for commercial purposes, but not to the same scale as agricultural villas. Leisure and luxury were still the prime consideration when constructing suburban villas, but this did not preclude a suburban residence from a degree of productive capacity. The residents of these buildings would have had easy access to the centre of town, but while they were at their suburban villas they could escape from a socially determined and often unhealthy lifestyle in the city. At the same time they were not completely isolated from the political, economic and social aspects of life in the urban centre.

This study uses several methods to present the broadest possible perspective on the significance and development of suburban villas and for the lifestyle of their residents. Each *villa suburbana* and its associated urban centre has been discussed, in order to obtain an accurate representation of the social climate during the period under investigation. By examining each *villa suburbana* separately, the danger of generalisation has been avoided when making an overall analysis.

References in the literary sources to *villae suburbanae* are significant for our understanding of them, including the many allusions to suburban properties without the expressed classification of there being a villa present. Therefore, at the outset the prime focus must be to determine the conception of suburban villas. After considering all of the primary references on *villae suburbanae* and their location, it is possible to determine a clear definition of a *villa suburbana.*

This classification of *villae suburbanae* depicts these establishments as well-appointed residences located in the *suburbium*, possessing a prominent role for entertainment and privacy, but not excluding agricultural productivity from their possible functions. This definition is supported by the ancient literature and further by the archaeological data. The literary conception of *villae suburbanae* is invaluable because these references illustrate the varied way in which the residences were used and allows for a better understanding of the material evidence.

Method for Archaeological Material

The analysis and methods used in this study are varied in accordance with the nature of each site. Firstly, the finds and layout of each site are examined where possible, including their distance from the respective urban centres, as well as the levels of wealth displayed in the architecture and decoration of the building. This allows for further insight into the social standing and the activities of the owners of these structures.[44] The most important aspect is the variation in the percentage of space allocated for potential entertainment within the structures. This assists in determining the variation in relation to a villa's position from the city centre. In turn these results have been compared with the urban houses to find any further variation. This is significant because it determines whether there was any substantial difference amongst each group of villas and the implications this had for the social function of these suburban complexes.

The selection of structures to be analysed throughout this study has been determined by the availability of material and the desire to establish the most comprehensive understanding of *villae suburbanae*. In certain circumstances this has led to a selection process concerning the choice of sites (such as the suburban villas around Rome and the townhouses in Pompeii). The sites around Rome have been used because of the availability of data on each complex, whereas other sites in the region have had fewer published finds. This group provides a good selection of suburban villas that illustrate their variance in character. A selection of townhouses has been used as a comparison with the *villae suburbanae* outside Pompeii. The choice of site was made according to availability of information and floor plans, as well as their variance in size and appearance in order to gain the fullest source of data for comparison. The outer suburban regions of Pompeii possess a large corpus of material that illustrates the difference between *villae suburbanae* and agricultural complexes in this region. The most comprehensive understanding of suburban villas can be established by determining their differences and similarities to other structures. The use of statistics has been the most beneficial method of accomplishing this.

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[44] Allison, 1992, *op.cit.*, p. 248.

Statistical Method

The process of acquiring the statistical data for measuring potential entertainment space was applied universally to all structures that had available floor plans. Owing to the varying levels of excavation and the date of publication of some plans this meant that the results were reliant upon the published accounts. The process involved measuring the surface areas of entire structures and the spaces within the walls. The overall size of each complex has been determined by its layout. Those structures with a definitive boundary, such as the Villa Regina in Boscoreale (Villa 29), provide a clear demarcation of their limits. Other structures plainly include a domestic garden within a boundary wall, such as the Villas of Livia at Prima Porta (Villa 1) and Horace at Sabinum (Villa 4). These have also been included because it is clear that these regions were seen as being in closer association with the house rather than the estate.[45] This variation in the limits of each residence is indicative of the differing elements found at each site. Colonnaded courtyards were measured to include the porticoes because of the viewing connection that they had with the interior.[46] Each room was examined individually with the records of its finds and décor in order to determine its function, but its position within the entire structure was also taken into account.

Following this, the surface area of each room potentially used for entertainment was calculated and converted into a percentage of the total surface area of the entire structure. These results have been shown in a series of Tables (Tables 2-14) and the total percentage of potential entertainment space for each structure has been illustrated in a series of graphs. The graphs have provided the most coherent form of comparison of the possible social roles of each structure in a way that takes into consideration the size of each complex, the percentage of potential entertainment space (thus removing the differences in each villa's total surface area) and the aspect (internal/external) of each structure's capacity for serving an entertainment function. In order to differentiate between each type of structure within these graphs, they have been colour coded according to location and character. A red Mean line has been added to most of these graphs in order for the average result to be used on a comparative basis in the analysis of each

[45] Pliny the Younger, *Ep.*, 5.6.8-20.
[46] Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, 3.2.8; 5.1.1-3.

group of structures.[47] By presenting the statistical results in this fashion it facilitates the best format for discussion. The graphs have used the assigned 'Villa number' when displaying the results for each different *villa suburbana* (such as the Villa of Livia being 'Villa 1').[48]

Statistical Analysis: Potential Entertainment Space

One of the most important analytical tools for the archaeological material throughout this study is the use of statistics taken from the amount of space designated for various functions. This has been done in a similar fashion to the study of De Kind on houses at Herculaneum,[49] but with a different focus. The statistics have derived from the potential entertainment space, in order to ascertain the possible social role of *villae suburbanae* around the various urban centres under discussion. The statistical analysis is divided into three sets. The first method used gathers all the surface areas for potential entertainment space including all known open areas, such as gardens and courtyards (both those with and without colonnades). The second method excludes all open areas from the group of potential entertainment space. The third incorporates those open areas with an element of decorative pretension. The information collected using these methods has then been converted into percentages to determine the emphasis placed upon entertainment at residences of vastly differing sizes.

There are four reasons why entertainment space has been considered in these different ways. Firstly, owing to the varying and multiple roles that open areas served within many residences, it is hoped that by considering potential entertainment space in all of these ways, the most accurate results should be achieved. Secondly, the exclusion of all open areas should not only avoid false interpretations at some sites with incomplete extant plans, but also indicate whether the focus of the building was upon internal or external entertainment. Thirdly, owing to the varying levels of extant knowledge on many complexes, it should allow for greater flexibility and also for more interpretation of some sites with limited available information. Finally, converting all the results into percentages allows for a comparison not only of how much space could have been

[47] Lines exhibiting the average results for specific groups have also been added to Graphs 28 and 47.
[48] See Table 1, p. x.

used for prospective entertainment, but also of the emphasis placed upon entertainment by each owner. The importance of this can be clearly considered if a small villa has a smaller area for entertainment than a larger residence, but possesses an equivalent percentage of potential entertainment space. This implies that despite the reduced size of the complex, the emphasis upon potential entertainment was just as important at the smaller villa as it was at the larger residence.

There is one difficulty that can arise when applying this method to each of the sites under question: the designation of potential entertainment space. Owing to the limited amount of detailed information at several sites, often the only aspects of a room that can be examined to assign a potential entertainment function are its position, décor and the comments of its excavators. This problem is unavoidable and must be taken into consideration when assessing the results. But when examining an imperfect source of material/information, such inconsistencies are more typical than unusual, which is the perennial dilemma of archaeological interpretation. In order to reduce the effect of this, the classification of potential entertainment space has sought to determine the *minimum* number of rooms with such a function by only including the most obvious rooms from the available information.

However, one of the most important aspects to note is the interpretation of open space. Frequently open areas are the clearest examples of potential entertainment space, but they are also among the most easily identifiable regions in the archaeological record. In view of the commonly significant dimensions of the courtyards, it is possible that this may distort the statistical results to present an unrealistic representation of the site under question. Despite this problem in interpretation, it should also be noted that the predilection for open-planned lifestyles in *villae suburbanae* has been consistently referred to in the ancient literature (see below).[50] So the frequent dominant role of open areas as potential entertainment space also may be more indicative of how they were used.

It should be clarified here that the references to open entertainment space include both colonnaded courtyards and external porticoes. Many colonnaded

[49] De Kind, 1998, *op.cit.*
[50] See Chapter 1, p. 55.

courtyards within this corpus of structures had no view towards the exterior, but it was their illumination and ventilation that is being taken into consideration in their inclusion as 'open space'. Many viewing rooms have been discussed in reference to such open areas, but they have not been included among the statistics for open entertainment regions. However, many open regions had a utilitarian role and have been excluded from some statistical calculations (see below). The term 'utilitarian' has been used in general to indicate a clear non-entertainment room, indicating a residential or productive function. Those spaces referred to as utilitarian areas were used for the daily running of the household rather than being potentially used for either public or private entertainment.

All of these statistics and percentages have been considered within their archaeological contexts, thus avoiding the possibility of discrepancies. These results are intended to serve as a guide for analysis rather than an illustration of an exact percentage. After all, the designer of each building would not have formally considered the percentage of space that was to be allocated to entertainment areas. But these results are designed to serve three main purposes. Firstly, to determine whether or not the social nature of these structures complemented the urban residences, which provides a more accurate image of life in the suburban districts. Secondly, it allows for a clearer understanding of how suburban villas were designed, thus presenting further insight into the intentions of each owner and their priorities for each structure. Finally, this statistical analysis often makes the classification of *villae suburbanae* easier to determine.

It is the third purpose of collating the results that is the most important, especially when considering the structures located beyond the inner suburban regions. The literary sources have illustrated that the social role performed by *villae suburbanae* was a prominent function of these structures. Therefore, it is justified to determine that most suburban villas should have facilities within their precincts to fulfil this role. It would appear logical that owing to the social expectations present at both urban and suburban residences, a *villa suburbana* should have the appropriate facilities to perform this role when necessary. Therefore, it appears that in most cases if a residence did not possess the facilities for an elevated social role, it should not be classified as a *villa suburbana*. This

cannot be taken as a hard and fast rule for all suburban villas, but it assists in the classification of particular sites.

The main difficulty when using this style of statistical method is the reliance upon a clear definition of entertainment space, as opposed to non-entertainment space. Recent scholarship has questioned the viability of assigning a definite function to particular areas within the residence,[51] illustrating the flexible nature of these residences.[52] Throughout this study, the designation of areas as entertainment space does not preclude the possibility of any other function for these rooms. It is simply indicating that a particular area had a potential entertainment role, indicating that the provision of such space within a residence is indicative of the owners' intentions and the conception of each *villa suburbana*. Conversely, if there were limited provision for social activity within a villa, it would appear unlikely to have been a priority for the owner. Therefore, it seems that this type of division of use (entertainment/non-entertainment) is conceivable and should provide a clearer understanding of the role that *villae suburbanae* served.

Secondary Analysis: Spatial Data Analysis (Hillier and Hanson Method)

The nature of the social activity (public/private) has also been taken into consideration for the Campanian *villae suburbanae*, using the Hillier and Hanson method. Owing to the dearth of extant material at many complexes in and outside Rome, this has been limited to the suburban villas in Campania with complete plans.[53] This method of analysis has shown the different roles that existed at each site under consideration using this method. The application of the Hillier and Hanson method to these sites has illustrated the presence of entertainment space in both private and public (inaccessible/accessible) regions within *villae suburbanae* using another statistical method. Allison has already shown that a formal public/private division did not exist within her survey of thirty Pompeian townhouses.[54] But the use of the Hillier and Hanson method in this instance is

[51] Allison, 1992, *op.cit.*, pp. 235-49; 2001a, *op.cit.*, pp. 181-208; E.W. Leach, "Oecus on Ibycus: investigating the vocabulary of the Roman House", in Bon S.E. and Jones, R. (eds.), *Sequence and Space in Pompeii*, Oxbow: Oxford, 1997, pp. 50-72.
[52] c.f. E.M. Moormann, "Pompeii's proprietors and tenants under one roof", *JRA* 15, 2002, pp. 429-30.
[53] These are Villas 11-16, 18, 20, 23, 39 and 50-53.
[54] Allison, 2004, *op.cit.*, p. 123.

intended to illustrate the variation in accessibility and location within the potential entertainment areas as a group, in order to show their differing uses as entertainment rooms. The results of this analysis have been shown in the relevant Appendices for each Campanian *villa suburbana* analysed, as well as the Access Map among the plates. But overall, the use of the Hillier and Hanson [space syntax] method is only one part of an experiment to see if it can highlight a consistent pattern of public to private accessibility in suburban villas, which in turn may support the literary sources on the intended potential entertainment activities in *villae suburbanae*. This means that the space syntax analysis is only being used here as a supportive mode of analysis, having no direct application upon the levels of potential entertainment space listed in the tables [Tables 2-14].

The limited choice of sites has made this form of analysis only useful in a secondary fashion, but by using this spatial data analysis with sites that provide a meaningful set of data it can be useful to determine the variation in accessibility of areas potentially used for entertainment. Brown has highlighted the need for a consistent mode of representation in the application of this method, with the way it is applied having the potential for distorting results if it is not consistent.[55] He has also criticised the application of this style of analysis to sites with a high degree of ambiguity in their material remains.[56] The key features of the present study are that the Hillier and Hanson method has only been used as a secondary/supplementary form of analysis, and that it has only been applied to sites that have complete plans with the least amount of ambiguity in their floor-plans. It is for this reason that it is only used for 14 out of a possible 59 villa complexes. These sites have well defined floor-plans with clear points of entrance to their structures, allowing for the most consistent approach possible. But it must be made clear that, therefore, the results of this analysis are not statistically viable as an independent methodology (the sample being <40 in size), but it can at least serve as a comparison with other, more basic patterns of comparative size-data between space potentially used for entertainment and non-entertainment.

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[55] Brown, 1990, *op.cit.*, p. 93.
[56] *Ibid.*

The division of spatial data has been made according to the method of 'gamma analysis' outlined by Hillier and Hanson,[57] but this method has been used in association with the approach suggested by Grahame in connection with his spatial analysis of Pompeian residence.[58] The study of Grahame has illustrated that the 'gamma analysis' (or what will generally be referred to in this study as 'spatial data analysis') of bounded space within residences can provide insight into the "spatial topology of a building" through the use of Access Maps.[59] The division of space within this study for the 'gamma analysis' of particular sites has been made according to the principles of bounded space. 'Bounded spaces' are those that have a clear boundary that defines their separation from other areas.[60] 'Unbounded divisions' are spaces that have divisions that are not as clearly defined as solid walls, but are still evident, such as through a change in the flooring, being on different levels or different décor. The unbounded divisions have only been applied when such archaeological evidence indicates an unbounded division of space, which is in turn explained in the appendices.

Nevertheless, there are some limitations to the usefulness of this approach even with sites that possess complete floor-plans. Firstly, the missing data from the upper levels of most structures clearly limits the analysis. This is entirely unavoidable but at the very least it is a consistent limitation, which means that the data from all of the ground floors can be compared. But this must be kept in mind when viewing the results. Another limitation with this approach is that the majority of interaction within these suburban villas would have been by the household members themselves rather than with outsiders.[61] However, this does not preclude the value of this source of analysis because no assumptions have been made about the specific entertainment activities or their participants in these potential entertainment spaces; only that some areas were more accessible to outsiders than other areas. Nevertheless, it must be reiterated that this method of spatial data analysis has been used in a supplementary fashion to the statistical analysis of potential entertainment space. This is the primary focus of the study,

[57] Hillier and Hanson, 1984, *op.cit.*, pp. 143-63.
[58] Grahame, 2000, *op.cit.*, p. 32.
[59] *Ibid.*
[60] Hillier and Hanson, 1984, *op.cit.*, pp. 73ff

taking into consideration the size and position of particular focus areas, for which the Hillier and Hanson method adds a mathematical justification for the latter.[62]

This spatial data analysis makes references to several statistical calculations that have been used to determine the levels of accessibility for each room within the structures under discussion in the Campanian region. These values are titled 'Control Value', 'Depth from Exterior', 'Mean Depth', 'Relative Asymmetry' and 'Real Relative Asymmetry'. Control Values determine the level of control exerted by each room upon its accessibility and that of its neighbouring rooms. If a Control Value is over 1 it is a 'controlling space', or in other words it controlled access to at least some of its neighbours. If it was below 1 its access was controlled by at least one of its neighbouring rooms. Depth from Exterior measures the number of spaces between a room and the closest entrance into the building, which also clarifies its accessibility.

Mean Depth measures the accessibility of a room in relation to the other rooms in the complex. If a space has a high Mean Depth, it means that access to it was more restricted. Relative Asymmetry is used in relation to determining the potential for social interaction. If a room has a low Relative Asymmetry value, it has a high potential for social interaction. Real Relative Asymmetry values are used in the same way, but are more reliable because they take into consideration the number of rooms within each structure. The 'Real Relative Asymmetry analysis allows for a compensation in the results for the number of rooms in its results, which is not provided by the relative Asymmetry value.[63] This is performed through the use of a 'diamond-shaped' justified map,[64] which allows for buildings of various sizes with different numbers of spatial divisions to be compared.[65] This score can also illustrate whether a particular room is *globally* accessible despite its *local* accessibility.[66] This is particularly pertinent when used in conjunction with the statistical analysis of potential entertainment space

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[61] R. Samson, "Comments on Eleanor Scott's Romano-British Villas and the Social Construction of Space", in R. Samson (ed.), *The Social Archaeology of Houses*, Edinburgh University Press: Edinburgh, 1990, p. 175; Clarke, 1998, *op.cit.*, p. 30.
[62] c.f. Brown, 1990, *op.cit.*, p. 94.
[63] Grahame, 2000, *op.cit.*, p. 35.
[64] Hillier and Hanson, 1984, *op.cit.*, p. 111.
[65] Grahame, 2000, *op.cit.*
[66] *Ibid.*

because it provides a source of data that illustrates the *overall* accessibility of particular areas and how this may affect their intended function.

When all of these methods are used in conjunction with each other it is possible to determine the accessibility of each potential entertainment room and, in turn, its public/private role. Following from these calculations, the role of each potential entertainment space, according to their public or private role, has been illustrated on the floor-plan (red regions indicating a public role and blue showing a private function).

The definition of the role of open spaces within these residences can be problematic, owing to the multiple functions that they performed. These areas could have been used for purposes including, but not limited to, entertainment, storage, relaxation or commercial function. Open spaces also provided the benefits of increased ventilation and illumination to the residence. Because courtyards were so versatile, one must be careful not to over generalise, as this may distort not only the results of the statistical analysis but also the importance of these areas and the reasons behind their inclusion in many structures.

It also seems inaccurate to draw a significant generalisation about the differing roles performed by various courtyards.[67] There are obvious distinctions suggested by the inclusion or exclusion of a colonnaded section around the perimeter of open spaces, but this should not lead to a differentiation in function. There is no doubt that the inclusion of Hellenised architectural elements would have heightened the appearance of such an open space,[68] but it would not have restricted their role. In most cases, the well-appointed décor within many examples is indicative of a less utilitarian role than most unadorned courtyards, but this was not always the case. The courtyards within the Oppian Wing of the *Domus Aurea* (Plate 26) are highly unlikely to have been used for purely utilitarian purposes. Conversely, it is doubtful that the colonnaded courtyard within the Villa of the Volusii Saturnini (Plate 34) was only used purely for reception and entertainment. Hence there is a dilemma with the allocation of specific functions to these areas. So it is evident that some caution must be used

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[67] See Chapter 2, pp. 63-78.

[68] P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. A. Shapiro, University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor, 1988, p. 26.

when examining the use of these areas and the different roles they may have performed.

The diversity in function of courtyards does not present a major challenge to defining the *villae suburbanae* and their social role because the focus is placed upon the potential entertainment space within each structure, and not on the specific functions they performed. Initially each open space was included within this group of rooms, allowing for statistical analysis. Following this, the open areas that were primarily utilitarian were discounted and then all open areas, including all courtyards and ornamental gardens, have been included within the results. This allows enough flexibility to provide a set of results, both individually and overall, which provide a good source of insight and comparison into the social role of *villae suburbanae.*

Focus

In view of the numerous literary references to sites around the capital, it is essential to focus upon some urban and suburban residences at Rome. As Rome was the definitive *urbs*, these sites are of great importance. This entails a general discussion of Roman housing, an overview of urban Imperial palaces, the Imperial suburban estates and other *villae suburbanae* around the capital. Only a select number of sites, with a different array of characteristics, are considered so as to create a good overview of the divergent nature of many suburban villas in the region. The majority of the archaeological information for each site discussed is listed in Appendixes in order to concentrate upon the discussion of each site.

The Bay of Naples region, including Pompeii, was one of the most popular regions for the wealthy Roman villa-owners in the late Republic and early Empire, and has been previously examined in detail by D'Arms.[69] Many villas were built in this region along the coast, and also inland, by wealthy Roman landowners. The character, function and facilities of these buildings varied depending upon the intentions of the owner. Examples of all the different types of villa in this region (suburban, coastal and agricultural) have been included, but only in comparison to *villae suburbanae.* This allows for a clearer definition of the distinguishing features that made suburban villas unique. For the same reason, some large and

[69] D'Arms, 1970, *op.cit.*

wealthy townhouses are also considered for a similar comparison. Being located in the *suburbium* gave the *villae suburbanae* a dual role, epitomising both *urbanitas* and *rusticitas*, which placed them in the middle of these two ideals. The use of the term *villa suburbana* in the ancient literature illustrated their status and advantages. When this was not the intention of the author, another term (*suburbano*, *rus*, or simply *villa*) was used instead of *villa suburbana*.

Owing to the vast corpus of material in the Pompeian area, the suburban villas within its vicinity are of great importance. The Pompeian suburban villas allow an invaluable insight into the development of domestic buildings from the late Republic into the early Imperial periods. The houses and villas of Pompeii, as discussed below, show some variation, which is typical of most suburban villas and their residents. This variation can be explained by their location, the different social conditions at different times in the city's development, and the different origins and social standing of the owners. The different types of suburban villas around Pompeii are of great importance because it is by recognising their similarities and differences that these buildings can be better understood. Following from the chapters on *villae suburbanae* outside Rome, and in the inner and outer *suburbium* of Pompeii, the two ensuing chapters deal with the archaeological evidence discovered in and around Herculaneum and Stabiae, using the same method of statistical analysis. These regional centres have been evaluated separately in order that conclusions for each urban environment can be drawn within their social, political and historical context, and the sites in these regions discussed in relation to each other. It is the contention of this thesis that a villa's function played as significant a role as its location in its classification as a *villa suburbana*, which has been illustrated by the method of statistical analysis used.

Owing to the diverse nature of many suburban villas, their limited literary presence and their varied survival in the archaeological record, their precise classification has remained elusive. But this was indicative of most suburban villas: each individual owner, emphasising their intentions and priorities, determined their characteristics. However, life in the *suburbium* did provide certain advantages that all *villae suburbanae* epitomised: greater privacy without complete isolation from society, a combination of *urbanitas* and *rusticitas*, as well

as the social status that these buildings clearly represented. The idealised conception of owning a *villa suburbana* was not always representative of the reality, but it was indicative of *why* they were appealing to the wider community and *how* they were intended to provide their residents with the best of both worlds.

Chapter I

Villae Suburbanae and their Interpretation

Several literary sources can be used for the analysis of suburban villas, but not one of them provides a definition of the *villa suburbana* in itself. The authors who have referred to villa estates usually focus their emphasis on a particular theme, such as agriculture or lifestyle. This gives the impression that the literary conception of *villae suburbanae* was varied, and serves to highlight the diverse roles that these properties were used for. The agrarian writers make reference to the productivity of suburban estates, whereas the non-technical authors emphasise the lavish furnishings and panoramic views to be had at suburban residences. All of the literary references create an idyllic image of each residence and its environs (be it agrarian or luxurious) and may not reflect the reality of the villa under discussion.[1] However, it would seem that the accurate conception of what *villae suburbanae* were lies in the midst of these two perspectives, representing an amalgam of different aspects of lifestyle. The diverse range of literary contexts and time periods make many of the brief references to suburban villas problematic, but they must be compiled to gain a view of the 'conception' of *villae suburbanae*.

In order to establish the various roles of *villae suburbanae*, an analysis of the terms *suburbana* and *villa* are required; then a comparison between suburban villas and other properties and then the use of the term *villa suburbana*. The land value of suburban estates is discussed as well as the extent of the *suburbium* and the productive/social advantages that these properties provided their owners. This is achieved by listing the literary sources containing the terms *villa, suburbana, villae suburbanae* and any related concepts, and by analysing these sources to discover the context of the use of these terms. The authors whose work is discussed in depth are Cato, Varro, Cicero, Cornelius Nepos, Catullus, Horace, Fronto, Vitruvius, Columella, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Florus, Pliny the Elder, Martial, Statius, Pliny the Younger, Apuleius and the *Digest*. These discussions

[1] L. Bek, "Antithesis: A Roman Attitude and its changes as reflected in the concept of Architecture from Vitruvius to Pliny the Younger" in K. Ascani (ed.), *Studia Romana in honorem Petri Krarup septuagenari*, Odense University Press: Odense, 1976, pp. 164-5.

assist with obtaining a greater understanding of how *villae suburbanae* were socially constructed through literature, and in defining what a *villa suburbana* was. These sources have shown that when examining the extant archaeological material the specific qualities that are necessary for a site to be classified as a *villa suburbana* are:

Close access to the city, but not necessarily directly adjacent

Well-appointed facilities

Sizeable domestic features

Entertainment/Relaxation rooms (in proportion to the function of the villa)

The possibility of agriculture, but not as the dominant feature

The intention to appreciate the view or sea breezes

All of these elements are used on a flexible basis and are in themselves quite broad, which is in itself was indicative of the diverse functions that many *villae suburbanae* performed when the archaeological material is examined.[2] The use of literary and archaeological evidence in tandem can be problematic when applying one to another in a rigid framework. However, if the potential for variation in conception, function and intention behind *villae suburbanae* is acknowledged then both sources of information have been shown to produce acceptable results for an understanding of suburban villas.

Use of the term *Suburb*

The term *suburb*, in the context of both the *suburbium* and *suburbana*, has been used by ancient authors in a variety of ways, which has caused some confusion. This is not assisted by the concept of the *suburbium* itself being a subjective perception rather than a definite topographical area.[3] There are several references in the ancient sources to the term *suburbanus*, which highlight this subjectivity.

Cicero mentions the popularity and pleasurable lifestyle attainable at suburban properties: *et quoniam quasi quaedam praedia populi Romani sunt*

[2] The earliest known use of the term *suburbanum* first appeared in the 60's or early 50's BC, but it was quickly transformed into a loose and comparative adjective around the time of Cicero.
[3] N. Purcell, "Tomb and Suburb", in H. von Hesberg and P. Zanker (eds.), *Römische Gräberstraßen*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Munich, 1987a, p. 26.

vectigalia nostra atque provinciae, quem ad modum vos propinquis vestris praediis maxime delectamini, sic populo Romano iucunda suburbanitas est huiusce provinciae.[4]

In this context, *suburbanitas* was used to refer to the province of Sicily, which naturally cannot be deemed to have been a suburb of Rome. Instead it is meant to highlight the closeness of the province to Rome.[5] Cicero also uses *suburbana* at two points in the *Actio in Verrem*: *populi Romani imperium, praetoriae leges, iudicia in socios fideles, provincia suburbana*;[6] and: *ad eamne rem fuit haec suburbana ac fidelis Sicilia, plena optimorum sociorum honestissimorumque civium.*[7] This passage was rhetorically used to highlight how close the island was to the capital, thus creating a greater impact upon his audience. It gave the impression that all of the injustices that Verres had committed were occurring within their neighbourhood. The suggested close connection between the audience and the Sicilian people accentuates the subjective, or even emotional, nuance that the term *suburbana* implied.

Tacitus also used the term *suburbana* in connection to a province: *Igitur secutae Caesaris litterae quibus se non tam vacuum gloria praedicabat ut post ferocissimas gentis perdomitas, tot receptos in iuventa aut spretos triumphos, iam senior peregrinationis suburbanae inane praemium peteret.*[8] The use of the term in this instance is to exhibit Tiberius' contempt for such a suggestion, but it also highlights the flexibility and subjectivity of the term. Pliny the Younger also uses the term *suburbana* in this context in his *Epistulae*: *Quo magis nitendum est ne in longinqua provincia quam suburbana...fuisse videaris*,[9] further illustrating the term's subjectivity and flexibility. Both passages use *suburbana* in a comparative sense, illustrating how one province was closer to Rome than another.

The growth of Rome was complemented by a similar extension of what was deemed to be its suburban regions, blurring the distinction between urban and rural areas.[10] The walled city drew a clear line between urban and suburban

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[4] Cicero, *Actio in Verrem*, 2.2.7.
[5] c.f. P.A. Brunt, "Patronage and Politics in the Verrines", *Chiron* 10, 1980, pp. 276-7.
[6] Cicero, *Actio in Verrem*, 2.3.66.
[7] Cicero, *Actio in Verrem*, 2.5.157.
[8] Tacitus, *Annals*, 3.47.
[9] Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, 8.24.9.
[10] L. Homo, *Rome Impériale et l'urbanisme dans l'Antiquite*, Albin Michel: Paris, 1971, p. 77.

space[11] but the practical distinction may not have been as obvious.[12] There was no political difference between the urban and rural populations,[13] allowing for greater freedom in what could be perceived as a *villa suburbana*. There was a clear pattern of interdependence between the city and its *territorium*,[14] which reflects not only the practicalities of production and administration, but also the dual tendencies (*urbanitas, rusticitas*) of the élites.

However, the application of the term *suburbanus* to residences outside cities other than Rome can also be established. Martial, in Book 5, referred to a suburban property near Corinth:

> *Dum sibi redire de Patrensibus fundis*
> *ducena clamat coccinatus Euclides*
> *Corinthoque plura de suburbano*
> *longumque pulchra stemma repetit a Leda*
> *et suscitanti Leito reluctatur,*
> *equiti superbo nobili locupleti*
> *cecidit repente magna de sinu clavis.*
> *numquam, Fabulle, nequior fuit clavis.*[15]

Within the context of this passage, this reference highlights two important aspects of suburban villas. Firstly, they were commonly expected to be productive, even if their primary function was luxury and entertainment. Secondly, it draws our attention to the fact that there were suburban properties owned by wealthy Romans throughout the Empire.[16] Roman Corinth was a leading city of the province Achaea, and its countryside was ideal for agriculture.[17] Athenaeus mentioned the productive capacity of the countryside

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[11] Quilici Gigli, S., "Lo sfruttamento del territorio in età imperiale", in J. Calsen (ed.), *Landuse in the Roman Empire*, L'erma di Bretschneider: Rome, 1994, p. 411; J. Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town*, MIT Press: Cambridge, Mass., 1988, p. 135.
[12] N. Purcell, "The City of Rome and the Plebs Urbana in the late Republic", *CAH* IX, 2nd ed., Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1994, p. 649.
[13] A.H.M. Jones, *The Roman Economy: studies in ancient economic and administrative history*, Blackwell: Oxford, 1974, p. 40.
[14] M. Corbier, "City, territory and taxation", in J. Rich and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *City and Country in the Ancient World*, Routledge: London, 1991, p. 212.
[15] Martial, *Epigrams*, 5.35.
[16] c.f. D.G. Orr, "The Roman City: a philosophical and cultural summa", in R.T. Marchese (ed.), *Aspects of Greco-Roman Urbanism*, BAR: Oxford, 1983, p. 94.
[17] D. Engels, *Roman Corinth: an alternative model for the classical city*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1990, pp. 8-10.

around Corinth,[18] with evidence of viticulture having been discovered in the region.[19] There are six known villa complexes located within a 1.5 kilometre radius of the urban centre,[20] and the settlement patterns of the region suggest that there was a higher demand and cost for land situated close to the city.[21]

This is significant for two reasons. Firstly, if the land cost and popularity of suburban properties at Corinth are taken into account, it should be expected that it would have been even higher at Rome. Secondly, the use of the term *suburbanus* at another urban centre illustrates that some complexes were deemed to have been *villae suburbanae*, despite not being located around the *urbs*. Rome had considerable influence upon the development of urbanisation throughout the empire,[22] which also held significant implications for the utilisation and character of the suburban regions. Suetonius, in the *Life of Tiberius*, mentions his suburban estate on Rhodes: *Hic modicis contentus aedibus nec multo laxiore suburbano genus viae civile admodum instituit, sine lictore aut viatore gymnasio interdum obambulans mutuaque cum Graeculis officia usurpans prope ex aequo.*[23] It is pertinent to note that Rhodes was a major cultural centre,[24] which would have appealed to the emperor.[25] But it is clear that the term *suburbanus* was also applicable to urban centres other than the capital.

The Difference Between *Villae Suburbanae* and Other Properties

In order to determine the classification/conception of a suburban villa, it is necessary to draw a distinction between this type of residence and other properties. On a legal level, the *Digest* can provide a good indication of the different perception of suburban and rural properties within Roman society:

> *Imperatoris Seueri oratione prohibiti sunt tutores et curatores praedia rustica uel suburbana distrahere. Quae oratio in senatu recitata est Tertullo et Clemente consulibus idibus Iuniis et sunt uerba eius huiusmodi: Praeterea, patres conscripti, interdicam tutoribus et*

[18] Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, 5.219a.
[19] C. Williams, "Excavations at Corinth", *Archaiologikon Deltion* 18, 1963, p. 79.
[20] c.f. J.D. MacIsaac, "Corinth: Coins, 1925-1926, the theatre district and the Roman villa", *Hesperia* 56.2, 1987, pp. 97-157.
[21] Engels, 1990, *op.cit.*, pp. 24-5.
[22] J.F. Drinkwater, "Urbanization in Italy and the Western Empire", in J. Wacher (ed.), *The Roman World*, Vol. 1, Routledge: London, 1987, p. 356.
[23] Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 11.1. c.f. B.H. Warmington, *Suetonius: Nero*, Bristol Classical Press: Bristol, 1977, p. 115.
[24] H. Lindsay, *Suetonius: Tiberius*, Bristol Classical Press: Bristol, 1995, p. 85.
[25] B. Levick, *Tiberius the politician*, Routledge: London, 1999, pp. 17-18.

> *curatoribus, ne praedia rustica uel suburbana distrahant, nisi ut id fieret, parentes testamento uel codicillis cauerint.*[26]

As suggested by this passage, the importance of secure investment in property was firmly entrenched in Roman legal thought.[27] It also illustrates that it was common for *villae suburbanae* to be productive, being associated with the purely rural *praedia rustica* in this context. The use of *praedia suburbana* is not surprising in this legal context, particularly because it is referring to the entire estate rather than just the villa itself. However, the *Digest* may also have mentioned suburban properties because of their high land value.[28] Cornelius Nepos also draws an important division between the coastal and suburban villas and the *rusticum praedium*: *nullos habuit hortos, nullam suburbanam aut maritimam sumptuosam villam, neque in Italia, praeter Arretinum et Nomentanum, rusticum praedium.*[29] This passage illustrates that the sumptuous coastal and suburban villas were distinct from the agricultural establishments in the countryside. It also associates high status was the term *villae suburbanae*. High social standing would have added to the financial value of the properties, which would have made them more attractive to wealthy élites.

Livy refers to the many trees and gardens in suburban Rome: *magnum utrisque impedimentum ad rem gerendam fuit ager consitus crebris arboribus hortique, ut in suburbanis locis, et coartata itinera maceriis et quibusdam locis interclusa.*[30] This passage illustrates the benefits of the natural surroundings and gardens in suburban Rome, and also that the region was inhabited to the extent that some residences were still enclosed, which may have had legal implications for their boundaries.[31] The *actio finium regundorum* regulated property boundaries, probably in the non-urban areas,[32] which would have been appropriate for the inner suburban regions because of the smaller size of the properties compared to larger estates further from the *urbs*.

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[26] *Digest*, 27.9.1.
[27] D.P. Kehoe, "Approaches to Profit and Management in Roman agriculture: the evidence of the Digest", in J. Carlsen (ed.), *Landuse in the Roman Empire*, L'erma di Bretschneider: Rome, 1994, p. 47.
[28] See pp. 41-45.
[29] Cornelius Nepos, *Atticus*, 25.14.3.
[30] Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, 33.6.7.
[31] A. Watson, *Rome of the XII Tables: persons and property*, Princeton University Press: New Jersey, 1975, p. 159.
[32] A. Watson, *The Law of Property in the Later Roman Republic*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1968, pp. 110-14.

The *pomerium* of the city was not static, and over time extended beyond the city walls.[33] During the Sullan era it corresponded with the Servian Wall (Plate 9) except for the Aventine region,[34] but then further expanded by Caesar,[35] Claudius,[36] Vespasian[37] and Aurelian.[38] These extensions of the legal boundaries of the capital were indicative of the growth of influence of the state in general, epitomising the extension of the Roman Empire. The gradual expansion of the capital's jurisdiction would have been complemented by the expansion of the Roman *suburbium* as well. The extent of this growth was represented by the jurisdiction of the urban prefect being exercisable within one hundred Roman miles of the capital by the time of Justinian.[39]

In Book 32 of the *Digest* there is also a distinction drawn between the suburban and urban houses: *Lucius Titius testamento suo cauit, ne ullo modo praedium suburbanum aut domum heres alienaret: filia eius heres scripta heredum reliquit filiam suam, quae easdem res diu possedit et decedens extraneos heredes instituit.*[40] All of these distinctions give a good indication that Roman society perceived a suburban villa as different from other types of residence. The *villae suburbanae* were seen as a distinctive type of property, associated with status and wealth, which may have separated them from other types of villa establishments.

The *Villa*

The Roman term *villa* was applied to a diverse group of buildings outside the urban centres,[41] but for the purposes of this study the term will only be applied to luxury sites,[42] and smaller simple residences are more correctly called farmsteads. Varro illustrates the varied use of the term by stating: *Nam quod extra urbem est aedificium, nihilo magis ideo est villa, quam eorum aedificia, qui habitant extra portam Flumentanam aut in Aemilianis,*[43] as well as: *fundi enim*

[33] O.F. Robinson, *Ancient Rome: city planning and administration*, Routlegde: London, 1992, p. 5.
[34] Gellius, 13.14.
[35] Gellius, 13.14; Dio, 43.50.
[36] Tacitus, *Ann.*, 12.23-24; *ILS* 213.
[37] *ILS* 248.
[38] *SHA*, *Aurelian*, 21.9-11.
[39] *Digest*, 1.12.1.4.
[40] *Digest*, 32.93.1.
[41] E. W. Leach, "Ancient Roman Villa Gardens (review)", *AJA* 93, 1989, p. 304.
[42] J.J. Rossiter, "Some recent books on Roman villas", *JRA* 6, 1993, p. 449.
[43] Varro, *Rerum Rusticarum*, 3.2.6.

eius propter culturam iucundiore spectaculo sunt multis, quam regie polita aedificia aliorum, cum huius spectatum veniant villas, non, ut apud Lucullum, ut videant pinacothecas, sed oporothecas.[44] The first passage emphasises the subjective nature of the term *villa*, let alone *villa suburbana*. His definition would have been largely determined by the productivity of an estate, which is highlighted in the second passage.

Naturally, these references must be analysed with the author's perspective in mind. Varro was writing an agricultural treatise and also possessed an optimistic view of the fertility of the peninsula.[45] Therefore, the importance of such agricultural activity is going to be emphasised. But in the second passage he highlighted that not everyone agreed with this view. The emphasis upon luxury at many suburban villas indicates that this was often an important expression of status. Nevertheless, the reference by Varro to villa-husbandry is important to note when considering suburban villas, as many had productive elements. Varro was interested in forms of production that could be achieved in a suburban context, which is of marked interest when discussing the function of suburban villas and their social purpose.

As Buck has illustrated, there were several terms that were commonly used for 'farm', including *praedium*, *fundus* and *villa*.[46] He has also shown that the term *villa* was always used in relation to an extra-urban residence.[47] In a legal sense there was no distinction between the different types of villa;[48] the variance being more concerned with lifestyle, function and position.

It is important to note the strong urban characteristics of many villas, which probably inspired Vitruvius to use the term *villa pseudourbana*.[49] The ambiguities in Vitruvius' language have been previously highlighted,[50] and they are also noticeable in his use of the term *pseudourbana*. The *De Architectura* was written during the late Republic/early Imperial period,[51] with its discussion of

[44] Varro, *Rerum Rusticarum*, 1.2.10.
[45] M. Rostovtzeff, *Rome*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1960, p. 154.
[46] R.J. Buck, "Agriculture and Agricultural Practice in Roman Law", *Historia* 45, 1983, pp. 9-10.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, 6.5.3.
[50] R.L. Scranton, "Vitruvius' Arts of Architecture", *Hesperia* 43.4, 1974, p. 495.
[51] B. Baldwin, "The Date, Identity and Career of Vitruvius", *Latomus* 49, 1990, pp. 425-34.

housing focusing upon the very highest social level.[52] With this in mind, it is important not to over-interpret his architectural classifications,[53] but to use them as a guide for the suburban villas under discussion.[54] It would seem apt that *villa pseudourbana* was an architectural reference, rather than a specific classification of villa within a social context, which has two important implications. Firstly, by using the term *villa pseudourbana* rather than a more specific term, Vitruvius is implying that there were no significant architectural differences between the various kinds of villa complex. He is simply highlighting the strong urban characteristics of many extra-urban residences, regardless of their social definition. Secondly, despite the architectural nature of this reference, it is suggestive of the *urbanitas* that existed at many villas, which is indicative of many *villae suburbanae*.

Villae Suburbanae

Direct references to *villae suburbanae* are rare; only four authors employ this particular term - Cornelius Nepos, Catullus, Fronto and Apuleius. The broad range of periods and literary contexts make such isolated references difficult to align together, but in order to ascertain a perspective on the conception of *villae suburbanae* an attempt must be made (there are also references to *praedia suburbana* in the *Digest*, which discussed the estate as a whole, but this has already been examined).[55] The term was used in a legal sense, highlighting the investment security that these residences could provide. This suggests that the land value for *villae suburbanae* was quite substantial, but this is discussed after the references to *villae suburbanae* have been considered.

The first known direct reference to suburban villas was the previously quoted passage by Cornelius Nepos.[56] In view of the literary context in which this passage was written (being a glorification of the author's friend for his *modestas*) this reference is not surprising. That being said, it is clear that Atticus did own a

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[52] T. Nobel Howe, *Vitruvius – ten books on Architecture*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1999, p. 256.
[53] c.f. P.M. Allison, "Artefact Distribution and Spatial Function in Pompeian Houses", in B. Rawson and P. Weaver (eds.), *The Roman Family in Italy: status, sentiment and space*, Humanities Research Centre: Canberra, 1997, pp. 322-3.
[54] A. Kuttner, "Vitruvius and the Second style", *JRA* 6, 1993, p. 342; B. Tamm, "Some notes on Roman Houses", *OpRom* 9, 1971, pp. 53-60; G. Clarke, "Vitruvian Paradigms", *PBSR* 70, 2002, pp. 332-3.
[55] See pp. 32-3.

villa in the suburbs.[57] This passage clearly illustrates the perceived status, and frequent financial excesses, associated with the ownership of both *villae suburbanae* and *villae maritimae*. Together with the use of the term *sumptuosam*, it also highlights the distinction between the *rusticum praedium* and the coastal and suburban villas. This was intended to highlight the obvious distinction in *luxuria* and *otium* present at the latter.

The first known reference to a *villa suburbana* was by Gaius Valerius Catullus in *Carmen* 44:

> *O funde noster, seu Sabine seu Tiburs,*
> *(nam te esse Tiburtem autumant, quibus non est*
> *cordi Catullum laedere: at quibus cordist,*
> *quovis Sabinum pignore esse contendunt)*
> *sed seu Sabine sive verius Tiburs,*
> *fui libenter in tua suburbana*
> *villa, malamque pectore expuli tussim,*
> *non immerenti quam mihi meus venter,*
> *dum sumptuosas appeto, dedit, cenas.*[58]

A later reference, by Marcus Cornelius Fronto, also highlights the use of suburban villas as a refuge when ill: *Ad me quidem minus valentem quom in suburbanam villam venisset, numquam cessavit in vesperum usque fabulas nectere itinerum tuorum et disciplinae ad priscum morem institutae ac retentae.*[59]

Both authors directly refer to suburban villas and how they were used to recover from illness, with the patient benefiting from the better living conditions and an opportunity to relax. The younger Pliny also mentions Corellius Rufus staying in the suburbs while he was ill: *veni ad eum Domitiani temporibus in suburbano iacentem*;[60] and Cicero refers to Domitius staying in Tibur (Plate 10): *de Domitio varia audimus, modo esse in Tiburti haut lepide, modo cum Lepidis*

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[56] Cornelius Nepos, *Atticus*, 25.14.3.
[57] Cicero, *Ad Atticus*, 12.36.2, *tu ad villam fortasse cras*; *Att.*, 12.37, *et velim me certiorem facias, quam diu in suburbano sis futurus*. These two letters to Atticus have been dated to the 3rd and 4th of May, 45 BC, showing that Atticus did possess a villa in the suburbs.
[58] Catullus, 44.1-9.
[59] Fronto, *Ad Amicos*, 1.6 (212).
[60] Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, 1.12.6.

accessisse ad urbem.[61] The health benefits of residing in villas have also been commented upon by Columella, who points out the benefits of sea breezes,[62] also mentioned by the Younger Pliny.[63] The health benefits of living in the suburbs, rather than in the urban centres, have also been illustrated by the discussions about public hygiene.[64] Scobie has illustrated that the removal of waste from urban centres was inadequate to prevent the distribution of disease.[65] The presence of a good water supply was essential to suburban villas, which actually placed these properties in competition with the city.[66] This caused the regulation of illegal tappings into aqueducts, which was entrusted to a *curator aquarum*, such as Frontinus.[67]

The poem of Catullus was addressed to P. Sestius, to excuse Catullus from a dinner to which he had been invited.[68] The poem highlights the advantages of owning a *villa suburbana*, as well as the social pressures to own a property in a fashionable region like Tibur.[69] The direct reference to the property as a *suburbana villa* in lines 6-7 may have been intended to support the case for the status of this property,[70] justifying its designation as Tiburtine, rather than Sabine. However, the central element to this poem is that of seclusion. The wider social activity that Catullus was involved in while he resided in the capital was absent while he was in the Roman *suburbium*.

Fronto, who mentions that while he was ill he entertained one guest, Junius Maximus, until nightfall, also highlighted this relative isolation. However,

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[61] Cicero, *Ad Atticus*, 8.14.
[62] Columella, 1.5.5. *eademque semper mare recte conspicit, cum pulsatur ac fluctu respergitur, numquam ex ripa, sed haud paulum summota a litore.*
[63] Pliny the Younger, *Ep.*, 2.17.5. *est contra medias cavaedium hilare, mox triclinium satis pulchrum, quod in litus excurrit ac si quando Africo mare impulsum est, fractis iam et novissimis fluctibus leviter adluitur.* c.f. *Ep.*, 5.6.4-6.
[64] R.P. Saller, *Patriarchy, property and death in the Roman Family*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1994, p. 21.
[65] A. Scobie, "Slums, sanitation, and mortality in the Roman World", *Klio* 68, 1986, pp. 399-433.
[66] N. Morley, *Metropolis and hinterland: the city of Rome and the Italian economy, 200 BC – AD 200*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1996, p. 104.
[67] Frontinus, *Aq.*, 9, 104.
[68] C.L. Neudling, *A Prosopography to Catullus*, Stephen Austin and Sons: Oxford, 1955, p. 160.
[69] C.J. Fordyce, *Catullus*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1961, p. 198; J. Godwin, *Catullus: the shorter poems*, Aris and Phillips: Warminster, 1999, pp. 44-5; R.L. Dunbabin, "Horace's Villa at Tivoli", *Classical Review* 47, 1933, p. 58.
[70] The reference by Seneca (*Epistulae*, 12.1) to the poor state of his suburban villa, and the separation of the terms *suburbanum* and *villam* may be a significant contrast: *veneram in suburbanum meum et quarebar de inpensis aedificii dilabentis. ait vilicus mihi non esse*

the presence of this uninvited visitor to such an hour illustrates the ease of communication between this *villa suburbana* and the capital. Owing to the suggested length of time over which this eulogy took place it would seem reasonable to infer that this *villa suburbana* was well-appointed and included areas within its complex for entertaining such an unexpected guest. This would also be expected in view of the illustrious Imperial circles in which the author socialised.

The last direct reference to *villae suburbanae* to be discussed was made by Apuleius, in his *Apologia*:

> *Quippe ita placuerat, in suburbana villa potius ut coniungeremur, ne ciues denuo ad sportulas conuolarent, cum haud pridem Pudentilla de suo quinquaginta milia nummum in populam expunxisset ea die qua Pontianus uxorem duxit et hic puerulus toga est inuolutus, praeterea, ut conuiuiis multis ac molestiis supersederemus, quae ferme ex more nouis maritis abeunda sunt. Habes, Aemiliane, causam totam, cur tabulae nubtiales inter me ac Pudentillam non in oppido sint, sed in villa suburbana consignatae: ne quinquaginta milia nummum denuo profundenda essent nec tecum aut apud te cenandum. estne causa idonea? minor tamen, quod tu am villam tantopere abhorreas, qui plerumque rure uersere.*[71]

It appears evident from this passage that this *villa suburbana* would have been located far enough from the city that it was not as easily accessible from the city as one would typically expect. This is particularly notable because Apuleius has drawn little distinction between residing at this *villa suburbana* and Aemilianus staying frequently in the country (*rure*). Apuleius was using the location of the nuptials in the *suburbium* and the desire to cut costs as a further example in his defence against a charge of being a fortune-hunting stepfather.[72] Holding a wedding ceremony in the bride's residence was quite normal,[73] so this was not the issue at hand. Therefore, this apparent miserliness would have conformed well with his references to a low dowry and his claims of having the

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neglegentiae suae vitium, omnia se facere, sed villam veterem esse. c.f. J. Carlsen, *Vilici and Roman Estate Managers until AD 284*, L'Erma di Bretschneider: Rome, 1995, p. 31.

[71] Apuleius, *Apologia*, 87-8.

[72] S. Dixon, "Conflict in the Roman Family", in B. Rawson and P. Weaver (eds.), *The Roman Family in Italy: status, sentiment and space*, Humanities Research Centre: Canberra, 1997, p. 155; V. Hunink, *Apuleius of Madauros: Pro se de Magia*, J.C. Gieben: Amsterdam, 1997, p. 216.

[73] G. Williams, "Some Aspects of Roman Marriage Ceremonies and Ideals", *JRS* 48, 1958, pp. 16-18.

best interests of the son at heart.[74] Such an event would have occurred with parties and general conviviality,[75] adding greatly to the expense. But what Apuleius was highlighting was that by holding the ceremony in a *villa suburbana* it allowed for a greater amount of control in determining the number of guests that were invited.

The presence of such *parasiti* has been well documented,[76] particularly in the *Captivi* by Plautus.[77] The character of Ergasilus illustrates this urban/rural distinction clearly: *ubi res prolatae sunt, quom rus homines eunt, simul prolatae res sunt nostris dentibus.*[78] This would suggest that a number of the extra-urban social occasions would have been strictly for the invited guest, probably with a fair amount of warning prior to the occasion owing to the distance and preparation. The *villae suburbanae* would have offered both owner and visitor a greater amount of space and privacy for these occasions, making these properties even more appealing to prospective owners.

There are several conclusions that can be drawn from the passages that directly refer to *villae suburbanae*. Firstly, judging from the references made by Justinian, it is evident that these properties were quite valuable, being seen as secure investments. The value of suburban residences was also linked to their perceived social status, which has been highlighted by Cornelius Nepos in his reference to the equestrian, Atticus. Catullus and Fronto emphasise the use of *villae suburbanae* as places for seclusion and respite, away from the hectic social responsibilities of the capital. The passages of Fronto and Apuleius also refer to the social activities that occurred at *villae suburbanae*. Judging from the contexts of these references it appears that the social gatherings would have been more restricted than in the *urbs*, which is to be expected. Selective processes for these social engagements would not have always occurred, but it did offer the owner a greater amount of control in choosing who would be invited into their residence in the *suburbium*. Therefore, by analysing the passages it is possible to determine

[74] Apuleius, *Apologia* 91-3; Dixon, 1997, *op.cit.*, pp. 162-3.
[75] S. Dixon, *The Roman Family*, John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, 1992, pp. 64-5.
[76] Plautus, *Persa*, 1.3.81-103; Terence, *Eunuch*, 2.1.228-9; 2.2.232-65; Martial, *Ep.*, 2.11; 2.14; 5.78; 12.77; Juvenal, *Sat.*, 1.128-44.
[77] c.f. Horace, *Ep.*, 2.1.168-76.
[78] Plautus, *Captivi*, 1.1.78-9.

the important social role that the *villae suburbanae* fulfilled for the wealthy Roman élite.

The cited passages have implications that can be further understood by examining some of the implied references to *villae suburbanae*, the *suburbium* and *villae* in general. This will include discussion of land value, the suburban regions around Rome, productivity and villa lifestyles including their social activity.

Land Value

Properties on the Italian peninsula were an attractive form of investment, especially during the Imperial period when there was no direct taxation on rents.[79] They were popular investments with the Imperial household,[80] as well as for other wealthy private residents. There was originally a property tax (*tributum/tributum soli*) being scaled in line with the value of a property, but the rate was the same, which would have been a greater burden on small subsistence farmers.[81] It was assessed according to the size and attributes of the land in question, including its human and animal resources, which may have determined how some suburban properties were used.[82] But *tributum* ceased to be levied on Italian properties by 167 BC,[83] being supplemented by provincial revenue. This benefited the wealthy classes because the most substantial source of income among the upper strata of Italian society came from property investment.[84]

These properties were usually either run by family/slaves,[85] or leased to tenants.[86] The only significant form of indirect taxation applied to these properties was estate duty (*vicesima hereditatium*), which was a five percent tax

[79] P.A. Brunt, "The 'Fiscus' and its development", *JRS* 56, 1966, p. 88.
[80] F. Millar, "The Fiscus in the First Two Centuries", *JRS* 53, 1963, pp. 41-2.
[81] Jones, 1974, *op.cit.*, p. 174.
[82] *Ibid.*, pp. 280-3.
[83] *Ibid.*, pp. 115, 125; T. Frank, *An Economic History of Rome*, 2nd ed., John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, 1927, p. 191
[84] D. Johnston, *Roman Law in Context*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1999, p. 61; T. Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, Vol. 1, John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, 1933, p. 209.
[85] B. Rawson, "The Family in Roman Society", *Teaching History* 5.2, 1971, p. 38.
[86] M.I. Finley, "Private farm tenancy in Italy before Diocletian", in M.I. Finley (ed.), *Studies in Roman Property*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1976, p. 117; P. Rosafio, "Slaves and Coloni in the Villa System", in J. Carlsen (ed.), *Landuse in the Roman Empire*, L'erma di Bretschneider: Rome, 1994, p. 147.

upon inheritances,[87] but this applied to all forms of property. Extra-urban property investment was deemed to have been a stable form of acquiring wealth,[88] whereas the exploitation of urban rents allowed for immediate funds,[89] as seen in the investments of Cicero for example.[90]

Cicero mentions the possible acquisition of a suburban villa in his *Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem*: *T. Anicius mihi saepe iam dixit, sese tibi, suburbanum si quod invenisset, non dubitaturum esse emere.*[91] This passage indicates the attractiveness of suburban residences, with two possible explanations. The first is that the acquisition of the *suburbanum* was inspired for reasons of lifestyle, the second being for financial investment. In view of the perception of suburban property investment as being stable,[92] it is no surprise that *villae suburbanae* were attractive not only as residences, but also for financial reasons. Suburban properties seem to have combined the optimal aspects of both urban and rural lifestyles: privacy while also having the capacity to receive guests, and seclusion without complete isolation.[93] The popularity of suburban villas in the environs of Rome would have increased land-value in these areas,[94] which explains the opulence of many known residences.[95]

Cicero also refers to suburban estates in his *Epistulae ad Atticum*. Firstly, he writes: *Cras igitur in Siccae suburbano,*[96] and secondly: *Praeterea, possimne propius accedere (malo enim esse in Tusculano aut uspiam in suburbano), an*

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[87] J.A. Crook, *Law and Life of Rome*, Thames and Hudson: London, 1967, p. 256.
[88] L. Capogrossi Colognesi, "The limits of the ancient city and the evolution of the medieval city in the thought of Max Webber", in T.J. Cornell and K. Lomas (eds.), *Urban Society in Roman Italy*, University College London Press: London, 1995, p. 29; D. Kehoe, "Allocation of Risk and Investment on the Estates of Pliny the Younger", *Chiron* 18, 1988, p. 20; R.P. Saller, *Patriarchy, Property and Death in the Roman Family*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1994, p. 125; D. Kehoe, "The sources for Roman farm tenancy", *JRA* 9, 1996, p. 391; c.f. R. Syme, "Pliny's less Successful Friends", *Historia* 9, 1960, pp. 366-7.
[89] H.M. Parkins, "The 'consumer city' domesticated? The Roman city in élite economic strategies", in H.M. Parkins (ed.), *Roman Urbanism: beyond the consumer city*, Routledge: London, 1997, p. 108.
[90] B.W. Frier, "Cicero's Management of his Urban Properties", *Classical Journal* 74, 1978, pp. 1-6.
[91] Cicero, *Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem*, 3.1.23.
[92] *Digest*, 27.9.1.
[93] Cicero felt that a life that combined public duties and private philosophical reflection was the best, and it appears that he may have deemed suburban villas as the ideal type of residence. See Cicero, *De Re Publica*, 1.7.13; N. Wood, *Cicero's Social and Political Thought*, University of California Press: Berkeley, 1988, p. 123.
[94] Rawson, 1976, *op.cit.*, p. 95.
[95] Such as the Villas of the Saturnini and Via Gabinii. See pp. 100-102, 105-7.
[96] Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum*, 12.34.

etiam longius discedendum putes, crebro ad me velim scribas.[97] It is of interest to note that the term *villa* is not present, but through the use of *suburbanum* and the context, the presence of a villa is understood as in the previous example. In these letters Cicero highlights not only the popularity of suburban properties to the élite, but also how useful they could be by having a degree of seclusion from responsibilities in the city while not being too far removed from the capital.[98]

Cicero makes two other references to Tusculum (Plate 10) in *Ad Atticum* 4.2: *nobis superficiem aedium consules de consilii sententia aestimarunt sestertio viciens, cetera valde inliberaliter, Tusculanum villam quingentis milibus, Formianum HS ducentis quinquaginta milibus*;[99] and also: *Tusculanum proscripsi; suburbano facile careo.*[100] The reference to his Tusculan property as being both a *villa* and *suburbano* illustrates that he considered this estate to have been a *villa suburbana.* These passages are particularly interesting for two reasons. Firstly, the comparative values of the urban *domus* (2 million sesterces) and suburban villa (500,000 sesterces) are notable. It would seem that this assessment was far from typical, as mentioned by Cicero himself, so these values will not be taken as representative of all *villae suburbanae.* Secondly, the second passage highlights that this suburban property was seen as a luxury to the author and not an essential possession. This was probably owing to the damage it had sustained in 58 BC,[101] as well as the pressure that Cicero would have been under to maintain a strong presence in the urban centre at this time.

There are several references by various other sources to the suburbs of Rome in relation to other small outlying towns in the region. The clearest example is the district of Mentana, located roughly 16 kilometres from the capital, which was referred to by the elder Pliny in his *Natural History*:

> *sed maxima, eiusdem Stheneli opera, Remmio Palaemoni, alias grammatica arte celebri, in hisce xx annis mercato rus DC nummum in eodem Nomentano decimi lapidis ab urbe deverticulo. est autem*

[97] Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum*, 16.13b.
[98] F.R. Cowell, *Cicero and the Roman Republic*, Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons: London, 1948, pp. 220-1; E. Rawson, "The Ciceronian aristocracy and its properties", in M.I. Finley (ed.), *Studies in Roman Property*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1976, p. 92.
[99] Cicero, *Ad Atticus*, 4.2.
[100] Cicero, *Ad Atticus*, 4.2.
[101] Cicero, *Dom.*, 37.100.

> *usquequaque nota vilitas mercis per omnia suburbana, ibi tamen maxime, quoniam et neglecta indiligentia praedia paraverat ac ne in pessimis quidem elegantoris soli.*[102]

The passage is not only significant because of the reference to it being deemed a suburb of Rome, but also because it highlights the importance of agriculture in the suburbs.

The passage also contrasts the amounts referred to on land value in the previous passage by Cicero. In his letter to Atticus, Cicero suggests that the amount of 500,000 sesterces for his Tusculan *villa suburbana* was far below its worth,[103] whereas Pliny, writing over a century later, compliments Remmius Palaemon for his acquisition of a *praedium* for 600,000 sesterces.[104] It would make sense that in view of the amount of time that had passed between the composing of these passages that inflation would partially account for the difference in mood.[105] But it would also indicate that the property acquired by Palaemon was prized for its estate (not necessarily its villa proper), being referred to as a *praedium*. The passage by Pliny clearly refers to the estate being incorporated within the *suburbium* of the capital but it does not suggest that it was either *suburbana* or a *villa*. The context of the term *suburbana* is quite different to the previous passages, illustrating that the estate was close to the capital, but *suburbana* was not used in direct association with *praedia*.

This subtle but important difference holds two significant features for our understanding of *villae suburbanae* and the *suburbium* in general. Firstly, if a property (and its associated residence) was located within the perceived *suburbium* of an urban centre, it did not necessarily mean that it was a *villa suburbana*. Secondly, it would seem that the presence of a well-appointed residence vastly increased the value of a suburban property, particularly in the modestly fertile regions around the capital. A precise quantitative value of suburban villas is not the intention of this analysis because this would have varied significantly depending upon the period and attributes of each property within the

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[102] Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 14.5.49-50.
[103] Cicero, *Ad Atticus*, 4.2.
[104] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 14.5.49-50.

Roman *suburbium*.[106] For the purposes of this study it is more important to note that the relative value of *villae suburbanae* was quite high, which is representative of their perceived worth within Roman society.

Also, the connection between suburban and urban areas was a fundamental feature of their classification. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the legal jurisdiction of Rome extended at least one Roman mile beyond the city precincts:

> προσωτέρω δ οὐκέτι προῆλθεν ἡ κατασκευὴ τῆς πόλεως, οὐκ ἐὼντος, ὡς φασι, τοῦ δαιμονίου, ἀλλ ἔστιν ἅπαντα τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν οἰκούμενα χωρία, πολλὰ ὄντα καὶ μεγάλα, γυμνὰ καὶ ἀτείχιστα καὶ ῥᾷστα πολεμίοις ἐλθοῦσιν ὑποχείρια γενέσθαι καὶ εἰ μὲν εἰς ταῦτά τις ὁρῶν τὸ μέγεθος ἐξετάζειν βουλήσεται τῆς Ῥώμες, πλανᾶσθαί † ἀναγκασθήσεται καὶ οὐχ ἕξει βέβαιον σημεῖον οὐδέν, ᾧ διαγνώσεται μέχρι ποῦ προβαίνουσα ἔτι πόλις ἐστὶ καὶ πόθεν ἄρχεται μηκέτι εἶναι πόλις, οὕτω συνύφανται τὸ ἄστυ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκμηκυνομένης πόλεως ὑπόληψιν τοῖς θεωμένοις παρέχεται. εἰ δὲ τῷ τείχει, δυσευρέτῳ μὲν ὄντι διὰ τὰς περιλαμβανούσας αὐτὸ πολλαχόθεν οἰκήσεις, ἴχνη δέ τινα φυλάττοντι κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους τῆς ἀρχαίας κατασκευῆς, βουληθείη μετρεῖν αὐτὴν κατὰ τὸν κύκλον τὸν περιέχοντα Ἀθηναίων τὸ ἄστυ, οὐ πολλῷ τινι μείζων ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἂν αὐτῷ φανείη κύκλος.[107]

In a legal sense this passage shows that Rome was by no means limited to the city proper, encompassing some of the surrounding regions.[108] The legal jurisdiction suggests that the difference between urban and suburban space was not a definite division. In fact it is difficult to determine where the *suburbium* ended and the *rus* proper began. The classification of suburban seems to have fallen, on a very subjective level, in the middle of these two jurisdictions.

Suburban Areas around Rome

In order to establish the conception of *villae suburbanae*, it is important to note that there have been several outlying regions referred to in the sources as being in the *suburbium* of the capital. The first known author to refer to suburban properties around Rome was Cicero. In the *Actio in C. Verrem*, Cicero refers to the suburban villas owned by the friends of Verres:

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[105] Neither of these properties were in fantastic condition, which is a similarity, but unfortunately the size of the estate owned by Cicero at Tusculum is not known. c.f. A. Wassink, "Inflation and Financial Policy under the Roman Empire to the Price Edict of 301 AD", *Historia* 40, 1991, p. 465.
[106] For discussion on the possible price of land, see R. Duncan-Jones, "An Epigraphic Survey of Costs in Roman Italy", *PBSR* 33, 1965, pp. 224-6.
[107] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 4.13.3-5.
[108] J.E. Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City*, John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, 1988, p. 191.

> *Quas enim sociorum atque amicorum urbes adisti legationis iure et nomine, si in eas vi cum exercitu imperioque invasisses, tamen, opinor, quae signa atque ornamenta ex iis urbibus sustulisses, haec non in tuam domum neque in suburbana amicorum sed Romam in publicum deportasses.*[109]

The inference in this statement was of the frequently lavish adornment of many *villae suburbanae*. Naturally, the context of this reference was not meant to be positive, but intended to further emphasise the unjustified actions of the accused. The *luxuria* present at many *villae suburbanae* would have been well known to Cicero's audience, making the use of this imagery even more powerful for his argument.

Florus also refers to Tibur as a suburban retreat of Rome (Plate 10),[110] which appears logical in view of the large number of villas discovered in this region: *Tibur, nunc suburbanum, et aestivae Praeneste deliciae nuncupatis in Capitolio petebantur.*[111] The use of the term *suburbanum* in this context was intended to illustrate not only the unfortunate nature of the destruction that occurred in these earlier days of Rome,[112] but also how these regions had become encompassed within its *suburbium* and the social consciousness of the people. This perception is similar to Cicero's view that his property at Tusculum was a suburban villa (Plate 10). In view of the legal necessity for members of the *ordo senatorius* to remain at the capital,[113] the *suburbium* would have become even more attractive. At least thirty-six owners of Tusculan villas are known from the Republican period,[114] which highlights the popularity of this suburban region.

There are several other examples of small urban centres being included within the Roman *suburbium*. Suetonius makes a similar reference to Velitrae, which is roughly 30 kilometres from Rome (Plate 10): *nutrimentorum eius ostenditur adhuc locus in avito suburbano iuxta Velitras permodicus et cellae*

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[109] Cicero, *Actio in Verrem*, 2.1.20.54.
[110] cf. R. Syme, "Spaniards at Tivoli", *Ancient Society* 13/14, 1982-3, p. 241.
[111] Florus, *Epitome bellorum omnium annorum DCC*, 1.5.7.
[112] Florus, 1.5.5-10.
[113] W. Eck, "Rome and the Outside world: Senatorial Families and the World they Lived in", in B. Rawson and P. Weaver (eds.), *The Roman Family in Italy: status, sentiment and space*, Humanities Research Centre: Canberra, 1997b, p. 74.
[114] G. McCracken, "The Villa and Tomb of Lucullus at Tusculum", *AJA* 46, 1942, p. 325.

penuariae instar.[115] There are also two references to Bovillae (Plate 10) by Ovid and Propertius referring to this district as a suburb of Rome: *orta suburbanis quaedam fuit Anna Bovillis, pauper, sud multae sedulitatis anus*;[116] and also: *quippe suburbanae parva minus urbe Bovillae et, qui nunc nulli, maxima turba Gabi. et stetit Alba potens, albae suis omine nata, hinc ubi Fidenas longa erat isse via.*[117] These passages, particularly that of Propertius, make it evident that many of the smaller communities in the environs of Rome had become, and were commonly deemed to be, its *suburbium* despite their distance from the *urbs* proper. This sense of the Roman *suburbium* would have expanded in accordance with the growth of influence exerted by Rome itself within a wider political context.

Naturally, the wide area that the suburban regions of Rome covered cannot be translated directly to smaller urban centres, such as Pompeii, but it does provide an indication that suburban villas were often located some distance from the city walls. The size of an urban centre's *suburbium* was proportional to the size of its civic jurisdiction and political standing. A passage in the *Naturalis Historia* suggests that suburban properties were not always conveniently accessible: *apud nos Vulcatium nobilem qui Cascellium ius civile docuit asturcone e suburbano redeuntem, cum advesperavisset, canis a grassatore defendit.*[118] Another aspect of this was mentioned by Cicero: *hisce ego me viis committam, qui Terminalibus nuper in suburbium, ut eodem die reverterer, ire non sum ausus*?[119] These passages have two elements that are relevant when defining suburban villas. They show that it was often necessary to make a significant journey to reach a *villa suburbana*, and yet these residences were close enough to be visited for a single day. They also illustrate that if the owner was to be directly involved in the social and political life in Rome this could not be achieved by residing at a *villa suburbana*, as they were often too far from the city for the owners to remain in touch with the latest events.

However, if Cicero's age (being in his early sixties) at the time of the composition of the *Philippics* is taken into consideration, this may explain his

[115] Suetonius, *Divi Augusti*, 6.
[116] Ovid, *Fasti*, 3.667-8.
[117] Propertius, 4.33-6.
[118] Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 8.61.144.

inability to work efficiently at his suburban residence.[120] This is of particular note when compared to the statement of Pliny the Younger about his Laurentine villa: *decem septem milibus passuum ab urbe secessit, ut peractis quae agenda fuerint salvo iam et composito die possis ibi manere.*[121] This passage seems to contradict the opinion expressed by Cicero, but illustrates the differing abilities to commute over significant distances. Nevertheless, both passages show how frequently *villae suburbanae* were located further out from the *urbs*, placed in the hinterland of the capital.

The Younger Pliny in *Epistulae* 1.4 highlights the importance of close proximity to Rome: *vicinitas urbis, opportunitas viae.*[122] His estate at Laurentum is of particular interest,[123] as it was roughly 27 kilometres from the capital.[124] In a letter to Gallus, Pliny describes at length his Laurentine villa, the layout of the rooms and the magnificent view from the building.[125] According to the passage this villa should be classified as a suburban villa. Firstly, Pliny comments that: *Decem et septem milibus passuum ab urbe secessit, ut peractis, quae agenda fuerint, salvo iam et composito die possis ibi manere.*[126] The easy access to Rome from this villa would suggest that it was classed as a suburban villa, especially when it could be reached after a full working day in Rome. It should be noted that many of the Roman aristocracy did not begin work until the fourth or fifth hour of the Roman day.[127] This illustrates how close and accessible Pliny's villa was to Rome. The productivity of his Laurentine villa focused upon both land and sea:[128] *Mare non sane pretiosis piscibus abundant, soleas tamen et squillas omptimas*

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[119] Cicero, *Philippics*, 12.10.24.
[120] Suetonius' reference to the leisurely travel of Augustus (*Aug.*, 82.1) may further illustrate the different rates of travel that individuals preferred.
[121] Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, 2.17.2.
[122] Pliny, *Ep.*, 1.4; A.N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny, a historical and social commentary*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1966, p. 140.
[123] H.H. Tanzer, *The Villas of Pliny the Younger*, Columbia University Press: New York, 1924; A.W. Van Buren, "Pliny's Laurentine Villa", *JRS* 38, 1948, pp. 35-6; B. Bergmann, "Visualizing Pliny's Villas", *JRA* 8, 1995, pp. 406-20; A. Bouet, "De la Villa des Laurentes (Région D'Ostie) á la Villa du Griffon (Vitrolles, Bouches-du Rhône, France): un système original de chauffage domestique", *MEFRA* 109, 1997, pp. 111-26.
[124] Eck, 1997, *op.cit.*, p. 187.
[125] Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, 2.17; L. Bek, "Antithesis: a Roman attitude and its changes as reflected in the concept of Architecture from Vitruvius to Pliny the Younger", in K. Ascani (ed.), *Studia Romana in honorem Petri Krarup septuagenarii*, Odense University Press: Odense, 1976, p. 162.
[126] Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, 2.17.
[127] Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, 3.5.9; Sherwin-White, *op.cit.*, p. 189.
[128] Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, 2.17.

egerit. villa vero nostra etiam mediterraneas copias praestat, lac in primis; nam illuc e pascuis pecora conveniunt, si quando aquam umbramve sectantur.[129] But production at this property does not appear to have been its prime purpose for the owner, which was usual for many *villae suburbanae*.

Productive Capacity

The literary sources assist in providing some insight into the activities that occurred on suburban estates. The most obvious references to the use of suburban properties for agriculture are those by authors such as Cato: *fundum suburbanum arbustum maxime convenit habere; et ligna et virgae venire possunt, et domino erit qui utatur.*[130] Cato also states that a *fundum suburbanum* should produce vegetables and flowers.[131] It is of interest to note that Cato only refers to the estates in regard to productivity, which is in keeping with his general theme. The efficiency of suburban properties would have been of some importance to Cato despite the brevity of their discussion in his writings.[132] Purcell has highlighted the importance of viticulture in the hinterland of Rome,[133] agreeing with the references to agriculture in the *suburbium* by Cato.

The *Rei Rusticae* by Columella, written around AD 60-65, begins by commenting upon how agricultural pursuits had been abandoned by many wealthy Romans, in preference for *luxuria* and *otium*.[134] He tries to discourage the creation of an ornamental garden, preferring a productive *hortus*:

> *Neu tibi Daedaliae quaerantur munera dextrae,*
> *Nec Polyclitea nec Phradmonis, aut Ageladae*
> *Arte laboretur: sed truncum forte dolatum*
> *Arboris antiquae numen venerare Priapi*
> *Terribilis membri, medio qui semper in horto*
> *Inguinibus puero, praedoni falce minetur.*[135]

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[129] Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, 2.17.
[130] Cato, *De Agricultura*, 7.1.
[131] Cato, *De Agri Cultura*, 8.2.
[132] A.E. Astin, *Cato the Censor*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1978, p. 189.
[133] N. Purcell, "Wine and wealth in Ancient Italy", *JRS* 75, 1985, pp. 1-19; J. Percival, "Houses in the Country", in I.M. Barton (ed.), *Roman Domestic Buildings*, University of Exeter Press: Exeter, 1996, p. 66.
[134] Columella, *Rei Rusticae*, 1.Praef.15-19; 1.7.3; 10. Praef. 2.
[135] Columella, *Rei Rusticae*, 10.29-35.

Columella initially refers to agricultural production on suburban estates by stating: *nam suburbanis lactens porcus aere mutandus est: sic enim mater non educando labori subtrahitur, celeriusque iterum conceptum partum edet.*[136] He also highlights the benefits of growing different plants such as berries, violets, roses, poppies, onions, lettuce and leeks.[137] Varro also mentions growing flowers for sale in the urban markets.[138] These modes of production would have been sideline sources of agricultural productivity at suburban estates rather than the principal basis of their wealth.[139] There are also references to the productivity of suburban properties by Martial: *parva suburbani munuscula mittimus horti: faucibus ova tuis, poma, Severe, gulae,*[140] and: *lecta suburbanis mittuntur apyrina ramis et vernae tubures. quid tibi cum Libycis.*[141] The Elder Pliny also refers to the cultivation of fruit trees in the *suburbium*: *nec minus miraculum in pomo est multarum circa suburbana fructu annuo addicto binis milibus nummum.*[142]

It is of interest that none of the passages cited have referred directly to *villae suburbanae*. This can be explained in two ways. Firstly, the literary context for the majority of these passages, particularly by authors such as Cato, Varro, Columella and Pliny, focused purely upon practical agricultural matters. This would have made a reference to suburban villas superfluous for their intentions. Secondly, to use the term *villa suburbana* would have confused the theme of their message, owing to the sense of social status that was implied by this term. Judging from the previous references to *villae suburbanae* the term suggested social status and *luxuria*, which the agricultural writers were arguing against. This is clearly shown in an *Epigram* by Martial:

> *Livet Charinus, rumpitur, furit, plorat*
> *et quaerit altos unde pendeat ramos:*
> *non iam quod orbe cantor et legor toto,*
> *nec umbilicis quod decorus et cedro*
> *spargor per omnes Roma quas tenet gentes,*

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[136] Columella, *Rei Rusticae*, 7.9.4.
[137] Columella, *Rei Rusticae*, 10. 11, 101-113.
[138] Varro, *Rerum Rusticarum*, 1.16.3.
[139] R.J.A. Wilson, "Die Römische Villa: Architektur und Lebensform (review)", *JRS* 78, 1988, p. 244.
[140] Martial, *Epigrams*, 7.49.
[141] Martial, *Epigrams*, 13.43.
[142] Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 17.1.8.

sed quod sub urbe rus habemus aestivum
vehimurque mulis non, ut ante, conductis.
quid imprecabor, o Severe, liventi?
hoc opto: mulas habeat et suburbanum.[143]

This passage by Martial has two themes. Firstly, it illustrates that living in the suburban regions of Rome was not always as ideal as the depictions of many ancient writers. In this context Martial was highlighting the unwanted responsibilities that the ownership of such an estate placed upon him (*mulas habeat et suburbanum*). Secondly, the use of the phrase *sub urbe rus* (line 6) is significant. Martial was not emphasising the *luxuria*, *otium* or privacy that was available at *villae suburbanae*, but instead the *rus* and its requirements. The negative view of the author meant that the term *villa* was inappropriate because he was commenting upon the *negotium* of this property, rather than the *otium*. This *Epigram* was probably written in reference to his *villa suburbana* located on the Janiculan Hill, which was treated quite differently in Book IV (see below).

It is pertinent to note that there were no direct references to *villae suburbanae* in relation to agriculture, which is why the agricultural writers used the term *suburbano* or *suburbanum*, indicating the property itself rather than the *villa*. However, this does not mean that the two literary contexts (agricultural/non-agricultural) were discussing two distinct types of property. It is only their emphasis that was different.

The study of Kolendo on the profitability of suburban estates has testified to the clear presence of agricultural production at many properties, often combined with high levels of luxury in the residences.[144] There would have been a clear advantage to owning these suburban villas because of their close connection to the urban markets,[145] but the residential facilities would have been just as important to the owners. Ideally each estate was meant to aim towards self-sufficiency,[146] but this was not always a priority for the owners.[147] From a

[143] Martial, *Epigrams*, 8.61.
[144] J. Kolendo, "Praedia suburbana e loro redditività", in J. Calsen (ed.), *Landuse in the Roman Empire*, L'erma di Bretschneider: Rome, 1994, pp. 59-71.
[145] Morley, 1996, *op.cit.*, pp. 86-90.
[146] P.P.M. Erdkamp, "Beyond the limits of the 'Consumer City'", *Historia* 50, 2001, p. 349.
[147] Cicero, Leg. Agr., 2.78; J.H. D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples*, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass., 1970, p. 12.

Roman perspective, having elements of productivity would have made luxurious villas of *otium* more acceptable,[148] hence the dual character of many *villae suburbanae*.

Lifestyle – *Otium* and Seclusion

As mentioned previously, the *suburbium* was quite an enigmatic region, symbolising the area between the city and the country on very subjective grounds. The perspectives about its role were also varied from *rusticitas* to *urbanitas*. Despite the protestations of the agrarian authors, the desire for *otium* and *luxuria* was as important (or often more so) to many owners of *villae suburbanae* as the productivity of their estates. In the *Eunuchus*, Terence contrasts the qualities of the urban and rustic populations and their lifestyles.[149] He discusses the benefits of having a villa near town in order to enjoy the advantages of both if the character, Laches, is bored. This not only illustrates the lifestyle attainable at a suburban villa, but also the clear distinction between urban culture and rustic leisure.[150] As an estate owner, the *pater familias* was expected to represent a combination of the two aspects,[151] which was achievable at *villae suburbanae*. It is clear that the suburban regions of Rome were attractive places of residence to the Roman élite primarily for the lifestyle that was attainable in these villas. Seneca highlights the significant amounts of time spent in the *suburbium* by the wealthy classes: *pone hic primum noctes separatas, deinde occupationes utrique diversas, deinde studia secreta, suburbanas profectiones*.[152] It is of interest to note that Seneca refers to his suburban time as being private and isolated. Horace also mentioned the comparative tranquillity of the Roman suburbium, [153] in this case at Tibur: *mihi iam non regia Roma, sed vacuum Tibur placet aut imbelle Tarentum*.[154]

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[148] N. Purcell, "The Roman villa and the landscape of production", in T.J. Cornell and K. Lomas (eds.), *Urban Society in Roman Italy*, University College London Press: London, 1995, p. 152.
[149] Terence, *Eunuchus*, 971ff. See E.S. Ramage, *Urbanitas: ancient sophistication and refinement*, University of Oklahoma Press: Oklahoma, 1973, p. 38.
[150] Ramage, 1973, *op.cit.*, pp. 38-9.
[151] R.P. Saller, "Pater Familias, Mater Familias, and the gendered semantics of the Roman household", *Classical Philology* 94, 1999, pp. 190-1.
[152] Seneca, *Epistles*, 55.10.
[153] H.D. Sedgwick, *Horace: a biography*, Russell and Russell: New York, 1947, pp. 49-50.
[154] Horace, *Epistles*, 1.7.44-5. This desire for seclusion can be seen in many of the poems by Horace on his Sabine villa, which was probably a *villa suburbana*. The poetry relating to this residence is discussed in Appendix A, pp. 1-3.

Suetonius makes two references to suburban properties in relation to their relaxed and private lifestyles, the first from the life of Tiberius, mentioning his estate on Rhodes: *Hic modicis contentus aedibus nec multo laxiore suburbano genus viae civile admodum instituit, sine lictore aut viatore gymnasio interdum obambulans mutuaque cum Graeculis officia usurpans prope ex aequo*,[155] and the second from the life of Nero: *sed revocato rursus impetu aliquid secretioris latebrae ad colligendum animum desideravit, et offerente Phaonte liberto suburbanum suum inter Salariam et Nomentanam viam circa quartum miliarium*.[156] Both references to suburban villas by Suetonius accentuate that privacy was an essential element of a suburban villa.[157] But in regard to the passage on Tiberius it must be noted that a distinction should be drawn when examining Imperial villas, owing to the extravagant facilities at many Imperial estates, such as Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli. However, the desire to alleviate the pressures of life in Rome would have been even greater for members of the Imperial household.

[155] Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 11.1. c.f. B.H. Warmington, *Suetonius: Nero*, Bristol Classical Press: Bristol, 1977, p. 115.
[156] Suetonius, *Nero*, 48.1. See also Tacitus, *Annals*, 15.40 for a similarly distanced suburban villa of Seneca.
[157] B. Baldwin, *Suetonius*, Adolf M. Hakkert: Amsterdam, 1983, p. 252.

The seclusion and proximity of a *villa suburbana* has been illustrated clearly by Martial in *Epigram* 4.64:

Iuli iugera pauca Martialis
hortis Hesperidum beatiora
longo Ianiculi iugo recumbunt.
alti collibus eminent recessus
et planus modico tumore vertex
caelo perfruitur sereniore
et curvas nebula tegente valles
solus luce nitet peculiari;
puris leniter admoventur astris
celsae culmina delicata villae. (10)
hinc septem dominos videre montis
et totam licet aestimare Romam,
Albanos quoque Tusculosque colles
et quodcumque iacet sub urbe frigus,
Fidenas veteres brevesque Rubras,
et quod virgineo cruore gaudet
Annae pomiferum nemus Perennae.
illinc Flaminiae Salariaeque
gestator patet essedo tacente,
ne blando rota sit molesta somno, (20)
quem nec rumpere nauticum celeuma
nec clamor valet helciariorum,
cum sit tam prope Mulvius sacrumque
lapsae per Tiberim volent carinae.
hoc rus, seu potius domus vocanda est,
commendat dominus: tuam putabis,
tam non invida tamque liberalis,
tam comi patet hospitalitate.
credas Alcinoi pios Penates
aut facti modo divitis Molorchi. (30)
vos nunc omnia parva qui putatis,
centeno gelidum ligone Tibur
vel Praeneste domate pendulamque
uni dedite Setiam colono,
dum me iudice praeferantur istis
Iuli iugera pauca Martialis.[158]

This passage sheds light upon the use of suburban properties by their owners. The contradiction in the definition of this type of estate is evident in lines 25-26, with the phrase *hoc rus, seu potius domus vocanda est.* Martial is stating that this villa complex can be viewed as either a country or urban residence, having elements of both types of residence. Another feature is the emphasis upon a peaceful pleasant lifestyle rather than productivity. Martial had previously resided on the Quirinal,[159] which was also a suburban villa.[160] However, the Janiculan property, despite its difficulties in classification as either *rus* or *domus* (line 25), clearly included a villa (line 10),[161] which would have been a *villa suburbana*.

In 4.64, Martial was also highlighting the importance of the view towards the urban centre,[162] thus establishing both its intimacy and distance from the city centre and its hinterland. Naturally, the artistic emphasis within this *Epigram* is explained by his preference for literature, rather than agriculture. Martial's

[158] Martial, *Ep.*, 4.64.
[159] Martial, *Ep.*, 10.58.
[160] A.G. Carrington, *Aspects of Martial's Epigrams*, University College of the West Indies: Eton, 1960, pp. 46-7
[161] R.J. Baker, "Martial 'sells' a Villa: IV 64", *PP* 287, 1996, p. 34.
[162] c.f. Martial, *Ep.*, 7.17.2. *vicinam videt unde lector urbem.*

depiction of his Janiculan villa contrasts the representation (8.61), but this is owing to the different representation that the author is taking with the same message – writing is more important than agriculture. Martial appears to appreciate the secluded, quiet nature of this property, which contradicts his later opinion of isolated living at his Spanish property at Bilbilis.[163] This is explained by the Janiculan estate's position at Rome being close enough to appreciate his privacy but not completely isolated from society in Rome.

The prominence of the view from this residence towards the countryside in Martial's description was also of great importance. This was intended to emphasise the idealistic nature of the imagery that he used to describe the villa. This is not the only literary reference to the views of the surrounding panoramas available at Roman villas: the poetry of Statius and the letters of Pliny the Younger also provide lavish descriptions of these residences.[164] The view was often seen as being part of a property,[165] in both urban and suburban contexts. A view of the water was particularly desirable.[166] Despite his references to the beauty of nature Statius clearly implies man's dominance over nature,[167] which seems to have been an important aspect of the Roman mentality. This representation by Statius was more in keeping with the tradition of acknowledging and praising the author's patrons, a common feature of the literature during the period.[168]

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[163] Martial, *Epigrams*, 10.103.2. For further discussion of his stay at Bilbilis see J.P. Sullivan, *Martial: the unexpected classic*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1991, p. 54.

[164] Statius, *Silvae*, 1.3.13-33; 2.2.83-94; A. Hardie, *Statius and the Silvae: poets, patrons and Epideixis in the Greco-Roman World*, Francis Cairns: Liverpool, 1983, p. 179; Pliny the Younger, *Ep.*, 1.3.1-2; 2.17; 5.6.7-15; 9.7. See also Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares*, 3.1.2.

[165] S. Hales, *The Roman House and Social Identity*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2003, pp. 44-5.

[166] Pliny the Younger, *Ep.*, 2.17.1; L. Cason, *Travel in the Ancient World*, George Allen and Unwin: London, 1974, pp. 140-1.

[167] L. Bek, "Antithesis: a Roman Attitude and its changes as reflected in the concept of Architecture from Vitruvius to Pliny the Younger", in K. Ascani (ed.), *Studia Romana in honorem Petri Krarup septuagenari*, Odense University Press: Odense, 1976, p. 161.

[168] J.P. Sullivan, *Martial: the unexpected classic*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1991, p. 117.

Social Life and Décor

The social activity that occurred at suburban villas is also exemplified by Cicero, in his pleasure to have Lucullus and Hortensius as his neighbours.[169] He also highlights the strong social role of the suburban villas in relation to the *Tusculan Disputations* that were set in his villa at Tusculum: *in Tusculano, cum essent complures mecum familiars.*[170] Despite this piece being included to provide a dramatic setting for Cicero's philosophical discussions it also serves to illustrate that such social gatherings at élite residences in the *suburbium* would probably have been quite common to the intended audience. Cicero also mentions the suburban villa of Crassus at Tusculum as a *palaestrae*: *quod quidem si erit a vobis impetratum, magnam habebo, Crasse, huic palaestrae et Tusculano tuo gratiam, et longe Academiae illi ac Lycio tuum hoc suburbanum gymnasium anteponam.*[171] These passages exhibit that there appears to have been some social activity, at least on a limited scale, at *villae suburbanae.*[172] In a letter to Maecenas, Horace also tells the tale of a client, Volteius, being invited to stay and dine with his patron, Philippus, at his *rura suburbana.*[173] In view of the context, this reference highlights the social activity that occurred in the *suburbium*, intending to symbolise the author and his patron, Maecenas. The use of the term *rura suburbana* was intended to emphasise that Horace was not far from Rome, but also that he was living in simplicity, which was a frequent theme in his literature.[174]

The use of these residences for learning was also mentioned by Statius, for his patron Manilius Vopiscus at his Tiburtine villa: *sic docta frequentes otia.*[175] Both *Silvae* 1.3 and 2.2 illustrate that the author had been the guest of his patrons at their villas, one in Tibur and the other at Surrentum. The invitation of close *amici* to stay at the owners' villas would have been common, particularly in the summer months. The opportunity for rest and relaxation would have appealed to

[169] Cicero, *Att.* 5.2.1; *Acad.* 2.9; J. Linderski, "Garden Parlours: Nobles and Birds", in R.I. Curtis (ed.), *Studia Pompeiana and Classica – in honour of Wilhelmina F. Jashemski*, Vol. 2, Orpheus Publishing: New York, 1989, p. 108.
[170] Cicero, *Tusculanarum Disputationum*,1.4.7.
[171] Cicero, *De Oratore*, 1.21.98.
[172] See Fronto, *Ad Amicos*, 1.6 (212); Apuleius, *Apologia*, 87-8.
[173] Horace, *Ep.*, 1.7.71-76.
[174] This is discussed in Appendix A, pp. 1-3.
[175] Statius, *Silvae*, 1.3.108-9.

some, whereas others would have used their time away from the capital in seclusion, such as Pliny the Younger: *omne hoc tempus inter pugillares ac libellos iucundissima quiete transmisi.*[176] However, when discussing his Tuscan villa,[177] Pliny also refers to holding dinner parties: *In media triclinium saluberrimum adflatum ex Appenninis vallibus recipit; post latissimis fenestris vineas, valves aeque vineas sed per cryptoporticum quasi admittit. a latere triclinii quod fenestris caret, scalae convivio utilia secretiore ambitu suggerunt.*[178] This further illustrates the social nature of villas in general, which would have been particularly active in the suburban regions, owing to their close proximity to the *urbs*.

The social role of *villae suburbanae* is particularly notable in the references to the well-appointed facilities at the residences under discussion. Statius comments upon the lavish furnishings of a suburban building in order to amplify the magnificence of the villa,[179] such as at Tibur: *vidi artes veterumque manus variisque metalla viva modis. labor est auri memorare figuras quicquid et argento primum, vel in aere minori lusit et enormes manus est experta colosses.*[180] In *Silvae* 2.2, Statius even stops referring to the building as a *villa* and instead uses the term *praetoria*,[181] which enhances the dramatic imagery of how splendid the building and its surrounds were. This depiction is quite different to the attitudes of the early agrarian writers and also of Horace,[182] who lamented the large amounts of wealth expended at many villas. However, the desire for internal beauty was also essential for many villa owners and while the descriptions of Statius and Pliny are different to the discussion of suburban properties by agrarian authors, it is indicative of the varied nature and purpose of many suburban villas.

General Conclusions

After considering all of the different conceptions of suburban villas it is possible to arrive at a clear definition. Suburban villas should be defined as extra-urban residences with a clear connection to an urban centre, and whose design is

[176] Pliny the Younger, *Ep.*, 9.6.1. c.f. A.M. Riggsby, "Self and Community in the Younger Pliny", *Arethusa* 31, 1998, pp. 80-2.
[177] B. Bergmann, "Visualizing Pliny's villas", *JRA* 8, 1995, p. 407.
[178] Pliny the Younger, *Ep.*, 5.6.30.
[179] D.A. Slater, *The Silvae of Statius*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1908, pp. 25-6.
[180] Statius, *Silvae*, 1.3.47-57.
[181] Statius, *Silvae*, 2.2. 82.

heavily influenced by the intended lifestyle of the residents. This definition is intended to be flexible in order to encompass the variation within the archaeological record. Many suburban villas under discussion were quite well-appointed and luxurious, but such a qualification has not been applied because it may exempt buildings that were, for all intents and purposes, suburban villas. It is clear that because of the land value and status of *villae suburbanae* they would have been quite well-appointed. The definition of villas located beyond the walls as *villae suburbanae* results in the need for a specific and yet flexible set of parameters to classify particular sites as either *villae suburbanae* or agricultural villas.

For the purposes of this study there are several elements that comprise the classification of a site as a *villa suburbana*. Firstly, a suburban villa should be located relatively close to an urban centre and the distance from the city should be relative to the size of the urban centre. It is clear from the literary sources that suburban villas were frequently located some distance from the city. A good example can be found when comparing the sites around Rome with those near Pompeii. Suburban villas near Rome could have been anywhere between 30 to 40 kilometres from the city,[183] whereas a distance of roughly 4 to 5 kilometres seems more appropriate for Pompeian suburban villas. This is in accordance with the population levels and the comparative levels of social and political importance of these cities.

Secondly, it appears that suburban villas were not only advantageous for the lifestyle that they offered, but they also seem to have been a good investment for the wealthy classes. The numerous references to the productivity of suburban residences seems to have been an important consideration, with many owners trying to make their suburban villas financially viable as well as a pleasant residence. The possibility of leisure and privacy was a common and important feature. This desire to escape the expectations of Roman social and political life was a feature of many references to suburban villas. The benefit for the owners' health was also a feature, providing another advantage of this type of residence.

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[182] Horace, *Odes*, 2.15; K. Quinn, *Horace: the Odes*, Bristol Classical Press: Bristol, 1980, p. 227.
[183] L. Spera, "The Chistianization of Space along the Via Appia: changing landscape in the Suburbs of Rome", *AJA* 107, 2003, p. 23.

Therefore, the six previously stated elements (city access, well-appointed facilities, large domestic features, entertainment rooms, some agricultural aspects and a pleasant view) illustrate not only the core qualities of *villae suburbanae*, but also their wide variation in use. Judging from the literary sources, these six elements should comprise the essence of suburban villas. Naturally, there are many residences throughout the regions that correspond to some of these features, but this study only classifies residences as *villae suburbanae* if all of these features are present.

Chapter II

Rome and the Suburbs

Introduction

Rome was the definitive *urbs*, so it provides the most important corpus of evidence for any understanding of *villae suburbanae*. It is likely that Rome was the location for the earliest development of *villae suburbanae*. Rome was the capital, which makes it highly significant and distinctive when studying its relationship with the *suburbium*. Owing to the size and importance of Rome the area that can be considered suburban is appreciably larger than at other cities.[1] This is important for the study of *villae suburbanae* because it allows for more examples to be taken into account. The use of archaeological evidence for *villae suburbanae* around Rome is problematic due to the wide range in both time of construction/habitation and geographical space. There is also a large degree of differentiation in the resources available to their owners. It is difficult to compare Imperial villas in the *suburbium* of Rome, such as the Villa of Hadrian, with smaller non-Imperial *villae suburbanae* that were in their own right well-appointed. All of the suburban villas around Rome that are discussed have been analysed using statistical methods to determine the percentage of potential entertainment space in order to view the social role of these structures. The results have been compared and analysed, while keeping their different social conditions (Imperial, non-Imperial, time period) in perspective.

The main focus of the study are the *villae suburbanae* from the Campanian region, but it is essential to examine suburban villas around the capital. The statistical analysis of these structures has established the significance of social activity in the *suburbium* of Rome. The results of the analysis of each complex have been displayed and compared in a series of graphs intended to emphasise the similarities and differences in potential entertainment space at each suburban villa. In order to further clarify these results and keep the different categories of each structure in perspective the different types (Imperial palaces, Imperial villas, non-

[1] J.P.V.D. Balsdon, *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome*, Phoenix Press: London, 1969, p. 196; K. Lomas, "The idea of a city: élite ideology and the evolution of urban form in Italy, 200BC –

Imperial villas) have been colour coded to allow for easier differentiation. Each building is listed with a corresponding number, such as the Villa of Livia as Villa 1, to make the graphs more intelligible. Before evaluating the evidence of suburban villas around Rome, it is important to consider some general aspects of urban and suburban residences in order to gain the most comprehensive representation of Roman residential characteristics.

Houses and Villas in General

When examining Roman villas and houses in general terms some pertinent points should be noted before considering the archaeological evidence. Firstly, one of the most important aspects to note about this study is that the buildings under discussion are, for the most part, residences of the wealthy. The ownership of a suburban villa was a status symbol in itself, as the ancient sources have shown. These residences were enhanced with well-appointed décor and architecture, intended to further the social standing of the owner.[2] This has been analysed by Wallace-Hadrill,[3] whose research sought to clearly establish the link between the Roman house and the owners' social standing. This is an important feature because the décor and facilities provide a good understanding of the aspirations of an owner and their available resources.[4]

The practice of agrarian authors, such as Cato and Columella, to make remarks concerning lavish décor suggests that this was a common feature of wealthy Roman residences during the period under examination. Cicero mentioned the social pressures to possess a magnificent villa among the senatorial order.[5] Columella also recommended the addition of an appropriate *pars urbana* for the socially conscious villa owner.[6] It was clearly an essential aspect of Roman public life, with a residence not only being a private sanctuary for the owner, but also a public display of their success, dignity and prestige.[7] There

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AD100", in H.M. Parkins (ed.), *Roman Urbanism: beyond the consumer city*, Routledge: London, 1997, p. 23.

[2] M. George, "Servus and domus: the slave in the Roman house", in R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond*, JRA Supp. 22: Portsmouth, 1997b, p. 16; B. Bergmann, "The Roman House as memory theatre: the House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii", *Art Bulletin* 79, 1997, p. 225.

[3] A. Wallace-Hadrill, "The Social Structure of the Roman House", *PBSR* 56, 1988, pp. 43-97.

[4] R. Laurence, *Roman Pompeii: space and society*, Routledge: London, 1994, p. 127.

[5] Cicero, *De Legibus*, 3.30; Wallace-Hadrill, 1988, *op.cit.*, p. 45.

[6] Columella *Dei Rei Rustica*, 1.6.2.

[7] Wallace-Hadrill, 1988, *op.cit.*, p. 46.

seems to have been a consistent desire to stay abreast of the latest tastes in décor,[8] which explains the outflow of wealth on private buildings.[9] It should also be noted that the possession of property, particularly agricultural estates, was of prime importance for determining the social position of a family.[10] This has been shown to be of particular significance in regard to those properties located close to the city, especially around Rome. Purcell has provided a vivid description of the suburban landscape, which illustrates the monumental characteristics of the wealthy residences beyond the city limits.[11] Duncan-Jones has postulated the average cost of land in both urban and rural contexts,[12] and judging from this it would have been considerable in the *suburbium* of Rome. The influence exerted by Rome upon its hinterland has also been exhibited in the urbanism at towns such as Orriculum and Forum Novum, which had clear associations with the capital (Plate 10).[13] This influence is indicative of the wide-ranging effect that Rome had upon its hinterland, particularly in the *suburbium*.

In order to understand the intended lifestyles at each complex examined in this study, there is discussion of particular rooms and their significance. The majority of rooms focused upon were used for the reception of guests and the *otium* of the leading residents. These rooms were important because they created an impressive residence, as distinct from villas that were constructed purely for agricultural production. This was a defining aspect of *villae suburbanae*. Naturally, this does not mean that these rooms will be the only areas of discussion; many of the servile regions are also of significance. But in certain instances, the rooms potentially to be used for entertainment were designed in such an impressive fashion that they provide clear examples of the owners' social and cultural pretensions.

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[8] M.M. Gabriel, *Masters of Campanian Painting*, H. Bittner: New York, 1952, p. 60.
[9] Wallace-Hadrill, 1988, *op.cit.*, p. 47.
[10] R.P. Saller, *Patriarchy, property and death in the Roman Family*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1994, p. 3.
[11] N. Purcell, "Town in Country and Country in Town", *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium of the history of landscape architecture*, Dumbarton Oaks: Washington, 1987, pp. 188-9.
[12] R. Duncan-Jones, "An Epigraphic Survey of Costs in Roman Italy", *PBSR* 33, 1965, pp. 224-6.
[13] H. Patterson and M. Millett, "The Tiber valley Project", *PBSR* 66, 1998, pp. 11-14; T.W. Potter, "Towns and territories in southern Etruria", in J. Rich and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *City and Country in the Ancient World*, Routledge: London, 1991, pp. 191-209; V. Gaffney, H. Patterson and P. Roberts, "Forum Novum-Vescovio: studying urbanism in the Tiber valley", *JRA* 14, 2001, pp. 59-79; J-P. Morel, "The Transformation of Italy, 300-133 B.C.: the evidence of archaeology", *CAH* VIII, 2nd ed., pp. 477-516.

Open Areas within Domestic Structures

When examining the role and design of Roman villas and townhouses there is a persisting question over room function, particularly in relation to open areas. Owing to the differences in decorative architecture at many courtyards it is commonly thought that courtyards served more of a utilitarian role within each residence. In many instances this role was indicative of most courtyards, particularly within agricultural villas, but it cannot be assumed that this utilitarian function was their only role. There has been much debate over room function in recent years,[14] with modern scholars questioning the assumptions that have been previously made about lifestyles in the Roman house.

One difficulty in analysing courtyards has been their actual definition, which has obscured their representation in the ancient literature. In order to gain an accurate classification of open courtyards in Roman residences and a better understanding of their function, both literary and archaeological material needs to be consulted. References by authors such as Varro, Vitruvius and Pliny the Younger provide the greatest insight into the function of domestic courtyards, whereas the archaeological evidence has been taken from some villas outside Rome and Pompeii. By using a combination of literary and material evidence an optimal understanding of both the conception and function of open courtyards is achieved. Therefore, initially a comparison of courtyards and the inherent problems has been discussed, followed by a review of the terminology of *area*, which has in turn been applied to the relevant archaeological evidence.

The colonnaded courtyard was introduced into Roman households by the influences of Hellenistic architecture, which typically surrounded a garden on four sides. The colonnade framed the garden and also provided an ideal backdrop for viewing an ornamental garden.[15] This design allowed a greater amount of light and ventilation than the traditional Roman house,[16] which would explain the frequent addition of a colonnaded courtyard to many *villae suburbanae.* However, the variations within open areas must be discussed to establish that the open regions have been included for the initial statistical results for potential

[14] c.f. P.M. Allison, *Pompeian Households: an analysis of the material culture*, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, Monograph 42: Los Angeles, 2004; Leach, 2004, *op.cit.*, pp. 50-4.
[15] Farrar, 1998, *op.cit.*, p. 28.
[16] Dwyer, 1982, *op.cit.*, p. 116.

entertainment space (for the purposes of consistency in the approach), and then some examples have been removed from the statistics, owing to their primarily utilitarian function.

The literary evidence for *peristyla* highlight their connection with perceived status. Varro mentions that having rooms with Greek names was quite fashionable, being a status symbol in itself: *quae nunc vix satis singula sunt, nec putant se habere villam, si non multis vocabulis retinniat Graecis, quom vocent particulatim loca, procoetona, palaestram, apodyterion, peristylion, ornithona, peripteron, oporothecen.*[17] This passage highlights that the idea of a *peristyle* was attractive to the Roman élite as much as the open area itself. Cicero exhibits a similar perspective in the *De Domo Sua* when referring to the intentions of Clodius: *in palatio, pulcherrimo prospectu, porticum cum conclavibus pavimentatam trecentum pedum concupierat, amplissimum peristylum, cetera eius modi, facile ut omnium domos et laxitate et dignitate superaret.*[18] It is the phrase *facile ut omnium domos et laxitate et dignitate superaret* that epitomises the competition and status-seeking element that existed in the construction of many élite residences, which is pertinent due to its clear reference to the *amplissimum peristylum.*[19] Pliny the Younger also highlights the central and important function of colonnaded open areas by the construction of a shrine to the Emperor Claudius in a *peristylio.*[20] These passages highlight the central role many colonnaded open areas played within an aristocratic residence and the status they epitomised after their introduction to the Roman house.

When discussing *peristyla*, Vitruvius made several recommendations for their architectural dimensions and layout,[21] and also highlighted their use by the Roman élite for both official and social occasions within their residences: *item feneratoribus et publicanis commodiora et speciosiora et ab insidiis tuta, forensibus sutem et disertis elegantiora et spatiosiora ad conventos excipiundos, nobilibus vero, qui honores magistratusque gerundo praestare debent officia civibus, faciunda sunt vestibula regalia alta, atria et peristylia amplissima, silva ambulationesque laxiores ad decorem maiestatis perfectae; praeterea*

[17] Varro, *Ag.*, 2.pr.2.
[18] Cicero, *De Domo Sua*, 44.116.
[19] Cicero, *De Domo Sua*, 44.116.
[20] Pliny the Younger, *Ep.*, 10.70.2; 10.71.

bybliothecas, basilicas non dissimili modo quam publicorum operum magnificentia comparatas, quod in domibus eorum saepius et publica consilia et privata iudicia arbitriaque conficiuntur.[22] Vitruvius was illustrating the potential entertainment and reception role many colonnaded open areas were intended to serve within an aristocratic residence, which was a significant feature of their inclusion within a residence. To further exemplify the residential function of this type of space Suetonius mentions that Augustus used his colonnaded courtyard for sleeping during the summer months.[23]

The most prevalent decorative features within these areas were water-features. The inclusion of a long pool or fishpond greatly affected the general disposition of these open regions, adding to the pleasant character of the environment. However, the addition of these ornaments required the owner to consider an issue that would otherwise not need to be addressed. Water features used a large amount of water over and above the basic personal and agricultural water needs of the inhabitants.[24] Frontinus refers to the need for regulating aqueduct offshoots that were restricting the water supply of Rome.[25] The offshoots were attributed to the illegitimate points where owners of suburban villas were usurping large amounts of water that were intended for the capital.[26] This provides not only a good indication of the water requirements of Rome, but also of the large number of suburban villas and their considerable needs for both irrigation and ornamentation. The importance of the water supply also highlights the importance of agriculture in the Roman *suburbium.*

This social/residential role was not the only function for open areas. Particularly within Roman villas the colonnaded courtyard was frequently used for agricultural purposes, which is not exhibited within the literary sources. It could be argued that this may give an unrealistic view of the function of these spaces, but it is actually more indicative of the literary contexts in which these colonnaded areas were mentioned. All of the previous sources were referring to

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[21] Vitruvius, *Arch.*, 6.3.7; 3.2.8; 5.11.
[22] Vitruvius, *Arch.*, 6.5.2-3.
[23] Suetonius, *Aug.*, 82.1.
[24] C.J. Bannon, "Servitudes for Water use in the Roman Suburbium", *Historia* 50, 2001, p. 34.
[25] Frontinus, *Aq.*, 9, 104.
[26] N. Morley, *Metropolis and hinterland: the city of Rome and the Italian economy, 200 BC – AD 200*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1996, p. 104; H.B. Evans, "In Tiburtium usum: special arrangements in the Roman water System (Frontinus, Aq. 6.5)", *AJA* 97, 1993, pp. 447-55.

domestic *peristyla* in connection with status or élite social activities.[27] However, when the archaeological evidence in and around Pompeii is taken into consideration, the reality of a dual utilitarian and social role is evident.

A clear example from the Pompeian *suburbium* was the extant colonnaded courtyard at the Villa of Agrippa Postumus (Villa 22)(Plate 83)(which was quite well-appointed but was located within the servile section of the complex) served a utilitarian role. The open region was square in shape with five columns on each side.[28] Unfortunately, the nature of the rooms surrounding this region is unclear. This portion of the building was still decorated in second style. Only part of the complex has been excavated and none of the known portions represent the most important regions. The eastern wing has provided evidence that it was used for servile quarters and agricultural activities. The more distinguished section of the residence is located to the west of the front hall and there are other well-appointed rooms further to the north on higher ground. The western precinct was a summer residence with a superb view of the Bay of Naples to the south. In view of the open-plan design used for the utilitarian region of the complex, it would seem likely that the residential quarters were more opulent and impressive. However, for the present discussion it is suffice to note that this residence provides another clear example of a utilitarian colonnaded courtyard.

Having illustrated that not all colonnaded courtyards were used for exhibiting status or for élite social activity, the focus should turn to other open areas within the residence: open non-colonnaded courtyards. In Pompeii there are several examples of courtyards, which were usually paved areas that exhibit evidence of élite social activity rather than agriculture. These regions were not adorned with the columnar architecture recommended by Vitruvius,[29] yet they were also not the paved threshing-floors mentioned by Cato and Varro.[30] One of the most notable examples is exhibited in the House of M. Fabius Rufus in *Insula Occidentalis* (Plate 61), which was used for a social role rather than an

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[27] c.f. 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* Supp 22: Portsmouth, 1997, p. 123.
[28] L. Richardson jnr, *Pompeii: an architectural history*, John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, 1988, p. 243.
[29] Vitruvius, *Arch.*, 6.3.7.
[30] Cato, *Ag.*, 91.1.1; 129.1.1; Varro, *Ag.*, 1.13.5.3; 1.13.5.5; 1.50.1.8; 1.50.3.2; 1.50.3.8; 1.51.1.1; 1.51.2.1; 1.52.1.3.

agricultural function. The entrance courtyard to the Villa of the Quintili (Villa 7)(Rm A) outside Rome (Plate 35) was another example of an impressive paved open area that was intended to fulfil a social role rather than an agricultural purpose.

The role of open spaces within these residences is sometimes ambiguous due to the multiple functions that they performed. These areas could have been used for purposes including, but not limited to, entertainment, storage, relaxation or commercial function. Because open areas were so versatile one must be careful not to over generalise as this may distort our view of the importance of these areas and the reasons behind their inclusion in many structures.

Drawing a significant generalisation about the differing roles performed by open areas should be avoided. There are obvious distinctions suggested by the inclusion or exclusion of a colonnaded section around the perimeter of open spaces, but this should not lead to a differentiation in function. There is no doubt that the inclusion of Hellenised architectural elements would have heightened the appearance of such an open space,[31] but it would not have restricted their role. In most cases the well-appointed décor within many colonnaded courtyards is indicative of a less utilitarian role than most unadorned courtyards, but this was not always the case. For example at Rome, if the courtyards within the Oppian Wing of the *Domus Aurea* are taken into consideration (Plate 26) it is highly unlikely that these open areas were used for purely utilitarian purposes. Conversely, it is doubtful that the colonnaded courtyard within the Villa of the Volusii Saturnini (Plate 34) was used purely for reception and entertainment. There is a dilemma with the allocation of specific functions to these areas and it is evident that some caution must be taken when examining the use of these areas and the different roles they may have performed. By first examining the literary references to courtyards it seems the most appropriate term for them is *area*.

The Literary Evidence: the term '*area*'

The term *area* had a wide range of uses, but one of them was to refer to open courtyards within residences. For the purposes of reviewing the uses of the

[31] P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. A. Shapiro, University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor, 1988, p. 26.

term *area* in the context of a physical space,[32] both public and private examples have been taken into consideration in order to determine any differentiation of function. It has been shown that the difference in physical context has illustrated a difference in function of such courtyards, but that within a domestic context there was a division between social and utilitarian courtyards. However, one of the most common uses of the term *area* was in reference to threshing-floors in rural villas. This is the most common context of use by authors such as Cato,[33] Varro,[34] Columella[35] and Pliny the Elder.[36] Notably, both Varro and Cato discuss the importance of paving the threshing-floor.[37] The use of the term *area* in this way is to be expected owing to the discussion undertaken within these works, but it is also used similarly by other ancient sources such as Cicero,[38] Horace,[39] Ovid,[40] Petronius[41] and Martial.[42] The large number of references to open courtyards in an agricultural context concurs with the prevalence of utilitarian courtyards within agricultural villas.

The example of the Villa Regina (Villa 29) is useful on this point because it has provided evidence of a threshing-floor (Rm XVII)(Plate 92) in addition to the original courtyard.[43] However, there are several other examples from the Pompeian region. The Villa Pisanella at Boscoreale (Villa 17)(Plate 72) provides an example of a threshing-floor (Rm X),[44] as does another villa discovered at Boscoreale (Villa 33)(Plate 96), which also possessed a storage room for hay.[45] All of these examples are notable because they exhibit how the threshing-floor was a separate space to the central courtyard.

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[32] *Area* was also used for concepts such as a geometric area for example, which are not relevant for the present discussion. See Columella, 5.1.4.5; 5.2.7.2.
[33] Cato, *Ag.*, 91.1.1; 129.1.1.
[34] Varro, *Ag.*, 1.13.5.3; 1.13.5.5; 1.50.1.8; 1.50.3.2; 1.50.3.8; 1.51.1.1; 1.51.2.1; 1.52.1.3.
[35] Columella, 1.6.23.1; 1.6.24.1; 1.7.6.10; 2.9.11.1; 2.10.2-14; 2.12.1.1; 2.19.1-2; 2.20.2-5; 11.2.47.4; 11.2.72.2; 11.3.9.2; 11.3.62.2; 12.52.18.5.
[36] Pliny the Elder, *NH*, 15.33.3; 18.61.3; 18.99.4; 18.195.3; 18.295.5; 18.298.1; 18.298.7.
[37] Cato, *Ag.*, 91.1.1; 129.1.1; Varro, *Ag.*, 1.51.2.1.
[38] Cicero, *Ver.*, 2.3.36; 2.3.37; 2.3.51.
[39] Horace, *Sat.*, 1.1.45.
[40] Ovid, *Fasti*, 4.618; 5.263.
[41] Petronius, *Sat.*, 53.2.4.
[42] Martial, *Ep.*, 9.90.11.
[43] De Caro, *op.cit.*, p. 27.
[44] W. Scheidel, "Grain Cultivation in the Villa Economy of Roman Italy", in J. Carlsen (ed.), *Landuse in the Roman Empire*, L'erma di Bretschneider: Rome, 1994, pp. 159-66; A. Mau, *Pompeii: its life and art*, trans. F.W. Kelsey, 2nd ed., Macmillan: London, 1904, p. 360.
[45] A. Sogliano, "Boscoreale – Villa romana in contrada detta Giuliana", *NSc* Series 5, Vol. 5, 1897b, p. 392.

In view of the location and intended role of these small agricultural villas the utilitarian role of open courtyards clearly correspond to the references of the previous ancient sources. However, not all of the courtyards, even within Roman villas in the region, correspond with this function entirely. Despite having a lower level of architectural and decorative adornment when compared to many well-appointed colonnaded courtyards, it is evident that several courtyards within both urban and rural contexts served a dual role of social/agricultural activity or a purely social/residential purpose. But before analysing the archaeological examples of such courtyards at Pompeii, the literary evidence for other roles performed by these rooms has been undertaken.

Varro uses the term *area* in connection to a courtyard used for housing an aviary, which was also adorned with colonnades at its entrance.[46] This ornamental courtyard also possessed two pools,[47] and it is clear that this area also served an entertainment function for both residents and their guests.[48] The use of the term *area* in this context highlights a different interpretation of a courtyard's function. However, Varro also uses the term *peristylo* in reference to this aviary,[49] which exhibits a similar interpretation between the two terms in a domestic context. There is still a prominent agricultural use within this discussion, but it also highlights a different use for this *area*. The emphasis upon agriculture is to be expected within its literary context, but it is clear that not all references to *area* as an architectural feature are present in an agricultural context.

However, one of the most prevalent uses is in connection to the courtyards of public buildings, such as the forum and different regions of Rome. Pliny refers to a public courtyard in connection with a colonnade in *Epistle* 10.81.7.3: *ipse in re praesenti fui et vidi tuam quoque statuam in bibliotheca positam, id autem in quo dicuntur sepulti filius et uxor Dionis in area collocatum, quae poticibus includitur*. This reference highlights the architectural features of the courtyard in its possession of a colonnade. This *area* clearly performed a different role to those mentioned in agricultural contexts. In view of its setting near a library within the colonnade of a building, it was also likely to have been a paved

[46] Varro, *Ag.*, 3.5.6-15. Varro also refers to the housing of snails in a courtyard, see Varro, *Ag.*, 3.14.3.2.
[47] Varro, *Ag.*, 3.5.12.
[48] Varro, *Ag.*, 3.5.14.

courtyard. This would have also been the case in the reference by Aulus Gellius to the open courtyard near the *Domus Tiberiana* on the Palatine: *ad eum forte in area Palatina, cum salutationem Caesaris opperiremur, philosophus Favorinus accessit conlocutusque est, nobis multisque aliis praesentibus. In illis tunc eorum sermonibus orta mentiost legum decemviralium, quas decemviri eius rei gratia a populo creati conposuerunt, in duodecim tabulas conscripserunt.*[50] From the context of this passage it is clear that this would have been a paved open space, highlighting the social role that the courtyard could have served to the community. Horace makes a similar reference to the Campus Martius courtyards and their social role: *nunc et campus et areae lenesque sub noctem susurri composita repetantur hora.*

There are similar references to open courtyards as public space, such as by Ovid in reference to the Forum Boarium: *pontibus et magno iuncta est celeberrima Circo area, quae posito de bovo nomen habet.*[51] This particular open area was the central cattle-market in Ancient Rome,[52] but it may have also been used for other occasions such as the first gladiatorial spectacle in Rome.[53] Ovid also uses *area* in the *Fasti* in reference to a small courtyard connected to a temple that viewed the Circus Flaminius: *prospicit a templo summum brevis area Circum.*[54] This temple has not been excavated but it was probably located on the Campus Martius.[55] *Area* was also frequently used in reference to temple precincts,[56] such as the precincts of Vulcan and Concord mentioned by Livy.[57] There is little doubt that both the *area Volcani* and *area Concordia* were both paved courtyards and served highly visible public roles. These passages highlight how courtyards were frequently provided within religious precincts, which exemplifies their role for social gatherings. Their function was quite different to the agricultural references to *area*, exemplifying the varied use of *area* and the function of courtyards.

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[49] Varro, *Ag.*, 3.5.1; 3.5.8.
[50] Aulus Gellius, 20.1.2-3.
[51] Ovid, *Fasti*, 6.477-8.
[52] S.B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1926, pp. 223-4.
[53] Valerius Maximus, 2.4.7.
[54] Ovid, *Fasti*, 6.205.
[55] Platner and Ashby, *op.cit.*, pp. 82-3.
[56] c.f. Pliny the Elder, *NH*, 2.210.
[57] Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, 2.41.11.4; 9.46.6.1; 39.56.6.2; 40.19.2.1; 42.3.11.2.

Martial has highlighted the use of courtyards for religious occasions, but within a domestic context in *Epigram* 14.4: *caede iuvencorum domini calet area felix, quinquiplici cera cum datur altus honos.*[58] This passage clearly refers to the celebration for a promotion that took place at a domestic residence in an *area felix*. It is unlikely that this would have occurred on a threshing-floor, with this open courtyard intended for a different role to an agricultural *area*. However, the difficulty in defining the term *area* within a purely literary context is demonstrated by its varied use by individual authors such as Varro,[59] Cicero,[60] Horace,[61] Ovid,[62] Martial[63] and Pliny the Elder.[64] These ancient sources have used the term in a wide range of contexts that make its flexible interpretation evident. However, for an understanding of the non-agricultural uses of a courtyard within a domestic context, the *Epistles* of Pliny the Younger have provided the greatest evidence.

The first letter of Pliny the Younger that discusses the presence of a courtyard is *Epistle* 2.17, which was addressed to Clusinius Gallus and discusses his Laurentine villa estate. It would seem that this *villa* was primarily residential because the author does not discuss any agricultural activity for this property,[65] and emphasises this by adding: *villa usibus capax, non sumptuosa tutela.* There was a household garden, which is described as having both an ornamental and 'kitchen-garden',[66] but its owner clearly did not intend this property for large-scale agricultural production. According to Pliny the courtyard at this residence was small and surrounded by two colonnades in the shape of a 'D': *deinde porticus in D literae similitudinem circumactae, quibus parvola sed festiva area includitur.*[67] This residential courtyard was open, but still protected from the elements, providing a pleasant social/residential region of the residence: *egregium hae adversus tempestates receptaculum; nam specularibus ac multo magis*

[58] Martial, *Ep.*, 14.4.1-2.
[59] Varro, *Ag.*, 1.13.5; 1.50-51; 3.5.8-14; 3.14.3.2.
[60] Cicero, *Ver.*, 2.3.36-37; *Att.*, 12.38a.2.9; *Rep.*, 2.21.7.
[61] Horace, *Satires*, 1.1.45; *Carm.*, 1.9.18.
[62] Ovid, *Fasti*, 4.618; 5.263; 6.205; 6.478.
[63] Martial, *Ep.*, 9.90.11; 14.4.1.
[64] Pliny the Elder, *NH*, 15.33.3; 2.210.2.
[65] This is different to the description of his Tuscan villa, which is discussed below. c.f. Pliny the Younger, *Ep.*, 5.6.
[66] Pliny, *Ep.*, 2.17.14--15.
[67] Pliny, *Ep.*, 2.17.4.

imminentibus tectis muniuntur.[68] It was clearly used for a much different function to *areae* mentioned in agricultural contexts. This is further exemplified by Pliny in his ensuing comment on the view from within the residence through this courtyard towards the mountains beyond the estate: *a tergo cavaedium porticum aream porticum rursus, mox atrium silvas et longinquos respicit montes.*[69] So it is clear that this courtyard was used for residential purposes and possessed an open aspect, allowing for an uninterrupted view towards the landscape, which would have highlighted its pleasant appearance. The discussion of Pliny the Younger on the courtyard at his Laurentine villa highlights how the existing contexts should determine our understanding of the uses of open courtyards when examining the archaeological evidence. However, Pliny's emphasis upon the residential role of open courtyards was not limited to his Laurentine villa. The author had a similar *area* at his Tuscan villa that included an agricultural element to its estate.

In *Epistle* 5.6 Pliny discusses the features of his Tuscan villa, which includes references to two courtyards at this residence.[70] This residence was at the foot of the Apennines in Tuscany and was used by Pliny as a summer residence.[71] In this letter he does mention agricultural aspects of the estate,[72] but not in connection to his discussion of the residence itself. This was probably due to the idyllic description of the estate the author was trying to impress upon his reader, but it is of interest to note the almost complete separation between agriculture and lifestyle in his portrayal of this villa estate.[73] This does not preclude a discussion of the domestic garden in connection with the actual residence, with its dwarf shrubs and ornamental features,[74] but it is clear they were associated more with lifestyle than productivity in a similar context to his Laurtentine villa.[75]

The first mention of a courtyard was in connection with a colonnade and the shade of four plane trees: *contra mediam fere porticum diaeta paulum recedit,*

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[68] Pliny, *Ep.*, 2.17.4.
[69] Pliny, *Ep.*, 2.17.5.
[70] Pliny, *Ep.*, 5.6.
[71] Pliny, *Ep.*, 5.6.1.
[72] Pliny, *Ep.*, 5.6.9-12.
[73] The discussion of the view of the countryside from his residence provides a definite division between agriculture and lifestyle, *Ep.*, 5.6.13-14.
[74] Pliny, *Ep.*, 5.6.16-18.
[75] Pliny, *Ep.*, 2.17.14-15.

cingit areolam, quae quatuor platanis inumbratur. Inter has marmoreo aqua exundat circumiectasque platanos et subiecta platanis leni aspergine fovet.[76] It is clear from this reference that the courtyard served a social/residential purpose rather than an agricultural function. The second courtyard mentioned in this *Epistle* is in connection with the *balneum*: *si nature latius aut tepidius velis, in area piscina est, in proximo puteus, ex quo possis rursus adstringi, si paeniteat teporis.*[77] It is clear that this courtyard served as the *frigidarium* for the bath facilities, which would have been a viable option because of the lower intended temperature of the water. This courtyard would have been paved, but judging from its description it seems to have served as much of a social role as a bathing function. Pliny's discussion of these courtyards highlights the varied use of open courtyards within Roman villas and their frequent non-agricultural use.

In *Epistles* 6.16 and 6.20 he also refers to two courtyards at a house in Misenum. The first *area* mentioned was associated with a *diaeta* used by Pliny the Elder: *sed area ex qua diaeta adibatur ita iam cinere mixtisque pumicibus oppleta surrexerat, ut si longior in cubiculo mora, exitus negaretur.*[78] The second courtyard mentioned in connection with this building was at the front of the residence: *resedimus in area domus, quae mare a tectis modico spatio dividebat.*[79] In his final reference to a residential courtyard, Pliny the Younger refers to it similarly as an *aream domus*: *postquam deflexit in aream domus.*[80] Unfortunately from the contexts of these three references it is more difficult to determine their intended function from the text, but it is clear that they were all closely associated with the residential section of each building. Nevertheless, these references to open courtyards illustrate that there was a variation in the position of each courtyard and also in their intended function. Having taken into consideration the variable literary evidence for open courtyards, this should then be compared or applied to the archaeological material from the Pompeian region.

One example of a villa in the region of Pompeii that included a courtyard has been discovered in the Scafati region (Villa 30)(Plate 93). The residential rooms of this villa were located around Room C. There was a bath complex,

[76] Pliny, *Ep.*, 5.6.20.
[77] Pliny, *Ep.*, 5.6.25.
[78] Pliny, *Ep.*, 6.16.14.
[79] Pliny, *Ep.*, 6.20.4.

including Rooms 5 and 6.[81] Room 4 included a small shrine, a semicircular niche in the middle of the eastern wall. The position of this room would have allowed a view of the open portico but it would have still been quite dark.[82] The centre of the complex focused upon an open courtyard, but there was a separation of function between the northern and southern areas. The northern section was used for residential purposes whereas the rustic quarter was to the south. The courtyard (No. A) was surrounded by a portico to the north and east, but originally this also continued around the southern side, attested to by the walled columns in the sides of the northern partitioned wall of Room 11.[83] The columns were adorned in white plaster, with Doric capitals including engraved palmettes, and red and blue paint.[84] Most paintings were fourth style. Despite the emphasis upon agricultural production in this courtyard,[85] there was still an attempt to provide a pleasant domestic environment within the centre of the residence by the addition of columns and wall décor.

Another example of a courtyard exhibiting both utilitarian and social functions has been discovered in a villa in the Boscoreale region (Villa 26)(Plate 89), located roughly two kilometres from Pompeii. Its design suggests that it was a simple complex resided in by a family of farmers,[86] with the entire structure measuring approximately 23 metres square.[87] The plan had two sections separated by a corridor. There was an obvious consideration in the design of the entrances to allow easy access for wagons. Around Entrance A there was a shop, with large red inscriptions painted on the walls, suggesting that the owner sold wine directly to travellers on the main road to the east.[88] There were also a large number of names, memoirs and bookkeeping notes on the walls.[89] At this entrance there was no door present, whereas the other entrance (A') had a strong door, which was closed at the time of the eruption. This doorway led directly to

[80] Pliny, *Ep.*, 7.27.10.2.
[81] M. Della Corte, "Villa rustica scavata dal sig. ing. Gennaro Matrone in un fondo di sua proprietà situato nella contrada Spinelli (Communi di Scafati), a Sud del portellone n. 27 del R. Canale del Sarno", *NSc* Series 5, Vol. 20, 1923a, p. 281.
[82] *Ibid.*
[83] *Ibid.*
[84] *Ibid.*
[85] Particularly with the conversion of part of it into a wine cellar (Rm B).
[86] M. Della Corte, "Pompei – Scavi eseguiti da privati nel territorio Pompeiano", *NSc* Series 5, Vol. 18, 1921, p. 436.
[87] J. Day, "Agriculture in the life of Pompeii", *Yale Classical Studies* 4, 1932, p. 200.
[88] Della Corte, *op.cit.*, p. 437.

the courtyard (Rm C) and the central region of the complex.[90] In the south-western corner of the courtyard was a large garden (D), which held a number of terracotta vessels at the time of the eruption. It is clear from its agricultural nature that the garden could have been used for a utilitarian function as well as for a social role

It is clear that this residence was focused primarily upon agriculture, but there is evidence of some degree of social aspirations, indicating a possible desire for *otium*. However, it appears that this complex should be considered as an agricultural villa. It has been postulated that this complex was a country inn,[91] but it seems just as likely that the owners were involved in selling the estate's produce at the roadside. The overall appearance of this structure was quite modest, but the presence of this potential entertainment area in the courtyard may give more weight to its use as a country-inn.

There is also an urban example that clearly exhibits the social role of open courtyards: the House of M. Fabius Rufus, located in *Insula Occidentalis* at Pompeii (Plate 61). At this residence the reception rooms would have had an ample source of light with the impressive panorama of the Bay of Naples.[92] There was also a colonnaded courtyard (Rm B), which included a deep rectangular fish-basin.[93] There were four levels of terraces in the complex,[94] with the main reception rooms being located on the first lower level from the street with a view of the landscape from every room. The most notable was a large open room (Rm B), which had luxurious décor and an open disposition.[95]

Complementing the landscape, the owner included gardens on three sides,[96] including a colonnaded garden (Rm d) and a separate paved courtyard (Rm e) to the west, which had a portico on the southern and eastern sides.[97] Despite being in an urban context this open courtyard provides both a valuable

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[89] *Ibid.*
[90] *Ibid.*
[91] R.C. Carrington, "Studies in the Campanian 'Villae Rusticae'", *JRS* 21, 1931, p. 122.
[92] A. Hoffmann, "La Architectura", in F. Zevi (ed.), *Pompei 79*, Gaetano Macchiaroli Editore: Naples, 1984, p. 115.
[93] Mau, *op.cit.*, p. 299.
[94] A. Varone, *Pompei, i misteri di una città sepolta*, Newton and Compton: Rome, 2000, p. 201.
[95] *Ibid.*
[96] W.F. Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villas destroyed by Vesuvius*, Vol. 2, Aristide D. Caratzas: New Rochelle, 1979, p. 202.
[97] *Ibid.*

correlation and comparison with the Pompeian villas. The courtyard of this house illustrates that large open courtyards were clearly used for social purposes within Pompeian residences, in agreement with the evidence from the Pompeian villas. However, it is also a valuable comparison because of its urban position. Judging from the archaeological evidence this was the most well-appointed example within this group, which is probably owing to its location. This would suggest that the need for entertainment space was greater in this urban context than in the outer *suburbium*. The use for open spaces was probably quite similar in these urban and rural examples, and it is simply that the use was more frequent within such a large and opulent residence.

Conclusions for *Peristyla* and Courtyards

Naturally, when looking at a large corpus of literature and archaeological material there are going to be a large number of irregularities within the research material, but it is evident that some caution must be taken when applying functions to particular spaces. The literary references on both *peristyla* and *areae* have uncovered two central features. Firstly, that the ancient sources have provided a narrow perspective on the function and purpose of open colonnaded regions, which is largely owing to the social connotations that were inherent in the term itself. The literature has only exhibited the social role of colonnaded areas, whereas the archaeological evidence has illustrated that the function of these areas was far more varied. Secondly, the use of the term *area* had a wide and varied number of literary contexts in reference to open physical areas, which in many ways was more indicative of the reality in their use.

The literary evidence has also illustrated that the social role of open areas within the Roman villas was by no means limited only to the well-appointed open areas with colonnades, but that courtyards of several varieties performed such a role. The implications that this holds for the interpretation of domestic space are paramount. If all of the available data, both literary and archaeological (but particularly the latter) is not taken into consideration in the analysis of domestic space, it may allow for an incorrect view of its function. It is evident that the use of the various open areas within villas in the Pompeian region was as varied as the number of examples that are uncovered. This is primarily owing to one variable element: the intentions of the owners. This variation is evident in both the ancient

literature and the archaeological material from the region. However, it is clear that by properly interpreting the available information, it is possible to understand the lifestyle and priorities of each owner, particularly in regard to the role and purpose for open areas within the Pompeian villa. Assumptions cannot be made when interpreting the open courtyards, but as with the other regions of these residences it is the variation in their function that was their prime characteristic.

Domestic Gardens

Jashemski and Purcell have discussed the importance of domestic gardens at length.[98] Columella may have encouraged the use of domestic gardens for production, but this was by no means the general rule. Purcell rightly notes that the use of ornamental gardens was indicative of the aristocracy's desire to display their status, as well as the desire to modify or improve nature within this setting.[99] The design of ornamental gardens sought to impose an ordered aspect onto the natural environment,[100] which would have further accentuated the panoramic view from *villae suburbanae*. This sentiment was unpopular with several ancient writers, but it is through their encouragement of productive gardens that we can tell that ornamental gardens were popular with the community. This is illustrated by the comments of Statius, who praises Pollius Felix for the improvements that he made to the beauty of Nature.[101] A good example of this type of setting has been discovered in the form of a villa at San Michelle.[102] At such complexes the view of the coastal panorama was a significant feature in the layout of the architecture, combining both natural and constructed features within the same visual plane.[103] As Statius highlighted, this created an even greater impression upon both the residents and their visitors.

Gardens were as much a part of the Roman residence as the building itself, frequently providing not only a source of income but also an area of relaxation

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[98] W.F. Jashemski, "The Campanian Peristyle Garden", in L. Fern (ed.), *Ancient Roman Gardens*, Dumbarton Oaks: Washington, 1981, pp. 29-48; N. Purcell, "The Roman Garden as a Domestic Building", in I.M. Barton (ed.), *Roman Domestic Buildings*, University of Exeter Press: Exeter, 1996, pp. 121-51.
[99] Purcell, *Ibid.*, p. 135.
[100] Purcell, 1987, *op.cit.*, p. 191.
[101] Statius, *Silvae*, 2.2.52-9.
[102] A. Andrén, "Classical Antiquities of the Villa San Michelle", *OpRom* 4, 1965, pp. 119-41.
[103] B. Bergmann, "Painted Perspectives of a villa visit: landscape as status and metaphor", in E.K. Gazda (ed.), *Roman Art in the Private Sphere*, University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor, 1994, p. 65.

and respite within the confines of the property.[104] There were several garden plots within cities, such as Pompeii, which were intended purely for agricultural production.[105] A good example of this within the confines of Pompeii is *Insula* II, which is clearly a market garden.[106] But many gardens were not intended for production, instead being used for the *luxuria* of *al fresco* dining.[107] Roman gardens were often adorned with paintings of plants, complementing these gardens and further accentuating their pleasant character.[108] On occasion there were productive plants within these ornamental gardens,[109] but they were planted for aesthetic appeal and not purely production. Gardens were placed in positions where they would be visible from the dining rooms, allowing a further accentuation of their view of the landscape.[110] They were also frequently adorned with statues in order to promote the owners' prestige, culture and ability to provide *luxuria*.[111]

Otium

The concept of *otium* will be frequently referred to throughout this study, as it was a prominent attraction for the purchase of suburban villas. D'Arms has illustrated that there were two types of *otium*:[112] *otium molestum* (laziness),[113] and *otium honestum* (relaxing but fruitful labour).[114] Of course, D'Arms is defining this term subjectively in accordance with its context, but both terms highlight the absence of *negotium*. The term *otium* has been used in conjunction with the most noteworthy establishments, whose facilities were well-appointed and extensively equipped for entertaining and relaxing. The concept of *otium* appears to have been closely associated with a pastoral lifestyle, epitomising an easy life within

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[104] P. Hoffmann, *Le ville di Roma e dei dintorni*, Newton and Compton: Rome, 2001, p. 81.
[105] N. Purcell, "The Roman Garden as a Domestic Building", in I.M. Barton (ed.), *Roman Domestic Buildings*, University of Exeter Press: Exeter, 1996, p. 122.
[106] W.F. Jashemski, "The Garden of Hercules at Pompeii (II.viii.6): the discovery of a commercial flower garden" *AJA* 83, 1979, pp. 403-11.
[107] Purcell, 1996, *op.cit.*, p. 123.
[108] Hoffmann, 2001, *op.cit.*, p. 85.
[109] Purcell, 1996, *op.cit.*, p. 123.
[110] *Ibid.*, p. 128.
[111] c.f. R. Neudecker, "The Roman Villa as a Locus of Art Collections", in A Frazer (ed.), *The Roman Villa: villa urbana*, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania: Philadelphia, 1998, p. 91.
[112] J.H. D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples*, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass., 1970, pp. 70-1.
[113] Catullus, *Carm.*, 51.13; Cicero, *Sest.*, 138.
[114] Sallust, *Hist.*, 1.55.9; Cicero, *Att.*, 1.17.5.

luxuriant circumstances, especially nature.[115] *Luxuria* was another feature that complemented *otium*, serving to enhance the pleasant lifestyle of the residents and assert the status of the *dominus*.[116]

This materialistic *luxuria* was condemned by Pliny the Elder,[117] who argued that wealth and *luxuria* should not mark out an individual's social position.[118] In his *Epistulae*, Pliny the Younger advocated for luxury time to be spent in cultural enhancement, and not material luxury,[119] but it is clear that the two were frequently combined. It may have been that Pliny the Younger was down-playing the well-appointed facilities at his own estates in order to promote his cultural ideals.[120] Whether genuine leisure was actually enjoyed by the owners of the various establishments is impossible to determine, but it is the desire or intention to attain this lifestyle that can be seen at *villae suburbanae* and this provides a good picture about the use and perception of these residences.

Suburban Villas around Rome

The first leading Roman known to have possessed a villa in the suburbs of Rome was the elder Scipio.[121] During the late Republic it was inappropriate within senatorial circles to own a residence that was excessively luxurious.[122] A good example of this is the critique of Clodius delivered by Cicero,[123] where the whole speech is concerned with his residence and the lavish nature of its proposed facilities.[124] Interestingly, it is around this time that more of the larger and more expensive residences were being erected in the suburbs of Rome. It is well known that many senators owned several properties throughout Italy and that some of

[115] J.M. André, *Recherches sur L'Otium Romain*, Les Belles Lettres: Paris, 1962, p. 7.
[116] A. Wallace-Hadrill, "The Social Spread of Roman Luxury: sampling Pompeii and Herculaneum", *PBSR* 58, 1990, p. 149.
[117] Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 9.105; 21.46.
[118] A. Wallace-Hadrill, "Pliny the Elder and Man's Unnatural History", *Greece and Rome* 37, 1990, p. 91.
[119] E. W. Leach, "Otium as Luxuria: Economy of Status in the Younger Pliny's Letters", *Arethusa* 36, 2003, p. 148.
[120] *Ibid.*, pp. 155-6.
[121] Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, 38.52.1; J. Bodel, "Monumental villas and villa monuments", *JRA* 10, 1997, p. 5.
[122] E.S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, Vol. 1, University of California Press: Berkeley, 1984, p. 263.
[123] Cicero, *De Domo Sua*, 107, 124.
[124] S. Treggiari, "The upper-class house as symbol and focus of emotion in Cicero", *JRA* 12.1, 1999, p. 46.

these were in the *suburbium* of Rome.[125] Archaeological surveys undertaken around Rome have shown that a large number of residences were constructed in the suburban regions of Rome.[126] These complexes would have been of a diverse nature, with some being classified as *villae suburbanae*. The type of residence constructed would have depended upon the owners' financial circumstances, their intentions and the size of the estate. A large number of estates have been discovered in the regions further out as well.[127] They were not *villae suburbanae* of Rome but were nonetheless attractive properties to many wealthy investors from the capital.

Being the capital, Rome possessed the utmost social and political importance to the Roman nobility. Most of the landed gentry owned more than one property and often owned numerous houses in many different locations and styles.[128] It appears probable that some of the aristocracy would have had a townhouse in Rome and a suburban villa outside, thereby reducing the concept of any real ideological separation between the city and the countryside.[129] The advantage of owning a villa close to Rome was that one could escape from the hectic lifestyle there,[130] while not being too far from the major political, social and financial centre. Pliny the Younger provided a perfect example. He owned a townhouse on the Esquiline Hill,[131] and also a suburban villa at Laurentum.[132]

In general terms a *villa suburbana* was close enough to the city for easy access, but ideally not close enough for the owners to be severely criticised for building a comfortable and well-appointed structure. The location provided owners with more space to construct their residence freely, without the spatial constraints of building an urban townhouse. There were also health benefits for the residents, which would have been another attraction. This was closely

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[125] C. Bruun, "Senatorial owners of what?", *JRA* 13.2, 2000, p. 500.
[126] S. Quilici Gigli, "The Changing Landscape of the Roman Campagna", in J. Carlsen (ed.), *Landuse in the Roman Empire*, L'erma di Bretschneider: Rome, 1994, pp. 136.
[127] H.D. Giuseppe, M. Sansoni, J. Williams and R. Witcher, "The Sabinensis Ager revisited: a field survey in the Sabina Tiberina", *PBSR* 70, 2002, pp. 99-149.
[128] c.f. T. Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, Vol. 1, John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, 1933, p. 295.
[129] N. Morley, "Cities in context: urban systems in Roman Italy", in H.M. Parkins (ed.), *Roman Urbanism: beyond the consumer city*, Routledge: London, 1997, p. 43; N. Purcell, "The City of Rome and the Plebs Urbana in the Late Republic", *CAH* 9, 2nd ed., Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1994, p. 649.
[130] Balsdon, 1969, *op.cit.*, pp. 195-6.
[131] Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, 3.21.5.

connected with the prospect of leisure as well, which was certainly a benefit.[133] It is for this reason that determining the potential entertainment space for each suburban villa is particularly pertinent in order to ascertain the social intentions of their owners, as well as the social context of the Roman *suburbium* in general. It appears that the desire for *otium* was also connected with the desire for a pleasant view of the landscape. This meant that *villae suburbanae* were commonly developed with viewing rooms whereby the leading residents could either entertain guests or relax while enjoying the panorama.

At suburban villas, there would also have been a better opportunity for both agricultural production and access to the urban markets of Rome, with only limited transportation time and expense if the owner wished the estate to be productive. The commercial benefits of *villae suburbanae* around Rome is evident in the large number of both local and foreign fragments of *amphorae* discovered at a villa in San Sebastiano, illustrating large amounts of fiscal activity in the suburbs of Rome from as early as the third century BC.[134] However, if a villa was located on the outskirts of Rome it did not necessarily mean that it was a *villa suburbana*. There are several early complexes discovered in the environs of Ostia that illustrate this clearly.

Ostia only had a small territory under its jurisdiction,[135] with several villas discovered in this region. There have also been several farm buildings discovered in the outer regions of Ostia in the region of Dragoncello, dated to the third and fourth centuries BC.[136] This region has produced one of the highest concentrations of agricultural villas near Ostia. The complexes were quite modest, with walls made of tufa, but they provide good evidence of unassuming structures devoted to agriculture in the mid Republic.[137] There have also been several villas discovered in this area with construction dated to the first century BC.[138] One of these complexes was a villa planned around a central courtyard,

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[132] Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, 1.9.
[133] Hoffmann, 2001, *op.cit.*, p. 91.
[134] F. Verga, "L'assetto rurale in età arcaica ed in età Romana del territorio di Poggio Sommavilla (Sabina Tiberina)", *PBSR* 70, 2002, pp. 93-4.
[135] A.H.M. Jones, *The Roman Economy: studies in ancient economic and administrative history*, Blackwell: Oxford, 1974, p. 54.
[136] C. Pavolini, "Ostia", *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 6, 1988, p. 121.
[137] *Ibid.*
[138] A. Pellegrino, "Ville Rustiche a Dragoncello (Acilia)", *ArchLaz* 5, 1983, p. 81.

similar to many villas from the period (Plate 21).[139] The main rooms were located on the southern side of the complex. Most complexes in this region were quite modest and were abandoned by the early third century AD.[140] It is important to include these sites within this study because they provide some insight into the agricultural activity in the region. Although the majority of villas under discussion were quite palatial, not all villas located close to Rome were intended for display and leisure. Comparing these modest and productive dwellings to suburban villas further highlights the social intentions of owners of *villae suburbanae.*

That being said, there were some villas in the coastal suburbs of Ostia that can be classified as *villae suburbanae.*[141] These complexes were well developed by the first century AD, located between the city and the channels to the south.[142] One was a monumental complex near Procio di Pianabella, which has evidence of a large bath complex in its structure (Plate 22).[143] Unfortunately, little else of the complex remains, but from the existing remains it is evident that it was a well-appointed residence in the coastal suburbs of Ostia. The importance of this complex is that it illustrates that there may have been some *villae suburbanae* near Ostia and the capital. Several other small complexes, which probably served as simple agricultural establishments, have also been discovered within this region,[144] but little remains of these. Nevertheless, it seems that the region was being used for both residential and productive purposes.[145] Overall, these residences highlight the varied nature of villas located in the hinterland of both Ostia and the capital, some of which can be classified as *villae suburbanae.*

Imperial Palaces

The ultimate in urban luxury and status during the Imperial period was the construction of an Imperial residence or palace. It would seem likely that the large urban residences of the Imperial family had a major impact upon both the fashions and aspirations of other Roman élites. It is for this reason that the

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[139] *Ibid.*
[140] *Ibid.*, p. 83.
[141] A. Pellegrino, *Ostia Antica*, Soprintendenza Archeologica di Ostia: Rome, 2000, p. 47.
[142] M.G. Lauro, "Ville Suburbane ad Ostia", *ArchLaz* 6, 1984, p. 224
[143] *Ibid.*, pp. 226-7.
[144] M. Heinzelmann, "Beobachtungen zur Suburbanen topographie Ostias. Ein Orthogonales Strassensystem im Bereich der Pianabella", *MDAIR(A)* 105, 1998, p. 189.

palaces constructed on the Palatine should be compared with the layout and characteristics of *villae suburbanae* constructed in the hinterland of Rome. The most important region for Imperial urban residences was on the Palatine Hill.[146]

There were several impressive residences built in this region during the Republican era from around 150 BC,[147] such as the Houses of Q. Lutatius Catulus, M. Livius Drusus, Clodius and M. Aemilius Scaurus.[148] The house of Cicero on the Palatine was located in a prime location on the south-west corner of the hill, overlooking the *Forum Romanum.*[149] During the Imperial period the Palatine region was almost entirely occupied by the residences of the Emperors.[150] Augustus who built the House of Augustus there made the initial choice of this region as an Imperial precinct.[151] The Emperor Tiberius constructed a new wing of this structure, the *Domus Tiberiana*, which was connected to the House of Augustus by a series of underground corridors.[152] Gaius then extended the building in the direction of the Forum, which is now referred to as the *Orti Farnesiani* or the *Domus Gaiana.*[153]

The most impressive of the Imperial residences was the *Domus Aurea*,[154] constructed by the Emperor Nero, which covered an enormous area and was referred to as *rus in urbe.*[155] During the Flavian period the Palatine was given a more unified disposition,[156] especially with the construction of the *Domus Flavia.*[157] The original House of Augustus was ruined by fire under Titus and rebuilt by Domitian.[158] The Emperor Hadrian continued to reside in the *Domus Flavia* during his time in Rome, simply maintaining the residence, although he did

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[145] *Ibid.*, p. 190.
[146] See Appendix A, pp. 3-9.
[147] D.R. Dudley, *Urbs Roma*, Phaidon Press: London, 1967, pp. 162-3.
[148] R. Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, Benjamin Blom: New York, 1967a, pp. 117-8.
[149] Cicero, *Dom.*, 100. cf. S.M. Cerutti, "The location of the Houses of Cicero and Clodius and the Porticus Catuli on the Palatine Hill in Rome", *AJPh* 118, 1997, p. 417; R.T. Ridley, *The eagle and the spade: archaeology in Rome during the Napoleonic era*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1992, p. 170.
[150] Cerutti, 1997, *op.cit.*, p. 424.
[151] Lanciani, 1967a, *op.cit.*, p. 107.
[152] *Ibid.*
[153] *Ibid.*
[154] R. Lanciani and L. Sperduti, *Domus Aurea Neronis, Roma*, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato: Rome, 1993.
[155] Martial, *Ep.*, 12.57.21.
[156] Lanciani, 1967a, *op.cit.*, p. 108.
[157] H. Finsen, *Domus Flavia sur le Palatin; Aula Regia-Basilica*, Einar: Munksgaard, 1962.
[158] Lanciani, 1967a, *op.cit.*, p. 108.

construct the *exedra* of the Stadium.[159] These residences and their gardens were probably not as extensive as in the villas of suburban Rome because of the available space,[160] but they were clear representations of the status and success of these members of the Roman aristocracy.

The capacity for determining potential entertainment areas at these Imperial palaces is varied because of the differing amount of archaeological remains at each site. The House of Augustus had at least three areas that served a potential entertainment role: the colonnaded courtyard (Rm A), Room 10 and Room 13, both of which overlooked the open area. The *Domus Tiberiana* has fewer archaeological remains and the only potential entertainment space is the large open space (Plate 24). The Oppian Wing of the *Domus Aurea* had several potential entertainment rooms (Plates 25, 26), particularly the Octagonal Room and the large paved courtyard. The *Domus Flavia* has five areas with a potential entertainment role: the colonnaded courtyard, Rooms D and H, another courtyard and the stadium. The variation in known features of all these Imperial palaces must be acknowledged before analysing the statistical results for potential entertainment space.

Three of these Imperials Palaces have been included among the statistical analysis (Tables 2, 3): the House of Augustus, and the *Domii Tiberiana* and *Flavia*. The House of Augustus (Plate 23) was the smallest within this group, being quite simple in comparison to its later counterparts.[161] However, it was by no means a modest residence, covering a sizeable surface area (4,200m^2), which included a large central colonnaded courtyard (Plate 23). With the inclusion of this courtyard within the group of entertainment areas it produces a result that 21.45% of the structure was potentially used as entertainment space. This figure appears to agree with the general function of this residence being to entertain guests and visitors of the Imperial family. It would not have suited the public persona of Augustus to create an excessively large urban residence,[162] but he still

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[159] *Ibid.*
[160] A. Carandini, "Il Gardino nell'età tardo Republicana e Giulio-Claudia", in *Gli Orti Farnesiani sul Palatino*, École Française de Rome: Rome, 1990, p. 9.
[161] See Appendix A, pp. 3-4.
[162] A.A. Barret, *Livia: first lady of Imperial Rome*, Yale University Press: New Haven, 2002, p. 177.

exhibited his position of dominance and close ties to Apollo,[163] by constructing this residence (Plate 23).[164]

Only limited amounts remain of the structure of the *Domus Tiberiana* (Plate 24) but it is known to have been significantly larger than the previous Imperial residence.[165] Of the known areas it covered over 34,000 m^2, including a large open area (Plate 24). If this area is included within the group of entertainment areas the resulting percentage of entertainment space is very high (59.36% entertainment space). It is difficult to determine whether this is indicative of the true nature of this structure from the extant knowledge, but it is still clear that the role of entertainment within this residence was prominent and was a prime function for the structure. This is to be expected in view of the owners' position and responsibilities. However, it should be reiterated that the large colonnaded courtyard comprised almost 60% of the known area, which has distorted the results (Graphs 1, 2). Nevertheless, it is evident that this large open area was a significant feature of the Imperial palace.

The statistics from the *Domus Flavia* (Plate 27)[166] also produce similar results, with a percentage of 29.26% of entertainment space when the colonnaded courtyard is included. As with its predecessors the potential entertainment space was focused upon the open areas (Graph 3), which would have enjoyed not only the *Horti Adonaea*,[167] but also the view of the city. The view was also directed towards the interior of the structure, particularly upon the courtyard and the stadium, which were large open entertainment areas (Plate 27).

Imperial Palaces - Conclusions

The most prominent theme evident from the Imperial palaces within Rome is the desire to not only create an impressive residence but also maintain an element of privacy. In many ways this would not have been possible with palaces serving both as a residence and as the seat of Empire. It may have been for this reason that the Emperors also maintained at least one villa in close proximity to

[163] Zanker, 1988, *op.cit.*, p. 51.
[164] D. Favro, *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1996, pp. 144-5.
[165] See Appendix A, pp. 4-5.
[166] See Appendix A, pp. 7-9.
[167] M. Royo, *Domus Imperatore: topographie, formation et imaginaire des Palais Impériaux du Palatin*, École Française de Rome: Rome, 1999, pp. 337-40, 345-6. See Appendix A, pp. 8-9.

the capital. However, the urban residences served an important purpose. The grandeur of their dimensions made them prominent within the community throughout the Imperial period, which was essential for maintaining the Emperors' social presence. Of the structures they had an average size of 15,937.56m^2 (Graph 1), which illustrates their grand dimensions within a condensed urban context.

Most Emperors would have desired to make their social and political dominance clear to the Roman population, especially in light of the precarious nature of their position. This meant that they would not have enjoyed a great deal of privacy, and this would have created in them a need to possess villas that were not too far away from Rome and its responsibilities. It should be remembered that the Imperial residences and their associated gardens were traversed by a series of streets, which were probably accessible by the public with limited restriction.[168] Having examined the palaces of these Emperors, there is a notable comparison in the Emperor Claudius. Claudius was notable for his minimal expenditure on monumental architecture, preferring to fund aqueducts, walls, docks and harbours.[169] When the limited alterations by Claudius are compared to those of Nero and Domitian, it further emphasises the extravagance outlaid upon these residences. However, the use of villa-style architecture in the design of these palaces and the immense size of several of these residences within the city do draw clear analogies between both palaces and villas.

The similarities between these structures are exhibited in the statistical analysis (Table 2), illustrating not only a similar emphasis upon entertainment and reception (having a Mean of 37.07%), but also that the desire for open-planned residences is clearly evident at both groups of structure (Graphs 2,3). It would seem that after the relative modesty of the House of Augustus, the urban Imperial residences were increasingly influenced by the large luxurious villas,[170] particularly *villae suburbanae*. However, the Imperial palaces also seem to have influenced villa construction in some instances (see below). After all, many senators would have owned large villas of *otium* in the suburbs of Rome, but to own a similar structure within the urban limits would have provided even more

[168] Lanciani, 1967a, *op.cit.*, p. 144.
[169] B. Levick, *Claudius*, Yale University Press: New Haven, 1990, p. 108.

distinction for the *princeps*. In all likelihood, the prestige associated with these urban residences was more consequential to their owners because of their visibility to all sections of the community because of their prominent location. The *Domus Aurea* took this exhibition too far, but this was in keeping with the personality of the Emperor Nero. Naturally, the possibility of privacy was more limited at these urban residences, which is why most emperors also possessed Imperial villas, particularly in the suburbs of Rome.

Imperial Suburban Villas

In order to discuss the characteristics of suburban villas it has been beneficial to analyse the Imperial urban residences because of the substantial influence that these residences would have wielded, epitomising a high standard of success and *luxuria*. But the Imperial family also possessed several suburban villas around Rome that would have been just as influential. During the Imperial period the emperors would have been a great source of inspiration for the Roman élite, which makes the Imperial *villae suburbanae* particularly notable. But they still remain as an essential source of material for the ideal setting for suburban villas around Rome and beyond. The range of published material on these Imperial suburban villas varies from being well documented, such as in the case of the Villas of Livia and Hadrian, to having only sparse written references, such as the Villa of Domitian at Castel Gandolfo. This has meant that the statistical analysis for potential entertainment space at these structures is quite varied in accordance with the available information upon them. The data has also been affected by the large divergence in size and complexity of the structures, especially in regard to the Villa of Hadrian at Tivoli. Owing to the unique position of the Imperial family within the Roman social context these *villae suburbanae* have been analysed and compared to each other before being compared to the non-Imperial suburban villas around Rome under discussion.

[170] Royo, 1999, *op.cit.*, pp. 354-6.

Villa 1 - The Villa of Livia at Prima Porta[171]

General Surface Area: *11,329.91m²*

The Villa of Livia at Prima Porta (Plate 28) was one of the most impressive villa structures located in the suburbs of Rome. In antiquity this villa complex was called *ad Gallinas*, which was strongly linked with Augustan ideology.[172] This villa was located on the ancient *Via Flaminia* along the western slopes roughly 12 kilometres from Rome (Plate 10).[173] It is evident that this complex would have been an ideal villa in the suburbs of Rome for the Imperial family as it allowed for an open lifestyle and a degree of privacy,[174] while still being close to the capital. It is likely that Octavian and Livia resided on the Palatine for a great amount of time after the introduction of the *principate*,[175] but the Villa at Prima Porta would have provided a more private residence for them within easy reach of the capital.

This site has received a large amount of attention by modern scholars, which has resulted in a large number of recent publications,[176] allowing for a greater scope of statistical analysis. However, the extant archaeological remains have limited the number of areas that can be classified as potential entertainment rooms. There are three open regions that can clearly be classified: the ambulatory (Rm A), courtyard and colonnade (Rm B), and yet only two internal rooms (Rms 2, 58) have been included due to their position and décor that makes a potential entertainment role seem most likely.

The statistical analysis of this site illustrates the open aspect of the Villa of Livia,[177] having roughly half of the surface area devoted to gardens and open courtyards (50.11%). The opportunity for the construction of this type of residence on the Palatine would not have been readily available, especially after

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[171] See Appendix A, pp. 9-10.
[172] J. Clark Reeder, "The Statue of Augustus from Prima Porta, the underground complex, and the omen of the *Gallina Alba*", *AJPh* 118, 1997, pp. 89-90.
[173] C. Calci and G. Messineo, *La Villa di Livia a Prima Porta*, De Luca Editore: Rome, 1984, p. 15.
[174] J. Clark Reeder, *The Villa of Livia Ad Gallinas Albas*, Brown University: Providence, 2001, p. 9.
[175] Barrett, 2002, *op.cit.*, p. 28.
[176] See the Select Bibliography for this Villa in Appendix A, p. 10.
[177] E.M. Pinto-Giullaume, "Mollusks from the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta, Rome: the Swedish Garden Archaeological Project, 1996-1999", *AJA* 106, 2002, p. 37.

the introduction of the *principate*. There is little doubt that this would have been a large luxurious *villae suburbanae* located within the inner suburbs of the capital. The location allowed for a view of Rome and the Tiber valley to the south,[178] which would have added to its pleasant appearance. The popularity of this region is also highlighted by the presence of another large *villae suburbanae* on the *Via Tiberina* only 500 metres from the Villa of Livia.[179]

Villa 2 - The Villa of Domitian at Castel Gandolfo[180]

General Surface Area: unknown

This complex was roughly 20 kilometres from Rome, placed in the Alban hills on the *Via Appia*.[181] This region of *Latium* was renown for its wealthy *villae suburbanae* and prosperous towns,[182] being popular in the summer months because it provided relief from the city heat.[183] The layout was based upon four terraces created by restructuring a volcanic crater.[184] However, there are no reliable published plans available for this site, excluding the possibility of analysing its potential entertainment space. Nevertheless, it is an important site and needs to be included within this discussion of Imperial *villae suburbanae*.

This large villa in the Roman suburbs maintained the advantages of living in the hinterland of the capital, as well as allowing more space for Domitian to erect structures such as the theatre for his personal use.[185] The terraces were supported by a large covered passage, which in itself was of immense proportions.[186] The lowest level included a large Hippodrome,[187] which would have been used by the emperor to stage spectacles for the enjoyment of his invited guests.[188]

Before discussing the relevant aspects of this villa, it should be highlighted that the cultural bond between the Alban Hills and Rome can be dated back to the

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[178] Clark Reeder, 2001, *op.cit.*, p. 31.
[179] P.A. Gianfrotta, "Villa sulla Via Tiberina", *ArchLaz* 2, 1979, pp. 86-90.
[180] See Appendix A, p. 11.
[181] Barton, 1996, *op.cit.*, p. 101.
[182] K.D. White, *Roman Farming*, Thames and Hudson: London, 1970, p. 72.
[183] L. Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World*, George Allen and Unwin: London, 1974, p. 145.
[184] Barton, 1996, *op.cit.*, p. 101.
[185] c.f. B.W. Jones, *The Emperor Domitian*, Routledge: London, 1992, p. 100.
[186] H. Mielsch, *Die Römische Villa: architektur und lebensform*, Verlag C.H. Beck: Munich, 1987, p. 73.
[187] *Ibid.*
[188] Statius, *Silv.*, 3.5.28-31, 4.2.64ff.

early Iron Age, as shown in their similar styles of burial.[189] Since the Republican period there had been a tendency towards the construction of villas in this region, including one owned by Quintus Aurelius during the Sullan era.[190] Both Clodius and Pompey later owned this residence.[191]

The known features of this establishment indicate that the plan was designed for a coastal view towards the sea and Ostia.[192] The upper terrace was mostly used for reservoirs but the Imperial residence may have been constructed above this.[193] The second terrace included four shrines, whereas the covered passage was placed below this level.[194] Owing to the limited knowledge about this site it is difficult to draw many significant conclusions, but at least four can be made. Firstly, it is notable that there were similarities between this residence in the Alban *suburbium* and the *Domus Flavia*, particularly with the inclusion of the Hippodrome. Secondly, owing to the discovery of a letter to Falerienses,[195] it is evident that Domitian used it for business purposes.[196] This highlights the advantages that *villae suburbanae* provided their owners, allowing for a pleasant lifestyle, but also the capacity to uphold their responsibilities in the capital. The third notable feature is the deliberate planning of this *villa suburbana* to overlook the panorama of the coastline, which was a common feature of most well-appointed suburban residences. Finally, the provision of large entertainment areas at this establishment illustrates an important element that was evident not only at this complex, but also at the Villa of Hadrian at Tivoli (see below). By constructing these Imperial *villae suburbanae* deeper in the Roman *suburbium* it allowed their owners greater freedom and space for their personal entertainment areas.

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[189] R. Ross Holloway, *The Archaeology of Early Rome and Latium*, Routledge: London, 1994, p. 15.
[190] Plutarch, *Sulla*, 31.
[191] R. Darwall-Smith, "Albanum and the Villas of Domitian", *Pallas* 40, 1994, p. 147.
[192] *Ibid.*, p. 150.
[193] *Ibid.*, p. 151.
[194] *Ibid.*, p. 150.
[195] *CIL* IX 5420.
[196] Darwall-Smith, 1994, *op.cit.*, p. 157.

Villa 3 - The Villa of Hadrian at Tivoli[197]

General Surface Area: *107,525m²*

This estate is the most extensive and elaborate complex discovered in the suburbs of Rome, roughly 28 kilometres from the capital,[198] covering roughly three hundred acres (Plate 29).[199] The Imperial residence itself, including the Piazza d'Oro, Hall with Doric Pillars, Great *Peristyle* and the library courtyards, still covered an area over 50,000m²,[200] illustrating its grand dimensions and architecture.[201] Originally there was a late Republican villa on this site (Plate 30) with some of its walls incorporated in the palace colonnaded courtyard.[202]

The statistical analysis of this estate has been kept to a minimum, owing to the enormous proportions (Graph 4)(Table 2). In many ways it is easier to determine structures that were clearly not used for entertainment or reception in this residence rather than those that were. But this illustrates an important element of Hadrian's Villa and its design. The estate represents a suburban villa devoted entirely to the needs of the emperor, with productivity not a consideration. When the complex was initially constructed Hadrian would have been attempting to create a residence beyond the confines of Rome that could meet the requirements for a pleasant lifestyle. These requirements would have included not only his personal needs but also his needs as *princeps*. He was creating a pleasant residential environment where he could not only escape from his responsibilities, but also fulfil them. In that sense, and not an agricultural sense, it was a productive estate. The areas determined that were not used for potential entertainment were the baths (24, 34, 35, 37), passageway (33), barracks (23) and the small house (18). These structures are only a small proportion of the entire complex, as is shown in the potential entertainment statistics.

The evidence for entertainment areas in the complex is self-evident. Structures such as the Gladiator's Arena, Maritime Theatre, Stadium and the

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[197] See Appendix A, pp. 12-13.
[198] J.E. Packer, "Mire exaedificavit: three recent books on Hadrian's Tiburtine villa", *JRA* 11, 1998, p. 583.
[199] F. Yegul, "Hadrian's Villa and its Legacy (Book Review)", *Art Bulletin* 79, 1997, p. 457.
[200] S. Aurigemma, *Villa Adriana near Tivoli*, trans. A.W. Van Buren, Arti Grafiche A. Chicca: Tivoli, 1964, p. 48.
[201] A. Hoffmann, "Villa Hadriana. Raum, licht und Konstruktion", in A. Frazer (ed.), *The Roman Villa: villa urbana*, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania: Philadelphia, 1998, p. 65.

Building with Three *Exedrae* are clear examples of this. These areas would have served as entertainment places for both guests and visitors. The *Canopus* is another example of an entertainment area, similar to the pools found at many *villae suburbanae*, but on a much grander scale. Conversely, the Latin and Greek Libraries would have provided a more private environment for Hadrian.

Despite the impractical nature of the statistics for comparison with other properties, the size of the structure itself can provide important insight. Frequently the Villa of Hadrian had an entire building devoted to a function that would only have been housed in a single room within most other *villae suburbanae*, which leads to three important points about this villa. Firstly, this estate would have represented the ultimate example of a luxurious and palatial *villa suburbana*, which was probably emulated by other wealthy Romans. The only difference would have been the expendable capital available to the emperor. Secondly, the Villa of Hadrian illustrates the emphasis placed on *otium*, entertainment and reception that occurred at many *villae suburbanae*, except this estate makes it even more obvious. Finally, the clear presence of features such as Libraries and the Building with Three *Exedrae* give an indication of the facilities that may have existed at smaller complexes in the suburbs. This final point must be treated with some caution but it is a valid premise that, owing to social emulation, smaller examples of these facilities would have been present at smaller *villae suburbanae*, not only around Rome but in other regions as well. A good example of this can be seen in the similar architectural traits of the Maritime Theatre and a similar later structure at the Villa of the Quintili.[203]

Conclusions

The Villa of Livia at Prima Porta provides a fine example of a well-appointed villa in the inner suburbs of Rome. The open plan of this residence, especially with the inclusion of such features as the hanging garden, would have provided a pleasant environment for both private relaxation and the entertainment of guests. Judging from the developments at both the Villas of Domitian at Castel Gandolfo and Hadrian at Tivoli, the influence of the *Domus Aurea* is clear.[204]

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[202] Barton, 1996, *op.cit.*, p. 107.
[203] See Appendix A, p. 17.
[204] Barton, 1996, *op.cit.*, pp. 101, 107.

Hadrian's Villa would have served not only as a place of retreat for writing and study and as a large entertainment venue, but also as a workplace.[205] These functions were carried out in specific areas within the villa, but the importance of work was clearly a factor, with several buildings for administrative uses being situated within or beside the Imperial residence.[206] The inclusion of such areas would have been necessary because of the constant responsibilities of state that could not be neglected. This would have made the prospect of being removed from direct contact with the capital appealing to the Imperial household. The greater amount of available space for construction of a worthy residence would have also been a benefit, especially for the Emperor Hadrian with his interest in architecture.[207]

It is noteworthy to compare the percentage of potential entertainment space at both urban and suburban Imperial residences (Graph 6). Disregarding the impressive size and facilities shown in the results for Hadrian's Villa (3), it is clear that there was a consistent emphasis placed upon entertainment space in all residences. The lowest percentage of entertainment space in these structures is found at the House of Augustus, but this is to be expected in view of its earlier construction and the emperor's apparent preference to exhibit *modestas* rather than *luxuria*. Assuming that the results for Domitian's Villa at Castel Gandolfo would be somewhere between those of Villas 1 and 3, it is clear that *villae suburbanae* did provide slightly - but not significantly - greater opportunities for entertainment space. It is also of note that the urban Imperial residences gradually grew in size until the end of the Julio-Claudian era and then remained fairly constant, whereas the Imperial suburban villas continued to expand in size beyond this time. The resulting general unpopularity of the *Domus Aurea* had its after effects on the urban palaces, which can explain this preference. It would seem that the Imperial *villae suburbanae* replaced the urban residences as objects for grandiose development because they provided greater spatial freedom without the possibility of criticism from their ostentation.[208]

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[205] MacDonald and Pinto, 1995, *op.cit.*, p. 186.
[206] *Ibid.*, pp. 186-7.
[207] *SHA*, *Hadrian*, 26.5; Birley, 1997, *op.cit.*, p. 193.
[208] For the architectural progression from town to country, see A. Kuttner, "Prospects of Patronage: Realism and Romanitas in the architectural vistas of the Second Style", in A. Frazer

The influence of Imperial residences on Roman architecture, such as the urban palaces and *villae suburbanae*, creates an interesting progression. It seems evident that suburban villas did have an effect upon the architecture and open-layout of several urban Imperial residences, particularly the *Domus Aurea*,[209] which would have made it a reciprocal influence between the two types of structure (suburban villa and palace). The size of the *Domus Aurea* surpassed all previous Imperial palaces, obviously flaunting the previous censure of luxurious urban structures, which led to its infamy. However, following from its demise its influence upon later imperial *villae suburbanae* can be viewed in two ways. Firstly, in both the Villas of Domitian and Hadrian it is evident that such a flagrant approach towards urban palace construction was again limited to the Palatine region, which was much more acceptable to the community at large. Secondly, the ensuing *villae suburbanae* were much larger, especially with the inclusion of stadiums and theatres. There were still structures like this associated with the Palatine, such as the stadium for the *Domus Flavia*, but they had been previously included at *villae suburbanae*. It is for this reason that some discretion must be used when comparing these Imperial villas to other villas in the suburbs of Rome.

Other Villas in the Suburban regions of Rome

There have been several explorations in the areas surrounding Rome, with several villas discovered in the region. One was the study of Lanciani in the region of the Quirinal Hill just north of the Aurelianic wall.[210] These excavations revealed a series of Roman-period tombs and villas,[211] a common feature of the *suburbium*.[212] Subsequent excavation has uncovered evidence of early second

(ed.), *The Roman Villa: villa urbana*, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania: Philadelphia, 1998, p. 107.

[209] It is also clear that Hellenistic Palaces had a strong influence upon Roman palaces. c.f. A. Wallace-Hadrill, "The Villa as a Cultural Symbol", in A. Frazer (ed.), *The Roman Villa: villa urbana*, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania: Philadelphia, 1998, p. 46; I. Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces: tradition and renewal*, Aarhus University Press: Aarhus, 1994, pp. 164-80.

[210] R. Lanciani, "Delle scoperte di antichità avvenute nelle fondazioni degli edifici per le Ferrovie di Stato nella già Villa Patrizi in Via Nomentana", *Revista tecnica delle Ferrovie Italiane* 14, 1918, pp. 3-36.

[211] J. Bird, A. Claridge, O. Gilkes and D. Neal, "Porta Pia: Excavations and Survey in an Area of Suburban Rome: Pt 1", *PBSR* 61, 1993, p. 52.

[212] M. Eisner, *Zur Typologie der Grabbauten im Suburbium Roms*, Philipp von Zabern: Mainz, 1986.

century gardens just beyond the city walls (Plate 31).[213] There are villas recorded in this area, on both sides of the city wall, which indicate that these terraced gardens may have been part of their estates.[214] A structure of *opus reticulatum* dated to this period[215] was probably associated with the gardens. It seems that there were a series of suburban villas outside the Porta Nomentana with colonnaded courtyards and gardens from the first century BC.[216] Platner and Ashby have cited several gardens identified in the region of Rome[217] but despite the overlap in the use of the terms *horti* and *villa* (discussed below), *horti* do not necessarily always indicate the presence of a substantial villa.[218] Ashby has also listed the location of a large number of structures discovered in the popular region of Tibur,[219] but the exact remains at most sites have only allowed for a limited degree of knowledge. Another example of this is a villa discovered beneath the Vatican, which has produced evidence of well-appointed décor.[220] Little else has been published about this site, so it cannot be included within the detailed analysis despite its relevance to the nature of the Roman *suburbium*.

There was a distinction drawn between the *horti* and *villae suburbanae*,[221] which was highlighted by Cicero, Tacitus and Cornelius Nepos.[222] Many gardens were located in the suburbs, lying in the immediate vicinity of the city,[223] but in the strictest terms they were closer than the *suburbium*.[224] Excavations on the Esquiline have shown that gardens were also located within the Servian Wall,[225] being within the urban regions. The gardens of early Imperial Rome often included a diverse range of trees, plants and statuary.[226] The suburban gardens

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[213] Bird *et al.*, *op.cit.*, pp. 54-6.
[214] *Ibid.*, p. 67.
[215] O. Gilkes, S. Passigli and R. Schinke, "Porta Pia: Excavation and Survey in an area of Suburban Rome: Pt 2", *PBSR* 62, 1994, p. 112.
[216] *Ibid.*, pp. 128-9.
[217] Platner and Ashby, 1965, *op.cit.*, pp. 264-73.
[218] E. Champlin, "The Suburbium of Rome", *AJAH* 7, 1982, p. 99.
[219] T. Ashby, "The Classical Topography of the Roman Campagna: Part 2", *PBSR* 3, 1906, pp. 3-197.
[220] R. Bartoloni, "Roman Villa under Vatican parking Lot", *Archaeology* 53.2, 2000, p. 22.
[221] Clark Reeder, 2001, *op,cit.*, p. 32.
[222] Cicero, *Atticus*, 8.2.3; Tacitus, *Ann.*, 14.53.6; Cornelius Nepos, *Atticus.*, 14.3.
[223] Statius, *Silvae*, 4.4.7; Clark Reeder, 2001, *op.cit.*, p. 32.
[224] K.J. Hartswick, *The Gardens of Sallust: a changing landscape*, University of Texas Press: Austin, 2004, p. 16.
[225] C. Häuber, "The Esquiline Horti: new research", in A. Frazer (ed.), *The Roman Villa: villa urbana*, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania: Philadelphia, 1998, p. 55.
[226] M. Carroll, *Earthly Paradises: ancient gardens in history and archaeology*, British Museum Press: London, 2003, p. 9; Neudecker, 1998, *op.cit.*, p. 79.

allowed for a combination of urban and rural qualities, which were attractive because of the greater freedom they allowed their owners.[227] The gardens were often used for a similar social role as *villae suburbanae*,[228] but were also viewed as being quite distinct. The *horti* did not necessarily include residences and, as suggested by their classification, the gardens were the prime focus of these properties.

The discussion of the ensuing suburban villas around Rome has been limited to sites, mostly from the given time period (2nd C BC-2nd C AD), with at least a reasonable amount of material from on their extant remains. Some examples of possible suburban villas have been included from outside the period so that the development of these sites can be discussed. However, the focus is primarily upon the selected time period. It should be reiterated that these structures are more indicative of "typical" *villae suburbanae* than the previous structures because most residents did not have the expendable capital available to the Imperial family. One of the best examples of a suburban villa with both literary and archaeological evidence is the Villa of Horace at Sabinum.

Villa 4 - The Villa of Horace at Sabinum[229]

General Surface Area: *5,285.98m²*

The complex identified as Horace's Sabine Villa is roughly 40 kilometres from Rome (Plate 10), being situated at the outer limits of what could be considered the Roman *suburbium*. Judging from the size of this residence and the references by the author to its social activity,[230] it is appropriate to classify it as a *villa suburbana* located in the outer *suburbium*. The size of the estate is unknown but it has been estimated to cover roughly 321 *iugeras*, or eighty hectares.[231] However, the archaeological record should be consulted in order to determine the true nature of this villa.[232] There is a good amount of material at this site, which has made the statistical analysis viable. Four areas have been included within the group of potential entertainment areas: the colonnaded courtyard, hall and two

[227] Hales, 2003, *op.cit.*, pp. 35-6.
[228] Hartswick, 2004, *op.cit.*, p. 16.
[229] For discussion of the imagery of Horace see Appendix A, pp. 1-3.
[230] See Chapter 1, p. 57.
[231] E.A. Schmidt, *Sabinum: Horaz und sein Landgut im Licezatal*, Universitatsverlag C. Winters: Heidelberg, 1997, p. 20.
[232] See Appendix A, pp. 13-14.

dinging areas. These areas clearly had a potential entertainment function, which is shown in their décor and the associated finds.

The remaining evidence of this site at modern Licenza illustrates that this complex was by no means lacking in its facilities (Plate 32). Judging from the décor and the inclusion of ornamental characteristics in the garden, this residence would have been a comfortable abode for its owners, including Horace at one stage. The statistical analysis illustrates that there were several areas that could have been used for reception/entertainment (Table 2). The large hall (Rm A) in particular could have been used for this purpose. The amount of space dedicated to potential entertainment was not the greatest (37.34% entertainment space), especially when compared to the Imperial villas, but it was substantial enough for the residence to have performed an important social role. As with the Imperial villas a large amount of this potential entertainment space had an open demeanour (Graph 7), which made use of the location of this site.

The attribution of this villa at Licenza to Horace is impossible to justify conclusively. If the site was not Horace's Sabine property, it still provides a good example of the importance of having areas within a *villa suburbana* that could potentially be used for an entertainment function. However, if this property was that referred to by Horace it can then cast an important perspective upon his writings. Firstly, it seems clear from both the literature and archaeological evidence concerning the Sabine villa of Horace that the author was presenting an image of an ideal landscape.[233] This allowed the author to convey a particular message about the benefits of a simple life and the modesty in which he lived while in his *villa suburbana*. However, he never used the term *villa suburbana* when referring to his Sabine property because it symbolised the concepts of *otium* and *luxuria* to his audience, which was not his intention. It is clear that the literary references illustrate the ideal of the author, not necessarily the reality of the site. The contrast that Horace drew between the city and country was an important aspect of his poetry.[234]

[233] Schmidt, 1997, *op.cit.*, p. 178.
[234] J. Griffin, "Cult and Personality in Horace", *JRS* 87, 1997, pp. 63-4.

The architectural style and spacious nature of the complex at Licenza were certainly not in keeping with his modest descriptions.[235] However, if this was his property would have been the perfect location for his ideal lifestyle,[236] in accordance with his Epicurean views.[237] By accentuating the benefits of the countryside, Horace was emphasising a simple life, which others were neglecting.[238] Horace would not have resided at his villa continuously,[239] which has a notable implication for an understanding of how suburban villas were used. Despite the connection between suburban properties and the capital they were not necessarily permanent residences.

Villa 5 - The Villa dell'Auditorium[240]

General Surface Area: $723.63m^2$

This suburban villa was discovered close to Rome (Plate 10) but it seems to have served primarily as an agricultural complex (Plate 33).[241] The plan of the structure shows two separate buildings (A and B), but only the northern structure (A) has been investigated.[242] This residence survived a sequence of six phases dating from around the sixth century BC throughout the late Republic into the early Imperial age, with the structure undergoing several additions and alterations (Plate 33).[243] It should be mentioned that this period of occupation makes the Villa dell'Auditorium unique within this study because many villas under discussion originated in the second century BC. It has been included because it adds to our understanding of the developments that many *villae suburbanae* underwent and it is one of the earliest known villas in the environs of Rome. Judging from the extant remains, and owing to their position and décor, there were three rooms within this complex that could have served an entertainment function: Rooms A1, A2 and A3. There may have been other regions in this *villa*

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[235] Leach, 1993, *op.cit.*, pp. 272-3.
[236] Schmidt, 1997, *op.cit.*, pp. 180-1.
[237] O. Murray, "Symposium and Genre in the Poetry of Horace", *JRS* 75, 1995, p. 39.
[238] E. W. Leach, *The Rhetoric of Space*, Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1988, p. 288.
[239] T. Frank, *Catullus and Horace*, Russell and Russell: New York, 1965, p. 187.
[240] See Appendix A, pp. 15-16.
[241] A. Carandini, G. Ricci, M.T. D'Alessio, C. De Davide and N. Terrenato, "La Villa dell'Auditorium dall'età Arcaica all'età Imperiale", *MDAIR(A)* 104, 1997, p. 117.
[242] *Ibid.*, p. 119.
[243] N. Terrenato, "The Auditorium site in Rome and the origins of the villa", *JRA* 14.1, 2001, pp. 7-11.

suburbana that served a potential entertainment function, but these rooms are the most definite for the purposes of statistical analysis.

The statistical analysis of this complex has produced four interesting points to note when comparing it to other complexes (Table 2). Firstly, this villa was significantly smaller than the other structures examined in the Roman *suburbium*. In size it covered less than a third of the surface area of the next smallest complex, but this can be explained by the incomplete investigation of the site. It may also be indicative of its early period of construction. Secondly, this complex (Plate 33) did not include an open area, which was unusual for suburban villas, as it would have dramatically reduced the amount of available light in the building. This also has had a major effect upon its statistical analysis (Graph 8).

The third point is the importance of enclosed potential entertainment space at this complex. If the analysis undertaken excludes the open areas (Table 3), it has an unusually high percentage (12.17%) of entertainment space by comparison (Graph 7). But this change in the results may simply be indicative of its different character, having an enclosed focus rather than the open plan that was so prevalent at other *villae suburbanae*. This difference from other *villae suburbanae* can be explained by the different periods of construction, with the Villa dell'Auditorium constructed long before the impact of Hellenistic influences upon architecture.[244] Finally, owing to its enclosed design and high percentage of internal reception/entertainment space it seems justified to draw a correlation between this structure and the design of urban townhouses. This appears particularly pertinent in view of its minimal distance from the capital and its early construction. So in view of this analysis, in addition to the decorative alterations that occurred in the Fourth Phase and its intimate proximity to the city, it seems appropriate to classify this structure as a *villa suburbana*.

The simple fact that the Villa dell'Auditorium originated in the middle of the sixth century BC and continued to be used into the early Imperial period makes this complex rather exceptional,[245] given that the majority of villas discussed in this study originated in the second century BC. The villa is also

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[244] c.f. H. Lauter, "Hellenistiche Vorläufer der Römischen Villa", in A. Frazer (ed.), *The Roman Villa: villa urbana*, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania: Philadelphia, 1998, pp. 21-7.
[245] Carandini *et al.*, 1997, *op.cit.*, p. 142.

distinctive because of the high quality of workmanship employed from the second phase onwards, as the majority of rural complexes used less sophisticated building techniques.[246] It seems clear that this *villa suburbana* would have been an aristocratic residence, slightly removed from the urban centre but not completely isolated. It is also evident that the owners were influenced by the luxurious décor of the Hellenistic period from the Fourth phase onwards,[247] which would not have been acceptable at the time within the urban precincts. However, it is pertinent to note that agricultural production was still obviously of great importance, especially in view of the developments at this villa during the late Republic/early Imperial era.[248] This confirms the overall conception of *villae suburbanae* in the literary evidence, illustrating the dual role they frequently performed.

Villa 6 - Villa of the Volusii Saturnini

General Surface Area: *7,247.79m²*

The Volusii Saturnini were a noble family whose wealth was probably established by Q. Volusius,[249] the father of Q.F. Saturninus (*cos* 12), who was also of an elevated standing.[250] It was probably Q. Volusius who was responsible for the construction of the palatial villa.[251] This complex was located close to Rome, being roughly 20 kilometres to the north-east (Plate 11).[252] From current excavations, this establishment is known to have included a large residential complex, constructed in the Republican era but vastly altered in later periods (Plate 34).[253] Additions during the Augustan period included the introduction of a large colonnaded courtyard, bordered by small rooms on at least two of the sides (Plate 34).[254] It has been suggested that these rooms were used for housing the villa's workforce,[255] but it is impossible to prove conclusively.

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[246] *Ibid.*, p. 143.
[247] *Ibid.*, pp. 144-5.
[248] *Ibid.*, pp. 145-6.
[249] D'Arms, 1981, *op.cit.*, p. 69.
[250] Tacitus, *Annals*, 3.30.1.
[251] D'Arms, 1981, *op.cit.*, p. 69.
[252] J.J. Rossiter, *Roman Farm Buildings in Italy*, BAR: Oxford, 1978, p. 45.
[253] *Ibid.*
[254] *Ibid.*
[255] *Ibid.*

There was an agricultural aspect during the initial phases of habitation, with dealings connected to both Rome and Ostia.[256] One of the rooms has been interpreted as an olive crusher (Rm 11A), there being evidence of an area for the placement of a counter-weight.[257] Viticulture was also practiced and was an important aspect of the estate's economy.[258] There was another courtyard, which was paved, which may have been used for the transportation of produce and animals (Plate 34).[259] There is evidence of an aviary, which was probably managed by the *liberti*,[260] in accordance with the recommendations of Varro.[261] But the residential quarters were well-appointed, suggesting that it was a *villa suburbana*.[262] The décor of this area was quite impressive,[263] which is a good indication of the cultural inclinations of the owner.[264] Habitation by the Volusii Saturnini continued until at least AD 92 and the villa itself was still in use until the end of the Antonine period.[265]

Just as at the Villa dell'Auditorium, it is evident that although a complex was located in the suburbs of Rome, it did not necessarily preclude an owner from undertaking agricultural production. It is apparent that both of these *villae suburbanae* combined agriculture with a high level of facilities, which is a common occurrence at many properties in the suburbs. There were six areas within this *villa suburbana* that have warranted inclusion as potential entertainment areas: three courtyards and Rooms 16, 22 and 24, being the most notable rooms in this complex in comparison to the other rooms in this complex. The inclusion of these rooms is due to their size, position and architecture. The associated finds with each of these spaces are limited due to the gradual reduction

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[256] D'Arms, 1981, *op.cit.*, p. 70.
[257] D. Manacorda, "Il Frantoio della Villa dei Volusii a Lucus Feroniae", in M.T. Boatwright (ed.), *I Volusii Saturnini: una famiglia romana della prima età imperiale*, De Donato: Bari, 1982, p. 60.
[258] *Ibid.*, p. 65.
[259] Rossiter, 1978, *op.cit.*, p. 45.
[260] M. Buonocore, "Materiali per lo studio Colombario dei Liberti e schiavi dei Volusii sulla Via Appia", in M.T. Boatwright (ed.), *I Volusii Saturnini: una famiglia romana della prima età imperiale*, De Donato: Bari, 1982, pp. 17-18.
[261] Varro, *De Re Rustica*, 3.2.16; c.f. J. Svarlien, "Lucilianus Character", *AJPh* 115, 1994, pp. 253-4; C.M.C. Green, "Free as a Bird: Varro De Re Rustica 3", *AJPh* 118, 1997, pp. 427-48.
[262] Rossiter, 1978, *op.cit.*, p. 45.
[263] M. Torelli, "Una 'Galleria' della villa", in M.T. Boatwright (ed.), *I Volusii Saturnini: una famiglia romana della prima età imperiale*, De Donato: Bari, 1982, p. 97.
[264] *Ibid.*, pp. 98-9.
[265] D'Arms, 1981, *op.cit.*, p. 70.

in habitation, but these rooms are the most likely to have had a potential entertainment purpose.

The statistical analysis of the complex has added to the understanding of this suburban villa. In comparison to the Villa dell'Auditorium (5), the inclusion of such a large central colonnaded courtyard illustrates the change in design that occurred between the times of construction of both complexes. It is also of note to compare the difference in size, with this complex being significantly larger (7,247.79m^2). Despite the prominence of agricultural productivity there were still a number of rooms used for entertainment. The statistical analysis has shown that the potential entertainment space was substantial in this group of villas, particularly when the central open areas are included (44.79% entertainment space). Even with the exclusion of the courtyards there was still a fair percentage dedicated to entertainment and reception (5.43% entertainment space). In view of the standing of its owners, the structures' social role and the decorative pretensions of the building, it would make a classification of *villa suburbana* certain.

Villa 7 - The Villa of the Quintili[266]

General Surface Area: *3,499.89m^2*

This villa (Plate 35) is the latest structure included within the study, being dated to the late Hadrianic era or early Antonine period (AD 138-140).[267] The extant remains and its palatial facilities make it a fine example of a well-appointed aristocratic *villa suburbana.*[268] It was located 8 kilometres from the city (Plate 10), clearly within the inner suburban regions of Rome, with a character that was luxurious enough to cause the demise of its owners, Quintilius Condianus and Quintilius Maximus[269] at the hands of the Emperor Commodus.[270] This in itself highlights how attractive suburban villas were to the Roman elite, especially in view of the emperor's urban residence that stood on the Palatine until the fire of AD 192.[271] Following this the Emperor moved to another villa on the Caelian Hill, the Villa Vectiliana,[272] although Dio and Herodian include more suspicious motives.[273] By including the Villa of the Quintili within this study it should allow

[266] See Appendix A, pp. 16-17.

for a greater perspective on the evolution of *villae suburbanae* over different time periods.

The villa provides another important feature that is unavailable in most suburban villas. The archaeological record illustrates that after the complex became an Imperial residence there were significant additions to its structure and character. Comparing these changes illustrates the different facilities that existed at Imperial suburban villas and other well-appointed *villae suburbanae*. Judging from the decorative additions, as well as the increased number of large structures for entertainment at this establishment,[274] the difference in expendable capital gave the various *princeps* a significant advantage in the number of alterations that could be undertaken. In all likelihood it would have also increased the need for such reception/entertainment areas.

The statistical analysis of this villa has produced some compelling results that support this premise. Firstly, even with the exclusion of the Hippodrome garden or Stadium (their dimensions are unknown) the Imperial villa was 816.24m^2 larger than the previous structure (Table 2). The previous structure was hardly lacking in potential entertainment space, possessing a large public area used for reception and entertainment (73.54%). The later additions merely emphasised this role. The high percentage of reception/entertainment areas in this complex highlights the strong social role of many élite suburban residences. There is no evidence of agricultural productivity at this residence, but the Quintili family probably used other estates such as the property at Tusculum for this, being only 11 kilometres further from the capital. In the Imperial phase it was for its residential facilities that Commodus valued this *villa suburbana*, not its productivity.

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[267] R. Paris (ed.), *Via Appia: the Villa of the Quintili*, Electa: Milan, 2000, p. 29.
[268] c.f. G. Annibaldi, "Scoperta di ruderi di edificio rustico e rinvenimento di sculture al VII chilometro dell'Appia Nuova", *NSc* 13, 1935, pp. 76-104.
[269] R. Lanciani, *Ancient Rome in the light of Recent Discoveries*, Benjamin Blom: New York, 1967b, p. 264.
[270] Dio Cassius, 72.5.
[271] O. Hekster, *Commodus: an emperor at the crossroads*, J.C. Gieben: Amsterdam, 2002, pp. 78-9.
[272] *SHA*, *Commodus*, 16.3.
[273] Dio, 73.22.2; Herodian, 1.15.8.
[274] See Appendix A, p. 16.

Villa 8 - The Villa alla Fontana del Piscaro (Frascati)

General Surface Area: *14,189.26m²*

This complex had a monumental aspect and was located roughly 23 kilometres from Rome (Plate 10). Its location near Tusculum was a preferred region for suburban villas during the late Republic/early Empire.[275] This complex (Plate 36) is one of the most grandiose extant examples of a palatial villa in the region, illustrating the divergence of an agricultural establishment and a fashionable villa of *otium.*[276] The plan was designed in a rectangular form, with a garden terrace projecting on the south-western side.[277] The perimeter wall was adorned with half-columns and the villa itself had two phases of construction.[278] The original structure included a covered passage and the main structure was designed with two corridors that divided each group of rooms.[279] The second phase vastly increased the size of the complex towards the south-west. The décor appears to have been well applied with several examples of landscape scenes.[280] The entire complex measured 166.50 metres on the north-western side and 163 metres on the south-west, while the front projection was 123.50 metres.[281] The complex was a large structure, illustrated by the large proportions of the cistern to the south-east.[282] A large pool was discovered to the north of the complex that further illustrates its well-appointed facilities. As with the Villa dell'Auditorium it also appears pertinent to define this complex as a *villa suburbana.*

The statistical analysis for this structure (Table 2) is limited, owing to the unknown roles of most rooms, but it clearly was a large open-planned structure with open areas comprising 42.29% of the surface area. The dimensions of the complex and its open plan would certainly conform to the design of most palatial *villae suburbanae* from the period.

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[275] R. Egidi, "Villa Romana alla Fontana del Piscaro (Frascati)", *ArchLaz* 4, 1981, p. 171.
[276] *Ibid.*, p. 172.
[277] *Ibid.*, p. 173.
[278] *Ibid.*
[279] *Ibid.*
[280] *Ibid.*, p. 174.
[281] *Ibid.*, p. 173.
[282] *Ibid.*, p. 174.

Villa 9 - Villa A on the Ancient *Via Gabina*[283]

General Surface Area: *3,909.19m²*

This complex was discovered around 14 kilometres from the centre of Rome (Plate 10), placing it well within the proposed *suburbium* of the capital. It comprised a large building (Plate 37), which included long parallel rooms and an upper level.[284] It appears to have had quite imposing dimensions, with a dual emphasis placed upon lifestyle and productivity. The habitation period extended from the Republican era into the second century AD, with a Hadrianic brick stamp being discovered.[285] Unfortunately, owing to the dearth of remains at this complex only the open areas (the colonnaded courtyard and garden) have been included as potential entertainment areas because of the unknown functions of most other rooms.

The analysis of this villa illustrates not only that it was a large structure, but also that it had significant sections of its surface area designed for an open potential entertainment role (Table 2). The statistics are limited because of the incomplete nature of its excavation, but they illustrate that the large open areas (1,591.11m²) comprised a significant portion of the plan (40.70%). These areas could have been used for reception/entertainment in view of the well-appointed nature of the décor in the colonnaded courtyard and the strong emphasis upon the landscape in the porticoes that viewed the garden and the panorama beyond was indicative of most *villae suburbanae.*

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[283] See Appendix A, p. 18.
[284] M. Aylwin Cotton, "Una Villa ed un Grande Edificio Romani lungo La Via Gabina", *ArchLaz* 2, 1979b, p. 85.
[285] *CIL* XV, 1, 578a; J.B. Ward-Perkins and A. Kahane, "The Via Gabina", *PBSR* 40, 1972, p. 110.

Villa 10 - Villa B on the Ancient *Via Gabina*[286]

General Surface Area: *1,536.89m²*

Villa B on the Ancient *Via Gabina* was also approximately 14 kilometres to the east of Rome (Plate 10).[287] This structure was originally a modest residence, but over time its pretensions and function changed dramatically. The first phase of habitation originated during the early third century BC, with walls constructed of *opus quadratum* in soft grey tufa.[288] There was a period of alteration (Phase 2) in the Augustan era with the garden being enclosed by simple walls (Plate 38), and in the Trajanic period (Phase 2B) a small bath suite and heater rooms in the upper level were constructed (Plate 39).[289] A concrete pool was also sunk in the middle of the garden, which would have created a pleasant demeanour despite its use as a cold plunge for the baths.[290] There have only been two areas from this site included in the analysis of potential entertainment areas because of the limited available knowledge: the garden and Room C, which was probably a dining area judging from its décor and position.

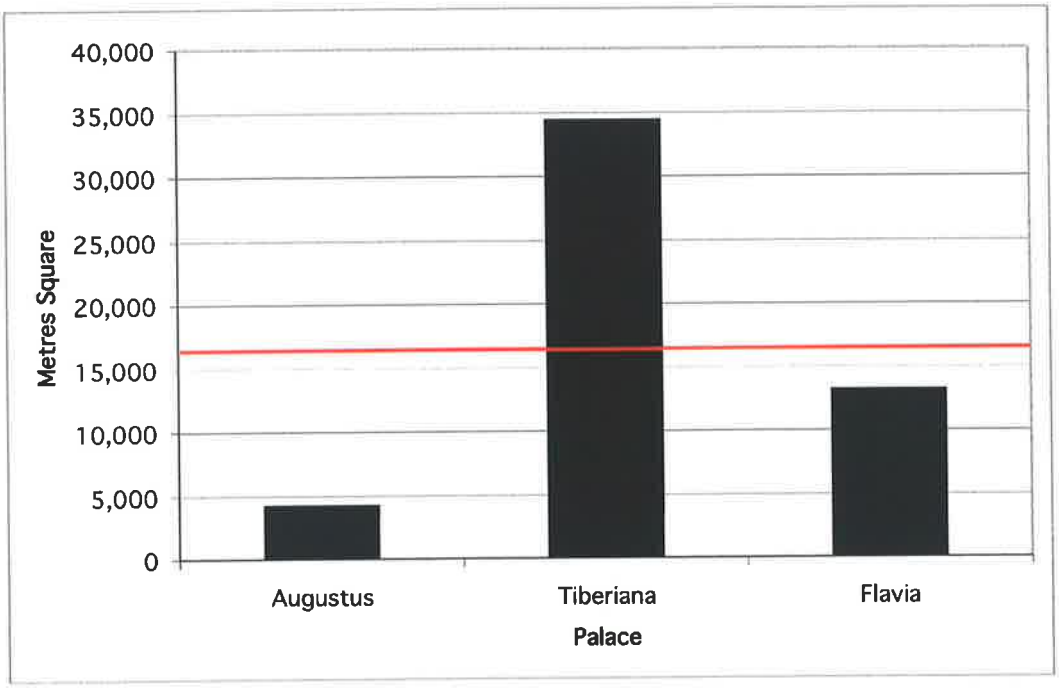
It is evident that this villa had the characteristics of a monumental *villa suburbana* from the outset, including areas for receiving guests. The extensions to this complex further enhanced its grandeur, but it is apparent that it was a *villa suburbana* from its inception. The reduction in its facilities in the early second century was probably indicative of a change in ownership or a decline in the family circumstances, but the conception of this structure was that of a suburban villa. The statistics taken from this site (Table 2) confirm this, illustrating the open aspect of the complex. However, it was certainly not as well-appointed as its neighbour (Villa 9).

When these two structures are considered (Villas 9, 10) they provide a useful comparison because of their close proximity and different living conditions. It should be added that the statistics have been of little assistance

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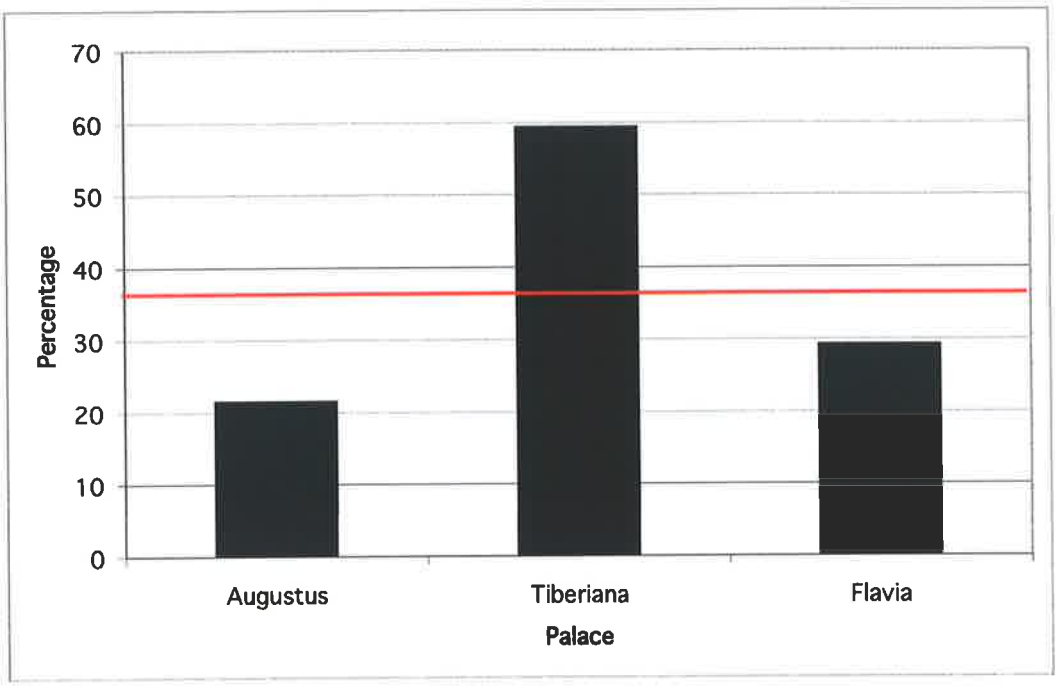
[286] See Appendix A, p. 19.
[287] Aylwin Cotton, 1979b, *op.cit.*, p. 82.
[288] W.M. Widrig, "Two sites on the Ancient Via Gabina", in K. Palmer (ed.), *Roman Villas in Italy*, British Museum Press: London, 1980, p. 120.
[289] W.M. Widrig, "Land Use at the Via Gabina Villas", in E.B. MacDougall (ed.), *Ancient Roman Villa Gardens*, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture 10: Washington, 1987, p. 252.

because of the limited knowledge concerning room function at Villa 9. But it is evident from both the size and known facilities, especially the colonnaded courtyard, that this complex had a higher level of resources, allowing for a more comfortable lifestyle. Both sites had a similar progression of additions and alterations, but it is clear that the owners were of different financial means. However, this should not preclude the classification of both complexes as *villae suburbanae*. It simply illustrates the diverse and variable living conditions that existed within this group of structures.

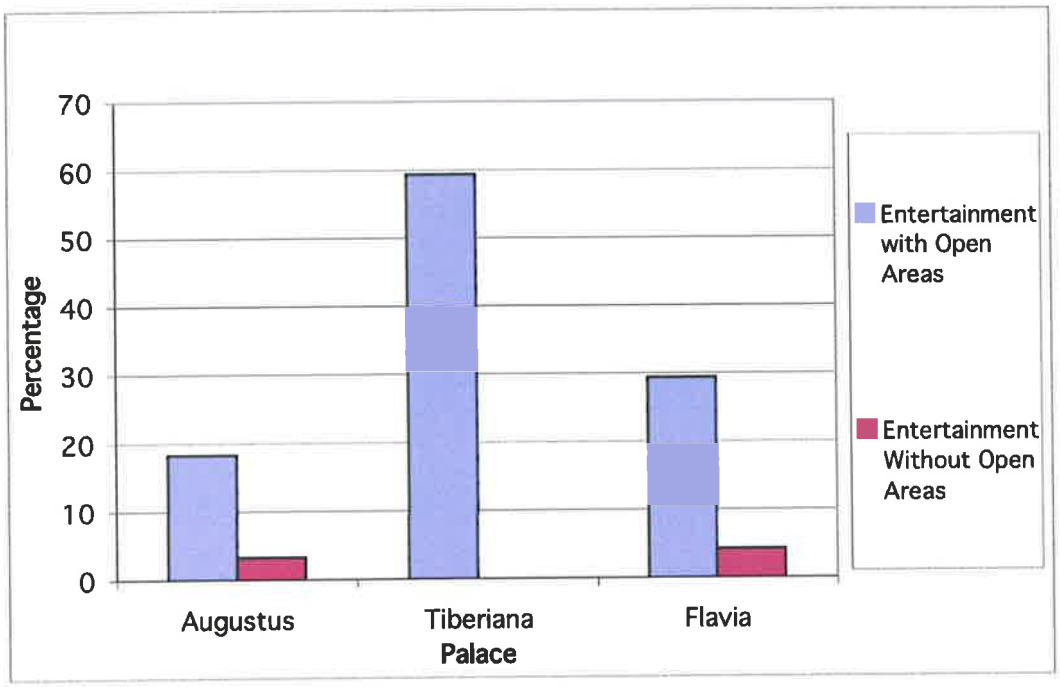


Graph 1 - showing the Comparison of Estimated Surface Areas of Imperial Palaces

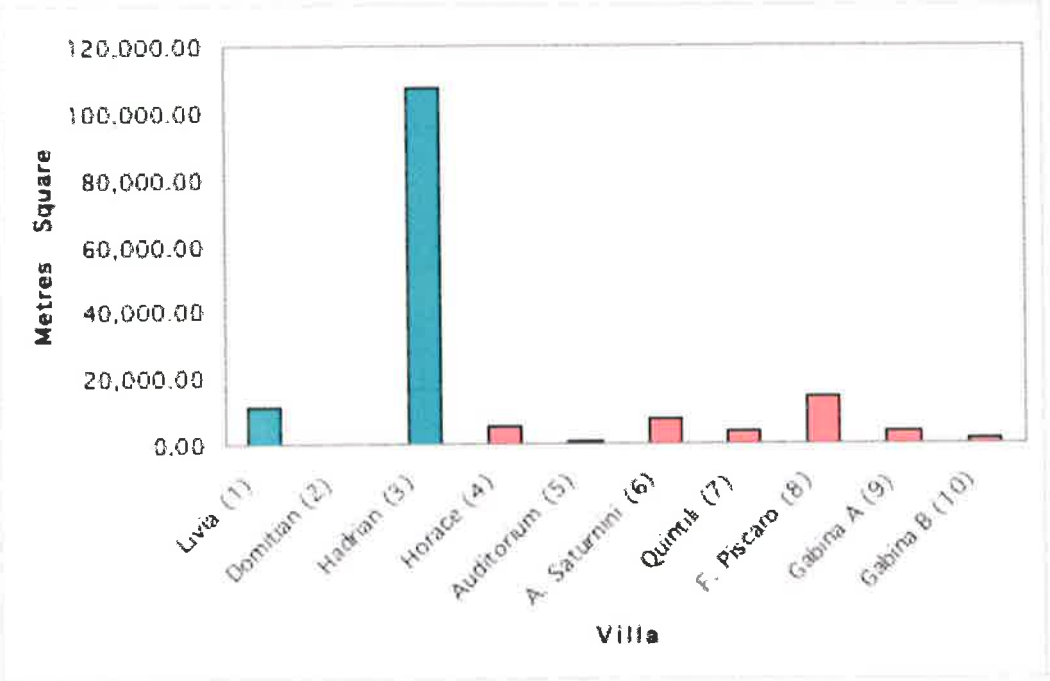
[290] P. Oliver-Smith and W.M. Widrig, "Excavations on the Via Gabina, Italy", *Archaeology* 33, 1980, p. 57.



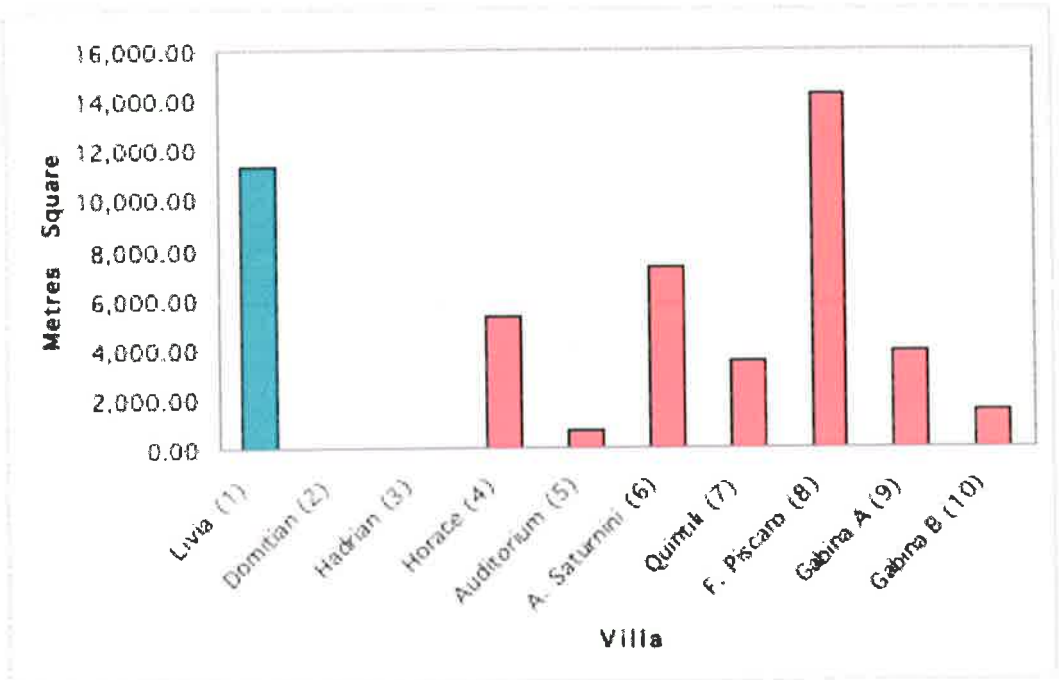
Graph 2 - showing the Percentage of Identifiable Entertainment Areas to the Known Total Area of Building Complex at Each Imperial Palace



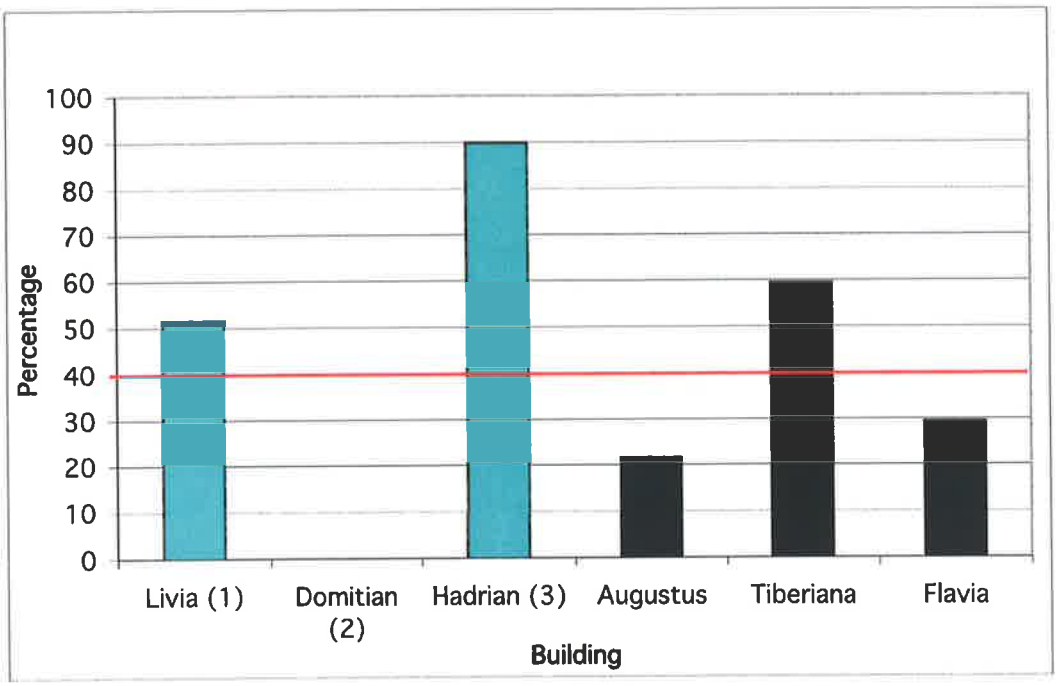
Graph 3 - showing the Percentages of Entertainment Areas With and Without Open Areas Relative to the Total Estimated Area of Building Complex at Each Imperial Palace



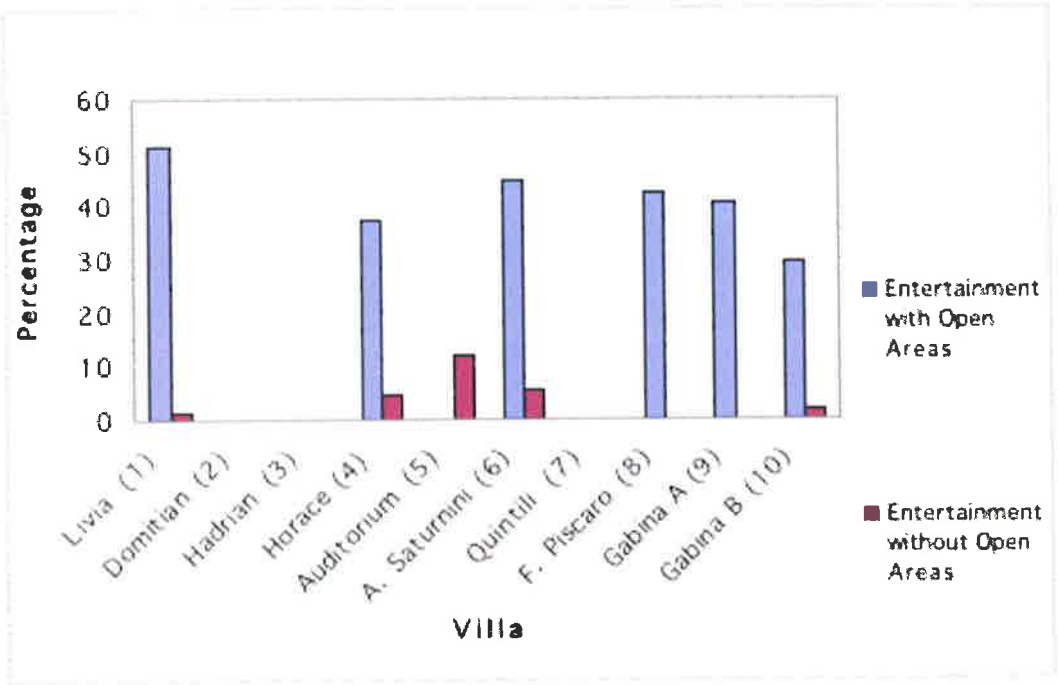
Graph 4 - showing the Comparison of Estimated Surface Areas of Suburban Villas at Rome



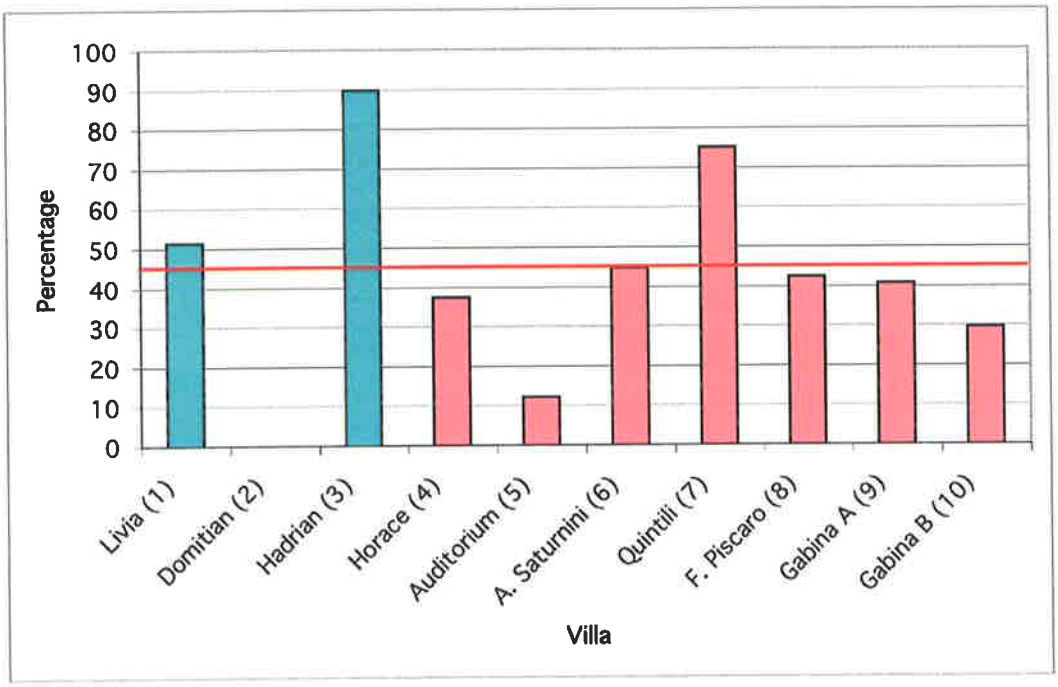
Graph 5 - showing the Comparison of Estimated Surface Areas of Suburban Villas at Rome without the Villa of Hadrian (Villa 3)



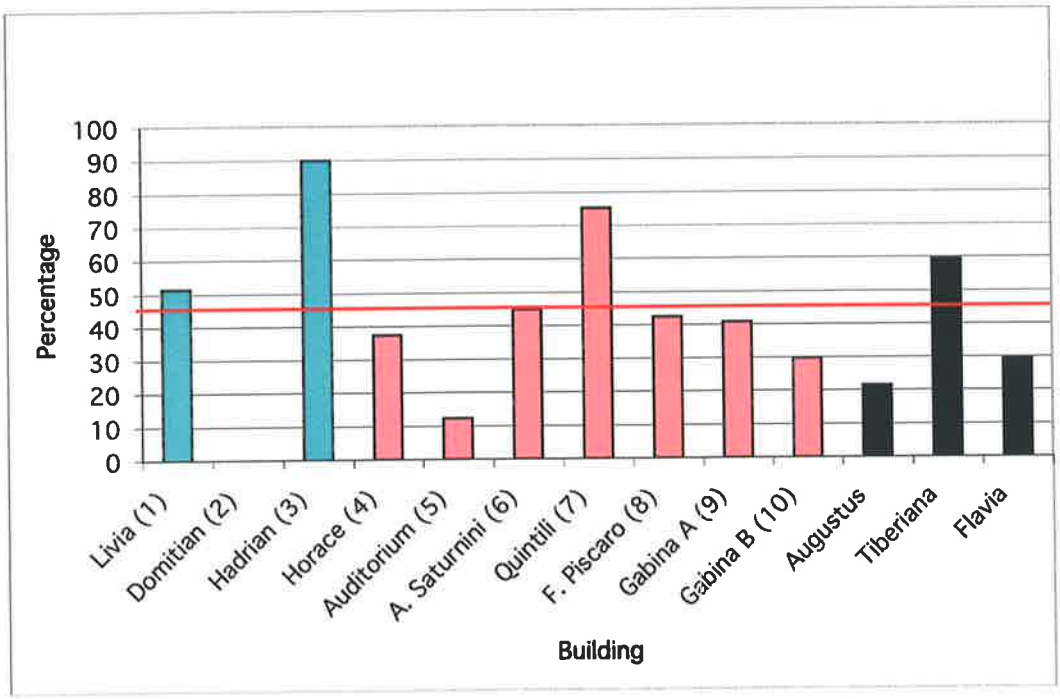
Graph 6 - showing the Percentage of Identifiable Entertainment Areas to the Known Total Area of Building Complex at Each Imperial Structure



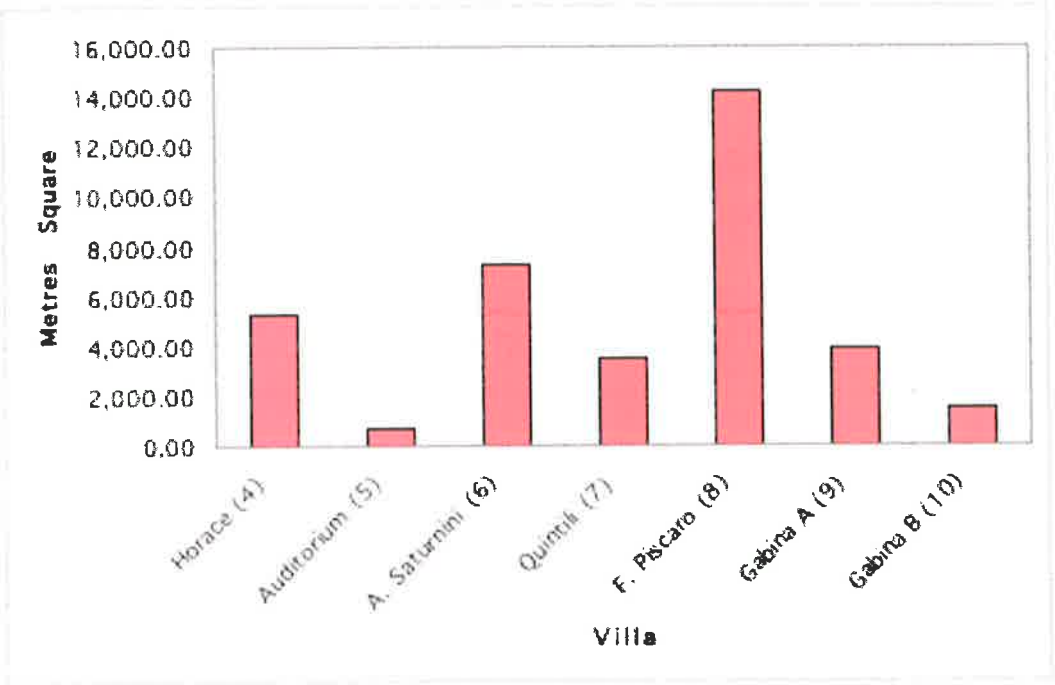
Graph 7 - showing the Percentages of Entertainment Areas With and Without Open Areas Relative to the Total Estimated Area of Building Complex at Each Suburban Villa at Rome



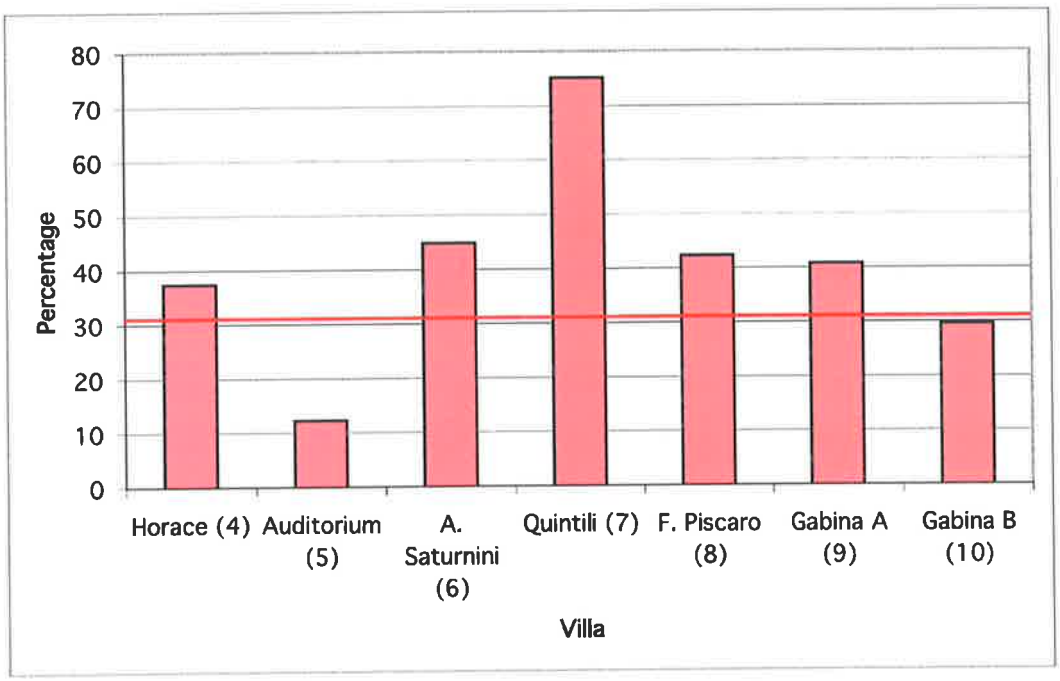
Graph 8 - showing the Percentage of Identifiable Entertainment Areas to the Known Total Area of Building Complex at Each Suburban Villa at Rome



Graph 9 - showing the Percentage of Identifiable Entertainment Areas to the Known Total Area of Building Complex at All Roman Structures



Graph 10 - showing the Comparison of Estimated Surface Areas of Non-Imperial Suburban Villas



Graph 11 - showing the Percentage of Identifiable Entertainment Areas to the Known Total Area of Building Complex at Each Non-Imperial Suburban Villa

General Conclusions

There are six notable elements that have been exhibited in the *villae suburbanae* from the hinterland of Rome. Firstly, owing to their location in the *suburbium* these complexes could be constructed with an open disposition (Graph 7), which was otherwise only available within the city in the largest complexes, such as the Imperial palaces (Graph 3). The difference that this created in their demeanour was substantial. Secondly, owning a *villa suburbana* would have had significant health benefits for the owners, with the residence being located away from the cramped and unhygienic conditions that were so prevalent within Rome. Thirdly, despite the focus on luxury at suburban villas, there was some emphasis placed upon productivity at most sites. This would have made the luxury of suburban estates more acceptable to the Roman consciousness.

Fourthly, the high quality facilities at *villae suburbanae* would have been important to the owners, as they were an exhibition of their status and success within Roman society. This is evident when comparing the size and facilities present at Imperial suburban villas with those non-Imperial properties around Rome. The fifth distinguishing element is the location of sites throughout the Roman *suburbium*. There was a clear preference for properties in the regions around the Alban and Tiburtine hills, rather than the lowland areas (Plate 10). This is relevant when comparing the known structures in these lofty areas with those sites close to Ostia, such as the modest agricultural complexes near Dragoncello. Finally, there was need to be close to a major road network, such as the *Via Gabina* or the *Via Flaminia*. This would have substantially reduced travelling time and assisted in the transportation of produce to urban markets in the capital. Without this kind of road access the advantages of life in suburban Rome would have been severely limited. These seem to have been the most notable features of the sites examined in this region, which were elements common to all *villae suburbanae*.

Overall, the statistical analysis has confirmed these conclusions, but for these structures, with the great variation between the residence sizes and facilities, statistics have only been of limited use. This in itself confirms not only the

variation between these examples, but in all *villae suburbanae*. The statistical analysis has also illustrated the important social role that these residences performed within the upper echelons of the Roman community (Graph 9). The ownership of a suburban villa was extremely attractive to the Roman elite, which is particularly evident from the actions of the Emperor Commodus who took over the Villa of the Quintili.

Ownership of a large palace on the Palatine appears to have been necessary and politically important for the emperors, but it seems that *villae suburbanae* satisfied a social role (Graph 6) not available at an urban palace. The Mean percentage of potential entertainment space in the Imperial Palaces (Graph 2) has been raised by the large open area in the *Domus Tiberiana*, with the other palaces having a much lower result. However, it is significant to note that all these residences had at least 20% of their floor-plans as potential entertainment space. The open aspect of *villae suburbanae* outside the city allowed greater freedom for their owners than was available within the urban precincts (Graph 7). But by simply noting the average percentages in the *villae suburbanae* (as shown by the red Mean line), these complexes produced a result of 44.92% (Graph 8). The high nature of these results is marked when compared to the Mean percentage of the urban palaces (37.09%)(Graph 2). Even when the results from the Imperial villas are removed (Graph 11) these non-Imperial *villae suburbanae* had an average percentage space of 39.86%, which is still higher than the urban Imperial palaces.

The non-Imperial suburban villas exhibit a large variation in the size of each complex (Graphs 5, 10). When the Villa dell'Auditorium (5) is compared to the Villa alla Fontana Piscaro (8) this becomes quite marked, which can be explained by their differing distances from the city. Being located further from the *urbs* would have allowed for more space and freedom. This highlights the distinction between the inner and outer *suburbium*.

When the potential entertainment percentage is compared among the non-Imperial *villae suburbanae* (Graph 11) it is notable that there is a general trend for it to lie between 30-45%, with only two examples falling outside of this group (5, 7). The low percentage at the Villa dell'Auditorium (5) can be explained by its early construction, whereas the Villa of the Quintili (7) is notable for its focus

upon *luxuria* and *otium*. However, it is pertinent to note that these two structures are the earliest and latest examples of *villae suburbanae* under discussion, so their differences may be more indicative of a change in architectural style and social priorities over time. It would seem that the emphasis on *luxuria* and entertainment at many *villae suburbanae* increased over time.

The pursuit of *otium* at a *villa suburbana* was not always the only consideration. Several of these sites have exhibited evidence of agricultural productivity, particularly the Villas of Horace (4) and those on the ancient *Via Gabina* (9, 10). At Villa 10, the focus upon production eventually saw a serious reduction in the residential facilities, but even with this it did not lose its pretensions. It was this dual purpose (lifestyle/productivity) that characterises most *villae suburbanae* and encompasses the essence of their role within the community: a combination of both *urbanitas* and *rusticitas*.

Chapter III

Urban Residences and Inner Suburban Villas at Pompeii

Having discussed the literary sources for suburban villas in general and the evidence for those around Rome, the focus will now be shifted to those villas near Pompeii. This chapter uses both the literary conception of *villae suburbanae* and the archaeological material to interpret the Pompeian structures. The written sources have illustrated that *villae suburbanae* were not limited to Rome, often situated some distance from the city. They were usually a combination of both agricultural activity and *luxuria*. The Bay of Naples region, including Pompeii, which has been previously examined (by D'Arms for example),[1] was one of the most popular regions for wealthy Roman villa-owners in the late Republic/early Empire. Many villas were built along the Campanian coast and also inland by wealthy Roman landowners, continuing into the late Roman period. The character, purpose, function and facilities at these estates varied over time, depending upon the intentions of the owner. There were different types of villa, namely the suburban, coastal and agricultural, but the Pompeian suburban villas will be the prime focus of this chapter. Other types of villa have been discussed in an effort to determine the distinguishing features of suburban villas in the region as well. Some large townhouses have also been analysed to determine the distinction between these residences and *villae suburbanae*.

The different types of villas around Pompeii are of great importance because the sample is large enough for an understanding of the patterns of associated building components, such as room layouts and the occurrences or absences of particular functionally defined areas. The eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79 has accommodated an unusual and indispensable source of information, providing a *terminus ante quem* for site-occupation.

The structures shall be studied using three different studies in order to understand each complex. The first consideration is the origin and development of each structure: namely, the period in which each villa was built, the ensuing additions and reconstructions and finally, the social climate of the origins for each

[1] J.H. D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples*, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass., 1970.

suburban villa. The motivation for this study is to gain a better understanding of why the villas were built and altered, and the social and domestic implications of these processes.

Secondly, the different regions in which these buildings were constructed are an important consideration, often reflecting the different periods in which they were constructed. The social and political circumstances, such as the potential visits of clients and the display of status, provide further understanding of their role. If the road near a villa was a busy thoroughfare, the potential for the display of wealth and status are paramount. The layout and communication between the gardens and the residential precincts were also integral features of many Pompeian houses.[2]

The final aspect to be considered for each structure is the amount of space used for dining and entertainment. As seen in the previous chapter,[3] the attribution of a particular function to a specific room can be difficult in view of the often-varied use of certain space. However, an attempt should be made to try and determine a potential entertainment area within each structure. The allocation of such spaces within *villae suburbanae* provides a clearer image of the nature of life in the suburban areas in a social context. In order to determine the amount of space used for entertainment the surface area of these rooms will be compared to the total surface area of the floor plan, thus providing a percentage for comparison between each structure. This provides a good source of information for analysis that assists in our understanding of suburban life.

It is at this point that the statistical analysis of potential entertainment space is used most effectively. Owing to the greater amount of published material at many of the sites in this region, the scope for analysis increases exponentially. The discussion of entertainment space at villas outside Rome and the Imperial palaces was limited due to their vastly divergent sizes, periods of construction and levels of excavation, whereas at Pompeii there is a closer temporal and geographical continuity that allows for a more consistent approach. The eccentricities of some excavation reports still persist on occasion, but that is inevitable. The earliest available excavation reports have not listed many of the

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[2] W.F. Jashemski, "The Gardens of Pompeii: an interim report", *CronPomp* 1, 1975, pp. 48-9.
[3] See pp. 58-75.

various finds within each room in detail, which often makes the designation of a potential entertainment function problematic. However, discretion has been used in the classification of each room that has been assigned a potential entertainment role, mostly relying upon position, décor, aspect (view) and the known finds.

For the discussion of Campanian *villae suburbanae* with complete plans,[4] the Hillier and Hanson method[5] has been used in conjunction with the statistical analysis of potential entertainment space. By using this method once the potential entertainment space (and its relevant percentage) has been determined, it is possible to see the public/private division that existed within the areas of potential entertainment. Access maps and the resulting data have been included,[6] providing a further source of discussion and mode of analysis. This data has then been applied to the floor-plans of each structure to exhibit the regions of potential entertainment space and their different levels of accessibility (or public/private character). The red regions indicate rooms of high public accessibility whereas the privacy of inaccessible areas are indicated in blue.[7] This not only exhibits the dominance of potential entertainment at various *villae suburbanae*, but also visually illustrates the differing purposes (large-scale public entertainment/intimate private entertainment) that many rooms within suburban villas served.

Three different regions near Pompeii contain evidence of suburban villas: the region outside the Porta Ercolano, residences around the city-walls including *Insula Occidentalis*, and the villas further outside of the city.[8] The latter are the most ambiguous because of the limited amount of knowledge about them and because their geographical position makes their connection with Pompeii less clear. Each region will be considered independently and then compared to identify their similarities and differences, and to analyse what this would mean about the owners' lifestyle.

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[4] This excludes Villas 19, 21, 22, 24, 40, 54 and 55 because of their incomplete floor-plans.
[5] B. Hillier and J. Hanson, *The Social Logic of Space*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1984.
[6] Access maps are listed among the figures, whereas the spatial data has been placed in the appropriate Appendices.
[7] See Plate 48 as an example.
[8] These villas are discussed in Chapter 4.

Suburban Villas outside the Porta Ercolano

The villas outside the Porta Ercolano are the most well known at Pompeii, especially the Villa of the Mysteries. In this area there are four substantial suburban residences within 400 metres of the gate leading to Herculaneum (Plate 11). The connection between each of these buildings with the city of Pompeii is clear because their intimate geographical association tied these villas inextricably to the urban centre. The available information from this region, particularly from the Villas of Diomede and Mysteries, has provided a good source of analysis for the statistical and spatial methods used in this study.

Villa 11 - The Villa of Cicero[9]

General Surface Area: $4,165m^2$

Of this group, the so-called Villa of Cicero (Plate 40) has the least available information. It has been excavated but has since been back-filled with no recent re-excavation. The entrance to this building is not known precisely but, in view of its location, the entrance would have led directly onto the Via dei Sepolcri.[10] After leaving Pompeii, via the Porta Ercolano, a row of seven or eight shops of roughly uniform dimensions would have been encountered, situated behind a covered arcade.[11] The association between these business precincts and the villa is evident, but this kind of block was common along the Via dei Sepolcri, with similar establishments located upon the other side of the road near the Villa of Mosaic Columns (Plate 11).

The position of these businesses is expected, as Pompeii was a popular port, where passing travellers would have contributed to the local economy, especially on the important road to Herculaneum. These shops were constructed during the last phase of construction at Pompeii,[12] which has important implications for understanding suburban villas beyond the Porta Ercolano. When considering the position of these businesses and the implications it held for the residents of the villa there are two points to consider.

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[9] See Appendix B, pp. 20-1.
[10] L. Richardson jnr., *Pompeii: an architectural history*, John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, 1988a, p. 244.
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] A Maiuri, *L'Ultima Pase Edilizia de Pompei*, Instituto di Studi Romani: Rome, 1942, p. 159.

Firstly, one of the most important considerations is privacy. It appears that the service quarters, bedrooms and storage rooms were located on the side of the villa that was closest to the road and shops, placed around at least one utilitarian courtyard.[13] The location of these rooms within the building is important to consider because the owner or any of the principal members of the household would not have used these rooms during daylight hours. This would mean that the privacy and seclusion of the building and its inhabitants would not have been greatly affected by the presence of these businesses, even with the nightly noise along this thoroughfare. This is important because privacy at suburban villas would have been an important consideration when constructed.

Secondly, there is the question of the entrance to the villa in relation to these businesses. Owing to the uncertain position of the approach it is difficult to determine, but it appears likely that the entrance would not have been directly adjacent to these businesses because of the privacy aspect. If the owner of a villa wanted to be in direct contact with the local population they would have resided in a townhouse. However, the desire for seclusion inspired wealthy owners to live further from the city. One of the most important differences between villas and townhouses was their levels of privacy and lifestyle.

When examining this structure to determine its advantages and purpose, one of the most compelling aspects is its orientation. The entrance cannot have been overly grand, considering the difficulty in identifying it, but this was not the most important consideration for the owner when designing the villa. The building is orientated towards the Bay of Naples, which explains the unusual nature of its design (Plate 40). The view was the prime consideration in the planning of this building. Limitations have been placed on the identification of potential entertainment areas due to the questionable reliability of the excavation reports. Only three areas were deemed to have been potential entertainment spaces: Rooms A, B and 8 (Plate 40). Rooms A and B were selected because of their view towards the coastal landscape and architectural features, whereas Room 8 was included because of its position viewing the terrace (Rm D) and its dimensions. There have only been three designated potential entertainment spaces

[13] Richardson, 1988a, *op.cit.*, p. 244.

because of these areas are the only instances that conform to the architectural types utilised within this study as being potential entertainment rooms.

There may have been other potential entertainment areas, but the move towards discretion was deemed best for the accuracy of finding a minimum amount of potential entertainment space. The statistical analysis of this complex (Table 4) has illustrated that an average of 23.45% of the surface area was potentially used for entertainment (Graph 13). This percentage is in accordance with the general division of space within most suburban villas around Pompeii. This allocation of space was also similar to the large townhouses considered within this study (Table 5), which illustrates that the suburban regions also needed a significant amount of space for entertainment. In comparison to the other *villae suburbanae* in the inner Pompeian suburbs it is evident that this was a large residence and that a high percentage of its surface area could have been used for social purposes. Within the entertainment areas themselves it is also clear that the majority (21.72% entertainment space) had an open aspect that overlooked the coastal landscape.

By observing the plan in general (Plate 40) it is clear that there was a large amount of space available to the owner, which was used to its fullest capacity.[14] The building was able to make optimal use of the view of the local landscape and the sea breezes while maintaining privacy for the residents. This was a common feature in the design of suburban villas. It is significant that even though there would have been an ample amount of privacy, the location of the building was hardly isolated. Its proximity to the centre of Pompeii would have also been a considerable advantage for its residents, an alluring element for its ownership. Owing to the shops being constructed after the original residence, it could be postulated that this residence was originally conceived purely as a suburban villa with strong urban connections, which became more obvious with the introduction of its commercial activities. This complex appears to have been indicative of the *villae pseudourbanae* referred to by Vitruvius,[15] but it was still a *villa suburbana* in its non-architectural conception.

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[14] *Ibid.*, p. 245.
[15] Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, 6.5.3.

Villa 12 - The Villa of the Mosaic Columns[16]

General Surface Area: *1,252m²*

The Villa of the Mosaic Columns (Plate 41) was also located on the Via dei Sepolcri (Plate 11). It is still being excavated so the amount of available information is limited. This suburban villa was so named because of its large columns, riveted with polychrome mosaic, which supported the pergola in the garden of the property.[17] The plan was designed as a porticoed building, with servile quarters to the north-east of the main residential precinct. Maiuri hypothesised that this area may have been used as a *hospitum*,[18] and there is certainly a strong emphasis towards financial profit at this residence. The end wall of the garden area was embellished with a fountain, riveted with glass-paste mosaic and shells.[19] Within the garden precinct the remains of a Samnite Necropolis were discovered, dated to the third century BC.[20] The presence of tombs in garden areas was not unusual,[21] but it is impossible to ascertain the relationship between the tomb and the later residents. The complex was followed by a series of shops that were all constructed with similar dimensions. Behind these shops there were staircases that led to an attic on the upper floor of the building, as well as a couple of shops to the rear.[22] Of these commercial quarters, the only one that has a known function is the last room, which contained a potter's kiln.[23] All of the shops were alike in their construction, with wooden stairs that led to upper floors, which have not survived.[24]

Despite the limited information at this site, there are at least four points that can be gleaned from the known evidence. Firstly, it is clear that owing to its position on the opposite side of the road to all of the other suburban villas, the opportunities to access a view of the Bay of Naples was more limited. Secondly,

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[16] See Appendix B, pp. 22-23.
[17] A. Maiuri, *Pompeii*, Instituto Poliografico Dello Stato: Rome, 1978, p. 94.
[18] *Ibid.*
[19] W.F. Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villas destroyed by Vesuvius*, Vol. 2, Aristide D. Caratzas: New Rochelle, 1979, p. 277.
[20] Maiuri, 1978, *op.cit.*, p. 94.
[21] V. Hope, "A roof over the dead: communal tombs and family structure", in R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond*, JRA Supp. 22: Portsmouth, 1997, pp. 69-88.
[22] Maiuri, 1978, *op.cit.*, p. 94.
[23] *Ibid.*

the position of this building close to the Via dei Sepolcri and on the slope meant that there were constraints upon its design. If the owner had planned on creating the broad porticoes and viewing platforms that were so prevalent within most suburban villas, it would have created a problem with maintaining privacy if they were positioned towards the bay. Instead it is clear that the builder of this complex placed more emphasis upon financial profit rather than the vast panoramas obtainable at the other villas located outside the Porta Ercolano. Thirdly, the connection between this residence and its commercial district, as well as the presence of the *hospitum* to the north-east, illustrates the importance of financial viability to the owners (rather than the focus being purely on luxury). Its proximity to the shops was quite similar to the Villa of Cicero, making both residences quite different to other villas in this region. Other villas beyond the Porta Ercolano would certainly have had a public function, such as the *salutatio* and other official meetings, but none were obviously associated with commercial activity.

Finally, it is evident from the architecture and décor that the owners did aspire to portray some social prestige to exemplify their success and culture. The use of the mosaic in the decoration of the columns and on the fountain illustrates the airs of the villa owners. As with the Villa of Cicero this villa also had strong urban connections, but this will be discussed further below.[25] It is interesting to note that the other three suburban villas in this area, the Villas of Cicero, Diomede and the Mysteries, all had alterations to their design in order to conform with the Via dei Sepolcri,[26] whereas the Villa of the Mosaic Columns did not.[27] This was probably due to the differing topography.[28]

Owing to the limited published sources on this *villa suburbana*, only the colonnaded courtyard has been included as a potential entertainment space. It was an open central area (Plate 3) and seems to be the only clear example of a potential entertainment space. Similar to the Villa of Cicero, roughly a quarter of

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[24] V. Kockel and B.F. Weber, "Die Villa delle Colonne a Mosaico in Pompeji", *MDAIR* 90, 1983, p. 56.
[25] See pp. 133-5.
[26] P. Arthur, "Problems of the Urbanization of Pompeii: Excavations 1980-1981", *Antiquaries Journal* 66, 1986, p. 41.
[27] F. Zevi, "Urbanistica di Pompei", in *La Regione sotterrata dal Vesuvio: studi e prospettive*, Universita degli studi di Napoli: Naples, 1982, p. 355.
[28] *Ibid.*

the ground plan was allocated to potential entertainment (Graph 13)(Table 4). This entertainment space was in the form of a courtyard, but this area also allowed for a utilitarian function. This was in keeping with the general focus of the entire complex, being intended to not only impress but also remain functional. The residence was significantly smaller than other villas outside the Porta Ercolano, but this should not preclude its classification as a *villa suburbana*. Despite its comparative size and strong emphasis upon commercial activity, its clear link to the urban centre and the attempts to exhibit its urbanity illustrate that it would have been viewed as a suburban villa.

Villa 13 - The Villa of Diomede[29]

General Surface Area: $4,616.09m^2$

The so-called Villa of Diomede (Plate 42) was located approximately 200 metres to the north-west of the Porta Ercolano, along the Via dei Sepolcri (Plates 4, 11).[30] The design of this building was determined by its topography.[31] The land slopes down progressively from the east to west and also from the north-east to the south-west along its axis. This setting allowed the creation of impressive views at the rear of the building, presenting the panorama of the Bay of Naples, Sorrentine Peninsula and Island of Capri.[32]

There is clear evidence of substantial additions and alterations to the building. The initial structure has been dated to the second century BC, being originally square in plan and symmetrically designed around a central hall, which is more indicative of townhouses.[33] Room 17 originally opened onto a deck, which was supported by columns.[34] This was later altered but the bases of these tufa columns were observed within the walls, forming the original portico.[35] This opened towards the garden below, originally surrounded by a simple wall and indicative in character and function of the typical productive garden.[36] The portico would certainly have been an open and well-ventilated veranda that

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[29] See Appendix B, pp. 24-28.
[30] A. Maiuri and R. Pane, *La Casa di Loreio Tiburtino e la Villa di Diomede in Pompei*, I Monumenti Italiani Series 2, Fasc. 1, La Libreria Dello Stato: Roma, 1947, p. 11.
[31] R.C. Carrington, *Pompeii*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1936, p. 87.
[32] Richardson, 1988a, *op.cit.*, p. 348.
[33] Maiuri and Pane, *op.cit.*, p. 12.
[34] *Ibid.*
[35] Richardson, 1988a, *op.cit.*, p. 350.

allowed sweeping views and sea breezes. It was later renovated to become larger and more impressive, taking full advantage of the view. Despite the modest origins of the residence it is clear that its position was chosen for the outlook towards the bay.

Seven areas have been included among the rooms with potential entertainment space: Rooms A, E, 6, 17, 8, 16 and 20. This includes both colonnaded courtyards (Rms A, E), the large hall (Rm 16) and Room 17 for reasons of their open and well-appointed appearance. Rooms 6, 8 and 20 were probably dining areas due to their décor and viewing positions. These areas were probably not the only rooms within such an opulent complex to have a possible entertainment function, but these were the only rooms included in order that only those that were clearly used for entertainment purposes were considered. The percentage of space allocated to entertainment covered over forty percent of the plan (Table 4), illustrating the intentions of the owner. This was dramatically larger than the previous two sites and indicates the differing facilities and décor at these residences. The open areas covered the largest area within this space (Graph 14), but there were also larger areas intended for dining and viewing the coastline. This large percentage of space is even more compelling when the greater ability to include the lower floor is taken into consideration. These results illustrate that the prime function of this suburban villa was residential entertainment and recreation, rather than agricultural productivity.

Villa 14 - The Villa of the Mysteries[37]

General Surface Area: *5,536.59m²*

The Villa of the Mysteries is the most well known villa outside Pompeii, having been the topic of many discussions, particularly in relation to its fine wall decoration. This villa was built roughly 400 metres from the Porta Ercolano (Plate 11).[38] The original design of the structure was square with its room distribution similar to that of an urban house (Plate 43). At its inception (c. 250-200 BC) the Villa of the Mysteries was representative of the transitional period

[36] Maiuri and Pane, *op.cit.*, p. 12.
[37] See Appendix B, pp. 28-33.
[38] A. Maiuri, *Villa dei Misteri*, La Libreria dello Stato, Roma, 1947, p. 37.

between the use of Sarno stone and tufa.[39] The central feature during this early phase of the building's development was a large tuscan hall,[40] and from the outset it reflected the wealth of pre-Roman Campania.[41] The structure was founded in part upon a podium substructure or basis with arches,[42] which accentuated the impressive panorama beyond.

There were several rooms that had a viewing function at this large complex. The most notable of these was Room 5 that has been described as the 'Mysteries room' in many modern studies owing to the nature of the Second Style wall décor. The style and interpretation of these wall paintings has been the subject of much discussion since their discovery,[43] but for the purposes of this study the reading of these motifs is minimal. It is enough to comment that the use of red cinnabar for the production of these paintings is a good reflection of the owners' wealth with this medium requiring accurate application techniques for an impressive long-lasting effect.[44] This room was built in Sarno stone during the first period of habitation and was not altered throughout its development.[45] The fact that it remained unaltered throughout the period of habitation is one reason why some modern scholars have speculated about its ritual significance. The friezes were probably painted between 55-60 BC.[46] The room probably functioned as a dining area and originally overlooked the external terrace on two sides.[47] This open aspect provided the room with sunlight and allowed an open view of the surroundings.[48] This room, at least in the initial phases of the

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[39] *Ibid.*, p. 103.
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] A.M.G. Little, *A Roman Bridal Drama at the Villa of the Mysteries*, Kennebunk: Maine, 1972, pp. 1-2.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[43] P.B. Mudie Cooke, "The Paintings of the Villa Item at Pompeii", *JRS* 3, 1913, pp. 157-174; G. Sauron, *La Grande Fresque de la Villa des Mystères à Pompée Mémoires D'une Dévoté de Dionysos*, Collection Antiqua, Picard: Paris, 1998; V. Hearnshaw, "The Dionysiac Cycle in the Villa of the Mysteries: a Re-Reading", *Meditarch* 12, 1999, pp. 43-54; J. Toynbee, "The Villa Item and a Bride's Ordeal", *JRS* 19, 1929, pp. 67-113.
[44] A. Allroggen Bedel, "La Pittura", in F. Zevi (ed.), *Pompei 79*, Gaetano Macchiaroli Editore: Naples, 1984, p. 132.
[45] Maiuri, 1947, *op.cit.*, p. 59.
[46] D. Wilburn, "The Geography and History of Campania and Pompeii", in E.K. Gazda (ed.), *The Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii – ancient ritual, modern muse*, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology: Ann Arbor, 2000, p. 22.
[47] M. Bieber, "Der Mysteriensaal der Villa Item", *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 43, 1928, p. 299.
[48] G. Bendinelli, "Ultima considerazioni intorno alla villa pompeiana detta dei misteri", *Latomus* 27, 1968, p. 823.

building, would have been an enjoyable room for dining where the view of the external terrace and underlying garden combined with the cool breeze would have epitomised the ideals of *otium*.

There were another two rooms that would have enjoyed the view of the panorama on the south-western side of the Villa of the Mysteries: Rooms 9 and 10 (Plate 44). These two rooms were constructed during the same period as the hemicycle shaped Room 1, during the Neronian era.[49] The purpose of these rooms was for personal leisure and for viewing the panorama of the Bay of Naples, and possibly private pursuits such as reading and relaxation.[50] If this interpretation is correct the private nature of these rooms would have been an important aspect to consider in comparison with the previous two rooms discussed. Room 1 would have been used for entertaining guests whereas Rooms 5, 9 and 10 were for private entertainment. This is important because these rooms were created during the same period as the additions to Room 1. It is evident that the development of the Villa of the Mysteries was influenced by the consideration of creating an impressive viewing platform on the western side of the structure.[51] There were several rooms created and altered to enhance the visibility of the local landscape that, despite having this common theme, were frequently intended for different purposes.

Apart from the importance of the view there was also emphasis placed upon productivity at this establishment, which changed over time. The first region of the villa to be discussed is the covered gallery. It was faced with blind arches but was not decorated.[52] It was accessible from a set of stairs located in the middle of the courtyard. According to Maiuri, this quarter preserved its traditional function, operating as a wine cellar in a similar fashion to the Villa of Diomede.[53] However, it appears that the gallery in the Villa of the Mysteries was not in use at the time of the eruption, with no remains of *amphorae* being recorded in this space. The covered gallery projected almost 5 metres beyond the perimeter

[49] Maiuri, 1947, *op.cit.*, p. 63.
[50] *Ibid.*
[51] A. Maiuri, *Pompei ed Ercolano – fra case e abitanti*, Giunti Gruppo Editoriale: Florence, 1998, p. 104.
[52] Richardson, 1988a, *op.cit.*, p. 174.
[53] Maiuri, 1947, *op.cit.*, p. 90.

of the upper levels of the building,[54] designed to support a *parterre* garden that was important for the view from the western rooms.

The absence of *amphorae* within the gallery raises a question concerning the productivity of this villa. However, its leading residents were not inhabiting the building at the time of the eruption because of the reconstructions that were occurring. It is likely that the disruption to the residency also disrupted its productive capabilities. But the intentions of the owner towards agricultural production in the later phases of habitation cannot be questioned because of the presence of a *torcularium*.

Given these characteristics and phases at the Villa of the Mysteries, it is possible to view its development; primarily how the use of this complex changed in emphasis from its initial creation until the eruption in AD 79. The choice of this particular location to build a residence had several advantages. Firstly, there was the close connection with the urban centre of Pompeii. Secondly, the choice of that particular position allowed the owner to take the fullest advantage of the view of the Bay of Naples. The original design of the building was similar to that of a townhouse but, with successive phases of alteration and addition, it adopted the features of a stately villa culminating in the final structure in the period prior to the earthquake in AD 62. The most notable alterations occurred in the Neronian period with extensive modification to the western side, creating the viewing rooms that allowed a far-reaching appreciation of the panorama below.

Finally, it is important to note the change in emphasis at this suburban villa over the successive periods with the expansion of the agricultural fittings. The replacement of an elegant entertainment area with a *torcularium* indicates that the priorities of the owner had changed, whether because the villa had changed hands or simply from economic considerations after the damaging earthquake in AD 62. If this change in focus is considered together with the fact that the owners were not residing at the complex, it seems to indicate a change in the mind-set of the proprietors. The advantages in living close to the city were not being utilised and there was increased agricultural focus. It would seem that in the final phase

[54] Richardson, 1988a, *op.cit.*

of habitation the function of the Villa of the Mysteries had changed dramatically, but it still remained a palatial suburban villa.

Five rooms have been included because of their potential entertainment role: Rooms P, 5, 6, 9 and 10. Room 5 and 6 have the characteristics of dining rooms whereas Rooms 9 and 10 seem to have been used as viewing areas. With the alterations that occurred to Rooms 48-49, this room has also received special attention because of its prior entertainment function. The statistical analysis of space within the Villa of the Mysteries has produced consistent results with the other *villae suburbanae* just outside Pompeii (22.98% entertainment space), but they are a little surprising. Firstly, the percentage of space used for entertainment was comparatively low (22.98% entertainment space). This is lower than the other structures in this area, especially in contrast to the Villa of Diomede (40.98% entertainment space). This is indicative of the divergent roles that the Villa of the Mysteries played. This complex was clearly used for both entertainment and productivity, whereas the Villa of Diomede appears to have had a limited agricultural role. Unfortunately, the impressive extant décor at the Villa of the Mysteries has resulted in much discussion about this site, even though it seems that the actual residential facilities at the Villa of Diomede were more impressive in antiquity.

The percentage of potential entertainment space (22.98%) within the Villa of the Mysteries was lower than all of the other *villae suburbanae* in the immediate surrounds of Pompeii (Graph 13). However, the classification of this complex should not be questioned. This finding simply highlights the variable nature of many *villae suburbanae*, which has made their classification so elusive. The Villa of the Mysteries is a fine example of the duality in function (entertainment and productivity) that was an important feature of many *villae suburbanae*. Despite this lower percentage of entertainment space it is evident that most of this space was impressive with an open aspect and the result is still within the admissible range for its inclusion as a *villa suburbana*. However, it is noteworthy that if Room 48-49 had remained as an entertainment area the final result produced is entirely consistent at 25.72% as potential entertainment space.

In the study by Longfellow[55] it has been illustrated that the famous monumental friezes in Room 5 were located in one of the furthest removed regions of the AD 79 complex, suggesting that it was within one of the most private areas of the residence.[56] This has been shown using the Hillier and Hanson method, illustrating the private nature of the area at this time mathematically (Plate 45).[57] This style of analysis has shown that not only were these rooms restricted to most visitors, but also that the route of access to this space was conceivably well controlled. From this analysis it is clear that residents and visitors with acceptable standing only used the region.[58] Even the residents would not have passed these rooms frequently in daily life.[59] The ramification that this holds is the similar level of importance placed upon private entertaining at suburban villas and urban townhouses. These rooms would have been used for prearranged occasions and only for the leading residents and invited guests.

In regard to Room 5 of the Villa of the Mysteries it seems to further suggest that this room would have only been used for private dining, thereby accentuating the nature of the occasion. For the invited guests, being allowed in this area of the *domus* would have been a clear expression of *hospitium* and *amicitia* on the part of the residents.[60] After all, dining with another person was one of the greatest expressions of friendship,[61] which was not only mentioned by Cicero,[62] but also reflected in the lengths undertaken with the décor of the dining rooms.

If the same method of spatial analysis is used for interpreting the earlier phase of this *villae suburbanae*, the results are quite different (Plate 46).[63] At this time, judging from the low Mean Depth (3.09) and the Real Relative Asymmetry result (0.814), it would seem that Room 5 was more accessible than in the later

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[55] B. Longfellow, "A Gendered Space? Location and Function of Room 5 in the Villa of the Mysteries", in E.K. Gazda (ed.), *The Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii – ancient ritual, modern muse*, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology: Ann Arbor, 2000, pp. 25-37.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 26.
[57] *Ibid.* See Appendix B, pp. 31-33.
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[60] J. Nicols, "Hospitium and political friendship in the late Republic", in M. Peachin (ed.), *Aspects of Friendship in the Greco-Roman World*, JRA Supplement 43: Portsmouth, 2001, pp. 99-100.
[61] M. Peachin, "Friendship and abuse at the dinner table", in M. Peachin (ed.), *Aspects of Friendship in the Greco-Roman World*, JRA Supplement 43: Portsmouth, 2001, pp. 135-6.
[62] Cicero, *Fam.*, 9.24.3.
[63] See Appendix B, pp. 31-33.

phase of habitation. Access to this room was still controlled (having a Control Value of 0.67) but it appears to have possessed more of a public role. Room 2 also seems to have served a public function, which would be appropriate if it functioned as a *tablinum*, having a low Real Relative Asymmetry (0.779), indicating a high potential for social interaction. This is particularly relevant when these rooms are compared to Rooms 48-49, which had a higher Real Relative Asymmetry (1.231), Mean Depth (4.16) and lower Control Value (0.58), indicating that the access to this area (Rm 48-49) was even more restricted than Room 5 at the time of the creation of the famous wall-paintings (Plate 47).

In the later phase of habitation Room 5 became more inaccessible and in turn had a more private role.[64] Rooms 9 and 10 also had a low degree of potential social interaction, as shown in the Real Relative Asymmetry results (1.038, 1.221 respectively). Their high Mean Depths (4.62, 5.3) and low Control Values (0.2, 0.2) also emphasise their private role and make a function, such as that of a *diaetae*, seem likely (Plate 48). Room 48-49 was still restricted in its access but probably now for its utilitarian function. It is notable to view the developments in social patterns at this *villa suburbana* with the changing emphasis upon public and private regions as the residence developed over time.

When the final phase of the Villa of the Mysteries is compared to the Villa of Diomede using the Hillier and Hanson method (Plate 49) the differences between entertainment areas and public areas are highlighted, in as much as not all entertainment rooms were located in public areas. In the Villa of Diomede this is most notable in Rooms 6 and 8, both of which produced high results for Real Relative Asymmetry (both 2.132) and Mean Depth (both 6.95),[65] illustrating a low level of social interaction and high restriction from other rooms in the complex. Only the main level of this *villa suburbana* was taken into consideration in this spatial analysis to serve as a more reliable comparison with the other suburban villas, but even this partial sample illustrates that entertainment space existed in both the public and private domains (Plate 50).

Rooms A and 16 all produced results showing that they controlled access to other areas (5.41, 2.49 respectively) and that their Real Relative Asymmetry

[64] See Appendix B, pp. 31-33.
[65] See Appendix B, p. 31-33.

results (1.017, 1.548) illustrate the high levels of potential interaction at each room. Room 20, on the other hand, had a high Real Relative Asymmetry (2.086) and Mean Depth (6.82), illustrating its residential accessibility.[66] The entertainment role of *villae suburbanae* encompassed both public and private occasions and the rooms that could serve an entertainment role were positioned in accordance with their intended purpose - be it public or private.

Summary of the Villas outside the Porta Ercolano

None of these structures were created with the same design they were found to have in AD 79. Neither of the best-known villas, the Villas of Diomede and Mysteries, originated as palatial structures. It was a process of successive development and alteration, and we cannot view these structures in a static fashion. The periods of development, especially the change in facilities and decoration, must be appreciated to ascertain the intentions of the owner. As mentioned by Petronius, Trimalchio did not build his entire house, he enlarged the existing structure: *ut scritis, cusuc erat, nunc templum est.*[67] This is indicative of both acquired establishments and inherited buildings, with the following generation often embellishing their residences.

It is clear that the Villas of Cicero and Mosaic Columns were quite different in their focus than a residence like the Villa of the Mysteries. This can be seen by the close connection that the Villas of Cicero and Mosaic Columns had with commercial activity (Plate 11). The first 200 metres of the road connecting the two villas would not have been entirely different to the main commercial roads within Pompeii. The most significant difference was the presence of the numerous tombs, but this did not prevent the dominance of commercial activity in the area. The numerous businesses on this road that were intimately connected with the Villas of Cicero and Mosaic Columns, highlight the variation in many *villae suburbanae*, hence Vitruvius' reference to *villae pseudourbanae.*[68] The Villa of Mosaic Columns is a prime example in this sense, being placed on the northern side of the road and facing away from the Bay of Naples, with numerous

[66] This does not disagree with Wallace-Hadrill's interpretation of public/private space, but complements it. c.f. Wallace-Hadrill, 1994, *op.cit.*, pp. 38-61.
[67] Petronius, *Cena Trimalchionis*, 77.4. cf. G. Bagnani, "The House of Trimalchio", *AJP* 75, 1954, p. 17.
[68] Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, 6.5.3.

multi-level shops between the residence and the impressive coastal landscape. It is plausible that many wealthy members of the population invested in small commercial precincts,[69] probably in order to diversify their financial interests. The difference between the Villa of the Mosaic Columns and other villas outside the Porta Ercolano is clearly exhibited in its limited entertainment space.

The Hillier and Hanson method has illustrated that the Villa of Cicero had only one region (Rm B) of private entertainment space (Plate 51).[70] It had a high level of restriction from other rooms in the complex, as shown by its high Mean Depth (4.67). Conversely, Rooms A and B had low Real Relative Asymmetry values (0.705, 0.888), indicating that they were readily accessible (Plate 52). Room E in the Villa of the Mosaic Columns (Plate 53) was also clearly a public entertainment region (Plate 54), having a low Depth from Exterior result (2).[71] It was restricted from the more secluded regions of the complex as shown by its high Mean Depth (4.2).

The Villa of Cicero maintained an impressive view of the Bay of Naples, but it is clear that commercial activity was an important source of income. It is placed closest to the city, only just beyond the walls. By the time these villas were built it is clear that the defensive requirements of the city walls were not as significant,[72] which is evidenced by the large number of buildings appearing during this period, built either onto or beyond these fortifications. At least three quarters of the Pompeian defensive circuit followed a natural line of defence,[73] but the construction of these fortifications at the end of the fifth century BC,[74] with a second phase in the mid third century BC,[75] did not limit the expansion of the city. Judging from the plan of Pompeii the majority of growth beyond the walls occurred on the coastal side, hence the palatial villas on the Via dei Sepolcri and the terrace villas in *Insula Occidentalis*.

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[69] J.E. Skydsgaard, "The Disintegration of the Roman Labour Market and the *clientela* Theory", in K. Ascani (ed.), *Studia Romana in honorem Perti Krarup septuagenari*, Odense university Press: Odense, 1976, pp. 44-8.

[70] See Appendix B, p. 21.

[71] See Appendix B, p. 23.

[72] A. Varone, Pompei, i misteri di una città sepolta, Newton and Compton: Rome, 2000, p. 188.

[73] L. Richardson jnr., "The City-Plan of Pompeii", in *La Regione sotterrata dal Vesuvio: studi e prospettive*, Universita degli studi di Napoli: Naples, 1982, p. 343.

[74] It has been shown that there was also a Sixth Century BC, pre-Samnite city-wall. M. Fulford and A. Wallace-Hadrill "Unpeeling Pompeii", *Antiquity* 72, 1998, p. 129; A. and M. De Vos, *Pompeii, Ercolano, Stabia*, G. Laterza: Rome, 1982, p. 21.

The large number of buildings built in the second half of the second century BC was indicative of the growth in wealth of the city after the Second Punic War.[76] If the model of 0.1% growth per annum taken by Hopkins is correct,[77] this would also explain urban development that,[78] when applied to Pompeii, makes the expansion into the suburban areas understandable.[79] Buck's analysis of the textual use of the term *villa*,[80] indicates that it is untenable to classify a complex within the city as a villa, but the reality of suburban space with highly urban characteristics is clear. It is for this reason that Vitruvius' reference to *villae pseudourbanae* is to be expected even though the residences he discussed were suburban villas. Perring has illustrated the powerful effect of city-walls in shaping social behaviour within a city,[81] but the same could be said for those residents just beyond the urban fortifications. Living outside the city would have provided the owners with a greater sense of freedom, despite having such strong urban characteristics in their residences. This greater autonomy is clearly illustrated in the open disposition of many *villae suburbanae*. There was an evident combination of cultured *urbanitas* with traditional rural morality,[82] which was the ideal fusion for any wealthy landowner.

The Villa of Diomede should be classified as a *villa suburbana* because of its position. It also had clear urban connections, especially when considering the original layout that was more indicative of Pompeian townhouses than villas further from the city. The large façade facing the Via dei Sepolcri would have also increased its presence within the community. The later additions to the structure were intended to make this residence more impressive, adding to its

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[75] Richardson, 1982, *op.cit.*, pp. 349-50.
[76] M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 2nd ed., Vol. 2, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1957, p. 551, n. 25. This has been illustrated in the development of the region around the Via Consolare in Pompeii. See R. Jones, "Pompeii's Block of Time", *Archaeology* 56.4, 2003, p. 25.
[77] K. Hopkins, "Taxes and trade in the Roman Empire", *JRS* 70, 1980, pp. 101-25.
[78] R. Saller, "The non-agricultural economy: superseding Finley and Hopkins?", *JRA* 14.2, 2001, pp. 581-2.
[79] R. Raper, "Pompeii: planning and social implications", in B.C. Burnham and J. Kingsbury (eds.), *Space, Hierarchy and Society: interdisciplinary studies in social area analysis*, BAR: Oxford, 1979, p. 145.
[80] R.J. Buck, "Agriculture and Agricultural Practice in Roman Law", *Historia* 45, 1983.
[81] D. Perring, "Spatial organisation and social change in Roman towns", in J. Rich and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *City and Country in the Ancient World*, Routledge: London, 1991, pp. 282-4.
[82] A. Wallace-Hadrill, "Elites and trade in the Roman town", in J. Rich and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *City and Country in the Ancient World*, Routledge: London, 1991, pp. 246-7.

social prestige. It remains clear that the connection between this villa and the city means that the complex was a *villa suburbana*.

The Villa of the Mysteries was notable for its well-appointed décor and its unusual development. The complex developed like many villa sites with its facilities increasing over time, particularly on the southern perimeter where the number of viewing rooms increased dramatically. The final owner sacrificed some residential rooms by transforming the large Room 48-49 into a *torcularium*, thus increasing its productivity. This alteration came about because of a changing focus on the part of the owner.[83] As has been noted in the developments of the House of the Surgeon,[84] a change in focus by an owner did not necessarily indicate a reduction in its social status or the impression created by a residence.

From the statistical results on entertainment space at each complex there are five conclusions that can be drawn. Firstly, it is evident that there was a definite entertainment requirement in most *villae suburbanae* (Graph 13). The amount of space was usually in relation to the size, appearance and role of each residence, which explains the difference between the Villas of Diomede (1891.5m^2) and Mosaic Columns (320m^2). Secondly, this difference in size is indicative of the alternative perspectives of each owner about what activities were undertaken at each site. For example, the use of both the Villas of Diomede and Mosaic Columns would have been quite different and this is exhibited in their layout and facilities.

Thirdly, those *villae suburbanae* that maintained a prominent utilitarian/productive focus still possessed areas for entertainment. This is particularly evident at the Villa of the Mysteries, which had an agricultural role but also contained a diverse range of reception rooms. At the other end of the scale the Villa of the Mosaic Columns was clearly used for financial benefit and had a more limited range of entertainment space. At this complex the space was focused upon the courtyard, but this was a prominent feature within the residence

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[83] c.f. A. Wallace-Hadrill, "The Villa as Cultural Symbol", in A. Frazer (ed.), *The Roman Villa: villa urbana*, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania: Philadelphia, 1998, p. 51.

[84] S.E. Bon, R. Jones, B. Kurchin and D.J. Robinson, "The Context of the house of the Surgeon: investigations in Insula VI, 1 at Pompeii", in S.E. Bon and R. Jones (eds.), *Sequence and Space in Pompeii*, Oxbow, Oxford, 1997, pp. 32-49.

and despite its utilitarian function would have also been used for entertainment purposes.

The fourth point is that this illustrates the prominence of colonnaded courtyard within the group of entertainment areas. The courtyard had multiple functions, with entertainment being only one. Despite the spatial dominance within this group of rooms the use of the courtyard for such a function was not clearly defined. This would have been quite different to other entertainment rooms within the structure.

Finally, it is clear from the statistical analysis that the nature of *villae suburbanae* was inconsistent. Each structure was quite different in its emphasis from the others, harbouring differing degrees of productivity and entertainment space. This is in itself a unifying feature of most *villae suburbanae*: there was no one distinctive type of suburban villa. It is clear that there was a significant need at each complex for entertainment space, which provides some indication of the lifestyles that were led in the suburbs of Pompeii. But aside from this common feature the remainder of the structure could have served several other functions. The connection to commercial precincts is illustrated at both the Villas of Cicero and Mosaic Columns. The Villa of the Mysteries has a prominent emphasis upon both entertainment and productivity, whereas the Villa of Diomede was focused upon entertainment and *otium*. Such diversity in emphasis within a group of four buildings located in the inner suburbs of Pompeii is striking and exhibits the similarities and differences between these *villae suburbanae*.

Other Villas in the Inner *Suburbium* of Pompeii

There were several other villas located just beyond the city-walls that should be examined. These complexes provide further information on Pompeian villas and give a better perspective of their divergent styles and purposes. Within this group there is the Villa of T. Siminius Stephanus, Villa Imperiale and the residences in *Insula Occidentalis*. The incomplete excavation of these complexes has limited the amount of discussion and the statistical analysis has also been limited. The Villa of T. Siminius Stephanus has provided the most accurate statistical data, whereas the other residences are not as comprehensive.

Nevertheless, the available information has been used to acquire the most intelligible results possible for analysis.

Villa 15 – Villa of T. Siminius Stephanus[85]

General Surface Area: $1,047.11m^2$

It has been hypothesised that this complex was not an isolated villa, but could be viewed as a *pagus* and in many ways similar to the *pagus Augustus Felix suburbanus*.[86] There are some difficulties with this complex (Plate 55), such as the unknown placement of the principal entrance,[87] but it is still possible to draw some conclusions about its nature and function. This complex was extremely close to the city, located only 130 metres north of the Porta Vesuvius (Plate 12).[88]

To the south of this villa was a small bronze workshop that produced finds of ten small anvils, a small amount of fused bronze and two plaster head models.[89] The discovery of this productive area indicates that the owners may have diversified their productive capabilities. But the most notable of these finds was the discovery of an inscription near the cistern (No. c) in the eastern side of the colonnaded courtyard, reading:

M. MVNDICIVS

MALCHIO

M. CLODIVS

AGATHO

MAG EX.P.C.F.C.

M(arcus) Mundicius Malchio, M(arcus) Clodius Agatho, mag(istri), ex p(ecunia) c(onlata) f(aciundum) c(urarunt).[90]

This inscription is important because of the reference to *magistri*, which has also been referred to in connection with the *pagus Augustus Felix*

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[85] See Appendix B, pp. 34-35.
[86] A. Sogliano, "Fabbriche antiche scoperte in contrada 'Civita' presso le mura di Pompei", *NSc* Series 5, Vol. 7, 1899b, p. 237.
[87] A. Sogliano, "Torre Annunziata – Fabricche antiche scoperte in contrada 'Civita' presso le mura di Pompei", *NSc* Series 5, Vol. 6, 1898b, p. 495.
[88] De Vos, 1982, *op.cit.*, p. 180.
[89] De Vos, 1982, *op.cit.*, p. 180.
[90] Sogliano, 1899b, *op.cit.*, p. 499.

suburbanus.[91] The importance of this reference to *magistri* is due to its location outside of the walls, whereas the other reference was discovered within the urban precincts of Pompeii. When the position of this complex is considered it would be appropriate to classify it as a *villa suburbana* with a predominantly agricultural emphasis. Agriculture was not a purely rural occupation (there being many examples of productive gardens within the city).[92] If the impressive mosaic in Room F is considered, there appears to have been some desire for notable décor by the residents. So despite the overwhelming prominence of agriculture, it would seem appropriate to define this as a *villa suburbana*.

The rooms included as having a potential entertainment role were Rooms F, G, H, V and W. Room F is deemed to have been a potential entertainment room due to the Philosophers pavement that would not have been included if it was purely utilitarian. Room G also seems to have served a similar purpose, particularly in view of its size and location within the complex. Room H has been included, as well as two large rooms that looked onto it (Rms v, W). The statistical analysis of the Villa of T. Siminius Stephanus has also illustrated its similarities to the Porta Ercolano complexes. With the inclusion of the colonnaded courtyard within the entertainment region of the villa, its percentage of entertainment space (28.85%) is consistent with these other structures (Graph 13). The total space for entertainment within this complex is lower than those previously discussed, but this is to be expected in view of its comparable size and demeanour.

It appears that the owner was attempting to provide recreational facilities within this villa, and accentuated them with such decoration as the Philosophers' mosaic. This suburban villa was also the smallest complex within this group, illustrating the differing circumstances or priorities of the owner to the owners of larger *villae suburbanae*. However, the Villa of T. Siminius Stephanus has a

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[91] *Ibid. CIL* X.1, p. 113, n. 924.

[92] Jashemski, 1979, Vol. 1, *op.cit.*; S.C. Nappo, "Urban transformation at Pompeii in the late third and early second Centuries BC", in R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond*, JRA Supp. 22: Portsmouth, 1997, p. 95; W.F. Jashemski, "The Garden of Hercules at Pompeii (II.viii.6): the discovery of a commercial flower garden", *AJA* 83, 1979, pp. 403-11; R. Laurence, *Roman Pompeii: space and society*, Routledge: London, 1994, p. 67.

higher percentage of entertainment space than Villas 11, 12 and 14, and a similar internal percentage to Villas 13, 14 and 16 (Graph 14).

The similar emphasis upon internal entertainment at these villas illustrates that the social expectations for this *villa suburbana* was analogous to those suburban villas outside the Porta Ercolano, only differing in the availability of a coastal panorama. This is especially apparent when the public and private divisions of the entertainment space are compared using the Hillier and Hanson method (Plate 56). The spatial analysis of this *villa suburbana* has illustrated a clear separation between the public and private entertainment rooms (Plate 57).[93] Both Rooms F and G have higher Real Relative Asymmetry (0.993, 0.75 respectively) and Mean Depth results (3.90, 3.19), illustrating their comparatively inaccessible qualities and private roles. The colonnaded courtyard was clearly accessible to non-household members and had a Control Value of 13.03 that makes its high potential for social interaction, as shown by its low Real Relative Asymmetry, understandable (0.342). Both Rooms V and W were controlled by Room H (Control Value 0.06 for both) and were comparatively more accessible from other rooms (Mean Depth 2.98 for both) than Rooms F and G. This assortment of public and private entertainment areas was indicative of an attempt by the owners of this *villa suburbana* to hold a variety of social functions, despite their residence not being as palatial as some suburban villas outside the Porta Ercolano.

Villa 16 – Villa Imperiale[94]

General Surface Area: *1,491.97m²*

The Villa Imperiale (Plate 58) was located just outside the Porta Marina (Plate 12) and may have originated as a public construction.[95] The building seems to have been constructed between the end of the Augustan and early Tiberian periods.[96] One of its most notable features is that its structure incorporates a stretch of the city-walls within its establishment.[97] Judging from the finds, it was abandoned after the eruption of AD 62 and subsequently used as a waste disposal

[93] See Appendix B, pp. 35-36.
[94] See Appendix B, pp. 37-38.
[95] Richardson, 1988a, *op.cit.*, p. 218.
[96] Maiuri, 1978, *op.cit.*, p. 109.
[97] Richardson, 1988a, *op.cit.*, p. 218.

site for building material, after being ransacked of its attractive architectural and decorative pieces.[98] The porticoes made it a large *villa suburbana* in the near outskirts of Pompeii, which contributed to its monumental appearance. This has probably also added to the modern impression that it was a public structure. But despite the large amount of space intended for a public entertainment role, it was clearly a *villa suburbana*.

Judging from the remains of the excavated rooms it seems certain that they were used for entertaining purposes.[99] If the Villa Imperiale served a public function, these rooms would have been used for public dining, with the choice of room determined by the occasion.[100] Unfortunately there is not enough evidence to make a definitive assessment of the Villa Imperiale, but there are three observations that can be made. Firstly, this structure highlights the creation of porticoes for the utmost appreciation of the impressive panorama. Secondly, the prominent position of the windows within the entertaining rooms exhibits the continuing desire for an open disposition for these dining areas. The final observation is that owing to the statistical evidence from this *villa suburbana*, it is evident that a large percentage (55.05%) of the space was potentially used for entertainment. If the entire complex was known, this amount would have probably been lower, but it remains clear that this function was important to the owners.

The spatial data analysis has been limited (Plate 59),[101] but has exhibited the public role of the portico by its low Depth from Exterior (2) and its separation from the remainder of the complex by its Real Relative Asymmetry (1.636) and Mean Depth (3.67). Rooms A and B served a public role, having a similarly high Real Relative Asymmetry (1.391 for both), illustrating their inaccessibility from other rooms. Conversely, Room C had a private function (Plate 60), as shown by its lower Real Relative Asymmetry (0.778) and Mean Depth (2.27). This room controlled access to the inner regions of the complex (Control Value of 1.83). The prominence of the public portico and Rooms A and B clearly illustrate the

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[98] *Ibid.*
[99] *Ibid.*, p. 220.
[100] *Ibid.*
[101] See Appendix B, p. 38.

social intentions of its owner who obviously sought to make a statement of their status to the community through this large *villa suburbana*.

Conclusions

The evidence and statistical results of both the Villa of T. Siminius Stephanus and Villa Imperiale reinforce the results of the Porta Ercolano villas (Graph 13). If the incomplete nature of the Villa Imperiale is taken into consideration, both complexes have a similar percentage of space allocated to entertainment. They highlight how diverse the characteristics of *villae suburbanae* could be, with both structures having different priorities towards productivity and entertainment. The Villa of T. Siminius Stephanus maintained a role in both entertainment and productivity, with only selective use of well-appointed décor, whereas the Villa Imperiale has produced evidence of long viewing platforms intended to impress the viewer, with no known evidence of productivity. Their classification as *villae suburbanae* is supported by their close proximity to the city. These *villae suburbanae* highlight the diversity that existed in the priorities of each owner in regard to the purpose of their suburban villa, as reflected in the layout and roles at these establishments.

When the entertainment percentages are compared to those from the capital (Graph 15) it is evident that both groups had a similar variation between their respective facilities for entertainment. Apart from Villas 5 and 14, which have uncharacteristically low results, most possessed at least a certain level of facilities for social activity. However, it is notable that the Roman examples had a higher percentage of potential entertainment space, which is indicative of not only the residents' intentions/lifestyle, but also the differing socio-political climates at the urban centres. Nevertheless, it is evident that there was some consistency in the role that entertainment played at *villae suburbanae* overall.

Insulae Occidentalis

Another significant group of residences are those houses built in the region of *Insulae Occidentalis*. The unique layout and position makes the classification of these structures as townhouses or villas quite difficult. Therefore, it is pertinent to compare these structures with the *villae suburbanae* to see if there are enough similarities to justify them being grouped with these residences, or with the

townhouses. There are three buildings in this region of Pompeii to be discussed: House VI, 17, 42, the House of Umbricius Sciaurus (VII, 16, 15) and the House of M. Fabius Rufus (VII, 16, 22). The most interesting aspect of this group of buildings is their location, as the prime advantage of the topography was the view. The houses greatly altered the appearance of the city on the southern and western sides of Pompeii.[102] For example, the House of M. Fabius Rufus (*Ins. Occ.* VII, 16-22) was constructed over four levels above and beyond the city walls.[103] This house has undergone the most research within this group and was also the largest of these structures.

The House of M. Fabius Rufus

General Surface Area: *4,004.9 m²*

The House of M. Fabius Rufus (VII, 16, 22) was constructed into the city walls after the Roman conquest (Plate 61),[104] and the size of the residence was immense.[105] There were a series of terraces leading down towards the bay, including a series of gardens that incorporated the house within the surrounding landscape.[106] There were two front halls, the smaller with the domestic apartments being on the left and entering into the residence directly from the street.[107] The main entrance was located on the upper level, which opened onto an imposing tetrastyle hall (Rm 1) and then into a large open ended room (Plate 61).[108] Room 1 may have served as an entrance room,[109] as it had large windows on either side, opening onto two dining rooms.[110] However, Room 5 was not on

[102] P. Zanker, *Pompeii: public and private life*, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass., 1998, p. 71.
[103] R. Ling, "Pompeii and Herculaneum: recent research and future prospects", in H. McK. Blake, T.W. Potter and D.B. Whitehouse (eds.), *Papers in Italian Archaeology I: the Lancaster Seminar*, Pt 1, BAR Supp 41(i): Oxford, 1978, p. 154.
[104] Varone, 2000, *op.cit.*, p. 202.
[105] Zanker, 1998, *op.cit.*, p. 74.
[106] Varone, 2000, *op.cit.*, p. 202.
[107] A. Mau, *Pompeii – its life and art*, tr. F.W. Kelsey, 2nd ed., Macmillan: New York, 1904, p. 298.
[108] Varone, 2000, *op.cit.*, p. 202.
[109] A. Hoffmann, "L'architectura", in F. Zevi (ed.), *Pompei 79*, Gaetano Macchiaroli Editore: Naples, 1984, p. 115. However, this use has been questioned, c.f. 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 Supp. 22, Portsmouth, 1997, pp. 219-40.
[110] Mau, 1904, *op.cit.*, pp. 298-9.

the same axis as the entrance,[111] which was unusual for most large Pompeian houses.

The reception rooms would have had ample light and an impressive panorama of the Bay of Naples.[112] There was also a colonnaded courtyard that included a deep rectangular basin for fish.[113] There were four levels of terraces in the complex,[114] with the main reception rooms being located on the first lower level from the street with a view of the landscape from every room.[115] Complementing the landscape, the owner included gardens on three sides,[116] and a paved courtyard to the west with porticoes on the southern and eastern sides.[117]

There are five regions of this residence classified as potential entertainment space: Rooms A, B, 5, 6 and 54 (Plate 61). Rooms A and B were colonnaded courtyards and Room 6 was an internal ornamental garden, all of which warrant inclusion. The layout and décor of Room 5 indicates that it was probably used for entertainment and conforms with the position of Type 7 rooms, which is likely in view of its décor. Room B was a large viewing room that overlooked a series of terraces and has been classified as an entertainment room. However, four notable elements of this structure require comment. Firstly, the complex was very large, covering a surface area comparable to the larger Porta Ercolano *villae suburbanae*. The size of the complex was emphasised by its well-appointed décor and numerous rooms for *otium*. Secondly, the dominance of gardens and courtyards within the residence should be noted. These open areas provided a great source of light and ventilation, especially when complemented by terracing towards the coastline.

Thirdly, the structure also exhibits a similar percentage of potential entertainment space (26.49%) to *villae suburbanae* (Graph 18). Most of this space was included in the open areas, but the entertainment space was probably even larger than other residences due to the unknown position of an obvious dining area within the complex. The presence of a dining room in such a complex

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[111] Varone, 2000, *op.cit.*, p. 186.
[112] Hoffmann, 1984, *op.cit.*, p. 115.
[113] Mau, 1904, *op.cit.*, p. 299.
[114] Varone, 2000, *op.cit.*, p. 201.
[115] *Ibid.*
[116] Jashemski, 1979, Vol. 2, *op.cit.*, p. 202.
[117] *Ibid.*

is highly likely and would accentuate the importance placed upon entertainment at this complex. Finally, it is clear from its position that the terracing towards the coastline was the main focus of the design of the residence and would have created a similar effect to most viewing regions at *villae suburbanae*. This terracing and the creation of a viewing platform on the limits of an urban centre are indicative of the townhouses constructed on the southern limits of Herculaneum.[118]

House VI, 17, 42

General Surface Area: *1,133.2m²*

House VI, 17, 42 (Plate 61) was similar to the House of Fabius Rufus, but was significantly smaller (Graph 16). The entrance was on the street level and opened onto a spacious tuscan front hall.[119] There were also other small rooms on the sides of this room, and a terrace overlooked a portico and the landscape of the bay on this level.[120] The middle level was comprised of entertaining and residential rooms and included a large well-appointed room. One notable feature was a Third Style wall painting depicting a representation of the wedding of Alexander the Great and Roxanne.[121]

The lowest level of this residence comprised rooms intended for relaxation, including another large open room that had a step fountain and mosaic pavement.[122] This room was adorned with garden landscape paintings.[123] There was a small ornamental garden at the rear (Rm A).[124] This was viewed from a small well-appointed and elevated room (Rm N),[125] decorated with elegant paintings and marble pavement, with an open view to the eastern garden.[126] This building had an open disposition similar to the other neighbouring houses, allowing for a similar perspective as the Porta Ercolano suburban villas. The

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[118] See pp. 239-51.
[119] A.L. De Caro, "Alessandro e Rossane come Ares ed Afrodite in un dipinto della casa Regio VI, Insula Occidentalis, n. 42", in R.I. Curtis (ed.), *Studia Pompeiana and Classica – in honour of Wilhelmina F. Jashemski*, Vol. 1, Aristide D. Caratzas: New Rochelle, 1988, p. 75.
[120] *Ibid.*
[121] *Ibid.*, pp. 75-80.
[122] *Ibid.*, p. 75.
[123] Jashemski, 1979, Vol. 2, *op.cit.*, p. 166.
[124] *Ibid.*
[125] *Ibid.*
[126] *Ibid.*

facilities of this residence suggest that the principal inhabitants were wealthy and culturally refined.

When examining the statistical results of this complex it should be noted that there is no known courtyard. The position of this structure in *Insula Occidentalis* makes it highly unlikely to have been without this architectural feature. It is more likely that this area is yet to be excavated. This is likely when the entertainment space is compared to the non-courtyard analysis at other complexes (Graph 17) and is found to be similar to the other residences in this region. So as with the other structures in *Insula Occidentalis*, it would seem that despite having a lower degree of emphasis upon entertainment it remained a priority of the owner (particularly in view of the landscape).

The House of Umbricius Sciaurus

General Surface Area: *1,358.42m²*

The House of Umbricius Sciaurus (VII, 16, 12-15) was quite large, being built on split-levels (Plate 61). Umbricius Sciaurus had become a *duovir*, while having a commercial background,[127] and was honoured with a public funeral and an equestrian statue.[128] A similar situation has been noted with the career and prestige of L. Caecilius Iucundus.[129] The upper level had three front halls with a colonnaded courtyard and fishpond, whereas the lower level comprised a series of rooms including baths.[130] The original building has been dated to the second century BC with a main entrance exhibiting characteristics of an elegant structure.[131] Entrance 15 was a later addition, no earlier than the Augustan period.[132] In this hall Umbricius Sciaurus installed a personalised white and black *opus tessellatum* mosaic, which advertised his commercial success in the garum industry.[133]

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[127] H. Mouritsen, "Mobility and social change in Italian towns during the principate", in H.M. Parkins (ed.), *Roman Urbanism: beyond the consumer city*, Routledge: London, 1997, p. 64.
[128] *CIL* 10.1024.
[129] See pp. 177-9.
[130] R.I. Curtis, "A. Umbricius Sciaurus of Pompeii", in R.I. Curtis (ed.), *Studia Pompeiana and Classica – in honour of Wilhelmina F. Jashemski*, Vol. 1, Aristide D. Caratzas: New Rochelle, 1988, p. 35.
[131] *Ibid.*
[132] *Ibid.*
[133] *Ibid.*; R. Étienne, *La Vie Quotidienne a Pompéi*, Hachette: Paris, 1966, p. 161.

The house was erected on the original Samnite city-wall,[134] allowing for access to the city and the terracing that provided its impressive character and view. The 12-14 section of the structure was constructed along elegant lines during the second century BC with a monumental entrance at 13.[135] The Augustan phase of construction increased the size of this residence, forming a symmetrical well-appointed complex.[136]

Because of the limited extant evidence from this residence, there is some uncertainty about the designation of possible entertainment space. For this reason, some discretion has been taken for the statistical analysis, including the colonnaded courtyard and the other rooms (Rms A-C), which appear most likely to have been used for such a purpose, owing to their size and position. Assuming that this careful allocation of entertainment space would probably be a minimum for this residence, it is pertinent to note that it was still quite high (31.35% entertainment space). As with most buildings much of this space was taken up by the colonnaded courtyard, but it is still indicative of the well-appointed nature of this residence, being designed to take advantage of the coastal view and provide the owner with a comfortable and impressive residence.

Conclusions for *Insula Occidentalis*

Judging from the period of construction, the structural layout, and the intended lifestyle at these buildings and the suburban villas beyond the Porta Ercolano, it is clear that there were certainly similarities between them. The main feature was the desire for a view of the coastline, along with the sea breezes that were available on the raised terraces. This desire inspired the owners to extend their properties outside the urban precincts to take advantage of the panoramic location. The classification of these residences is the most difficult because they were located upon both sides of the city walls and harboured a combination of both urban and suburban qualities. However, the main difference between the houses in this region of Pompeii and the suburban villas beyond the walls was their ability for expansion. Despite the efforts of the residents of *Insula Occidentalis*, there were still constraints upon how they could extend their houses.

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[134] J-P. Descoeudres, *Pompeii revisited: the life and death of a Roman town*, Meditarch: Sydney, 1994, p. 28.
[135] R.I. Curtis, "A personalized floor mosaic from Pompeii", *AJA* 88, 1984, p. 558.

This was the main advantage that the suburban villas of Pompeii possessed and a central feature in their distinctive character. Zanker has suggested that Roman colonists built these residences,[137] but this cannot be assumed for certain.[138]

In view of the statistical analysis it would appear that these complexes concur with the data from the *villae suburbanae* in the inner suburbs of Pompeii (Graph 18). The structures had a similar emphasis towards entertainment and rooms for viewing the landscape. However, there is one notable difference in the types of rooms at these residences and the suburban villas. It is clear that the complexes in *Insulae Occidentalis* allocated more space for non-courtyard entertainment rooms, which is significant. The results for the Villa Imperiale (Villa 16) are similar, but the comparative size of this *villa suburbana* makes their similarity even more striking. These other rooms were probably constructed because of the differing topography and use of terracing, which would have restricted the percentage of space necessary for colonnaded courtyards. In this way the residences at *Insulae Occidentalis* were able to perform a similar role to many *villae suburbanae*, but had to do so in a different format.

Large Urban Townhouses

In order to gain the optimum understanding of suburban villas at Pompeii, a comparison should be made to some of the townhouses within the city precincts. The most appropriate buildings to be used for this comparison are the large townhouses that have facilities comparable to suburban villas. There are three examples of this type of residence to be considered: the House of the Faun, House of Julia Felix and House of Octavius Quartio (Plate 13). These buildings are notable because of their considerable surface area, facilities and architecture. House size was a clear reflection of social position and the largest residences gave the most potential for displaying status.[139] These townhouses are amongst the largest Pompeian residences,[140] making them appropriate to compare with suburban villas.

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[136] *Ibid.*
[137] Zanker, 1998, *op.cit.*, p. 74.
[138] S. Hales, *The Roman House and Social Identity*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2003, p. 100.
[139] A. Wallace-Hadrill, "The Social spread of Roman luxury: sampling Pompeii and Herculaneum", *PBSR* 58, 1990, pp. 162-3.
[140] *Ibid.*, p. 162.

In his recent study,[141] Grahame illustrated that these large townhouses appear to be divided into two distinct living areas.[142] According to Grahame this fragmented the collective identity of the household and established a hierarchical order within the residence.[143] But the purpose of the present evaluation is to determine the differences in the lifestyle at these complexes and *villae suburbanae*. The contrast between these sites allows for the distinctive character of suburban villas to be understood. Seven more complexes have been dealt with in the statistics to provide a more comprehensive source for analysis (allowing for greater variation in size and facilities), but these three townhouses need to be commented upon in more detail because of their surface areas and amenities. The first to be discussed is the House of the Faun.

The House of the Faun[144]

General Surface Area: $2,832m^2$

The House of the Faun (*Reg* VI, Ins. 12, 2-5) was one of the largest and most elegant residences in Pompeii (Plates 13, 62).[145] The date of its original construction was around the late second century BC, judging from the mortar used in the front halls and colonnaded courtyards.[146] The front of the building comprised of two entrances to the residence and five shops, some with upper floors.[147] At least two of these commercial areas seem to have been leased out by the owner, which was not uncommon in Pompeian society.[148] Upon entering the building there were two front halls that served different social groups within the household (Rms B, b). Despite the probable differentiation in function between the halls, they were both of equal architectural importance, with the axiality of their placement enhancing the impressive appearance of each other.[149]

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[141] M. Grahame, *Reading space: social interaction and identity in the houses of Pompeii: a syntactical approach to the analysis and interpretation of built space*, Archaeopress: Oxford, 2000.
[142] *Ibid.*, p. 77.
[143] *Ibid.*, pp. 77-81. c.f. R. Taylor, "Reading space in the houses of Pompeii's Regio VI", *JRA* 15, 2002, pp. 439-44.
[144] See Appendix B, pp. 39-40.
[145] J.R. Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: visual representation and non-elite viewers in Italy, 100BC – AD 315*, University of California Press: Berkeley, 2003, p. 247.
[146] R.C. Carrington, "Notes on the building materials of Pompeii", *JRS* 23, 1933a, p. 131.
[147] Mau, 1904, *op.cit.*, p. 289.
[148] E.M. Moormann, "Pompeii's proprietors and tenants under one roof", *JRA* 15, 2002, pp. 429-36.
[149] *Ibid.*, p. 430.

The most notable feature of the House of the Faun is its fine wall décor and mosaics, which exhibited the highest culture and appreciation for Hellenistic civilisation. At the time of the eruption, the House of the Faun still had rooms decorated with First Style wall decoration.[150] This house is indicative of a stately home that maintained its original design and part of the earliest wall decorations into the last phase of architectural development.[151] The mosaics in the dining rooms adjacent to the tuscan hall reflect the desire to exhibit culture and status with appropriate iconography for the function of these rooms. Room H depicted Egyptian animals between the entrance columns, with a mosaic of Alexander towards the middle. It has been suggested that the reproduction of Greek art may have served as a moralising message in public contexts,[152] but it portrayed culture and education in a private setting.[153] The mosaics reflect the desire of the owners to exhibit their appreciation of Hellenistic art and to accentuate their cultural and intellectual standing.[154] When the elegant decoration within the noble district is compared to the basic décor of the servile area, it further exemplifies the clear distinction between each section of the townhouse.

Another prominent feature was trade and this was one of the most important pursuits within this residence. The most apparent evidence for the importance of commerce is the presence of the five retail outlets facing onto the Via di Nola. Not all of these commercial precincts would have been managed by the proprietors. This is shown clearly in Shop 4 (Plate 62), where the upper rooms (Rms g, h and h') were only accessible from this particular retail outlet, being independent from other rooms located over the hall.[155] The landlord would have leased out this space and this may have been a more reliable method of earning capital.[156] In view of the increasing value of property in the first century

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[150] A. Mau, *Geshchichte der dekorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji*, Reimer: Berlin, 1882, pp. 263-4. This style of décor was heavily influenced by the Greek Masonry style. c.f. V.J. Bruno, "Antecedents of the Pompeian First Style", *AJA* 73, 1969, pp. 305-17.
[151] Richardson, 1988a, *op.cit.*, p. 107.
[152] J.M. Barringer, "The Mythological Paintings in the Macellum at Pompeii", *Classical Antiquity* 13.2, 1994, p. 166.
[153] A. Hoffmann, "Zanker, Pompei (review)", *Gnomon* 64, 1992, p. 428.
[154] Westgate, 2000, *op.cit.*, p. 273.
[155] Mau, 1904, *op.cit.*, p. 296.
[156] c.f. F. Pirson, "Rented accommodation at Pompeii: the evidence of the Insula Arriana Polliana VI.6", in R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and beyond*, JRA Supp. 22: Portsmouth, 1997, pp. 165-81.

AD, these upper floors would have created profit, which has also been noted in the *Insula* of Menander.[157]

There were also a large number of *amphorae* uncovered. Most of these *amphorae* were found in a room that was used as a wine cellar (Rm L), but large quantities were also discovered in both colonnaded courtyards.[158] But it is clear, judging from the layout of this residence, that this house was intended to have a combination of private and social districts throughout its confines with a strong element of 'view-planning' in its architecture.[159] The statistical results from the House of the Faun exhibit a similar percentage of space used for entertainment (before the inclusion of both open areas into this group) as the suburban villas (Table 6). When the open areas are included it shows the lengths that were undertaken to create an open style plan. This would not discount the utilitarian function of these spaces, especially in view of the large number of *amphorae* discovered in the second colonnaded open area. But the original concept for both colonnaded courtyards would have been recreational and entertainment focused.

When both are included as entertainment space it illustrates just how they dominated the ground plan, with the entertainment space now occupying almost two-thirds of the ground plan (63.18% entertainment space). Many townhouses were able to create an open living environment with the inclusion of such features as colonnaded courtyards, despite the comparative restriction of an urban location, which is particularly evident at the House of Julia Felix.

The House of Julia Felix[160]

General Surface Area: *2,333m²*

The House of Julia Felix (*Reg* II, Ins. 4, 1-12)(Plate 13) occupied the largest area on the Via dell'Abbondanza. It covered approximately 5,800m²,[161] and included an area that was cultivated for a large vegetable garden and fruit

[157] R. Ling, "The British Project at Pompeii", *Current Archaeology* 85, 1983, p. 57.
[158] Mau, 1904, *op.cit.*, p. 295.
[159] M. Grahame, "Public and private in the Roman house: the spatial order of the Casa del Fauno", in R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and beyond*, JRA Supp. 22: Portsmouth, 1997, pp. 137-64.
[160] This is one of only two houses in Pompeii with a definite attribution of ownership. See P.M. Allison, "Placing Individuals: Pompeian Epigraphy in Context", *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 14.1, 2001b, p. 69. See Appendix B, pp. 41-43.
[161] C. Parslow, "Documents illustrating the excavations of the Praedia of Julia Felix in Pompeii", *RSP* 2, 1988, p. 37.

orchard (Plate 63).[162] The importance of this orchard's productivity is highlighted in the depiction of peaches in one of the frescoes within the residence.[163] The property covered the entirety of the fourth *Insula* in *Regio* II, but the buildings only cover about a third of this area.[164] There were principally three regions within this complex: the main residence, the bath facilities and a commercial precinct, which included a tavern, shop and domestic quarters.[165]

Before reaching any conclusions about this complex it must be stated that recent excavations have shown that it was initially conceived from a single master plan, incorporating a bath complex linked to a well-appointed residence and a series of shops (Plate 7).[166] The construction has been dated to the late first century BC.[167] It is clear that the earthquake of AD 62 affected this residence, with several areas of the complex still undergoing restoration at the time of the eruption.[168]

The size and design of the House of Julia Felix indicates that it was originally the residence of a wealthy family. It was later partly rented probably owing to declining economic conditions. However, this probably occurred just before the eruption. The final phase of occupation saw the baths and commercial quarters being sublet by Julia Felix, who still resided in the nobler section. The different styles of decoration and ornamentation in the portico on the western side, when compared to the southern and eastern sides, illustrates that the porticoes were divided between the public domain of the commercial regions and the private residence of Julia Felix. When this property is compared to complexes located outside the walls there are two similarities. Firstly, owing to the large amount of space available to the owner, the structure was able to expand further than regular townhouses. Secondly, the large area devoted to the garden and ornamental garden is indicative of many luxurious villas. In fact, this residence was probably the closest urban comparison to Pompeian *villae suburbanae*.

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[162] A. Maiuri, *Pompei Ercolano e Stabia: Le città sepolte dal vesuvio*, Istituto Geografico de Agostini: Novara, 1961, p. 71.
[163] A Ciarallo, *Gardens of Pompeii*, J. Paul Getty Museum: Los Angeles, 2001, pp. 18, 47.
[164] Maiuri, 1978, *op.cit.*, p. 84.
[165] Maiuri, 1998, *op.cit.*, pp. 55-8.
[166] C. Parslow, "Preliminary report of the 1999 fieldwork project in the Praedia Iuliae Felicis (Regio II.4)", *RSP* 11, 2000, pp. 238-49.
[167] *Ibid.*, p. 247.

The statistical analysis has illustrated that despite the inclusion of the baths and tavern on the Via dell'Abbondanza, the percentage of entertainment space (21.79%) was only slightly lower than the suburban villas (Graph 22). Only two areas were included within the potential entertainment space (the colonnaded courtyard and Rm 83) due to their décor and clear non-utilitarian roles. Most of the entertainment space comprised the colonnaded courtyard, which was particularly notable because of its architecture.

But as with the House of the Faun, there was one important difference. Owing to the position of the property within the walls and the desire to maintain a degree of privacy, the focus of the view in the noble residence had to be upon the ornamental garden, constructing an insular perspective. This was quite different to the majority of suburban villas, which were designed primarily to focus on the landscape beyond their property. The owner may have been trying to recreate a villa within the walls of the city,[169] especially in view of the inclusion of a large ornamental garden and pool that were so common in suburban villas. This emulation is significant because it is clear that the possession of such a property was desirable. Suburban villas were probably attractive for their intended lifestyle, outlook and privacy. Another example of a building being constructed to emulate villas was the House of Octavius Quartio.

The House of Octavius Quartio[170]

General Surface Area: *1,145m²*

The House of Octavius Quartio (*Reg* II, Ins. 2.2)(Plate 13), also referred to as the House of Loreius Tiburtinus, was designed with architecture that imitated villa construction during the first century BC (Plate 64).[171] This complex traverses almost an entire *insula*, with roughly two thirds of the property used as a *hortus*.[172] The residential area appears to have been built upon a raised platform allowing for an enhanced view of the garden.[173] The building was not originally

[168] De Vos, 1982, *op.cit.*, p. 142. This was probably also affected by the likelihood of ongoing seismic activity between AD 62 and 79.
[169] Zanker, 1998, pp. 145-56.
[170] See Appendix B, pp. 44-45.
[171] Zanker, 1998, *op.cit.*, p. 145.
[172] *Ibid.*
[173] *Ibid.*

planned in this style (it was initially a typical medium-sized house centred on an *atrium*) but the complex was drastically altered after the earthquake in AD 62.[174]

Zanker has previously noted that there were five elements of villa architecture identified on this terrace. These elements are the truncated *peristyle* with the Room A and another small room, the shrine, an *aedicula* to Artemis located behind a fountain and above another shrine, a watercourse associated with a pergola and a dining room with a fountain.[175] The dining room was placed on the eastern end of the upper pool, with the room framing a niche that housed a small statue.[176] The wall paintings of the shrine were connected to the general decorative theme of the garden.[177] Zanker notes that these elements of villa architecture had been crowded into this small space, illustrating the intention of the owners to create a certain effect.[178] But the intentions of the owner were slightly different to those of suburban landowners. The purpose of this architectural style was to create a viewing platform with an open aspect. Owing to the limited space and its position within the city, the owner of the House of Octavius Quartio could only focus upon the garden within the precincts of his property. This emphasis was quite different to villa estates, which could focus upon the landscape beyond the limits of the property. However, it must be noted that the desire to create a pleasant living environment was consistent in all of these luxurious residences; it was simply the difference in position that allowed greater freedom at residences beyond the city-walls.

Three areas in the House of Octavius Quartio have been classified as potential entertainment rooms: the colonnaded courtyard and Rooms A and 26. Room A was used for dining, judging from its design and décor, whereas Room 26, owing to its size and position has been classified as a viewing room (Type 13). The extensive alterations and additions to this house after the earthquake in AD 62 reflect the owner's aspirations to create a luxurious and impressive space for entertaining where the grand perspective of the gardens could impress guests. The

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[174] *Ibid.*
[175] Zanker, 1998, *op.cit.*, p. 147.
[176] Richardson, 1998b, *op.cit.*, pp. 307, 311; De Vos, 1982, *op.cit.*, pp. 138-9.
[177] K. Schefold, *Vergessenes Pompeji: unveröffentlichte bilder Römischer Wanddekorationen in Geschichtlicher folge Herausgegeben*, Francke Verlag: Munich, 1962, p. 33.
[178] Zanker, 1998, *op.cit.*, pp. 147-8, c.f. Salza Prina Ricotti, E., 1987, "The Importance of Water in Roman Garden Triclinia", in MacDougall, E.B. (ed.), *Ancient Roman Villa Gardens*, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture 10: Washington, pp. 169-72.

visual effect of the pool on the axis of the Room A was effective despite the limited space. The layout was designed to allow the guest of honour an unimpeded view of the pool,[179] emphasising its desired impression. But the facilities within the general living space remained modest, which was inconsistent with the alterations towards the rear of the complex. It is important to note that in the final phase of habitation, the entrance was converted into a tavern,[180] further emphasising the disparate character between the private and public regions within this complex.

As with the previously examined structures, this residence has also produced similar results (27.76% entertainment space) in the entertainment statistical analysis (Graph 21). It highlights the consistent allocation of space within both urban and suburban residences for entertainment and reception. One of the most notable features exhibited in this townhouse is the clear division between public and private space, having almost no view of the private space from the entrance region of the house. This may have been because of the conversion of this entrance area into a commercial precinct, but it still emphasises the importance of the region further within the residence.

Other Townhouses

An analysis of seven other townhouses provides additional grounds for confidence in the statistical analysis of *villae suburbanae*. These structures are: the Houses of the Tragic Poet (VI, 8, 5), M. Lucretius Fronto (IV, 4, 1O), Surgeon (VI, 1, 9-10), Vettii (VI, 15, 1), Pansa (VI, 6, 1), Labyrinth (VI, 11, 9-10) and Centenary (IX, 8, 3). These structures (Plate 13) have been excavated and provide some insight into the wider application of this statistical analysis.[181] Applying the same method to all of the above structures reveals some interesting results (Graph 20)(Table 5). In all cases at least a quarter of the space was potentially used for entertainment (Graph 21). Of these complexes, the House of the Vettii is the most compelling because over fifty percent of the building could have served such a purpose, which is understandable in view of the business activities of its leading

[179] Clarke, 2003, *op.cit.*, p. 227.
[180] *Ibid.*, p. 145. cf. B. Bergmann, "House of Cards", *JRA* 14.1, 2001, p. 57.
[181] For the selection of potential entertainment rooms in each house, see Appendix B, pp. 46-47.

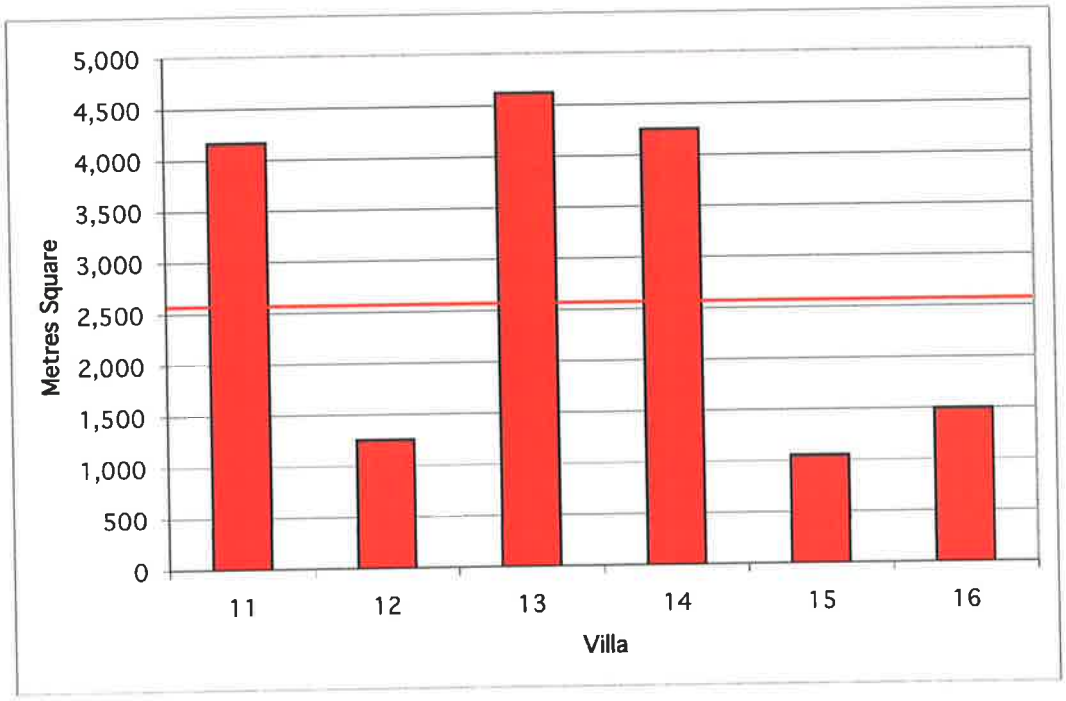
residents.[182] This house was larger than the Villa of T. Siminius Stephanus (Villa 15) and only slightly smaller than the Villa of the Mosaic Columns (Villa 12), but had a significantly larger surface area designated for potential entertainment (Graph 22). In view of the considerable emphasis placed upon productivity at both *villae suburbanae* this should not be surprising. It merely highlights the divergent nature of these structures in the suburbs, especially when the Villa of Diomede had more space devoted to entertainment than the entire surface area of most townhouses considered.

The percentage of internal space in the townhouses was also higher than in the *villae suburbanae* (Graph 23), highlighting the difference between urban and suburban entertaining. In relation to their surface areas it is pertinent to note that only the House of Julia Felix had a lower percentage of internal entertainment space (Table 6). This is significant because this residence had the closest amount of architectural and spatial freedom within the urban limits to *villae suburbanae.*

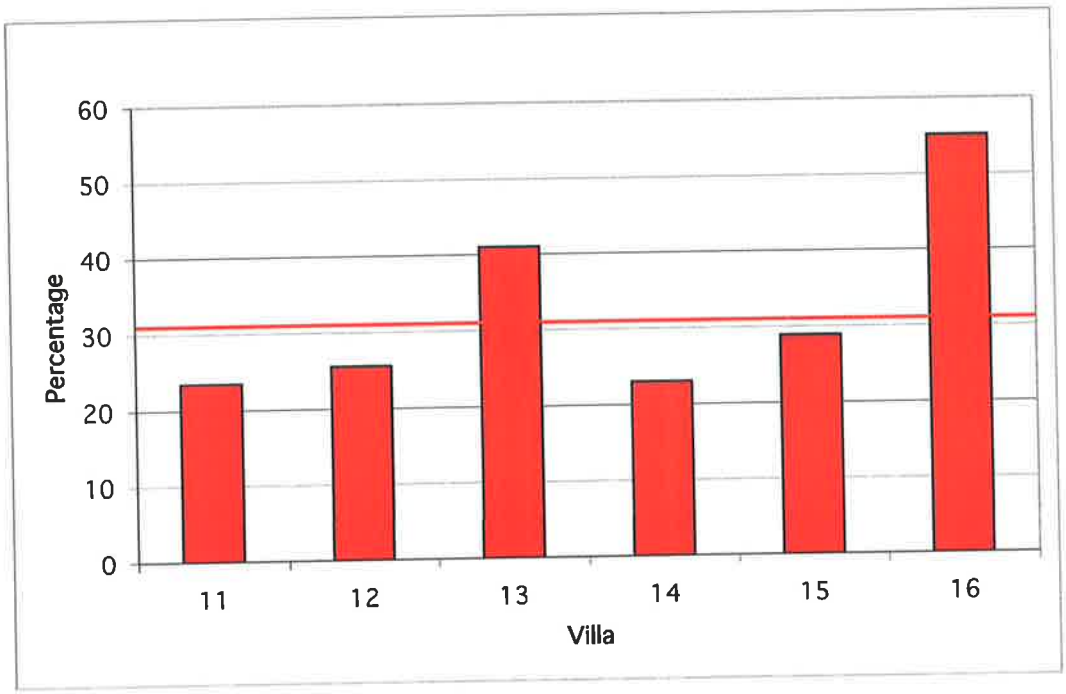
It is also of interest to note that despite the low percentage of space used for potential entertainment at the Villa of the Mysteries, it still had a larger amount designated for this function than all of the townhouses, except for the House of the Faun, which had an unusually high percentage (63.18% entertainment space). Despite the changing emphasis of function at the Villa of the Mysteries, it remained well suited for this role. The lower percentage of entertainment space (22.98%) simply reflects the varied functions that were performed at this villa. The roles of most residences had divergent emphases, which is indicative of their variable natures. In regard to the townhouses, the differences and similarities between them have been illustrated in the study of Wallace-Hadrill on Pompeian house size.[183] The houses included in this study have fallen into the middle and upper categories in order to provide a useful comparison for *villae suburbanae* in the inner *suburbium.* This has illustrated that the percentage of space for entertainment was mostly higher than at the *villae suburbanae*, but that the amount of space used for this function was larger in the suburban residences, as would be expected in view of the greater space available to them.

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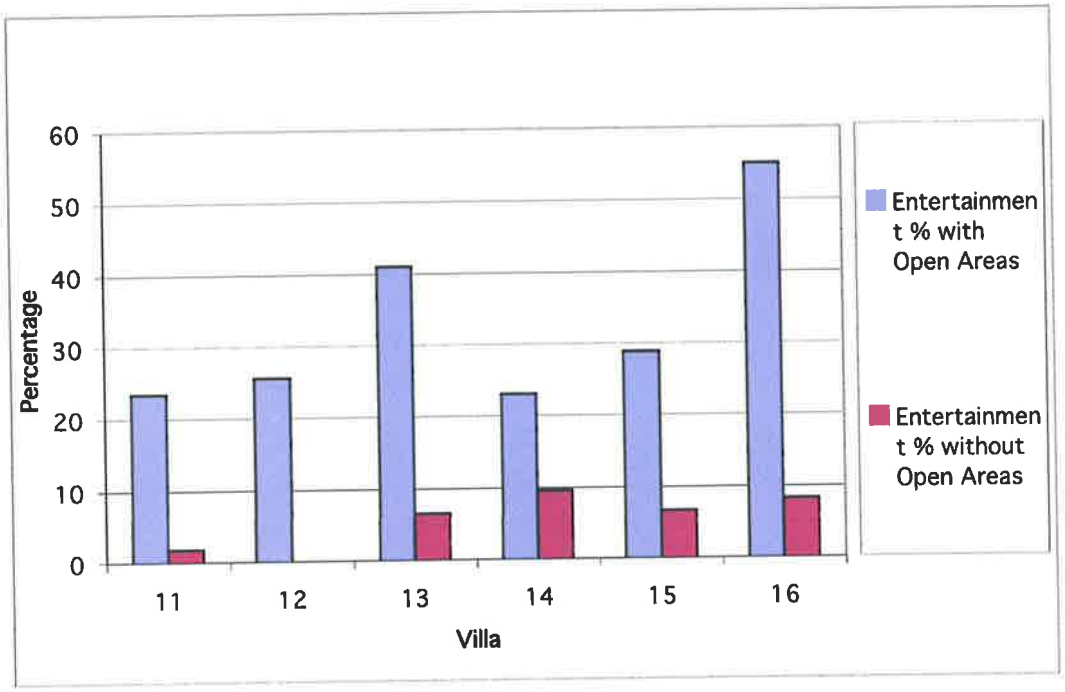
[182] Maiuri, 1978, *op.cit.*, p. 47.
[183] Wallace-Hadrill, 1994, *op.cit.*



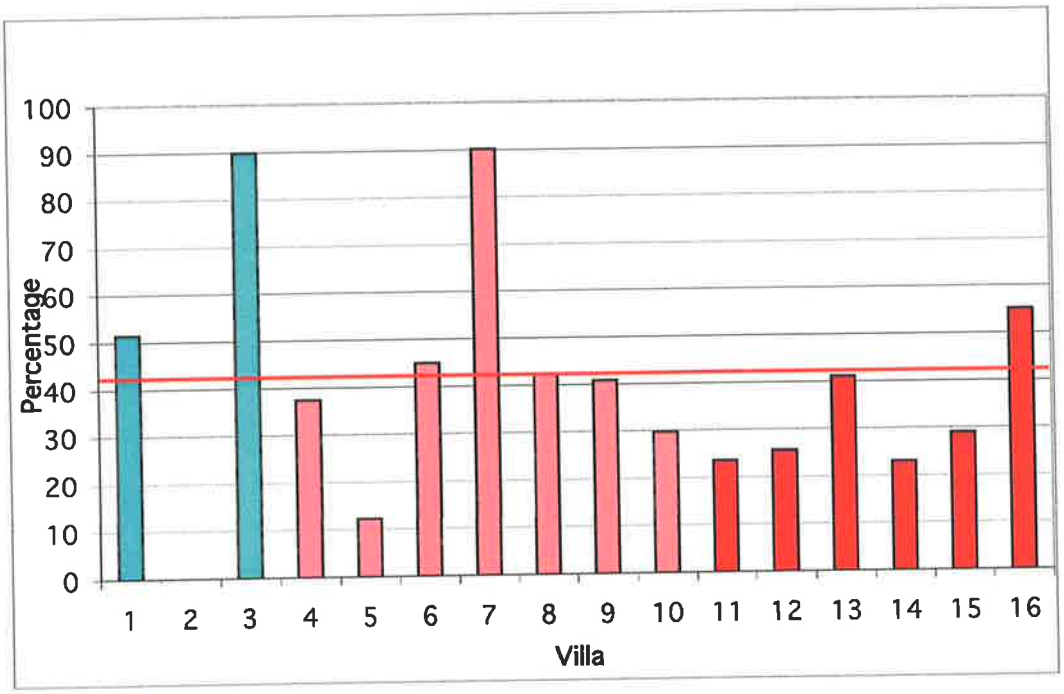
Graph 12 - showing the Comparison of Estimated Surface Areas of Villas in the Inner Suburbs of Pompeii



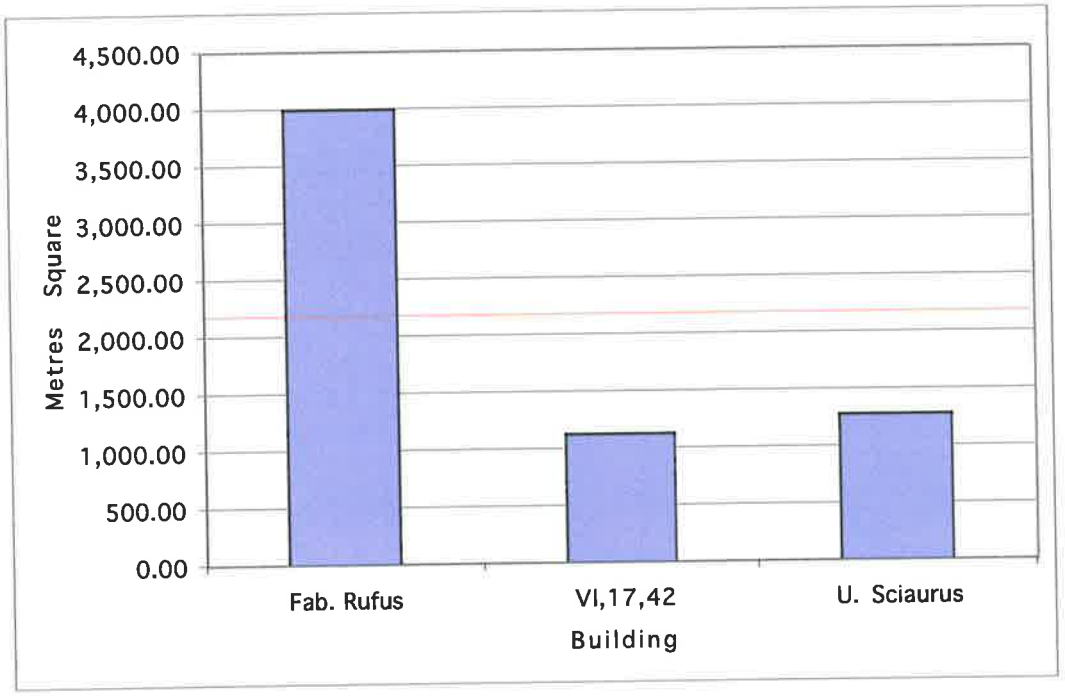
Graph 13 - showing the Percentage of Identifiable Entertainment Areas to the Known Total Area of Building Complex at Each Villa in the Inner Suburbs of Pompeii



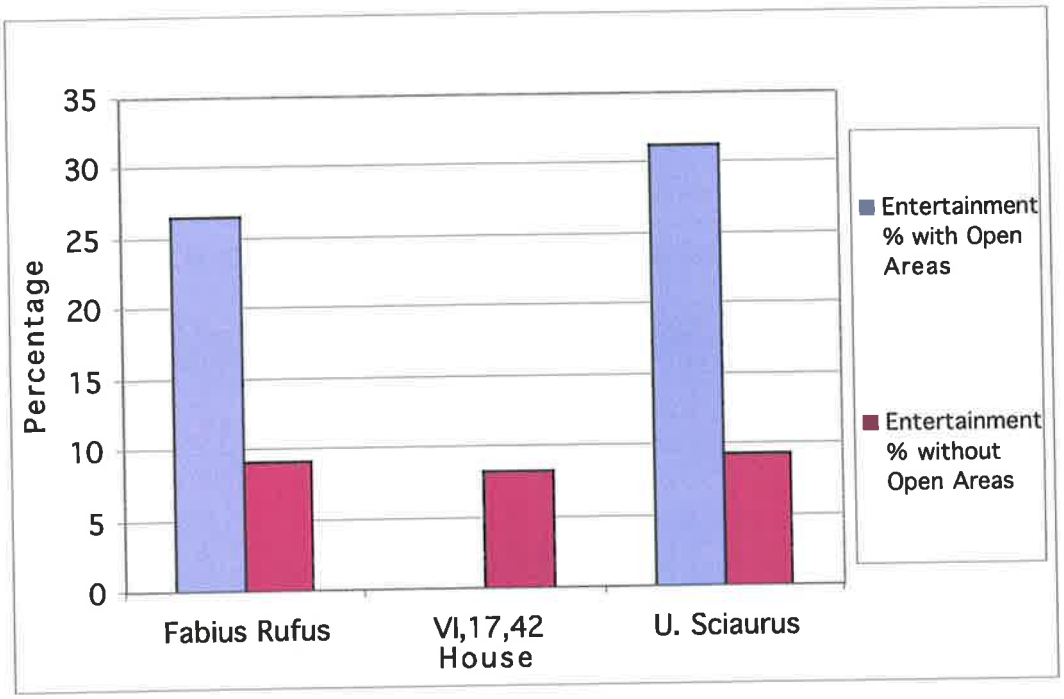
Graph 14 - showing the Percentages of Entertainment Areas With and Without Open Areas Relative to the Total Estimated Area of Building Complex at Each Villa in the Inner Suburbs of Pompeii



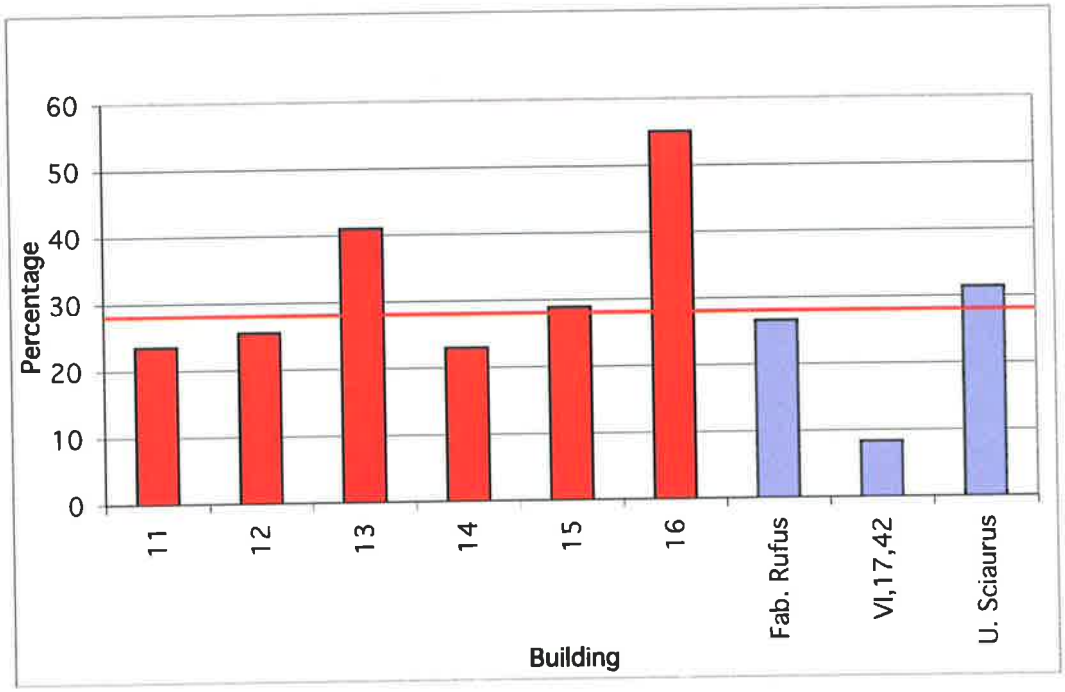
Graph 15 - showing the Percentage of Identifiable Entertainment Areas to the Known Total Area of Building Complex at Suburban Villas in Rome and Pompeii



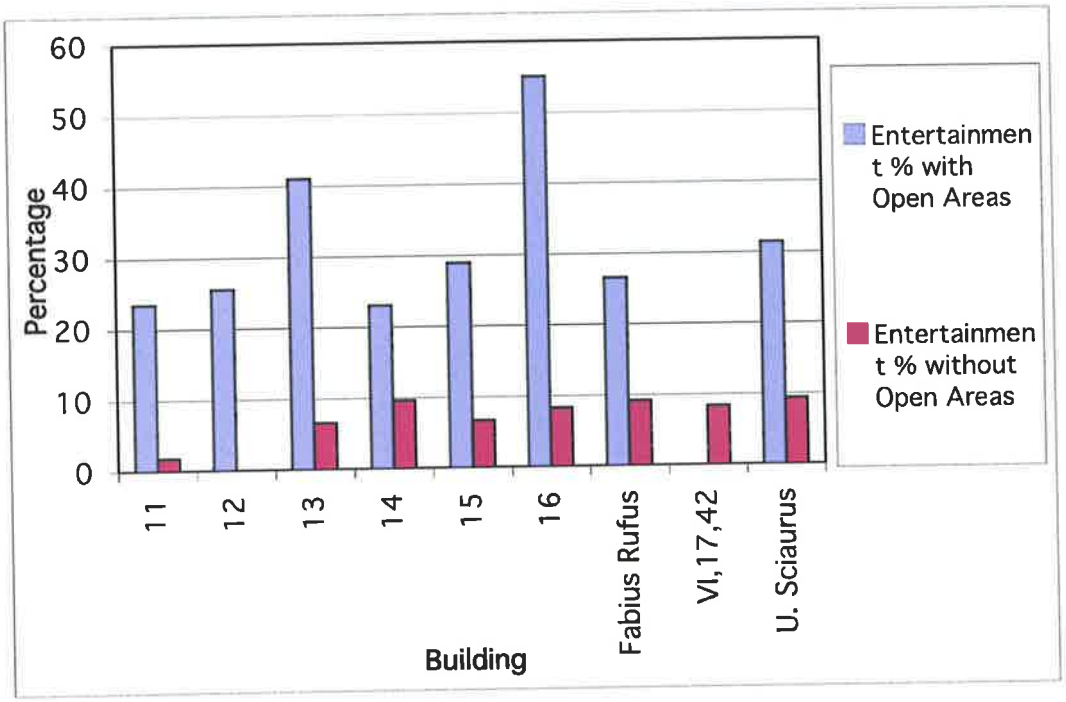
Graph 16 - showing the Comparison of Estimated Surface Areas of Houses in *Insula Occidentalis*



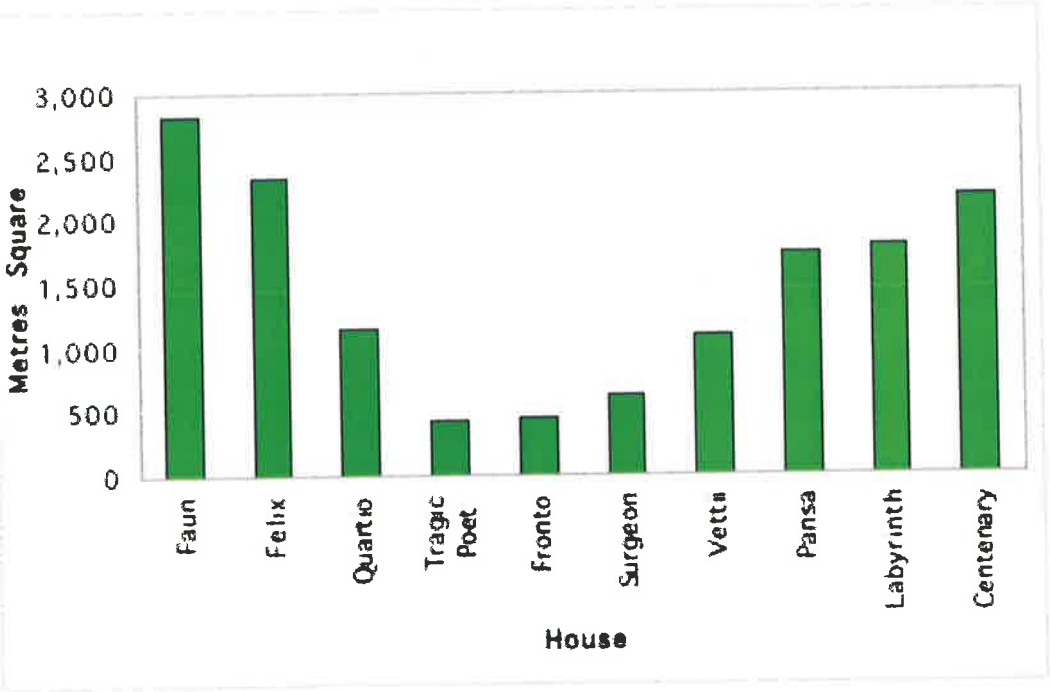
Graph 17 - showing the Percentages of Entertainment Areas With and Without Open Areas Relative to the Total Estimated Area of Building Complex at Houses in *Insula Occidentalis*



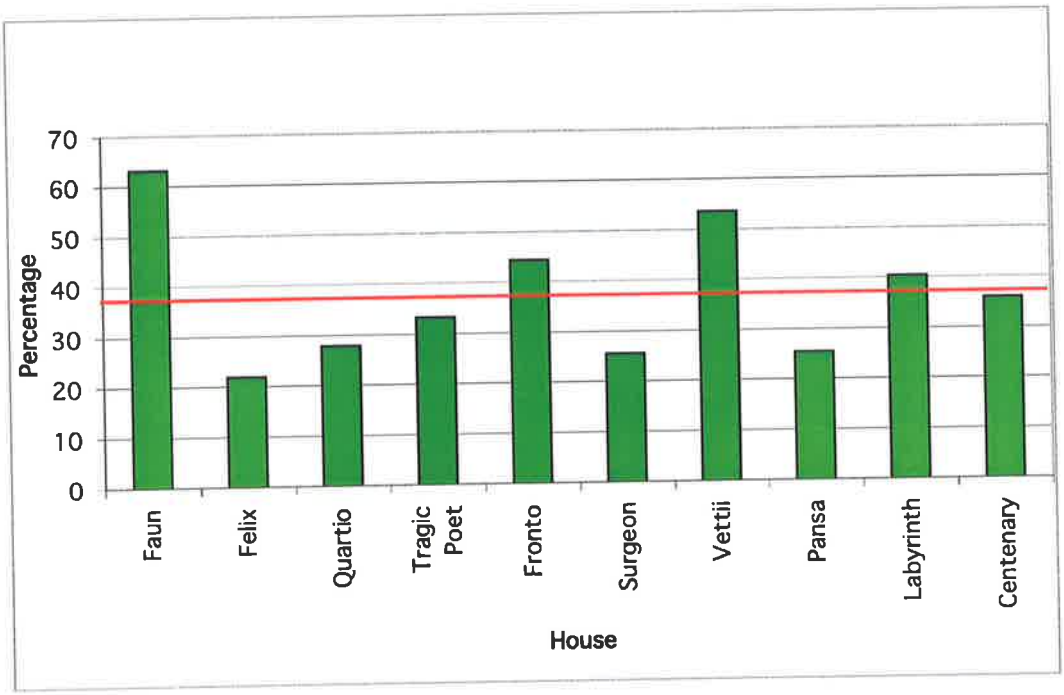
Graph 18 - showing the Percentage of Identifiable Entertainment Areas to the Known Total Area of Building Complex at Each Suburban Villa at Pompeii and House from *Insula Occidentalis*



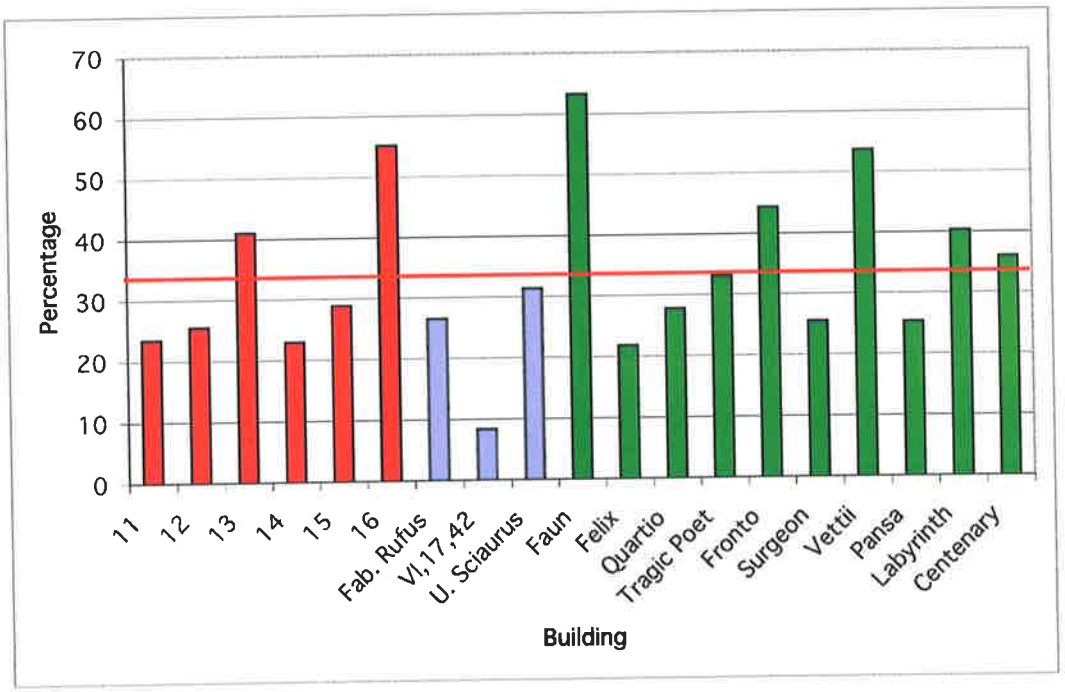
Graph 19 - showing the Percentages of Entertainment Areas With and Without Open Areas Relative to the Total Estimated Area of Building Complex at Each Suburban Villa at Pompeii and House in *Insula Occidentalis*



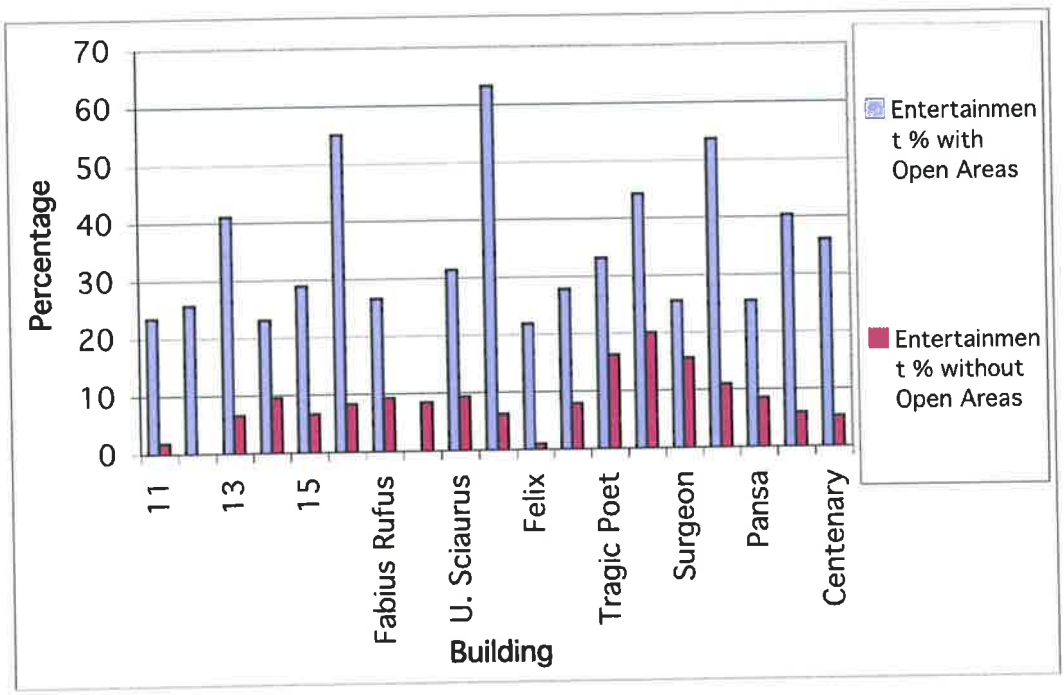
Graph 20 - showing the Comparison of Estimated Surface Areas of Selected Townhouses in Pompeii



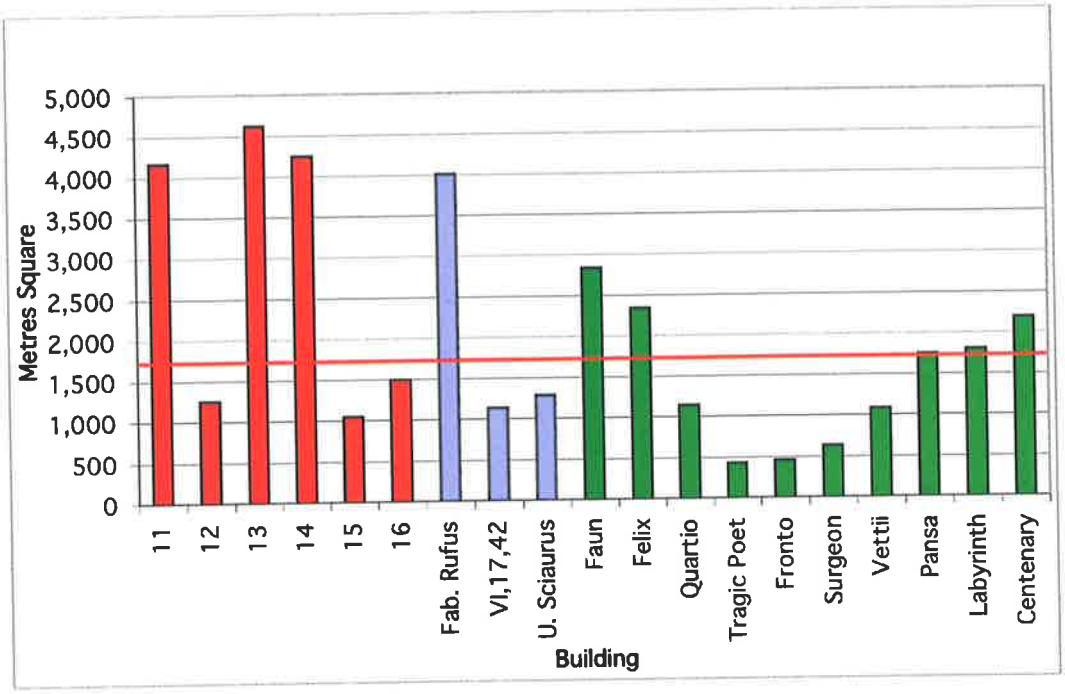
Graph 21 - showing the Percentage of Identifiable Entertainment Areas to the Known Total Area of Building Complex at Each Selected Townhouse in Pompeii



Graph 22 - showing the Percentage of Identifiable Entertainment Areas to the Known Total Area of Building Complex at Each Pompeian Structure



Graph 23 - showing the Percentages of Entertainment Areas With and Without Open Areas Relative to the Total Estimated Area of Building Complex at Each Pompeian Structure



Graph 24 - showing the Comparison of Estimated Surface Areas of All Pompeian Structures

General Conclusions

Several similarities and differences can be noted when comparing the Pompeian villas and townhouses. Firstly, the intentions of the owners are clear: to create a pleasant living environment where a pleasing view from dining and entertaining rooms was of great consequence. The importance of this has been illustrated by the axial symmetry between dining rooms and the ornamental gardens at many complexes, such as the Villa of Diomede and the Houses of the Faun, Octavius Quartio and Julia Felix. However, the ability to include the surrounding landscape at villas was an important distinction between living on either side of the city-walls. This seems to have been the only significant difference.

The importance of the coastal views probably also had other implications: the question of health. Columella recommended the benefits of sea breezes for the inhabitants' health,[184] which would have been a significant consideration in comparison with the townhouses. All of these properties were extremely large and took full advantage of their position. It is particularly notable that the two

[184] Columella, 1.5.5.

smallest *villae suburbanae* (12, 15)(Graph 12) were also the more modest examples of this type of residence. Villa 16 seems significantly smaller (in comparison to the Mean of 3,018.13m^2) on Graph 12, but this is owing to its partial remains with the original structure probably being much larger before the construction of the Temple of Venus. The larger *villae suburbanae* had a greater scope for accommodating well-appointed facilities and the owners probably had the greater expendable capital.

The statistical analysis of potential entertainment space has illustrated that there were similar needs for suitable areas to undertake social activity in *villae suburbanae* and townhouses. With the needs of many élites to entertain their clients there would have been a strong desire to have a variation of different entertainment areas for different types of occasion (having a Mean of 31.67%)(Graph 13). Naturally, the needs of each owner would have been different, as was their capacity to fund additions/alterations, which explains the variation that existed between individual complexes. But the statistical analysis of the *villae suburbanae* in the inner suburbs of Pompeii (just as with those examples from outside Rome) have exhibited that there was a minimum requirement for potential entertainment space at those establishments that performed a social function. It is notable that the Mean percentage of potential entertainment space for the non-Imperial suburban villas at Rome (39.86%)(Graph 8) was higher than these Pompeian examples (31.67% entertainment space). However, this was probably due to the differing socio-political circumstances at both cities. Nevertheless, both groups have exhibited a similar preference for entertainment in open areas (Graph 14).

There was a chronology of development for the *villae suburbanae*. The majority of the villas beyond the walls, especially past the Porta Ercolano, were originally constructed in the mid-late second century BC. The House of the Faun was also built during this period, the epitome of Pompeian townhouses at this time. From the information available it seems clear that the layout of these villas was planned in a similar fashion to the houses within the city-walls, reflecting a clear association between the two regions. At this time Pompeii was heavily influenced by Hellenistic culture, with an increase in the wealth and elegance of

building materials and the design of these buildings.[185] This included the introduction of colonnaded open areas into domestic architecture, which considerably altered the demeanour of many wealthy residences.[186] From this early phase in Pompeian villa construction it is clear that a connection with the city was quite important. The desire for cultural and social connections with Rome during the second century BC was driven mostly by the Italian upper classes, seeking to maintain their social/political position.[187] Pompeii, as with many Italian towns, epitomised a combination of cultural influences while continuing their ancient local traditions.[188]

The advantage to living beyond the walls was the ability to enhance the perspective from the residence to encompass the landscape beyond. It was this factor that would have influenced the choice of position. Those villas that did not emphasise a view of the bay, namely the Villas of T. Siminius Stephanus and Mosaic Columns, were constructed on a lesser scale and clearly had other purposes in mind than purely *otium*. But as time progressed there was a change in the development at many residences. During the early first century BC, after the Pompeian defeat and colonisation by Sulla, there was a significant change in these residences. After the Social War the separatist movement of the Italian leaders was minimised by extending the Roman franchise.[189]

The Villa of the Mysteries included a colonnaded courtyard that created a more open and well-lit dimension to the suburban villa. At this time, owing probably to both the reducing defensive requirements of the city-walls and the influx of Roman colonists, the Houses in *Insula Occidentalis* were constructed, not only to maintain an urban connection but also to allow for a pleasant lifestyle. These residences were of substantial proportions, particularly the House of Fabius Rufus (Graph 16), and have exhibited a similar tendency for including large amounts of open space within their confines (Table 17). The use of terracing to

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[185] Carrington, 1936, *op.cit.*, pp. 68-9.
[186] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[187] E. Gabba, "Rome and Italy in the Second Century BC", *CAH* VIII, 2nd ed., Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1989, pp. 210-11; J.J. Dobbins, "Problems of Chronology, decoration and urban design in the Forum at Pompeii", *AJA* 98, 1994, pp. 688-9.
[188] Gabba, 1989, *Ibid.*, p. 231.
[189] E.S. Gruen, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic*, University of California Press: Berkeley, 1974, p. 8.

allow for a wider perspective from these houses was also used by the Villa of Diomede, creating its impressive sunken garden.

Over time these larger villas expanded in space and function, leading up to the end of the first century BC. There were few alterations that occurred in the stately regions of the House of the Faun at this time, which provides an interesting comparison with these inner suburban villas. It was at this point that townhouses like the House of Julia Felix and Octavius Quartio were constructed, both of which made significant efforts to incorporate noteworthy aspects of villa architecture. During the Augustan period there are further developments in the suburban villas, with extensions at the villas beyond the Porta Ercolano creating more distinction and luxury to be enjoyed by their leading residents.

In the final phase of development after the earthquake in AD 62, there were even greater changes in the luxurious residences.[190] It is notable that the urban environment also expanded with the construction of shops along the Via dei Sepolcri. This may have been to increase revenue to counter the devastating effects of the continuing seismic activity and the ensuing economic uncertainty during this final phase. It is also notable that the House of Octavius Quartio was transformed into a commercial precinct and possibly the residence of Julia Felix began to be rented out. The focus of the residents of the Villa of the Mysteries resulted in a significant change in their perspective, thus greatly changing the function of the northern quarters of the complex.

One of the most compelling comparisons that can be made between the suburban complexes and the townhouses is the surface area of each residence (Graph 24). The results of this comparison are illustrated in Table 2. Firstly, by examining the villas themselves it is quite notable that only two of these complexes are under 3,000m^2: the Villas of the Mosaic Columns (Villa 12) and T. Siminius Stephanus (Villa 15). Neither of these residences were as opulent as their larger counterparts, and were significantly smaller. It is also important to observe that neither were in a position to take advantage of the coastal landscape to a similar level as the others. However, it seems quite evident that these residences were still suburban villas. It may simply have been that the positions

[190] c.f. J. Berry, "The Conditions of Domestic life in Pompeii in AD 79: a case study of Houses 11 and 12, Insula 9, Region 1", *PBSR* 65, 1997, pp. 103-25.

either precluded further expansion or it was deemed unnecessary by the owners. What is more significant is the immense size of the other establishments (Villas 11, 13, 14, 16)(Graph 24). The large amounts of space covered at these complexes dedicated to viewing the coastal landscape must be significant in order to understand the intentions behind their design.

The construction of viewing platforms added greatly to the surface area of these suburban villas, which increased their effect and impression. The change in focus at the Villa of the Mysteries from the eastern Room 48-49 in preference to the western coastline highlights this desire. This also explains the developments of the residences in *Insula Occidentalis* that also sought to take advantage of the panorama and the sea breezes. These houses were constrained more in their development than the suburban villas, but the owners attempted to compensate for this by constructing a series of terraces. There was a continuing emphasis upon open regions within these structures, which incorporated a large amount of the potential entertainment space (Graph 14). Most open spaces in *villae suburbanae* were in the form of colonnaded courtyards, which added to the impression and lifestyles at these large residences.

When the function of these suburban villas is considered, there was obviously still a great emphasis upon receiving and entertaining guests. Having analysed the percentage of space dedicated to entertaining and reception in the residences considered throughout this chapter, several similarities can be drawn. The majority of the buildings have at least twenty percent of their surface area dedicated to entertainment (Graph 22)(Table 4). But it is significant that the percentages are similar in both the large urban townhouses and the suburban villas, which would suggest that reception was just as important in the *villae suburbanae* as in the urban houses (Graph 18). This level of potential entertainment space was also noticeable in those *villae suburbanae* around Rome (Graph 15). It is even more important to note that the suburban villas were on the whole larger than the townhouses, which means they had more space for receiving guests.

This was probably partly influenced by the greater freedom to expand the size of the residence, but it is nonetheless a noteworthy aspect that should assist in our understanding of these structures. This percentage is noticeable at the

smallest of this group (Graph 22), the Villa of T. Siminius Stephanus (15), which was still adorned with the Philosophers' mosaic in Room F. The owners of this comparatively small villa still sought to uphold the social expectations despite allocating much of the buildings' space to productivity. When the question of entertaining is considered it is evident that being placed in the suburbs of Pompeii allowed for greater freedom to expand a residence than in the urban townhouses, but there was still a similar need to adorn the suburban villa to serve the same entertaining function as in the townhouses. Despite it having been shown that by the time of the eruption wall décor was no longer purely the domain of the élite,[191] it is still useful in helping to ascertain the function of certain rooms within a residence.

The spatial data analysis has illustrated a distinction between areas that potentially served a public or private entertainment role. The most well-appointed *villae suburbanae* possessed rooms for both public and private entertainment occasions, which was determined by their accessibility from within the residence and from the exterior. The Villa of Diomede had a large number of potential entertainment areas that could have been used for large-scale public occasions or smaller intimate gatherings. The provision of rooms for these occasions is represented by the various kinds of rooms evident in several complexes and the strong emphasis on potential entertainment space that existed at *villae suburbanae*

When comparing the size of this group of suburban villas with the three large townhouses, the dimensions of the urban houses are quite comparable. The property sizes of all three are larger (Graph 24)(Table 5) than the two smaller suburban villas, but the limitations of the urban environment are quite obvious, especially at the House of Octavius Quartio.[192] The insular perspective of these townhouses was different to the open aspect of the largest suburban villas, which severely added to the perspective available at these panoramic residences (Graphs 18, 19). The similarity in the percentage of reception space is a significant find because it highlights that the connection of these villas with the social life of Pompeii was still of major importance to the owners, and that there would have been greater freedom to create large entertaining spaces. When the statistical

[191] A. Wallace-Hadrill, 1995, *op.cit.*; K.M.D. Dunbabin, "Houses and households of Pompeii", *JRA* 8, 1995, pp. 387-90.

analysis is expanded to incorporate a further seven townhouses of varying sizes (Graph 20), it highlights the similar emphasis of owners upon entertainment in their residences (Graph 21). Several of these urban complexes had more space devoted to entertainment than the smaller suburban villas, but this simply highlights the greater emphasis upon reception and their total size. When compared to the largest villas only the House of the Faun had a larger space devoted to entertainment than most *villae suburbanae* (Graph 22), which is indicative of its early establishment and esteemed position among Pompeian urban residences.

Having examined these *villae suburbanae* it is clear that the connection with the urban centre was of importance for the development of these structures. But the advantages of the view and independence from a condensed urban environment allowed for several of these suburban villas to develop and expand in an unfettered fashion, which was a rare occurrence within Pompeii itself. It is the divergence in function and emphasis between most *villae suburbanae* that appears to be the most significant feature of these structures. This has been previously illustrated with the townhouses in Pompeii,[193] but such a variation within a small group of *villae suburbanae* is particularly notable. It is for this reason that a strict definition of this type of residence is ineffectual, it being necessary to allow a broader classification in order to properly understand these structures.

In the examination of the literary concept of *villae suburbanae*, it has been illustrated that it was a subjective concept with these structures servicing a wide range of uses. This study of Pompeian *villae suburbanae* has shown that the physical evidence of these suburban villas has confirmed both the literary evidence and Roman examples of *villae suburbanae*. The statistical analysis of these sites has exhibited the continued prominence of areas potentially used for entertainment functions, which had various roles and served for various occasions, but were fundamental features of *villae suburbanae*.

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[192] Zanker, 1998, *op.cit.*, pp. 147-9
[193] Wallace-Hadrill, 1994, *op.cit.*

Chapter IV

Villas in the Outer Suburbs of Pompeii

Other villas in the Pompeian region should be discussed in order to determine whether they should be classified as suburban villas. There have been a large number of villas discovered in the *Ager Pompeianus*,[1] some of which were *villae suburbanae*. All of these examples are in close proximity to the urban centre at Pompeii, and when viewed in comparison with the previous examples they provide further insight into our understanding of suburban villas. Eight sites within this group (Villas 17-24) have been classified as *villae suburbanae*, whereas Villas 25-38 were not suburban villas but small agricultural establishments. The last group in this chapter have been included within this analysis in order to serve as a useful comparison.

Carrington classifies those villas directly outside the city-walls as *villae suburbanae*, with the proviso that they were not farmhouses.[2] It was only when the countryside was secured that the complexes further out from the city began to develop on a similar scale to the wealthy townhouses and villas just outside the town-walls.[3] Most sites originated as modest farmhouses, but some gradually changed in function, becoming increasingly residential rather than productive.[4] This was usually due to the transfer of several properties into the ownership of wealthy Romans and members of the Imperial family.[5] Many senators owned several properties throughout the Italian peninsula, some in the neighbourhood of the capital,[6] but frequently in Campania.[7] Some of these estates were ideal investments for owners who were frequently absent but,[8] as noted in the literary references,[9] this does not exclude them from being classified as *villae*

[1] A. Ciarallo, "Culture e habitat del territorio vesuviano nel 79 d.C.", *RSP* 12-13, 2001-2, pp. 167-76.
[2] R.C. Carrington, "Some Italian Country-Houses", *Antiquity* 8, 1934, p. 263.
[3] R.C. Carrington, *Pompeii*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1936, p. 90.
[4] Van der Poel, 1986, Pt 2, *op.cit.*, p. 207.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 207-8.
[6] C. Bruun, "Senatorial orders of what?", *JRA* 13.2, 2000, p. 500.
[7] J.H. D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples: a social and cultural study of the Villas and their Owners from 150 BC to AD 400*, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass., 1970, pp. 39-72; L. Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World*, George Allen and Unwin: London, 1974, pp. 138-9.
[8] H.B. Van der Poel, *Corpus Topigraphicum Pompeianum*, Pt 2, University of Texas: Austin, 1986, p. 207.
[9] See pp. 41-45.

suburbanae. Most of the known complexes, however, were owned by the local élites who dominated the region's economy.[10]

A large percentage of the wealth acquired by urban residents was accrued at rural properties,[11] including suburban holdings. Senators and other wealthy individuals also invested in industrial production,[12] with economic diversification a secure method of investment. At this time some of these residences became more spacious with the inclusion of large colonnaded courtyards and dining areas for increased *luxuria* and *otium*. This did not preclude the presence of agricultural precincts, with many complexes in the suburbs having both.[13] The peak of prosperity occurred during the Augustan era,[14] and continued at the majority of sites at least until the earthquake of AD 62. By 80 BC there were many villas throughout the region[15] with varying levels of facilities. There would have been a zone of communication in the suburbs of Pompeii, linking small villages and the suburban villas with the city,[16] but catalogues of archaeological material, such as by Casale and Bianco,[17] illustrate that the suburban regions had a high concentration of settlement.

As with the regions already examined in this study, the amount of knowledge and published material for each complex is varied. This ranges from those that are very well documented, such as the Villa of Poppaea, to those with brief reports from excavations undertaken in the late 19th Century, such as Villas 33, 36 and 37. This has an effect upon the amount of discussion and analysis that can be undertaken for each site, particularly in relation to the allocation of potential entertainment areas. In some instances there have been no identifiable potential entertainment rooms, except for the central courtyards, which were in

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[10] G. Brizzi, "Suggestioni di storia socio-economica vesuviana", in E. Acquaro (ed.), *Antiqua 79*, Supp 15: Rome, 1979, p. 83.
[11] R. MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations: 50 BC to AD 284*, Yale University Press: New Haven, 1974, p. 48.
[12] M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 2nd ed., Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1957, p. 18.
[13] J.H. D'Arms, "Ville rustiche e ville di *otium*", in F. Zevi (ed.), *Pompei 79*, Gaetano Macchiaroli Editore: Naples, 1984, p. 65.
[14] J. Day, "Agriculture in the Life of Pompeii", *Yale Classical Studies* 3, 1932, p. 187.
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] R.A. Raper, "The Analysis of the Urban Structure of Pompeii: a sociological examination of land use", in D.L. Clarke (ed.), *Spatial Archaeology*, Academic Press: London, 1997, p. 197.
[17] A. Casale and A. Bianco, "Primo contributo alla topografia del suburbio pompeiano", in E. Acquaro (ed.), *Antiqua 79*, Supp. 15: Rome, 1979, pp. 27-55.

themselves questionable as being entertainment spaces. This provides some constraints upon the amount of discussion possible for several sites.

The predilection of many archaeological investigations undertaken in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was to focus upon the most well-appointed regions of a structure rather than the entire complex. It can be argued that if the focus of these excavations was towards well-appointed areas (these being more inclined to have had a potential entertainment role), the basic regions that were uncovered are in fact indicative of the modest character of these smaller complexes.

The simple nature of these residences may also be indicative of their common backfilling, not being impressive enough on a decorative level to merit exhibition. Yet these basic farmsteads are an important source of information because not only do they demonstrate the settlement density of this region, but they also provide a good comparison for the *villae suburbanae* in the outer suburbs of Pompeii. This comparison highlights the frequent well-appointed demeanour of the suburban villas, which would have markedly contrasted the small productive structures.

Owing to the large number of sites being discussed in this chapter (22 sites), the different types of villa have been colour coded in the graphs, with *villae suburbanae* being shown in navy blue and agricultural farmsteads in yellow.

The style of analysis in this chapter will be similar to that undertaken at the previous establishments,[18] but with one difference: the method used in regard to the courtyards. If the same method is applied it produces some similar results (Table 7), but there are some fundamental inconsistencies that make them difficult to apply effectively. The main reason for this is the varied state of available information for many complexes, which produces some unreliable results. For this reason, the complexes within this group have also been analysed for their entertainment space without including courtyards (Table 8), in order to gain more comprehensible results that are of greater use to this study.

The analysis of these structures without the inclusion of courtyards allows for the statistical analysis of three structures (Villas 19, 28, 35) whose incomplete

[18] See Chapters 2 and 3.

plans would make them otherwise impossible to include. By including courtyards in the statistical analysis this allows for some conclusions about their nature and function to be drawn. This requires some caution when interpreting the results, but if their percentage of entertainment space is comparable to those results without the courtyards (Table 8), it should imply a degree of similarity in function. The variable function of open-space makes this type of area problematic when used in these statistics, but with many of these complexes their inclusion makes their attribution as entertainment space a false representation of their true nature. Knowing that this is the case, those villas with large open areas that are used for entertainment will also be disadvantaged if all of these processes of analysis are not undertaken.

For example, the Villa of Poppea (21) had six colonnaded courtyards/gardens and within this group one of them (Rm 29) has been identified with a solely utilitarian function. This means that strictly speaking it should not be included, and yet for accurate statistics it should be included, especially when many complexes have uncertain functions in these areas. For this reason, the open areas of each complex have been included in one form of analysis (Table 7), while in another they have been divided into two groups: those with solely utilitarian functions and those with utilitarian and entertainment roles (Table 9). The initial inclusion of all open spaces is necessary for a consistent source of data. Once the primary analysis has been undertaken then the divisions of entertainment, utilitarian (or both) are applied in order to gain the optimal degree of analysis in these often-large open areas. This method has not been applied to the enclosed areas because they are typically easier to identify as potential entertainment areas because of their 'architectural type', and more consistent décor, finds and often specific function. This does not preclude a utilitarian role for some enclosed potential entertainment areas, but their *intended* function was frequently quite specific, whereas the open areas had a greater degree of flexibility.

The allocation of each residence into these categories has been made by taking their finds, décor, architecture and general disposition into account. Owing to the limited available evidence, four complexes (19, 28, 37, 38) cannot be fitted into this division because of the limited available evidence. On a preliminary basis it is of interest to note that of the remaining structures, only seven of

seventeen have evidence of an entertainment role (Table 9), which exhibits the difference between the majority of structures in the inner and outer suburbs of Pompeii. Following from this, the appropriate percentage of entertainment space has been applied to each site. This will be determined primarily by the role for which each open area may have been used: either solely utilitarian or utilitarian/entertainment. In order to produce the most useful results for each villa, each residence has been considered using each of these methods so as to gain the most comprehensive perspective about each complex and its role.

By using three methods of analysis to examine the data (the inclusion of open space, the exclusion of open space, the division of this space according to function), it should provide a better understanding of the structures in the outer suburbs of Pompeii. It is not expected that all of these complexes conform to the conception of *villae suburbanae*, but they have been included on a comparative basis to understand each residence within its social environment.

The Hillier and Hanson method has been used for the *villae suburbanae* under discussion that have complete plans, further illustrating the difference between the divisions in public/private space when these *villae suburbanae* located in the outer suburbs of Pompeii are compared to those in the inner *suburbium* (Chapter 3). The public/private spheres in suburban villas have also been displayed in a similar fashion to those in the previous chapter by identifying the red (public) and blue (private) areas to the floor-plans.

Villa 17 – Villa of Lucius Caecilius Iucundus at Pisanella at Boscoreale[19]

General Surface Area: *1,113.88m²*

This villa (Plate 72) is located approximately 3 kilometres to the north of Pompeii (Plate 12) and has been previously classified as both a rustic villa[20] and suburban villa,[21] the latter being more appropriate in view of its position, size and level of facilities. The discovery of an inscription at this complex has allocated its ownership to the merchant L. Caecilius Iucundus, who also owned an elegant

[19] See Appendix C, pp. 48-49.
[20] A. Sogliano, "Boscoreale – Scoperta di una villa rustica", *NSc* Series 5, Vol. 3, 1895a, pp. 207-214.
[21] M. Della Corte, *Case ed Abitianti di Pompei*, Fausto fiorentino: Naples, 1965, p. 433.

house inside Pompeii.[22] He was a businessman, involved in trade,[23] active in Pompeian domestic politics,[24] and was *duovir*.[25] Carrington's appraisal of this residence being used only occasionally by the owner appears appropriate.[26] The residence was maintained by a *libertus*, L. Caecilius Aphrodisius.[27]

The main entrance to this moderately sized complex was located to the north-west, being preceded by an open space. This area has produced a large number of tiles and mortar deposits,[28] suggesting that the region was being repaired or renovated at the time of the eruption in AD 62. Room I appears to have been a dining area with brick pavement and white plaster.[29] The remains of three couches have also been found in this space.[30] The northern position of the room produced a pleasant dining environment with a view of the bay and the surrounding countryside, taking advantage of the winter sunshine.[31]

Ownership by Iucundus reflects the diversification of his business interests, being involved in both agriculture and commercial trade.[32] The position of this estate would have allowed Iucundus to easily commute to Pompeii and it would have also provided for a convenient location to escape from his commercial responsibilities. The combination of both urban and rural sources of revenue was quite common, with prominent Pompeian families maintaining modest townhouses as well as rural and suburban productive properties.[33] The level of facilities and the open aspect seem appropriate to classify this residence as a *villa suburbana.*

When the statistical analysis of this establishment was performed in a similar fashion to the previous chapters it produced an analogous result (21.83%

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[22] *Ibid.*, p. 436.
[23] J. Andreau, *Les Affaires de Monsieur Jucundus*, École Francaise de Rome: Rome, 1974, pp. 303-4.
[24] J. Andreau, "Remarques sur la pompéienne", *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 7, 1973, p. 244.
[25] Andreau, 1974, *op.cit.*, p. 305.
[26] R.C. Carrington, "Studies in the Campanian 'Villae Rusticae'", *JRS* 21, 1931, p. 119.
[27] Della Corte, 1965, *op.cit.*, p. 436.
[28] A. Sogliano, "Boscoreale – Nuove ricerche nell'area della villa rustica in contrada Pisanella. Giornale redatto dalle Guardie degli scavi", *NSc* Series 5, Vol. 4, 1896, p. 232.
[29] A. Sogliano, "Boscoreale – Nuove esplorazioni nella villa romana della Pisanella", *NSc* Series 5, Vol. 7, 1899a, p. 15.
[30] *Ibid.*
[31] T.W. Potter, *Roman Italy*, University of California Press: Berkeley, 1987, p. 96.
[32] R. Étienne, *La Vie Quotidienne a Pompéi*, Hachette: Paris, 1966, pp. 186-9.
[33] J.L. Franklin jnr., *Pompeis Difficile Est: studies in the political life of Imperial Pompeii*, University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor, 2001, p. 200.

entertainment space) compared to those suburban complexes in the inner suburbs of Pompeii (Graph 32). However, if this is the only method used it creates an inappropriate perception of the role of this complex. When the courtyard is removed from the entertainment space it makes a substantial difference to the results (3.65% entertainment space) (Table 8), which is more in keeping with the general demeanour of this villa. The percentage of entertainment space is quite low in comparison with most *villae suburbanae* in the inner suburbs (Graph 28), but this seems to be understandable.

In view of its ownership by Iucundus, who also owned a large townhouse in Pompeii (V, 1, 26), the entertainment role of this villa would have been reduced. This is particularly evident in the fine décor performed in Third style that adorned the office of this townhouse.[34] But, in all likelihood, Iucundus would have used the suburban residence for relaxation, as well as production, rather than large-scale entertainment. This would explain the large number of agricultural areas within the residence and the absence of large dining or viewing rooms, apart from Room I.

The Hillier and Hanson method has illustrated (Plate 73) that the accessibility to this room was controlled (Control Value of 0.33) and that its relatively high Mean Depth (3.77) and Real Relative Asymmetry (1.111) indicate that it was restricted.[35] It is clear that this room was located in the private domain of this suburban villa (Plate 74). Large-scale public entertainment was not intended for this residence. It served more of a restricted/intimate entertainment role, perhaps for gatherings of the owners' household or his close *amici.* The classification of this complex as a *villa suburbana* seems appropriate, especially in view of valuable finds discovered at this complex. The difference to the often varied public/private division in *villae suburbanae* located closer to Pompeii was not present in this complex, but it is indicative of the lower numbers that were intended to be entertained at this particular *villa suburbana.*

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[34] A.Z. Ruggiu, *Spazio Privato e Spazio Publicco nella Città Romana*, École Française de Rome Palais Farnèse: Rome, 1995, pp. 390-1.
[35] See Appendix C, p. 50.

Villa 18 – Villa of Popidius Florus at Boscoreale[36]

General Surface Area: *773.4m²*

The Villa of Popidius Florus at Boscoreale was located approximately 1.5 kilometres from Pompeii (Plate 12). The complex (Plate 75) measured approximately 25 by 31 metres and included a wine cellar that could have held around fifty medium-sized *dolii*.[37] The complex had undergone several renovations, including the transformation of the northern ambulatory into Rooms 2 and 5.[38] Room 5 has produced evidence of Second Style wall paintings, whereas the majority of the remaining décor was executed in Fourth Style.[39] Many rooms remained quite rustic (Rms 1, 3, 6, 8, 11, 14, 16), and some rooms had simple beaten earth floors (Rms 6, 8, 16). Other rooms were floored with concrete (Rms C, 2, 3), or *opus signinum* (Rms 5, 18-20), with mosaic pavement also used in several other rooms (Rms 9, 10, 12, 13, 21).[40] The remaining rooms were floored with *cocciopesto*.[41] The upper floor was used for housing the estate's slaves.[42]

Judging from the size, facilities and some of the décor it is clear that this villa was originally intended to be a comfortable residence, but this later changed with subsequent residents focusing upon agriculture. This has been shown in the alterations that occurred to the northern ambulatory, which changed from a potential entertainment space to a room for solely servile purposes. This change meant there must have also been a change in either the priorities or circumstances of the residents. This is not an unusual occurrence, having been noted at the Villa of the Mysteries. The division of different regions of the residence may be indicative of two separate households residing at this villa.[43] After considering the evidence it is possible to conclude that the residence could have been used as guest accommodation, which may explain the differing levels of décor. However,

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[36] See Appendix C, pp. 50-52.
[37] Day, 1932, *op.cit.*, p. 200.
[38] M. Della Corte, "Pompei – Scavi eseguiti da privati nel territorio Pompeiano", *NSc* Series 5, Vol. 18, 1921, p. 442.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 443.
[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 443-4.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 444.
[42] K.D. White, *Roman Farming*, Thames and Hudson: London, 1970, p. 428.
[43] J.T. Smith, *Roman Villas: a study in social structure*, Routledge: London, 1997, pp. 43-4.

it does seem clear that the facilities, characteristics and position of this complex justify its classification as a *villa suburbana.*

There were four regions within this *villa suburbana* that had a potential entertainment role: the eastern ambulatory (Rm B) and central courtyard (Rm 23), Room 5, which had the position and décor to suggest an entertainment role, and Room 16 that had the dimensions and finds to suggest that it was a dining room. This room was not highly decorated, but at the time of the eruption it was undergoing a series of alterations to improve its impression. The statistical analysis confirms its classification as a suburban villa, illustrating the high percentage of entertainment space with the colonnaded courtyard (36.04% entertainment space) and without (12.56% entertainment space). It appears that the courtyard at this complex did serve an entertainment role (Table 9), which emphasises the well-appointed nature of this residence. The complex is smaller (773.4m^2) than other structures classified as *villae suburbanae* (Tables 4, 7), but it is evident that the intentions of its owners were to give it a somewhat elevated role and standing.

The Hillier and Hanson method (Plate 76) has illustrated the clear division between accessible and inaccessible space within the potential entertainment regions of this complex.[44] Both Rooms B and 23 have low Real Relative Asymmetry (0.580, 0.485 respectively) and Mean Depths (2.47, 2.23), illustrating their highly accessible/public roles. This contrasts both Rooms 5 and 16, which have higher Real Relative Asymmetry (0.947, 1.211 respectively) and Mean Depths (3.87, 4.57), which shows that they were less accessible. This is further emphasised by the Depths from Exterior (4, 3), establishing their positions deep within the private sphere of this suburban villa. It is notable that there seems to have been a similar division of public/private entertainment space (Plate 77) as some of the villas in the inner suburbs of Pompeii (Plates. 48, 50, 52, 57). It is also pertinent that the residence had a high percentage of internal entertainment space, being the highest in the Pompeian region (Graph 33). This emphasis upon entertainment confirms that the Villa of Popidius Florus was a *villa suburbana.*

[44] See Appendix C, p. 53.

Villa 19 – Boscoreale[45]

General Surface Area: $510m^2$

This villa was situated in Boscoreale approximately 90 metres to the south of the previous villa (Plate 12), roughly 1.5 kilometres from the walls of Pompeii (Plate 78).[46] The structure was noble in its design with elegantly painted walls and pavement in *opus signinum* and *opus sectile*,[47] with the extant complex measuring approximately 17.5 by 21 metres.[48] The general layout was planned as a square, but the entire complex has not been excavated.[49] There was an upper level to the complex, shown by the staircase in Room 4. Two doorways entered this villa (A, A'), placed on the same axis. The central focus of the complex was a portico on the eastern side (Rm B), which was decorated with white plaster.[50]

The incomplete floor plan severely reduces the capacity to draw clear statistical conclusions. However, judging from their position, décor and finds, two rooms (Rms 10, 11) have been determined as having a potential entertainment function. Room 10 was larger and was probably primarily used as a dining room, whereas Room 11 was smaller and may have been an entertainment space.

It appears that the focus of the residents was upon agriculture, but there was some attempt to give the complex cultural pretensions. Because of the extant evidence analysis is limited for this complex, but it is possible to draw some conclusions. When the percentage of space potentially used for entertainment at this site (6.94% entertainment space) is compared to the non-courtyard space at other complexes (Table 8), it appears quite high. This is especially pertinent in view of the importance placed upon production at this residence. When compared to the villas in the inner Pompeian *suburbium* (Graph 33), it is also among the highest in the internal category. It is impossible to make any further analysis about the evidence from this site, but in view of its percentage of entertainment space and the attempt to give this building some decorative pretensions, a

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[45] See Appendix C, pp. 53-54.
[46] Della Corte, 1921, *op.cit.*, p. 461.
[47] *Ibid.*
[48] Day, 1932, *op.cit.*, p. 200.
[49] Della Corte, 1921, *op.cit.*, p. 461.
[50] *Ibid.*

classification of *villa suburbana* does not seem out of the question. The only way to make a more definite assessment would be by further exploration of this site.

Villa 20 – Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale[51]

General Surface Area: *1,712.48m²*

The Villa of Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale (Plate 79) was located approximately 1.5 kilometres from Pompeii (Plate 12). Ownership of this villa has been attributed to P. Fannius Synistor, but it seems that L. Herennius Florus was the more likely owner.[52] The plan was that of a large villa, built with elegant architecture and a row of staterooms, with fine Second Style wall paintings.[53] The villa was built around the middle of the first century BC.[54] The theme of the wall paintings are in harmony with each other, all in an identical Second Style design indicating that they are datable to the same phase, between 43-33 BC.[55]

It appears that the Villa of Fannius Synistor has similar features to many villas in the region. The plan was laid out in such a fashion that there was a clear demarcation between the differing regions. The areas used by the principal residents were clearly separated from the servile districts. Müller has continued to classify this complex as a *villa rustica* but mentions that the largest part of the complex was residential.[56] This would suggest that the term *villa suburbana* would be more appropriate.

It is the viewing rooms that make this villa interesting. In the majority of the rooms there were large windows towards the exterior. But in the large banquet hall (Rm H), which was used for entertaining guests, the viewing focus was to the interior rather than the external landscape. This exhibits a preference for an outlook towards an environment entirely under the control of the proprietor rather than an external view, which was not controllable.[57] This is shown

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[51] See Appendix C, pp. 54-55.
[52] M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 2nd ed., Vol. 2, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1957, p. 552, n. 26, no. 16.
[53] L. Richardson jnr., *Pompeii: an architectural history*, John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, 1988a, p. 176.
[54] H. Beyen, "The Villa of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale", *Monographs on Mediterranean Antiquity*, 1987/88, p. 17.
[55] Richardson, 1988a, *op.cit.*, pp. 176-8.
[56] Müller, 1994, *op.cit.*, p. 48.
[57] Torelli has theorised that the choice of these windows was for added sunlight, which may be another explanation. See M. Torelli, "The frescoes of the Great Hall of the Villa at Boscoreale" in

explicitly when compared with the smaller Room G. It is clear that the villa owner made deliberate decisions about the view from each room and that it was an important consideration in their design.

The statistical analysis of this suburban villa has been fruitful as it has a large amount of documentation and extant remains. Six areas are identified to have potentially served an entertainment purpose: Rooms A, E, G, H, N and 15. Rooms A and E were large open colonnaded courtyard, whereas Room 15 was a smaller square colonnaded courtyard. Room G has been classified as a potential entertainment space, owing to its well-appointed décor and view towards the landscape. Room N seems to have served as a dining room, which also had a view towards the outside of the structure. Room H was a large banquet hall and its paintings have been the topic of much discussion.

The statistical analysis further substantiates the classification of this complex among the *villae suburbanae*. With the inclusion of the central courtyard in the data this residence had a level of entertainment space (28.65%) comparable to the villas in the inner suburbs of Pompeii (Table 4). When the courtyard is removed from this group (Table 8), the results (7.76% entertainment space) continue to indicate that entertainment was an important role for this complex to fulfil. This is particularly evident in the size and décor of Room H, which was clearly designed for entertaining a large number of people. The presence of such a room within a *villa suburbana* located in the outer suburbs of Pompeii provides a good indication that the social activities within this area were only limited by the intentions, and probably connections, of the owners.

Longfellow has argued that Room H was used by a specific clientele, being located in a restricted region of the complex.[58] Spatial data analysis (Plate 80) has illustrated the high degree of accessibility for potential social interaction in Room E through its low Mean Depth (1.88) and Real Relative Asymmetry (0.356).[59] It also has the smallest Depth from Exterior (3) of the potential entertainment rooms. Room A can also be determined as public due to its

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D. Braund and C. Gill (eds.), *Myth, history and culture in Republican Rome: studies in honour of T.P. Wiseman*, University of Exeter Press: Exeter, 2003, p. 222.

[58] B. Longfellow, "A Gendered Space? Location and Function of Room 5 in the Villa of the Mysteries", in E.K. Gazda (ed.), *The Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii - ancient ritual, modern muse*, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology: Ann Arbor, 2000, p. 26.

position at the entrance. The remaining rooms (Rms 15, G, H, N) had higher Real Relative Asymmetry (0.656, 1.081, 0.837, 0.743 respectively) and Mean Depths (2.63, 3.69, 3.08, 2.84), illustrating their greater inaccessibility and private roles. Room 15 was the most accessible of these, but it should still be viewed as private space in comparison to the rest of the structure (Plate 81). This combination of public and private potential entertainment space is indicative of the social activity at *villae suburbanae*, which allowed for more control in the nature and status of the guests with greater privacy. But there were rooms intended for a public entertainment role with a combination of these being common in most *villae suburbanae*.

Villa 21 – Villa of Poppea at Oplontis[60]

General Surface Area: *6,460m²*

The Villa of Poppea at Oplontis (Plate 82) was approximately 4.5 kilometres from the city-walls of Pompeii (Plate 12),[61] being accessible along the road to Herculaneum.[62] The region around Oplontis was probably a coastal suburb of Pompeii,[63] having a strong connection with the urban centre. The majority of this complex has been excavated but the southern (coastal) side and the western frontage have not been uncovered.[64] The initial phase was of ample proportion, constructed in the mid first century BC.[65] During the Augustan period the baths and large northern saloon were widened and lengthened towards the garden.[66] The building also underwent considerable rebuilding and refurbishment after the earthquake in AD 62, including the addition of a large potential entertainment space.[67] However, this was no typical villa estate (Plate 82).[68]

The layout was designed more as an urban residence rather than a rural villa, with the sequence of front hall, open-ended room and colonnaded courtyard,

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[59] See Appendix C, p. 56.
[60] See Appendix C, pp., 57-58.
[61] C. Malandrino, *Oplontis*, Loffredo Editore: Naples, 1978, p. 29.
[62] G. Sauron, "Un Interlocuteur du De Finibus à Oplontis (Torre Annunziata) : M. Pupius Piso", *REL* 73, 1995, p. 92.
[63] J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Notes on Topography and Urbanism", in F. Zevi (ed.), *Pompei 79*, Gaetano Macchiaroli Editore: Naples, 1984, pp. 27-8.
[64] Richardson, 1988a, *op.cit.*, p. 180.
[65] A. De Franciscis, "La Villa Romana di Oplontis", in B. Andreae and H. Kyrieleis (eds.), *Neue Forschungen in Pompeji*, Verlag Aurel Recklinghausen: Bongers, 1975, pp. 9-10.
[66] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[67] Richardson, 1988a, *op.cit.*, p. 180.

but it was also adapted to include the northern saloon.[69] The residence had only minimal habitation at the time of the eruption,[70] similar to the Villa of the Mysteries. The gardens areas, which included many pieces of sculpture,[71] were of great importance to the layout, being closely integrated with the architecture.[72] These gardens would have been enhanced by the view towards the coast and the mountains,[73] thus creating the ideal landscape. In view of the palatial facilities, location and open character of this complex, its classification as a *villa suburbana* is appropriate.

Ten areas have been included among those with potential entertainment space, although the size and versatility of this *villa suburbana* meant that there could have been many more that may have served such a purpose. However, these regions (Rms 1, 6, 15, 20, 31, 44, 48, 49, 57, 58) had the clearest evidence for such a role. Rooms 20, 31, 44 and 49 were all open spaces that were primarily used for non-utilitarian purposes (unlike the utilitarian courtyard - Rm 29). The extant remainder were used for entertainment, either in a public or private sphere. The well-appointed front hall has not been included among this group of potential entertainment rooms because all rooms of this type have been excluded from the data due to their frequent primary use as an entrance vestibule rather than a specific entertainment role.[74]

The statistical analysis of this complex further substantiates its classification as a *villa suburbana*. The surface area of this complex (6,460m^2) was significantly larger than all other establishments in the region (Table 7) and it possessed at least six colonnaded courtyards/gardens. This leads to two significant conclusions. Firstly, it would have created a pleasant open-living residence for the enjoyment of its owners. Secondly, it has produced a dramatic result in the statistical analysis, with the entertainment space recording 56.5%

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[68] Richardson, 1988a, *op.cit.*, p. 180.
[69] De Franciscis, 1975, *op.cit.*, p. 12.
[70] A. De Franciscis, "Beryllos e la Villa 'di Poppea' ad Oplontis", in G. Kopcke and M.B. Moore (eds.), *Studies in classical art and archaeology: a tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen*, J.J. Augustini: Locust Valley, N.Y., 1979, p. 231.
[71] S. De Caro, "The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea at Oplontis", in E.B. MacDougall (ed.), *Ancient Roman Villa Gardens*, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture 10: Washington, 1987, pp. 77-134.
[72] Jashemski, 1979, Vol. 1, *op.cit.*, p. 314.
[73] *Ibid.*
[74] See Introduction, p. 4.

when the colonnaded courtyards/gardens are included and 4.69% when they are not. These highly divergent percentages are indicative of the design of this complex. They illustrate just how much emphasis was placed upon open-planned living by the designer, and in turn the *luxuria* and *otium* that resulted for the residents. These results highlight how the plan of this *villa suburbana* was focused upon *otium* and entertainment with an open plan. It is evident that this complex was the most opulent of the *villae suburbanae* in the region, dwarfing all others in both size and luxurious facilities.

Villa 22 – The Villa of Agrippa Postumus in Boscotrecase[75]

General Surface Area: $2,520m^2$

The Villa of Agrippa Postumus at Boscotrecase (Plate 83) is another good example of a villa in the *Ager Pompeianus* (Plate 12).[76] The complex has features similar to those of portico villas with rooms arranged in banks on terraces, intended to take advantage of the view.[77] Despite the Imperial ownership of this complex and its infrequent occupation, its designation as a suburban villa is certain. The frequency of occupation should not preclude this definition. Ownership of several properties was quite common and the owners spent a different amount of time living at each residence.[78] With the extant remains being limited to the utilitarian region of this *villa suburbana*, the amount of space in potential entertainment areas is difficult to determine. In order to clarify the minimum area of what has been excavated, only Room B has been judged as possibly being used for entertainment purposes. Without a greater amount of information on the function of the adjoining rooms it is not possible to draw further conclusions on entertainment function by using this method.

The statistical analysis of this villa confirms this classification as a *villa suburbana*. When the courtyard is included, which would not have served a major entertainment role (Tables 8, 9), its results (24.29% entertainment space) are comparable to most other *villae suburbanae* (Graphs 26, 32)(Tables 4, 7). However, in view of the unconfirmed presence of other entertainment rooms,

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[75] See Appendix C, pp. 59-60.
[76] R.C. Carrington, "Some Ancient Italian Country-Houses", *Antiquity* 8, 1934, p. 272.
[77] Richardson, 1988a, *op.cit.*, p. 243.
[78] J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, Penguin Books: Harmondsworth, 1981, p. 193.

owing to the structures' incomplete excavation, it is not possible to determine the enclosed area percentage of entertainment space. In view of the open-plan design used for the utilitarian region of the complex, it would seem likely that the residential quarters were more opulent and impressive. It would also suggest that the percentage of entertainment space was probably higher throughout these areas as well. The Villa of Agrippa Postumus was not only a *villa suburbana* but also an impressive Imperial establishment designed for the enjoyment of its owners and guests.

Villa 23 – Villa of Asellius at Boscoreale[79]

General Surface Area: *1,094.64m²*

This villa was intended for *otium* and was positioned to provide a spectacular view of the Bay of Naples, with facilities to create a comfortable residence for its owners.[80] The complex was located on the summit of the hill at Pisanella and underwent several periods of reconstruction and renovation.[81] It was constructed approximately 1,200 metres from Pompeii (Plate 12) and the general plan was centred upon an open courtyard with a covered portico and rooms flanking three sides (Plate 84). The complex had dimensions of approximately 36 by 33 metres, including space for housing 10-12 slaves.[82] Despite having a great deal of evidence for agricultural productivity at this site, several areas also exhibit the well-appointed nature of this residence.[83] These including Room 18 and 19 on the western perimeter, as well as the larger Room 15 on the northern side.[84] The primary function of these areas was determined by position and décor. There were six areas with a clear potential entertainment role: the colonnaded courtyard (P1-P4), Rooms 8, 13, 18, 19 and 20. There were several other rooms that could have served a similar function, but these rooms were the most obvious examples.

Owing to the level of décor at this complex and its facilities it seems appropriate to classify it as a suburban villa, and the statistical results further

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[79] See Appendix C, pp. 60-63.
[80] Della Corte, 1921, *op.cit.*, p. 426.
[81] G. Stefani, "Boscoreale: la Villa di Asellius le sue pitture", *RSP* 9, 1998, pp. 41, 46-7.
[82] Day, 1932, *op.cit.*, p. 200.
[83] Stefani, 1998, *op.cit.*, pp. 46-7.
[84] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

substantiate this assessment. Judging from the character of the colonnaded courtyard within the structure it is appropriate to include it in the entertainment data. This gives a percentage of 35.1% entertainment space (Table 7), which is analogous with the results from most other *villae suburbanae* around Pompeii (Graph 33)(Tables 4, 7). The Hillier and Hanson method has illustrated the division between accessible and inaccessible regions in this suburban villa (Plate 85).[85] Both the colonnaded courtyard (P1-P4) and Room 8 had clear public roles with lower Real Relative Asymmetry (0.435, 0.691, 0.606, 0.881, 0.777 respectively) and Mean Depth values (2.17, 2.86, 2.63, 3.09) than the private potential entertainment rooms.

The private rooms (Rms 13, 18, 19, 20), particularly Rooms 18-20 with their higher Depth from Exterior (4), had higher Real Relative Asymmetry (0.903, 1.052 respectively) and Mean Depths (3.43, 3.83), illustrating the greater inaccessibility (privacy) attainable in this region. The presence of both public and private entertainment regions (Plate 86) also highlights that the role this residence performed was similar to other suburban villas in the Pompeian region. Even if the colonnaded courtyard was excluded from the group of entertainment areas, the complex still produced a percentage of 11.46% (Tables 8, 9), which is the second highest in the group of villas considered in this region (Graphs 27, 28). When this is taken into consideration with the level of décor and facilities at this complex, the classification of this structure as a *villa suburbana* is appropriate.

Villa 24 – Villa of L. Crassius Tertius at Torre Annunziata[86]

General Surface Area: *4,239.36m²*

The Villa of Crassius Tertius was approximately 250 metres from the Villa of Poppea at Oplontis (Plate 12). As with many villas in the region, the plan was based around two distinct regions: residential quarters and an agricultural plant for the production of wine (Plate 87).[87] The complex was also designed with a series of terraces.[88] The lower levels of the complex have been better preserved, with at least twenty rooms already excavated.[89]

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[85] See Appendix C, pp. 63-64.
[86] See Appendix C, p. 64.
[87] Malandrino, 1978, *op.cit.*, p. 81.
[88] *Ibid.*
[89] *Ibid.*

Despite the lack of information from this site, the discoveries and layout of the structure make it clear that the owners had some pretensions about the display of their status. The size of the complex (as well as the presence of imported wine and a large collection of gold pieces) illustrates the wealth of the owners and that they probably resided at this property frequently. Agricultural production was an important source of revenue but it does not appear to have dominated the residence. Judging from the layout of the complex there may have been a view of the surrounding landscape from the upper levels of the complex, but this is impossible to determine because of the limits to the extant material. But it seems probable that this residence was a *villa suburbana.*

Owing to the incomplete state of knowledge about this establishment, it has limited the amount of statistical analysis that can be undertaken. This has made any enclosed entertainment analysis untenable. However, some statistical results are still possible. The extant material has made it evident that the central colonnaded courtyard (Rm 2) was included as an entertainment area (Tables 8, 9), which should justify its inclusion within the data group. This area did not include a garden, being paved instead,[90] but this should not prevent its inclusion as a potential entertainment area.

The knowledge on this site has limited the scope of determining potential entertainment space, but it is still evident that the social function was a prominent feature of this *villa suburbana* (Plate 87). This space was immense and dominated the complex. In fact this structure was the second largest villa within this group (Graph 25), only smaller than the Villa of Poppea at Oplontis. Owing to the wealth of finds, the size of the complex and the general demeanour of the Villa of L. Crassius Tertius, it is appropriate to classify it as a residence of *otium* among the *villae suburbanae* in the outer suburbs of Pompeii.

[90] W.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 on the History of Landscape Architecture 10: Washington, 1987, pp. 33-4.

Villa 25 - Boscoreale[91]

General Surface Area: $527.56m^2$

This villa (Plate 88) was located in the Boscoreale region approximately 500 metres from Pompeii (Plate 12). The layout was modest and constructed from *opus incertum*, the most common building material in the region.[92] The dimensions were roughly 33 by 27 metres, allowing for a capacity storage space for 36-48 average sized *dolii*.[93]

It is clear that there was a separation of function within the complex. There seems to have been a distinction drawn along the axis of the central corridor separating Rooms 2 and 3. To the north of this corridor there are the residential facilities, including the main entrance, through which guests and visitors would have entered the residence. The area included several rooms and the baths, which were at least moderately decorated, except for the kitchen that would not have been viewed by the public. On the southern side were the majority of storage rooms, as well as the *torcularium*. Most of these remained unadorned except for the *torcularium*, which was placed too close to the residential quarters to be left in such a basic state. The exception to this separation of space was Room 13, but this large room seems to have been placed in this position out of necessity, owing to its proximity to the entrance for the transportation of goods.

This complex was located only 500 metres from the city, but the character of the villa was focused almost purely upon agriculture with a limited degree of decorative pretension. This seems to suggest that it was not a suburban villa, being more indicative of a simple farmhouse located close to Pompeii. This is important because more than just location must be considered to classify a building as a suburban villa. Judging from the extant evidence, this would not have been seen as a *villa suburbana*.

Only one room has been classified as a potential entertainment space (Rm 5). This room appears to have served as a modest dining room, judging from the finds of furniture remains. The statistical analysis of potential entertainment

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[91] See Appendix C, pp. 65-66.
[92] Della Corte, 1921, *op.cit.*, p. 415.
[93] Day, 1932, *op.cit.*, p. 200.

space appears to confirm the conclusion that it was not a suburban villa when the utilitarian nature of the courtyard is taken into consideration, which makes the result of 5.36% entertainment space appear appropriate for this complex (Tables, 7, 8, 9). Villa 25 highlights the importance of discounting the open areas from this group of entertainment space when considering these statistics.

Villa 26 – Boscoreale[94]

General Surface Area: $495.5m^2$

This villa at Boscoreale was approximately 2 kilometres from Pompeii (Plate 12), and its design suggests that it was a simple complex resided in by a family of farmers,[95] with the entire structure measuring approximately $23m^2$.[96] The plan (Plate 89) had two sections separated by a corridor. There was an obvious consideration in the design of the entrances to allow easy access for wagons.

It is clear that this residence was also focused primarily upon agriculture, judging from the décor, layout and limited number of finds indicating any desire for *otium*. Therefore it appears that this complex should be considered as an agricultural villa. It has been postulated that this complex was a country inn,[97] but it seems just as likely that the owners were involved in selling the estate's produce at the roadside. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this study, the paucity of finds indicating social aspirations suggests that this complex could not be classified as a suburban villa.

This complex was the only example within this group that possessed an open area that could have served an entertainment function and is not considered to have been a *villa suburbana* (Table 9). This open area consisted of a courtyard (Rm C) and garden (Rm D), which were both unrestricted in their access from other rooms and located close to the entrances. The overall appearance of this structure cannot justify its classification as a suburban villa, but the presence of this potential entertainment area may give more weight to its use as a country-inn.

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[94] See Appendix C, pp. 66-67.
[95] Della Corte, 1921, *op.cit.*, p. 436.
[96] Day, 1932, *op.cit.*, p. 200.
[97] Carrington, 1931, *op.cit.*, p. 122.

However, owing to the limited amount of information on this site, any classification in this regard is also too speculative.

Villa 27 - Pompeii[98]

General Surface Area: $440.75m^2$

This villa (Plate 12) was discovered approximately 250 metres from the walls of Pompeii. Although the building lacked the most extravagant facilities found on some estates, it is clear that there were still amenities to create a comfortable residence.[99] The plan consisted of numerous rooms, decorated in either first or second style décor (Plate 90). However, most of the rooms had plain wall decoration without painted plaster.[100] Room 2 was a small enclosed room, decorated in first style opening onto a central courtyard.[101] Room 3 probably served as a potential internal entertainment space with second style décor. The paucity of luxurious finds suggests that the principal inhabitants were either of modest means or preferred to limit their display of wealth. It is clear that the owner was not poverty stricken, but it is also clear that there were either not enough funds or a limited desire to display the latest decorative fashions within this complex. As with Villa 25, this complex is located very close to Pompeii but the dearth of fine décor and luxurious facilities illustrates that it was a simple farmhouse and should not be considered a *villa suburbana.* When the statistical analysis is considered it evidences a low result (5.55% entertainment space), which is similar to some other complexes (Graphs 27, 28)(Table 9). This complex was among the smallest sites considered (Graph 25), which also gives a good indication of its modest character, especially in view of its close connection with Pompeii. A classification as a *villa suburbana* is not appropriate, making its role as a basic farmstead more likely.

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[98] See Appendix C, p. 67.
[99] R. Paribeni, "Boscoreale – Villa rustica rinvenuta nella contrada Centopiedi, al Tirone", *NSc* Series 5, Vol. 11, 1903, pp. 64-5.
[100] Paribeni, 1903, *op.cit.*, p. 65.
[101] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

Villa 28 – Villa of L. Arellius Successus at Boscotrecase

General Surface Area: $205.72m^2$

This villa in Boscotrecase (Plate 12) was of relatively modest means, with the majority of the rooms intended for agricultural purposes (Plate 91).[102] This can be seen in the presence of a mill area (Rm B), including an oven in the centre of the building. There was also a *torcularium* (Rm O), accentuating the productive nature of this residence.[103] Ownership has been attributed to L. Arellius Successes by the discovery of a seal within the building.[104]

Both the mill area and the *torcularium* were paved in brick without any pretensions in their presentation. There was only one room (Rm N) that had any notable decorative embellishment, adorned with first style décor.[105] This room probably served as a dining room and appears to have been the only potential entertainment space within the complex. Little else is known about this complex, which limits the number of conclusions that can be drawn about its character and facilities. Nevertheless, it seems clear that this residence should not be classified as a suburban villa. With the incomplete nature of its plan even the total surface area of the complex is difficult to determine. The statistical analysis of this site has therefore proven to be inconclusive as well (Tables 7, 8, 9), limiting any opportunity for discussion. But owing to its modest character, it is highly unlikely to have been considered a *villa suburbana.*

Villa 29 – The Villa Regina at Boscoreale[106]

General Surface Area: $532.42m^2$

This site (Plate 92), located approximately one kilometre north of Pompeii (Plate 12),[107] has undergone extensive excavation work in recent years, allowing for some of the most detailed results of a villa within the region. The complex

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[102] A. Sogliano, "Boscotrecase – Fabbriche antiche scoperte in contrada 'Setari'", *NSc* Series 5, Vol. 7, 1899c, p. 297.
[103] *Ibid.*, p. 298.
[104] Della Corte, 1965, *op.cit.*, p. 450.
[105] Sogliano, 1899c, *op.cit.*, p. 298.
[106] See Appendix C, pp. 68-70.
[107] W.F. Jashemski, "The Vesuvian Sites before AD 79: the Archaeological, Literary, and Epigraphical Evidence", in W.F. Jashemski and F.G. Meyer (eds.), *The Natural History of Pompeii*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2002, p. 24.

occupies an area of roughly 450m^2, including precincts for agriculture,[108] which was one of the most important quarters within the structure.[109] The productive quarters included a *torcularium* (Rm IX), a threshing floor (Rm XVII) and a wine cellar (Rm XVI)(Plate 92).[110] It has been suggested that this villa may have been an estate owned by a military veteran,[111] but this is impossible to prove conclusively.

After analysing the basic elements of the Villa Regina at Boscoreale, it is clear that there was a demarcation of space, the principal residential area being on the southern side of the portico, the productive and servile regions to the west and the rooms of representation such as Room IV to the north.[112] This was the only room with a potential entertainment role, which was located within a public region. However, the dearth of luxurious pretension at this complex illustrates that the focus was primarily upon production and that this is more indicative of a farmhouse than a suburban villa. The statistical results from the site confirm this classification, illustrating that only 4.88% was potential entertainment space (Graph 28). The utilitarian role of the courtyard makes its inclusion within this type of space inappropriate and provides an unrealistic perception of the structure's intended function (Table 7).

Villa 30 at Scafati[113]

General Surface Area: *866.78m^2*

This villa was located in the Scafati region outside of Pompeii, approximately 1.5 kilometres from the city (Plate 12).[114] From the remains of this villa (Plate 93), it is clear that it was predominantly devoted to agricultural production. As with many other villas, the centre of the complex was focused upon an open courtyard, but there was a separation of function between the northern and southern areas. The northern section was used for residential

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[108] A. Varone, *Pompei, I misteri di una città sepolta*, Newton and Compton: Rome, 2000, p. 215.
[109] S. De Caro, *La Villa Rustica in Località Villa Regina a Boscoreale*, George Bretschneider: Rome, 1994, p. 27.
[110] *Ibid.*
[111] S. De Caro, "L'occupazione del territorio", in M. Borriello, A. D'Ambrosio, S. De Caro and P.G. Guzzo (eds.), *Pompei: abitare sotto il Vesuvio*, Ferrara Arte: Rome, 1996, p. 11.
[112] De Caro, 1994, *op.cit.*, p. 77.
[113] See Appendix C, p. 71.

purposes, whereas the rustic quarter was to the south. There was not a great deal of luxury in the residential quarters, with many servile rooms still located in this northern region. The southern side was predominantly agricultural, such as Room B that served as a wine cellar (Plate 93) with a great number of storage vessels for wine.[115]

The focus upon agriculture at this complex is also illustrated by the statistical analysis; if the central courtyard is not included (Tables 7, 8, 9) almost no space is devoted to entertainment. In fact the only room used for anything even remotely like entertainment was the small dining room (Rm 4), which would not have been large enough to entertain guests (5.55m^2)(Graph 28). It is evident from both the archaeological material and the statistical analysis that this residence could not have been classed as a *villa suburbana*.

Villa 31 – Villa of M. Livius Marcellus at Boscoreale[116]

General Surface Area: *199.9m^2*

The excavations at this villa (Plate 12) have primarily unearthed the agricultural region of this complex (Plate 94), which was located to the north.[117] The plan was designed with almost perfect regularity, with a large agricultural plant and no indications of an upper level.[118] It is likely that there was a more elegant section to this residence located to the south.[119] Within the region that has been excavated, there are only a few walls with evidence of plaster,[120] but this would be appropriate in view of the function of the rooms.

It is clear from the extant remains that this villa focused upon agriculture, having little pretension in its layout or décor. The limited remains have provided no evidence of internal entertainment areas and the entertainment function of the courtyard is questionable, particularly with its utilitarian character in mind (Table 7, 9). This limits the statistical analysis (Table 8) but also reflects the modest

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[114] M. Della Corte, "Villa rustica scavata dal sig. ing. Gennaro Matrone in un fondo di sua proprietà situato nella contrada Spinelli (Communi di Scafati), a Sud del portellone n. 27 del R. Canale del Sarno", *NSc* Series 5, Vol. 20, 1923a, p. 281.
[115] W. Jongman, *The Economy and Society of Pompeii*, J.C. Gieben: Amsterdam, 1988, p. 116.
[116] See Appendix C, pp. 71-72.
[117] M. Della Court, "Boscoreale – Parziale scavo della Villa rustica 'M. Livi Marcelli'", *NSc* Series 5, Vol. 54, 1929, p. 178.
[118] *Ibid.*
[119] *Ibid.*, p. 179.
[120] *Ibid.*, p. 178.

nature of the structure, making any classification as a *villa suburbana* highly unlikely without further excavation. This residence is more indicative of a small farmyard, especially in view of its size. If more of this farmstead was known there would be greater scope for analysis, but it seems unlikely that this would change the view of the structure dramatically.

Villa 32 at Boscoreale[121]

General Surface Area: $591.87m^2$

This villa (Plate 95) was approximately one kilometre from the walls of Pompeii (Plate 12). The appearance of the complex is of a rustic and unadorned villa, with complete absence of luxury.[122] The building was focused upon agriculture, especially viticulture and olive production. The dearth of décor or efforts towards creating a pleasant living environment suggests that this was not a suburban villa. The only room with a potential entertainment role was Room 4, owing to its position and the presence of a household shrine in the eastern wall. This is supported by the statistical results - even including the purely utilitarian courtyard within the data only produces a percentage of 8.54% entertainment space. When this area is removed from the analysis, it produces an entertainment result at 2.11% (Tables 8, 9), well below that of most suburban villas (Graph 28). It is clear that this complex could not have been classified as a *villa suburbana*.

Villa 33 at Boscoreale[123]

General Surface Area: $574.56m^2$

This villa was discovered just under one kilometre from Pompeii (Plate 12). The complex was planned with two distinct regions (Plate 96), covering roughly 16.5 by 27.5 metres.[124] Rooms A-D were used for the residence of the owner, and Rooms E-V were used for agriculture.[125] This exhibits the predominance of agricultural production rather than the display of *otium* or status. There has only been one room identified with a potential entertainment role (Rm B), which seems to have been a dining room, owing to its comparatively well-

[121] See Appendix C, p. 72.
[122] Della Corte, 1921, *op.cit.*, p. 423.
[123] See Appendix C, pp. 73-74.
[124] Day, 1932, *op.cit.*, p. 200.

performed décor and its position. Carrington hypothesised that this villa was a permanent residence for its owners,[126] which agrees with the level of facilities at the establishment. The modest décor suggests that this residence was not a *villa suburbana*, instead being a small farmstead with permanent residents. This accords well with the statistical analysis (Tables 7, 8, 9), which illustrates that the provision of areas for entertainment were clearly a low priority, especially in view of the utilitarian nature of the courtyard (5.21% entertainment space)(Table 8). It is evident that this establishment cannot be classified as a *villa suburbana*.

Villa 34 – Villa of Domitius Auctus at Scafati[127]

General Surface Area: $632.68m^2$

This villa (Plate 97) was located approximately two kilometres from the walls of Pompeii (Plate 12) and has been identified as an agricultural villa.[128] Its ownership by Domitius Auctus has been shown by the discovery of a seal in the complex.[129] Numerous finds at this complex illustrate both animal husbandry and agriculture, and provide a good indication of the focus of the residence. There is little evidence of notable décor, with the majority of rooms having *cocciopesto* flooring. Owing to the incomplete floor plan it limits the number of conclusions that can be drawn for this complex.

It seems likely that Room D served as a dining room (Plate 97). It was the only area that could have been used appropriately for entertainment. The designation of function for this room arises from its decorative theme and elevated nature in comparison to the quite modest character of the other areas within the complex. This room was located in a comparatively inaccessible region, but it was not completely isolated. Judging by the size (Graph 25) and overall demeanour of the structure it would seem unlikely that this was a suburban villa, instead probably being a small farmhouse. The statistical analysis has illustrated that there was little emphasis upon entertainment, especially if the utilitarian courtyard is not included in the data (making 3.12% entertainment space within

[125] A. Sogliano, "Boscoreale – Villa romana in contrada detta Giuliana", *NSc* Series 5, Vol. 5, 1897b, p. 392.
[126] Carrington, 1931, *op.cit.*, p. 121.
[127] See Appendix C, pp. 74-75.
[128] A. Sogliano, "Scafati – Avanzi di antica villa dell'agro pompeiano", *NSc* Series 5, Vol. 7, 1899d, p. 392.
[129] Della Corte, 1965, *op.cit.*, p. 447.

the residence) (Tables 7, 8, 9). So it would appear that this residence was not a *villa suburbana.*

Villa 35 – Villa of Crapolla at Scafati[130]

General Surface Area: *536.79m²*

This villa was located roughly one kilometre from the eastern walls of Pompeii (Plate 12), and the layout was based on a rectangular plan (Plate 98), with a central courtyard on the western side.[131] Several rooms have produced remains of wall painting,[132] but its size and facilities indicate that it was essentially an agricultural villa. The only room with a potential entertainment role was Room 1, largely owing to its size and position (due to the limited remains at this site). However, the limited remains at this site make the statistical analysis quite problematic, especially with the uncertain dimensions of the central courtyard (Table 7). If the percentage of known space potentially used for entertainment is considered (2.99% entertainment space) it would be analogous with the majority of small farmsteads in the region (Graph 27)(Table 8), and is unlikely to have been viewed as a *villa suburbana.*

Villa 36 - Boscoreale[133]

General Surface Area: *unknown*

This villa is located in the region of Boscoreale (Plate 99), approximately 2.5 kilometres from the walls of Pompeii (Plate 12). The décor was simple, with no evidence of grand paintings, indicating that this was also primarily an agricultural establishment.[134] The presence of a *torcularium* (Rm H) also indicates this.[135] When examining this building it seems that there was a clear demarcation of space and function within the complex. The northern wing served a predominantly residential function, whereas the eastern wing was used for productive purposes. The meagre evidence of wall paintings and paving also

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[130] See Appendix C, p. 75.
[131] M. Della Corte, "Villa rustica parzialmente esplorata dall'on. sig. Vincenzo De Prisco in un fondo di sua proprietà alla Contrada Crapolla (Commune di Scafati)", *NSc* Series 5, Vol. 20, 1923b, p. 284.
[132] *Ibid.*, p. 285.
[133] See Appendix C, pp. 75-76.
[134] A. Sogliano, "Boscoreale – Avanzi si una villa romana in piazza Mercato", *NSc* Series 5, Vol. 6, 1898a, p. 419.
[135] *Ibid.*

suggest that there was either little desire for exhibiting status or that the means of the owners were not sufficient to do so. Unfortunately, the statistical analysis of this site is highly problematic, owing to the poor quality of plans that are available: even the approximate surface area is unable to be determined. When the percentage of entertainment space is calculated including the courtyard, it suggests that 52.16% could have been used for this purpose (Table 7), second only to the Villa of Poppea (21) in this region. Clearly these results are misleading and are not indicative of the modest nature of the complex. It would appear that until further excavation is undertaken, this complex should not be classified as a suburban villa. This is the most appropriate decision in view of the limited extant evidence and the modest quality of the current remains.

Villa 37 – Villa in the region of Barbatelli[136]

General Surface Area: *unknown*

This villa is located in the northern suburbs of Pompeii (Plate 12), in the region of Barbatelli. The remnants of the wall paintings found within this complex include a representation of Fortune with a *cornucopia* executed upon a red background.[137]

The complex was located close to the Villa of T. Siminius Stephanus (Villa 15) and Pompeii. However, the paucity of finds and the limited current information available about this villa make it difficult to draw conclusive or reliable deductions. The unavailability of even a plan for this villa almost makes the inclusion of this complex superfluous. However, it does have some intrinsic value for this study. Not only does it highlight the variable nature of the remaining source material that can be so limiting for this study, but also the deficiencies in some previous archaeological processes. The residence should be noted in order to allow for a regional collation of the location of sites, and to determine a trend in the location of *villae suburbanae*. The presence of this complex close to another *villa suburbana* (Villa 15) should be some indication of its potential classification, but it will not be included as a suburban villa within this study because of its meagre remains.

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[136] See Appendix C, p. 76.
[137] A. Sogliano, "Pompei – Relazione degli scavi fatti durante il mese di dicembre 1899", *NSc* Series 5, Vol. 7, 1899f, p. 494.

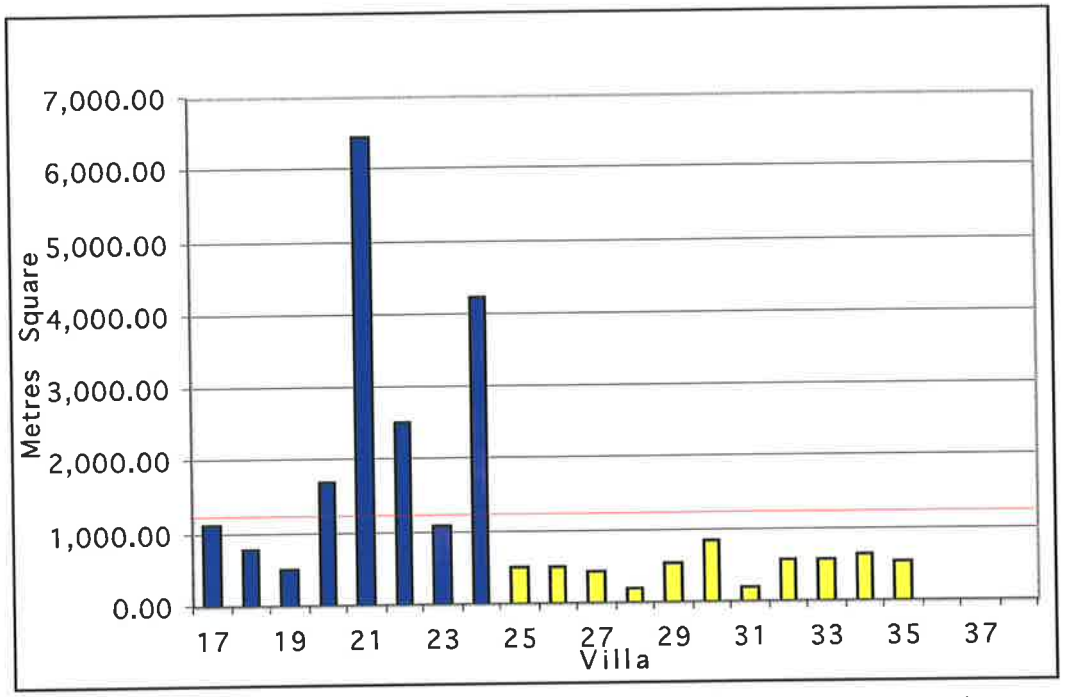
Villa 38 at Scafati

General Surface Area: *unknown*

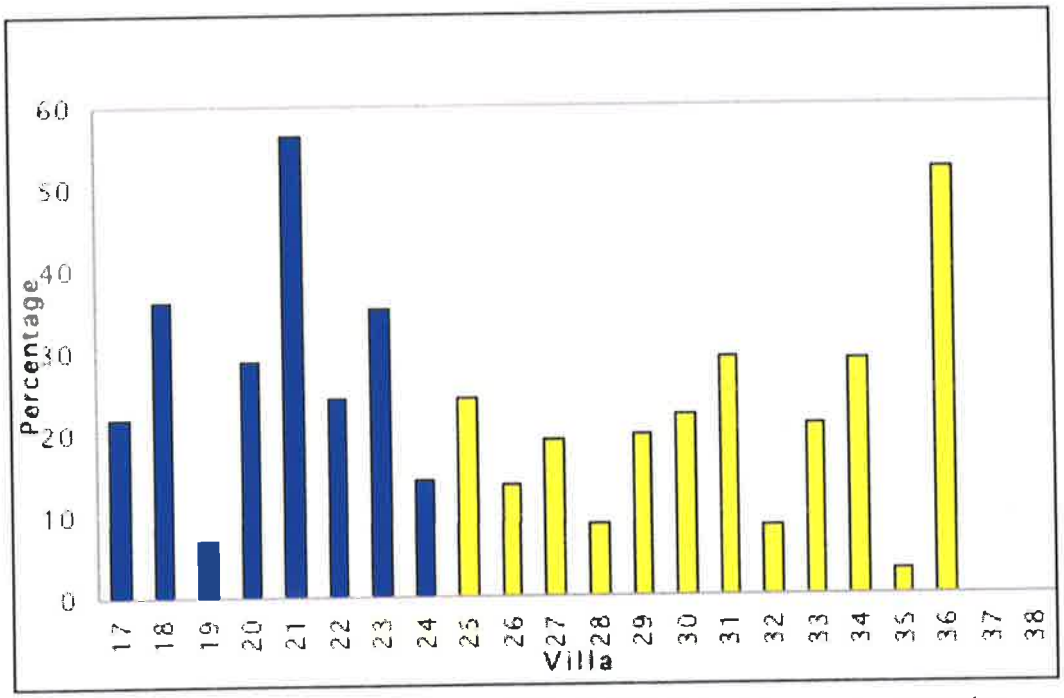
This villa was discovered in the region of Scafati, approximately 3.5 kilometres from the walls of Pompeii (Plate 12). The known quarters of this building are mostly comprised of small rustic environments,[138] there being little evidence of architectural or decorative pretension. The walls appear to have been dressed in rough plaster and the floors were of simple beaten ground, except in Room C, which was paved with *cocciopesto*.[139] A circular basin was discovered in Room D, covered in plaster and tile, providing a source of water for the inhabitants.[140] The epigraphic evidence from this residence appears to suggest a *liberti* may have owned this humble residence,[141] which seems likely in view of the modest facilities. This appears to have been another basic farmhouse, which cannot be considered to be a suburban villa. As with Villa 37, this residence has only produced a limited amount of information, so it would be futile to attempt any statistical analysis for this site. However, its presence must be noted for a geographical understanding of the Pompeian outer suburbs.

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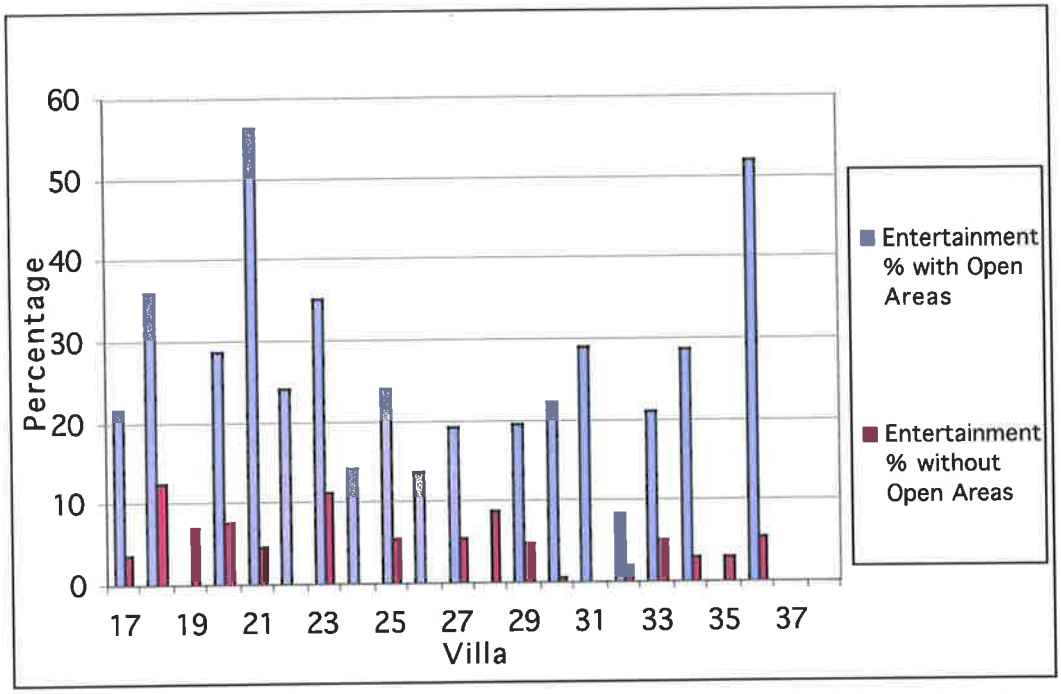
[138] M. Della Court, "Scafati – Contrada Acquavitrara – Villa Rustica", *NSc* Series 5, Vol. 53, 1928, p. 375.
[139] *Ibid.*, p. 376.
[140] *Ibid.*
[141] *Ibid.*, pp. 376-7.



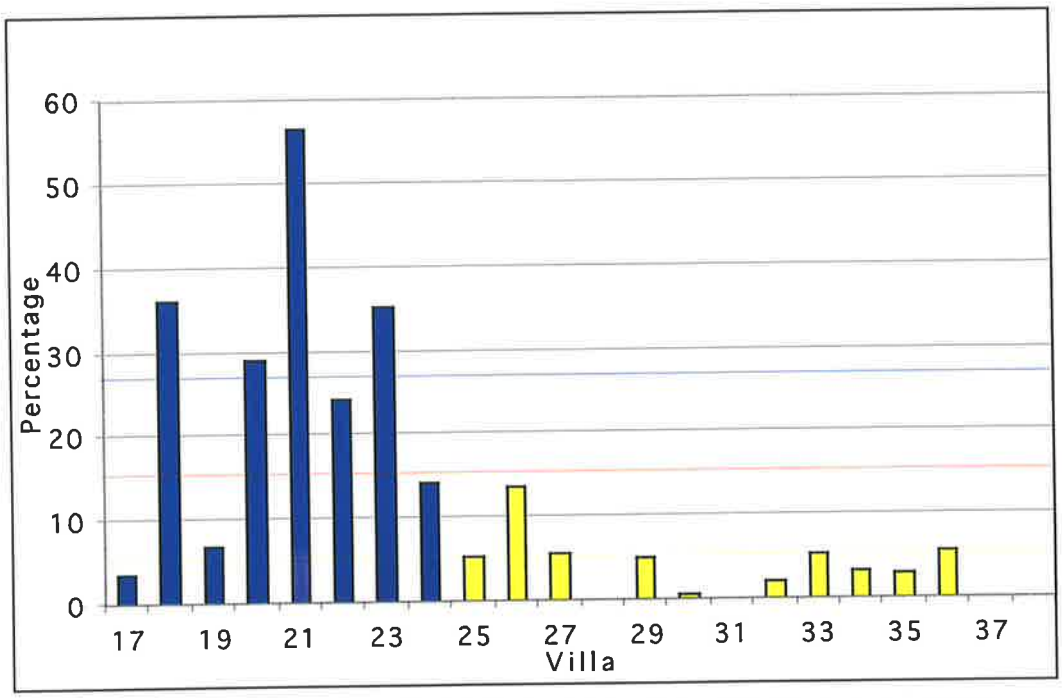
Graph 25 - showing the Comparison of Estimated Surface Areas of Pompeian Villas in the Outer Suburbs



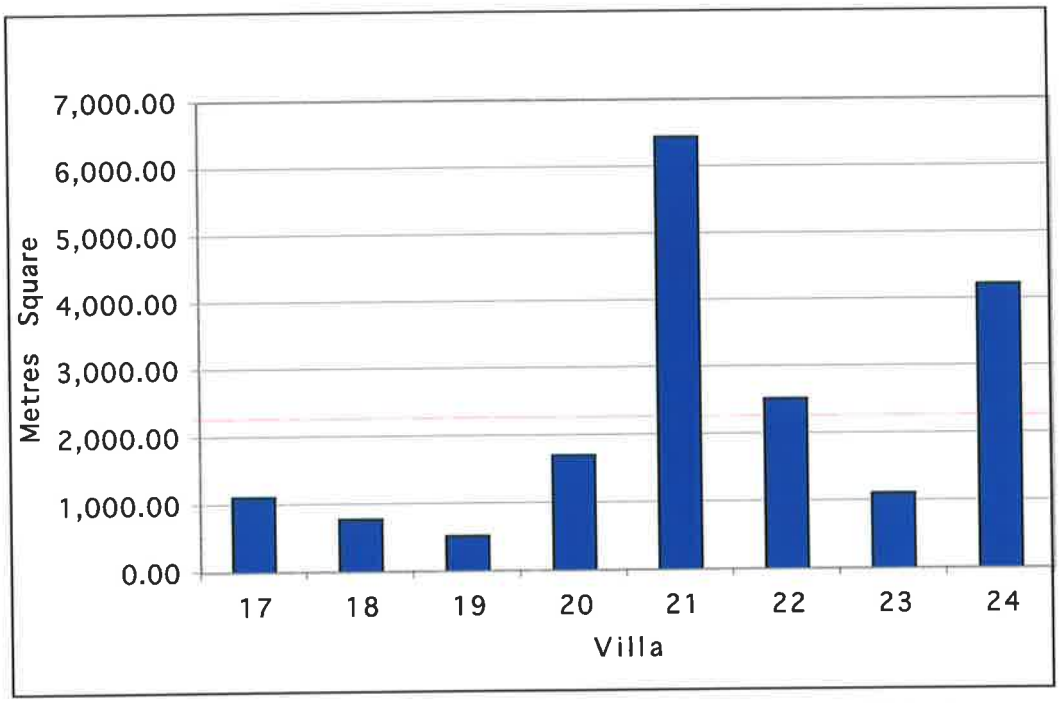
Graph 26 - showing the Percentage of Identifiable Entertainment Areas to the Known Total Area of Building Complex at Each Villa in the Outer Pompeian Suburbs



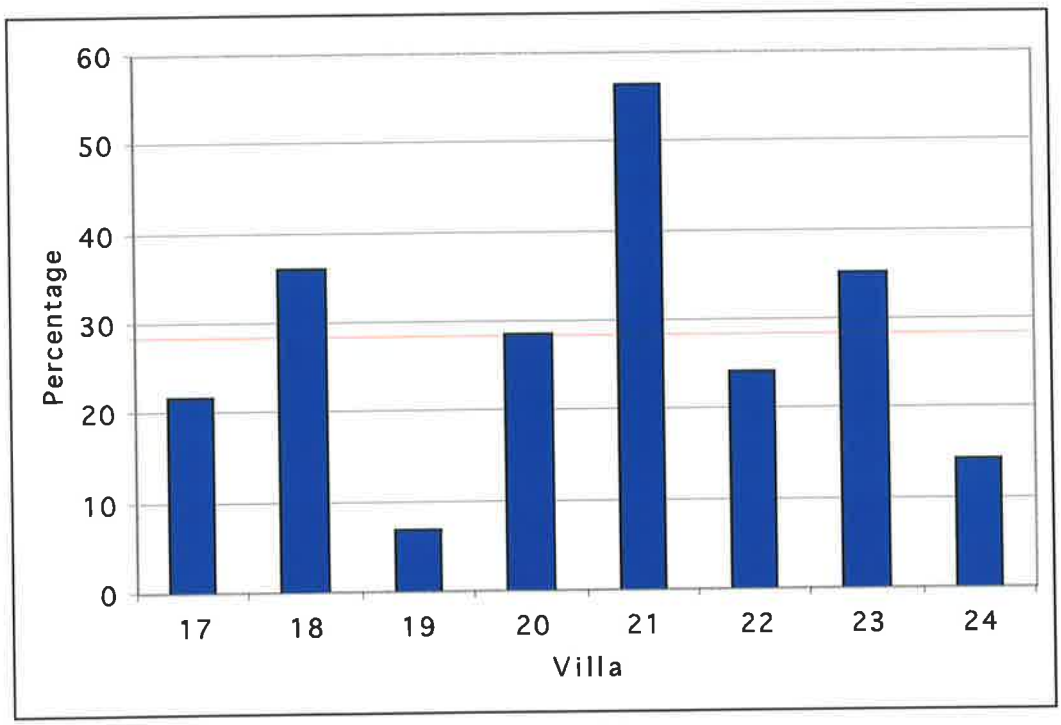
Graph 27 - showing the Percentages of Entertainment Areas With and Without Open Areas Relative to the Total Estimated Area of Building Complex at Each Villa in the Outer Pompeian Suburbs



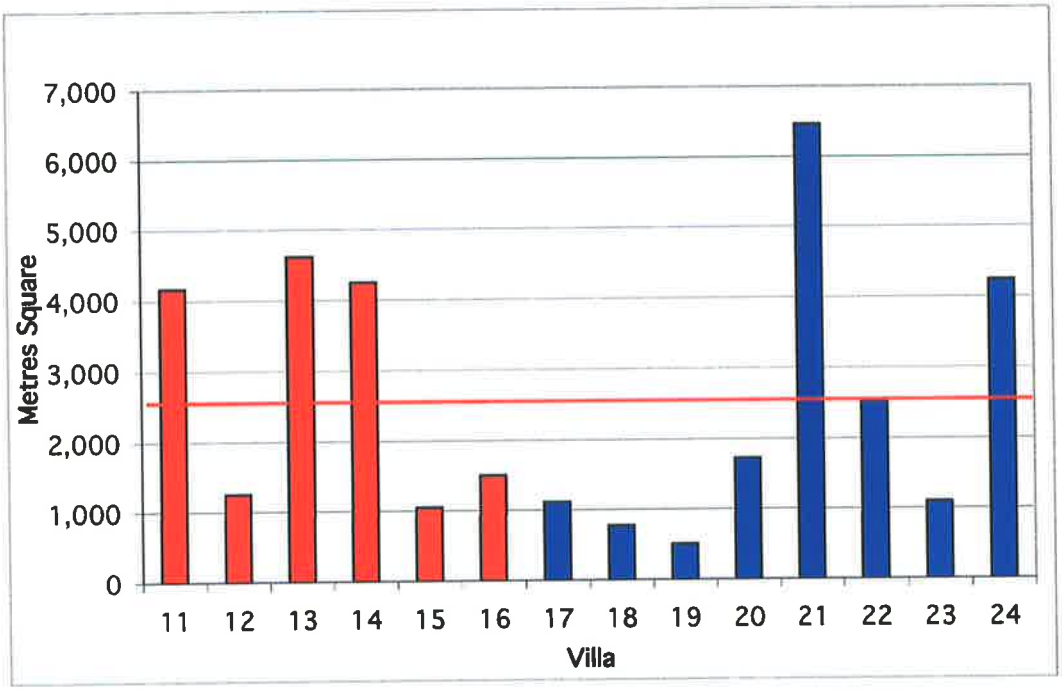
Graph 28 - showing the Applicable Percentage of Identifiable Entertainment Areas to the Known Total Area of Building Complex at Each Villa in the Outer Pompeian Suburbs



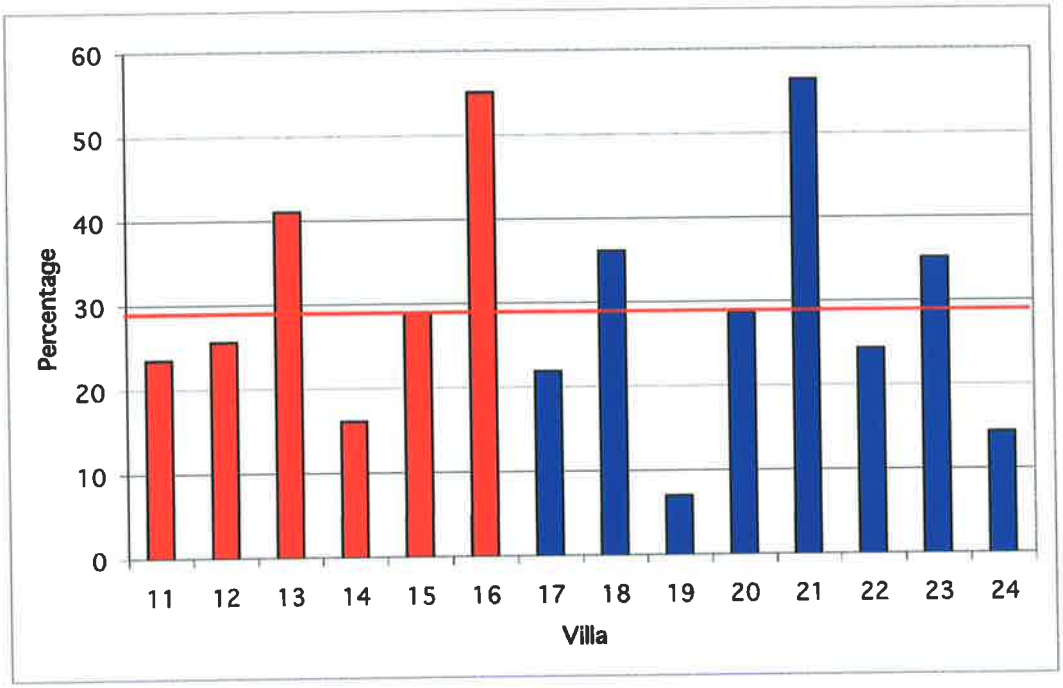
Graph 29 - showing the Comparison of Estimated Surface Areas of Suburban Villas in the Outer Pompeian Suburbs



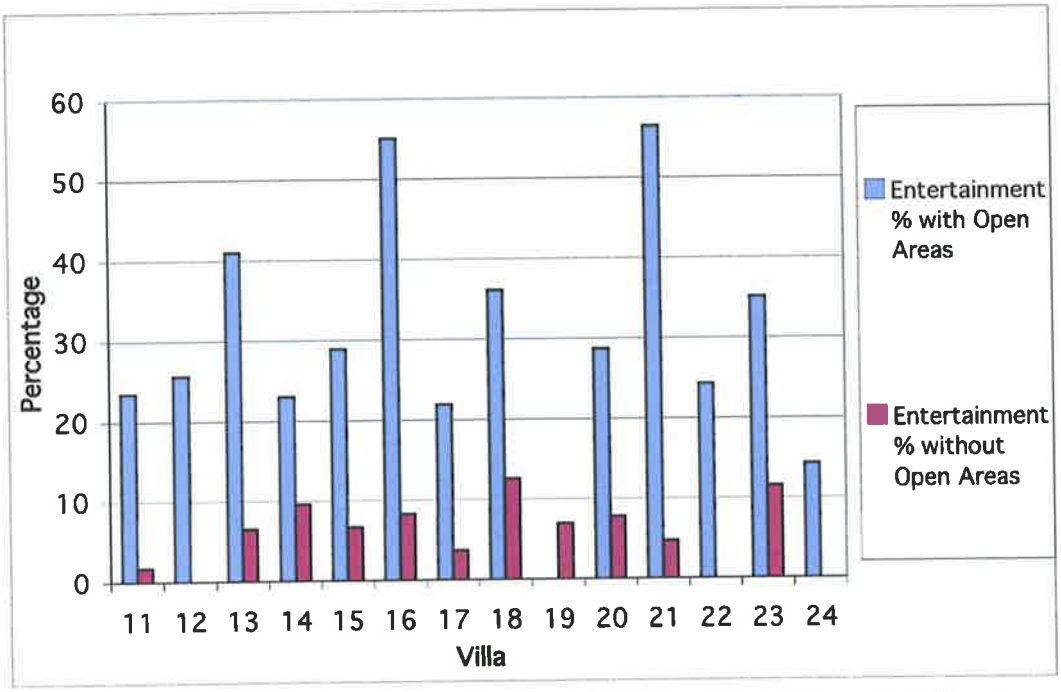
Graph 30 - showing the Percentage of Identifiable Entertainment Areas to the Known Total Area of Building Complex at Each Suburban Villa in the Outer Pompeian Suburbs



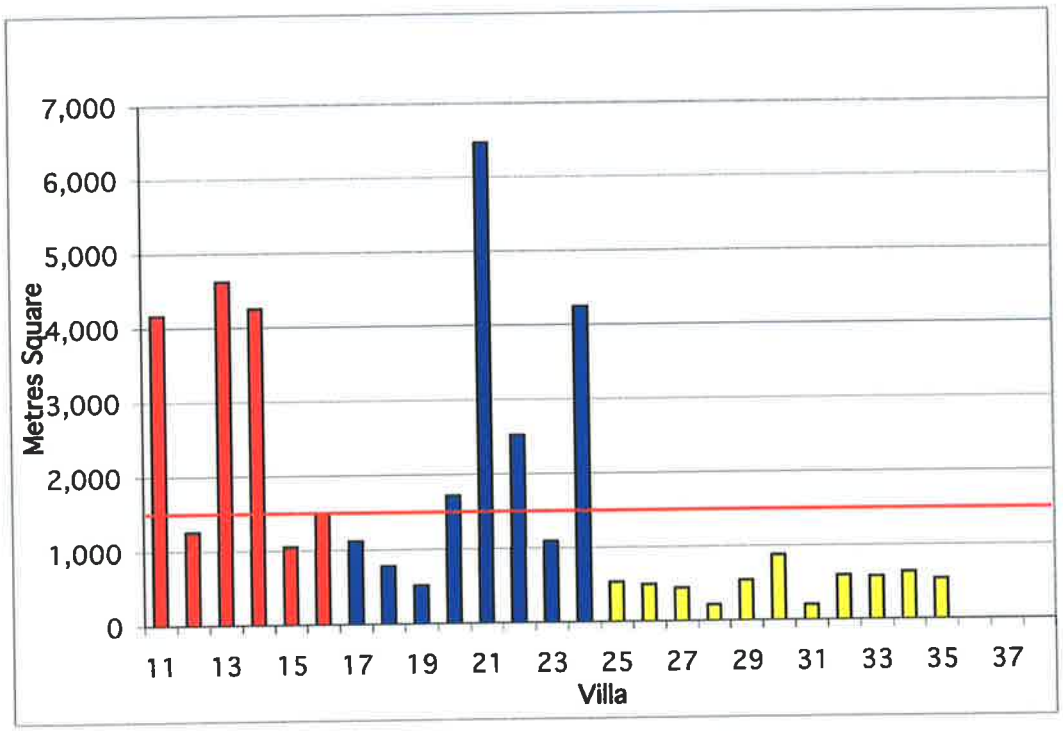
Graph 31 - showing the Comparison of Estimated Surface Areas of All Pompeian Suburban Villas



Graph 32 - showing the Percentage of Identifiable Entertainment Areas to the Known Total Area of Building Complex at All Pompeian Suburban Villas



Graph 33 - showing the Percentages of Entertainment Areas With and Without Open Areas Relative to the Total Estimated Area of Building Complex at All Pompeian Suburban Villas



Graph 34 - showing the Comparison of Estimated Surface Areas of All Pompeian Villas

General Conclusions

The view seems to have been an important factor in the creation of a suburban residence. As has been seen when discussing the villas that were closer to Pompeii, the design of many residences was focused towards the outlook from the building. However, the evidence of villas located further out from the city shows that this is not always the case. Of the villas discussed in this chapter only eight have produced evidence of any significant attempt to take advantage of the surrounding landscape: Villas 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23 and 24.[142] In the Villa of Iucundus (Villa 17) there were windows located in Room I, which would have allowed for views of both the Bay of Naples and the countryside to the north. It may be significant that the larger of the two faced towards the city to the south (Plate 72). The Villa of Popidius Florus (Villa 18) had several rooms allowing for the view, including a view of Pompeii from Rooms 16, 18 and 19, whereas Rooms 4 and 21 overlooked the Bay of Naples. Villa 19 has only produced limited remains but its decorative pretensions and high percentage of entertainment space without including a courtyard suggests that this was also a *villa suburbana*.

The Villa of Fannius Synistor (Villa 20) seems to have allowed for a view of both the bay and the city from the southern portico. The Villa of Poppea (Villa 21) had a very open disposition that would have provided an impressive panorama towards the coast and a view of Pompeii as well. Despite the partial excavations of the Villa of Agrippa Postumus (Villa 22) and the limited evidence available from the entertaining rooms, the elevated position of this complex would have surely taken advantage of the panorama to the south. Finally the Villa of Asellius (Villa 23) was provided with several rooms (Rms 17-20) on the western side to allow for a view of the Bay of Naples, with all of these rooms being finely decorated. The Villa of Crassius Tertius (Villa 24) has been classified as a suburban villa, owing to the wealth of some finds and the efforts made towards pretension in its décor by the owners. It has only limited evidence of viewing rooms, but there is the possibility that these were located on the upper floors.[143]

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[142] The Villas of Iucundus (17), Popidius Florus (18), Villa 19, Fannius Synistor (20), Poppea (21) Asellius (23) and Crassius Tertius (24).

[143] M. Beard, "What Might have happened Upstairs", *London Review of Books* 21, 1999, www.lrb.co.uk/v21/n18/print/bear01_.html

It is significant to note that many of these villas were some of the most extensive complexes within this group (Graph 25), particularly the Villas of Poppea (Villa 21) and Asellius (Villa 23). However, it is also pertinent that a large number of these villas were designed to have quite insular plans, focusing upon a central courtyard. Of this group there is one notable example: the Villa of Agrippa Postumus (Villa 22), which was one of the most impressive villas in this region. The majority of these insular villas seem to have functioned predominantly as agricultural villas, having a lower level of décor and residential facilities. The Villa of Agrippa Postumus seems to have been the exception rather than the rule in this case, especially when the well-appointed facilities, décor and elevated position of the owner is taken into consideration.

At this point it must be observed that the available evidence is only for the ground floors, leaving open the possibility for second storey bedrooms and dining areas that may have been in a better position to appreciate the panorama of the Bay of Naples or the city of Pompeii. There are other villas within this group that may have had rooms that were provided with a view (Villas 28, 33, 35), but the known evidence is insufficient to include them within the group. The inclusion of viewing rooms within six of the original seven villas (Villas 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23) does suggest that there was more inclination towards creating a pleasant living environment.

The inclusion of a window to take advantage of the local panorama would not have been limited by the wealth of the residents. It seems that these viewing rooms reflect the aspirations and intentions of the owner rather than their financial position. Therefore, it may be possible to classify these complexes as suburban villas, owing to the intentions of the residents to include a pleasant outlook from their properties, rather than focusing purely upon agricultural production. It appears reasonable that the Villa of Agrippa Postumus should be added to this group of suburban villas, owing to its high level of facilities and well-appointed décor. It is unlikely that members of the Imperial household would have resided at the complex for long periods of time, but this should not preclude its classification among the *villae suburbanae.*

Having examined the evidence, it is clear that the majority of these villas should still be viewed as essentially agricultural complexes. The limited evidence

of luxury, eminent residential facilities and well-appointed décor within many of these buildings supports this premise. It would be imprudent to consider that all of these villas were deemed to be *villa suburbana*, in view of the distinctive combination of qualities that seem to have been attributable to suburban properties. Naturally the desire for *otium* was one of the most important aspects of *villae suburbanae*, which seems to have been complemented by a pleasant view of the surrounding landscape.

The difference between the potential entertainment role at *villae suburbanae* and agricultural farmsteads is clearly shown on Graph 28, where the Mean percentages of potential entertainment for each group are illustrated. The Mean for all of the structures was 14.17%, being significantly lower than the Mean of the suburban villas examined in the inner *suburbium* of Pompeii (31.67% entertainment space)(Graph 13). However, when the two structural groups from the outer suburbs (*villae suburbanae*, agricultural complexes) are evaluated separately, the *villae suburbanae* have a Mean percentage of 27.94%, whereas the others have a Mean percentage of 4.94% (as illustrated by the Blue and Yellow lines on Graph 28 respectively). These averages illustrate not only the difference between the suburban villas and the smaller agricultural complexes in their provision for a potential social role, but also that the percentage of potential entertainment space was only slightly lower in the outer suburbs (27.94% entertainment space) than in the inner Pompeian *suburbium* (31.67% entertainment space).

The dimensions of all the complexes classified as suburban villas are within the group of the largest structures (Graph 25), with the exception of the Villa of Popidius Florus (Villa 18)(Table 7). This is the smallest residence considered to be a suburban villa so far, but the facilities at this complex justify its inclusion. Of the villas considered in this chapter, only Villa 30 at Scafati was smaller than the Villa of Popidius Florus, but the majority of its space was devoted purely to agriculture. It is of interest to observe that both villas considered from Torre Annunziata (Villas 21, 24) were the largest complexes (Graph 29), suggesting that the wealthiest members of the region favoured this location. This is not surprising in view of its coastal environs.

It is also of interest to note that only these two villas are of comparable size to the largest villas analysed in the previous chapter (Graph 31)(Table 7). This is an important consideration because it illustrates that the distance from the city walls did not necessarily alter the size of a complex dramatically. From the opposite perspective, both Villas 25 and 28 were found to be simple farmsteads even though they were both located very close to Pompeii (Plate 12). This illustrates that while location did play a natural role in the creation of a suburban villa, it was not the only consideration. The remainder of the suburban villas were constructed on similar proportions to the smaller suburban villas built in the inner suburbs of Pompeii. In order to fully appreciate the significance of this, the size and proportions of reception/entertaining space must be considered.

Where possible the area of reception space within these villas are considered and compared to each other to determine the percentage of each structure potentially dedicated for reception and entertainment in the outer suburban villas (Graph 30). This is important because it enables an interesting comparison not only between potential suburban villas in the outer suburbs, but also with those villas located closer to Pompeii (Graph 32). Firstly, the villas in the outer suburbs will be considered as a group. One of the most striking aspects is the provenance of identifiable *exedrae* and *oecii*. Of the eight *villae suburbanae* discussed, five structures (Villas 18, 19, 20, 21, 23) possessed either *exedrae* or *oecii* within the known precincts (Table 7). This is a compelling feature, especially when all of those structures not deemed to have been suburban villas have no evidence of such entertainment areas. Of the three *villae suburbanae* that have not produced evidence of such rooms, the results from the Villa of Iucundus (Villa 17) should not be surprising in view of this being a low priority for the role of this residence. Nevertheless, it possessed a large dining room (Rm I) that was larger than all of the non-*villae suburbanae* examples (Table 7).

It is to be expected that the extant evidence from the Villa of Agrippa Postumus (Villa 22) has not exhibited such rooms, owing to the lack of current knowledge on the residential regions of this complex, which surely would have included these areas. The Villa of L. Crassius Tertius (Villa 24) would also have had either an *exedra* or *oecus*, but owing to the limited knowledge on this structure, caution has avoided any direct speculation in this regard.

Most of the structures not deemed to have been *villae suburbanae* were quite modest, with no emphasis being placed on either *otium* or entertainment. These structures only had a dining room allocated for this function, and were smaller than the majority of dining rooms in the *villae suburbanae* (Table 7). In fact, of the *villae suburbanae*, only Villa 19 had a small dining room (24.89m^2), which was comparable in size to Villas 25, 27, 29 and 33. Nevertheless, it is evident that most *villae suburbanae* were used for entertainment purposes, which explains the comparatively well-appointed nature of their facilities.

When these complexes are compared with those in the inner suburbs, there are two notable differences and similarities. Firstly, it is clear that all of the inner *villae suburbanae* were larger than the non-*villae suburbanae* (Graph 34). In view of the greater need for space to entertain this would seem understandable, but in view of the greater accessible space further out from Pompeii it does appear surprising. If the creation of decorative gardens is taken into account in opposition to productive gardens (in other words the ability or desire to use space effectively for production), this seems logical. Secondly, it is notable that all of the inner suburban villas were larger than most outer *villae suburbanae* (Villas 17, 18, 19, 20, 23), with the entire complex of Agrippa Postumus (Villa 22) and Crassius Tertius (Villa 24) being of similar dimensions to those of Cicero and Diomede (Villas 11, 13)(Graph 30).

The Villa of Poppea (Villa 21) was by far the largest, comprising over 6,000m^2. The other outer *villae suburbanae* (Villas 17, 18, 19, 20, 23) were of a similar size to the Villas of Mosaic Columns and T. Siminius Stephanus (Villas 12, 15), which seems appropriate in view of their facilities. When all of these complexes are considered in view of size, location and facilities, it would seem that even within this group of well-appointed structures there was a definite hierarchy between the smaller pleasant residences and the immense, luxurious villas devoted to *otium*.

The percentage analysis used for determining potential entertainment space for these structures has produced some interesting results (Table 7). It is notable that the amount of space designated for reception was similar in all of those structures that have been classified as *villae suburbanae* where there has been substantial excavation (Villas 18, 20, 21, 22, 23)(Graph 30). All of the other

suburban villas have produced evidence that the importance of entertaining and receiving guests/clients was just as essential in the outer suburbs as in the urban centre itself. It may be that owing to his ownership of a townhouse within Pompeii itself, L. Caecilius Iucundus did not deem it necessary to entertain guests at his suburban property (Villa 17), preferring to use the suburban residence for productivity and privacy. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the amount of space allocated for purely social purposes remains the same even in the more distant suburban villas around Pompeii. This illustrates that the social activity within the community was by no means limited to the urban centre and that the outer suburban regions were closely linked to the life of the urban community. The other two *villae suburbanae* that have lower entertainment percentages (Villa 19, 24) have only partial reports on their layouts.

The other methods of analysis (Tables 8, 9) have also produced some interesting results. Both have illustrated that the majority of open areas in structures located in the outer suburbs were used for utilitarian functions (Graph 28)(Table 9). This not only exhibits how most structures in these areas were not viewed as *villae suburbanae*, but also that they should be considered with different emphases than villas in the inner suburbs. The inclusion of an open space in a large residence located in the inner suburbs was usually used for entertainment or relaxation, whereas non-*villae suburbanae* utilised these areas for more utilitarian functions. This is because of the different motives and conceptions of the owners.

Those *villae suburbanae* located in the outer suburbs were predominantly conceived in a similar fashion to the Villas of Cicero, Diomede and Imperiale (11, 13, 16), focusing upon lifestyle rather than productivity. The examples noted in this chapter of more productive suburban villas (18, 19, 22) seem to have been akin with the Villas of the Mysteries and T. Siminius Stephanus (14, 15) in their combined use as well-appointed residence and productive steading. However, these structures were quite different in their emphasis to the utilitarian non-*villae suburbanae* that were much more common in the suburbs of Pompeii.

The difficulty with this method of investigation is the designation of room function within each complex and the limited information at many of the villas. This has been rectified by applying aconsistent method of selection based upon

the architectural types of each room within each structure.[144] This process has also taken into consideration the décor, finds and the aspect of each example. However, if a particular room was positioned in an appropriate position and had no additional evidence (such as aspect or décor) suggesting a potential entertainment role then it has not been included among the data. So by basing the allocation of room use primarily upon its architectural setting and using other extant archaeological evidence as a supplementary basis for applying the method it should provide a more consistent source of information to determine the potential entertainment activity within these suburban villas. Nevertheless, if this is understood and unnecessary assumptions avoided, the results illustrate that there was a consistent amount of space allocated for reception, which seems to have only varied according to the size of the structure as a whole.

It is important to note that the percentage of reception space did not differ greatly from those villas located in the inner suburbs of Pompeii. As Jongman has illustrated, there was a clear concentration of well-appointed residences in the northern suburbs of Pompeii.[145] This was probably influenced by the topography of the location with the associated views, as well as the road network nearby.[146] Naturally, the larger sites are more likely to be discovered,[147] which may further substantiate this distribution of larger villas in the region. It is evident that, as with the Roman evidence, there were several suburban villas located further out from the city-walls than has previously been believed. These properties were quite different in their character to the smaller agricultural complexes located throughout the region, possessing the combined aspects of productivity and urbanism. In many ways, this combination represents the duality in function that embodied *villae suburbanae*.

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[144] c.f. Allison, 2004, *op.cit.*, pp. 63-123.
[145] Jongman, 1988, *op.cit.*, pp. 119-20.
[146] *Ibid.*, p. 123.
[147] M. Millett, "Roman towns and their territories: an archaeological perspective", in J. Rich and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *City and Country in the Ancient World*, Routledge: London, 1991, p. 171.

Chapter V

Suburban Villas and Herculaneum

Having discussed the villas around Pompeii, there are other urban centres that should be examined in the Bay of Naples region. One of the most important of these for the present study is Herculaneum. This city suffered a similar fate to Pompeii in AD 79, providing a great amount of archaeological material to be analysed. Herculaneum was a relatively minor city in Campania during the late Republic and early Empire, located on the lower slopes of Mount Vesuvius (Plate 14).[1] The analysis of this urban centre follows that used for the examples at Rome and Pompeii.

This entails a discussion of those villas in relatively close proximity to Herculaneum. Many villas in the *suburbium* of Herculaneum were located further out from the city, in a similar fashion to the outer suburbs of Pompeii. However, the paucity of publications upon them and their frequent position on the coastline makes them closer in type to some examples from Baiae. Comparing these structures allows for more comprehensive statistical analysis and a good comparison of *villae suburbanae* at Herculaneum and a coastal resort town. This analysis has been followed by an examination of several large townhouses in Herculaneum that were designed for an appreciation of the view of the Bay of Naples. All buildings have then been compared with each other and to residences from the Pompeian region to make secure conclusions concerning the purpose and nature of *villae suburbanae* around Herculaneum.

The city was located upon a promontory, with two deep channels on either side.[2] This location had a profound effect upon the design of both *villae suburbanae* and townhouses in and around Herculaneum, especially those along the southern limits of the city. The original urban area measured roughly 370 by 320 metres, but this was expanded with the construction of the southern terraces with their townhouses and the suburban structures.[3] The health benefits of sea

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[1] A. Maiuri, *Herculaneum*, 7th ed., Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato: Roma, 1977, p. 5.
[2] J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Notes on Topography and Urbanism", in F. Zevi (ed.), *Pompeii 79*, Gaetano Macchiaroli Editore: Naples, 1984, p. 27.
[3] A. De Franciscis, *The Buried Cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum*, Istituto Geografico de Agostini: Novara, 1978, p. 13.

breezes would have been an important reason for the creation of viewing rooms towards the coast.[4]

When comparing Herculaneum and Pompeii it is easy to recognise the different social environments within these urban centres. For example, the political environment was different there being numerous finds of political programmata and grafitti at Pompeii,[5] whereas there has been comparatively little discovered in Herculaneum.[6] This has been attributed to the social environment at Herculaneum, having a dearth of local aristocracy, instead being dominated by wealthy Romans who resided permanently elsewhere.[7] However, there was one important similarity: the economy. Both had economies based upon agricultural and maritime production and the exchange of products along the important trade routes throughout Campania, especially with Rome.[8] But it is evident that Herculaneum was not as commercialised as Pompeii, allowing for a more pleasant and relaxed lifestyle.[9]

There were not as many suburban villas built immediately outside of Herculaneum as at Pompeii. In fact, there is only one known villa built directly beyond the city precincts, the Villa of the Papyri. However, this residence could not be described as typical, owing to its size and palatial features. This villa dominated the northern landscape across the channel from the city, positioned at this location for one reason: the vast panorama. The size of this structure and its estate meant that the opportunity for the creation of other residences in this prime location was restricted. There are a few examples of other villas within the *ager Ercolano* (see below), but it is important to observe the pre-eminence of the Villa of the Papyri in its prime viewing position just beyond the precincts of Herculaneum.

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[4] Columella, 1.5.5.
[5] J.L. Franklin jnr., *Pompeis Difficile Est: studies in the political life of Imperial Pompeii*, University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor, 2001.
[6] H. Solin, "Die herkulanensischen Wandinschriften. Ein soziologischer Versuch", *CronErc* 3, 1973, pp. 97-103.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] G. Susini, "Pompei (e dintorni) 1979", in E. Acquaro (ed.), *Pompei 79*, Antiqua Supp. 15, Buffetti Editore: Rome, 1979, pp. 6-7.
[9] J. Guadagno, "Contributo alla rilettura di Pompei ed Ercolano", in E. Acquaro (ed.), *Pompei 79*, Antiqua Supp. 15, Buffetti Editore: Rome, 1979, p. 21.

Villa 39 - The Villa of the Papyri[10]

General Surface Area: $9,747m^2$

The Villa of the Papyri was located less than 400 metres to the west of Herculaneum (Plate 15). The layout complemented its placement parallel to the coastline (Plate 100), creating a limitless viewing platform.[11] The villa was built halfway up the slopes of the lowest flank of Mount Vesuvius, allowing the residents to enjoy not only the benefits of the view but also the sea breezes.[12] The building also had a garden, enclosed by a colonnade with vineyards and vegetable gardens, as well as access to a port.[13] It is likely that this villa was built in either the second or first centuries BC as a residence for a wealthy and influential family.[14]

The villa also had road access with Neapolis, Herculaneum and other cities on the Bay of Naples. The thoroughfare between these cities meant that, despite its seclusion, there were good means of communication with these centres.[15] As Maiuri commented, the Villa of the Papyri would have been the ideal home for the most eminent and sophisticated patrician.[16] It appears that the owner was at one time L. Calpurnius Piso Censonius,[17] owing to the large collection of Philodemus in the villa library,[18] but Piso Pontifex may have owned it.[19] The complex was over 250 metres in length, which is significant when compared to other villas.[20] The plan was designed in a balanced and consistent fashion, divided into four primary regions: the entrance quarter, Square *peristyle*, living quarters and Great *peristyle*. Judging from recent discoveries and the layout, it seemed to possess at least two levels.[21] A large amount of carbonised wheat was discovered in one

[10] See Appendix D, pp. 77-80.
[11] M.R. Wojcik, *La Villa dei Papiri ad Ercolano*, Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei: Rome, 1986, p. 13.
[12] Maiuri, 1977, *op.cit.*, p. 75.
[13] J.J. Deiss, *Herculaneum: Italy's buried treasure*, Thames and Hudson: London, 1985, p. 60.
[14] E.W. Leach, "La Villa dei Papiri ad Ercolano (Book Review)", *AJA* 92, 1988, p. 146.
[15] Maiuri, 1977, *op.cit.*, p. 75.
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 75-77.
[18] M. Gigante, trans. D. Obbink, *Philodemus in Italy: the books from Herculaneum*, University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor, 1995, pp. 15-48.
[19] Leach, 1988, *op.cit.*, p. 146.
[20] Maiuri, 1977, *op.cit.*, p. 77.
[21] B. Conticello, "Dopo 221 anni si rientra nella Villa dei Papiri", *CronErc* 17, 1987, p. 11.

room, but at a level roughly two metres from the ground floor, suggesting the presence of a loft,[22] and some degree of agriculture.

The size and décor of this residence suggest that the owners of this estate were wealthy, with a large amount of expendable capital to use on the development of this villa. Owing to the prominent position in association with Herculaneum, it was a *villa suburbana*. This residence was devoted to *otium* with little obvious evidence of agricultural activity. Agriculture was present at this residence but it was not emphasised within the residential environment. Instead it was located out of the residential realm. Lifestyle was the prime focus of this residence, but as with many *villae suburbanae* it did not exclude productivity either.

The emphasis upon *luxuria* and *otium* is also further supported by one of the most notable features of this villa, the aqueduct. This aqueduct was subterranean and was used with a hydraulic system that supplied the residence, fountains and pools with water.[23] The presence of this system not only reflects the wealth and luxuriousness of the owners, but it also represents the lengths gone to by them to create an impressive *villa suburbana* for *luxuria* and *otium*. For the statistical analysis of potential entertainment space, four regions have been included: both of the colonnaded courtyards (Rms B, C), the belvedere (Rm E) and Room D. Other regions in this *villa suburbana* could have served an entertainment function, but these are the clearest examples of areas that were intended for such a role. Naturally among these would have been designated dining areas, but considering that at the present time there is no obvious instance of areas with this function, so no identifiable dining room has been included among the potential entertainment rooms.

The statistical analysis of this complex illustrates that the Villa of the Papyri was one of the largest establishments examined in this study so far, being well over 9,000m^2 (Table 10). Firstly, the data exhibits the open aspect of this suburban villa, having over two-thirds of its surface area devoted to colonnaded courtyards. The dominance of open-styled living (Table 11) is epitomised in the presence of only one known internal reception room, Room D, and this would

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[23] Deiss, 1985, *op.cit.*, p. 64.

have been well illuminated. It was a large example of such a room, which could have not only served as a place of business but also as a wing for Room B.[24] When the results for internal potential entertainment space are compared to the internal entertainment areas at the Villa Sora (Villa 40), it is interesting that the latter had 245.32m^2 whereas the Villa of the Papyri had 103.5m^2, illustrating that the focus of the owner was almost entirely devoted to open-planned entertainment. This is probably indicative of the times when the owners resided at the *villa suburbana*: it being a summer residence when business at Rome had been concluded.

The Hillier and Hanson method has exhibited the division between public and private domains in the Villa of the Papyri (Plate 101).[25] The lower Real Relative Asymmetry values for Room B (0.859) and Room D (0.888) and lower Mean Depths (3.10, 3.17 respectively) epitomise their more public roles. The rooms also have lower Depth from Exterior results (1, 2), which represent the accessibility that both regions possessed. This contrasts the results of Rooms C and E, which had Real Relative Asymmetry values (1.325, 1.722 respectively), indicating their reduced accessibility and private functions. They were also located furthest from the entrance (Depth from Exterior results of 5, 6), which also exhibits their inaccessibility and privacy (Plate 102).

The percentage of entertainment space is exceedingly high (67.76% entertainment space) and epitomises the *luxuria* and *otium* that this complex provided its owners (Graph 36). The Villa of the Papyri is one of the most impressive known examples of a *villa suburbana*. The entertainment role of this *villa suburbana* seems to have been primarily for public occasions. The belvedere is also a notable example of a private viewing area, to which only the most intimate of guests would have been allowed access. This was also the prime location for viewing the coastline from this *villa suburbana*.

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[24] E.J. Dwyer, *Pompeian Domestic Sculpture: a study of five Pompeian Houses and their contexts*, Giorgio Bretschneider: Rome, 1982, p. 116.
[25] See Appendix D, p. 81.

Other Villas close to Herculaneum

The majority of the villas along the coast could be classified as *villae maritimae*,[26] owing to their topography and connection with the coast. However, the categorisation of each complex is not so simple because of the close connection that some of the estates had with the centre of Herculaneum. For example, the Villa of the Papyri could be seen as a *villa maritima* owing to its position near the coast, or a *villa suburbana* with its connection with Herculaneum. Therefore, a survey of several complexes in this region has been discussed so that each villa can be classified appropriately. Strabo mentions that the coast of the Bay of Naples was lined with opulent houses and villas of wealthy Romans.[27] The villas in this region seem to have sought a combination of the pleasurable *amoenitas* and *fructus*, maintaining a combination of the conventional elements of both *villae maritimae* and *villae suburbanae*. There are several sites on the coastline, such as the Villa Calastro (Villa 44) and Villa Sora (Villa 40), whereas others were not as close, such as the Villa del Real Boschetto (Villa 42) and Villa dell'Epitaffio (Villa 43)(Plate 16).[28]

These residences have been discovered in the modern region of Torre del Greco, which had a clear association with Herculaneum, suggesting that the region was seen as its *suburbium*.[29] This should provide further insight into *villae suburbanae* in a coastal region. But this would not have necessarily excluded their classification as *villae maritimae* either. Owing to the study of D'Arms,[30] it would appear that many *villae maritimae* did not have productive facilities and that this feature may have been a distinguishing characteristic of *villae maritimae*. The implications of both terms (*suburbana*, *maritima*) suggest that the main differences between the two concepts were their location and function. It would seem appropriate to classify a coastal villa with an intimate connection to an urban centre as a *villa suburbana*, whereas the more isolated examples were deemed to

[26] L.A. Scatozza Höricht, "Ville nel territorio Ercolanese", *CronErc* 15, 1985, p. 143.
[27] Strabo, *Geography*, 5.4.8.
[28] Scatozza Höricht, 1985, *op.cit.*, p. 145.
[29] F. Formicola, U. Pappalardo, G. Rolandi and F. Russo, "Archeologia, geologia e vulcanologia nel territorio di Torre del Greco: tre discipline a confronto", in C. Albore Livadie and F. Wiedermann (eds.), *Volcanology and Archaeology: Proceedings of the European Workshops of Ravello, November 19-27 1987 and March 30-31 1989*, Conseil de l'Europe: Strasbourg, 1990, p. 155.
[30] D'Arms, 1970, *op.cit.*, pp. 9, 12.

have been *villae maritimae*. The perspective of whether two sites are connected is subjective, but location and function seem to have been the distinctive criteria. Lafon has highlighted how *villae maritimae* were idealised in their architecture and also in their visual representations,[31] illustrating how they were usually purely devoted to *otium*, symbolising status and *luxuria*.[32]

The passage by Cornelius Nepos is the only extant literary reference to *villae maritimae*,[33] which limits their possible classification. It would seem appropriate that *villae maritimae* were viewed as villas in direct contact with the coastline.[34] Lafon views *villae suburbanae* as villas in direct contact with an urban centre,[35] but the limitations of this view have already been shown. Apart from anything else, it is inadequate when the coastal *suburbium* is taken into consideration. It is difficult to determine whether the association with the coastline or urban centre would have been the prime focus. It would appear reasonable to assume that in such circumstances a location near the city on the coast was ideal, such as in the case of the Villa of the Papyri. For the purposes of this study, structures (such as Villas 47-49) have been classified as *villae maritimae* when they were constructed in direct contact with the coastline with limited connection to an urban centre.

It seems likely that not only wealthy Romans but also the local nobility, families such as the *Anii*, *Calatorii*, *Claudii*, *Nonii*, and *Remmii*, would also have owned villas further out from the city centre.[36] Although few excavations have been undertaken at most sites (limiting the available information) these sites must be considered to gain the most extensive appreciation of villas in this area. The statistical analysis is severely limited as only Villas 39 and 40 have published plans. The statistics for both of these complexes will be considered and then compared to villas at Baiae and Pompeii as well as some townhouses in Herculaneum.

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[31] X. Lafon, "A propos des villas maritimes: cadre reel et cadre rêvé d'après les representations figurées", *Ktema* 16, 1991, pp. 131-45.
[32] X. Lafon, *Villa Maritima: recherches sur les villas littorals de l'Italie Romaine*, École Française de Rome: Rome, 2001, pp. 60-2.
[33] Cornelius Nepos, *Atticus*, 25.14.3.
[34] Lafon, 2001, *op.cit.*, pp. 72-6.
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] Scatozza Höricht, 1985, *op.cit.*, p. 144.

Villa 40 - The Villa Sora[37]

General Surface Area: *2,998.11m²*

The Villa Sora (Plate 103) was located roughly 4.5 kilometres from Herculaneum (Plate 16), in the region of Torre del Greco. This complex was on the coastline in antiquity,[38] resulting in the remains being submerged, but it is possible to make a hypothetical reconstruction of this establishment.[39] It was a substantial complex, covering roughly 3,000m², with some pretension in its architecture and décor. Its layout was a series of terraces that led down towards the Bay of Naples,[40] with evidence of coloured marbles, white plaster and mosaic fragments.[41] There are some remains of the foundations, roughly 150 metres from these terraces, indicating that the plan was rectangular with a large opening towards the bay.[42] This would have allowed the residents to appreciate the coastal view and sea breezes, which was a common feature of many villas in the region. There was also a large colonnaded courtyard (Plate 103), measuring roughly 50 metres in length, which was placed on the same axis as Room 5. The colonnaded courtyard has been dated to the Julio-Claudian era, whereas the complex was originally constructed between the Sullan and Caesarian periods.[43]

Three areas had a potential entertainment role: the colonnaded courtyard, Room 5 and Room 2. Judging from its placement, location and décor it seems that Room 5 served as a potential entertainment space, whereas Room 2 has been classified as a possible dining room. The Villa Sora appears to have been a substantial residence in the suburbs of Herculaneum, taking advantage of its location close to the coast to create an impressive view and pleasant living environment. It seems that this complex was similar to the villas around Stabiae, such as the Villa Arianna.[44] The statistical analysis of the Villa Sora has confirmed its classification as a *villa suburbana*, located in the coastal suburbs. As with the previous example (Villa 39), this residence had a large amount of

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[37] See Appendix D, pp. 81-82.
[38] M. Pagano, "La Villa Romana di Contrada Sora a Torre del Greco", *CronErc* 21, 1991, p. 149.
[39] Scatozza Höricht, 1985, *op.cit.*, pp. 152, 161.
[40] Formicola, *et al.*, 1990, *op.cit.*, p. 165.
[41] Scatozza Höricht, 1985, *op.cit.*, p. 152.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 153.
[43] M. Pagano, "Torre del Greco. Regione Sora. Villa Marittima", *RSP* 4, 1990, p. 227.
[44] V. Kockel, "Ein unpublizierter plan der Villa Sora von Carlo Bonnuci", *CronErc* 18, 1988, p. 205. See pp. 267-9.

space dedicated for open-styled reception/entertainment (74.17% entertainment space). The use of terraces would have further increased the visual impact of the coastline on the residents and their guests. This conforms to the general characteristics of many *villae suburbanae*.

In addition to these open areas, the Villa Sora also had at least a couple of large internal areas that could have been used for reception as well, having a relatively high percentage of enclosed entertainment space (8.18%). This complex would have been an impressive residence in the coastal suburbs of Herculaneum, providing a comparable lifestyle to that available at the Villa of the Papyri. However, the difference between the sizes of these two complexes must be noted (Graph 35), illustrating the exceptional nature of the Villa of the Papyri (Villa 39). The Villa Sora was closer in size to the larger townhouses at Herculaneum (such as the Houses of the Albergo and Relief of Telphus), but it had a much larger percentage of space dedicated to open entertainment than both townhouses (Graph 37), illustrating the benefits of *villae suburbanae*.

Conclusions from Villas 39 and 40

Having only limited available evidence from the other sites in the Herculaneum area, these are the only two examples that can provide statistical data for this region of Campania. This has probably affected the results (both structures being large and palatial with immense open areas), but it does not preclude their inclusion in this study. A broader corpus of material would be preferable for this statistical analysis, but the results from the Villas of the Papyri and Sora do allow for three conclusions. Firstly, it is evident that both complexes had similar traits to those that have been noted at *villae suburbanae* around Rome and Pompeii. With few exceptions, all of these have exhibited the important social role that they were intended to fulfil, mostly in an open context. The Villa of the Papyri (Villa 39) is particularly notable, having roughly twice the amount of space for colonnaded courtyards as the Villa of Poppaea (Villa 21), which was itself an immense establishment. The amount of space dedicated towards this is on a comparable level to the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta (Villa 1), which indicates the impressive nature of this *villa suburbana*.

Secondly, it is also noticeable that neither of these complexes had an obvious focus upon agriculture. It is evident that both establishments were predisposed to a social role, focusing upon *luxuria* and *otium* rather than an agricultural role. This was similar to large suburban villas around Pompeii, such as the Villas of Diomede (Villa 13) and Poppaea (Villa 21), and the Villas of Livia (Villa 1) and the Quintili (Villa 7) at Rome. Finally, judging from their comparative distances of the Villas of the Papyri and Sora from Herculaneum (400m, 4.5 kms)(Plate 16), there appears to have been little difference in their general design, except for the opulence of the Villa of the Papyri. Both villas had a significant social role and this does not seem to have been greatly affected by their distance from Herculaneum, thus reflecting the broader scope of its *suburbium*. None of the remaining villas in this region have published floor plans, making them impossible to analyse statistically, but it is still important to make note of their locations and reported features.

Villa 41 – Villa at Ponte di Rivieccio

The Villa at Ponte di Rivieccio (Plate 16) has only been partially investigated because of the higher water levels that have covered large sections of this residence. It was constructed only 200 metres to the south-east of the previous villa (Villa 40). This complex was inhabited after the eruption in AD 79, making it quite notable for this study because it illustrates the resumption of occupation in this region.[45] Despite the limited amount of remains, it is evident that the villa was a large and palatial residence, including baths with fine décor and it covered a large surface area.[46] There were a series of terraces leading down towards the coastline that greatly added to the pleasant demeanour of this residence.[47] Owing to the discovery of various fine architectural and sculptural fragments it is evident that this was a fine residence located close to the coastline.

However, the discovery of a semi-circular room to the west of the central complex produces some interesting results from this establishment. This was used as a viewing belvedere by the residents and included fragments of pottery within

[45] M. Pagano, "Torre del Greco. Scavi e restauri in località Ponte di Rivieccio (villa marittima romana detta Terma-Ginnasio", *RSP* 6, 1993-1994, p. 262.
[46] M. Pagano, "Torre del Greco. Località Ponte Rivieccio, contrada Villa Sora, prop. Montella", *RSP* 2, 1988b, p. 244.
[47] Pagano, 1993-1994, *op.cit.*, pp. 258-9.

its foundations dated to the early second century AD, exhibiting its post-eruption habitation.[48] But the period of habitation has important implications for the classification of this site. Owing to the date of construction after the destruction of Herculaneum, it would appear that the complex was a *villa maritima*. Many of the villas discovered in this region constructed before AD 79 would have been coastal *villae suburbanae*, but the Villa at Ponte di Rivieccio was a *villa maritima* due to its relative isolation from an urban centre. According to Statius,[49] the landscape of this region was desert-like after the eruption and that the disaster would not have been easily forgotten. Martial highlights how it was still considered a fertile region,[50] but it was unlikely to have been as active as before AD 79, especially with the continued disruptive activity of Vesuvius.[51]

Villa 42 - The Villa del Real Boschetto

The Villa del Real Boschetto was approximately 240 metres from Herculaneum (Plate 16). This complex had a central colonnaded courtyard, similar to the Villa of the Papyri,[52] with a large number of rooms that communicated with the gardens.[53] The wall paintings were in early Third Style and a large number of black and white pavements were also uncovered.[54] The quality of the décor suggests that it was well-appointed, but there has only been limited excavation. The quality of the décor and the finds makes it appropriate to suggest that this complex was well-appointed and probably served as a suburban villa. Unfortunately there has been no plan published with any report on this complex, which severely limits the analysis of the site and makes it impossible to confirm the classification statistically. However, judging from its known features, this designation as a *villa suburbana* seems possible.

Villa 43 - The Baths of the Villa dell'Epitaffio

The Villa dell'Epitaffio was approximately 650 metres from Herculaneum (Plate 16). Little is known about this complex apart from the well-appointed baths. These facilities suggest a degree of pretension, being decorated with

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 262.
[49] Statius, *Silvae*, 4.4.78-86; c.f. Formicola *et al.*, 1990, *op.cit.*, p. 155.
[50] Martial, *Ep.*, 4.44.
[51] Formicola *et al.*,1990, *op.cit.*, p. 156.
[52] Scatozza Höricht, 1985, *op.cit.*, p. 146.
[53] *Ibid.*
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

images of nymphs.[55] There have been large numbers of columns uncovered and their dimensions suggest an enormous complex.[56] It seems that this was designed to serve as a large sumptuous suburban villa, but the limited amount of investigation at this site has severely limited any further analysis of the complex.[57] As with the previous villa (Villa 42), a certain classification is impossible without a published layout of the establishment, but this structure seems to have had facilities indicating some social role and it may have been a *villa suburbana*, but this is purely conjecture.

Villa 44 - Villa di Calastro

This complex was situated approximately 3 kilometres from the city, west of Torre del Greco (Plate 16). The majority of the surviving regions of this villa do not appear to have been as opulent as the previous villas, with walls of *opus reticulatum* and floors made of *cocciopesto*.[58] However, there was an upper level above the landing that had flooring in white *tessellatum*.[59] This higher level had a colonnade with grooved columns that were covered in stucco in a grand style.[60] Therefore, it may simply be that the lower floor was the servile region, which was separated from the main residential residence. This colonnade was connected to several rooms to form a sizeable colonnaded courtyard, which may further indicate the standing of the structure.[61] At this site there were also bath facilities, mosaic pavements and painted walls.[62] Judging from the extant evidence, it would appear that this was another villa dated to the late Republic/early Empire located in the suburbs of Herculaneum on the coast.[63] The different masonry used suggests that there were different terraces, similar to the Villa Sora, which led down towards the coastline.[64] Owing to its size and pretensions this complex could be viewed as a *villa suburbana*.

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[55] *Ibid.*, p. 152.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 151.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 152.
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 161.
[59] *Ibid.*
[60] *Ibid.*
[61] *Ibid.*
[62] *Ibid*; Formicola *et al.*, 1990, *op.cit.*, p. 164.
[63] Scatozza Höricht, 1985, *Ibid.*, p. 161.
[64] *Ibid.*

Villa 45 - Villa alle Novelle (Cava Montone)

The Villa alle Novelle was another villa in the suburbs of Herculaneum, roughly 3.5 kilometres from the city (Plate 16). However, this complex was quite different to the previous complexes, owing to its agricultural function. Seals have been recovered from this structure, suggesting ownership by G. Ovius Secundus and Titus Munatius Primus,[65] but they may have been two *procuratores*.[66] Several rooms were plastered and decorated and there were also discoveries of a bronze statue of a *lar*, candelabra and several agricultural implements, such as sickles, hoes, axes and picks.[67] There were also animal bells, suggesting that both agriculture and husbandry were used as a source of production.[68]

The known features of this structure have illustrated that it was quite modest, with *cocciopesto* flooring and white plaster.[69] There were two rooms on the northern side that may have been quite well-appointed, which would be expected within most complexes.[70] But most of the known rooms seem to have been used for productive purposes. Therefore, it would seem unlikely that it was deemed to have been a *villa suburbana*. A hoard of coins, mostly silver denominations of Vespasian and Domitian, were also discovered.[71] It would appear that this residence was primarily an agricultural complex and yet judging from the facilities there was some desire for *otium*.[72] However, this is quite different to the previous villas discussed around Herculaneum because none of those complexes has produced significant evidence of agricultural production.

Villa 46 - Villa in Cupa Falanga

This complex was located approximately 4.5 kilometres from Herculaneum (Plate 16) and also appears to have been a primarily productive residence.[73] Its rooms seem to have been modest, similar to many agricultural premises throughout Campania at the time, with flooring of either beaten earth or

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[65] *CIL* X 2, n. 8058, 63; 8059, 267.
[66] Scatozza Höricht, 1985, *op.cit.*, p. 163.
[67] *Ibid.*
[68] *Ibid.*
[69] U. Pappalardo, A.L. De Caro and H. Sigurdsson, "Ercolano, Cava Montone: Villa Rustica Romana distrutta dal Vesuvio", in C. Albore Livadie (ed.), *Tremblements de terre, a eruptions volcaniques et vie des homes dans la Campanie antique*, Centre Jean Bérard: Naples, 1986, p. 95.
[70] *Ibid.*, p. 96.
[71] Scatozza Höricht, 1985, *op.cit.*, p. 163.
[72] *Ibid.*

cocciopesto.[74] Fragments of Dressel 2/4 *amphorae* from the Augustan era have been uncovered,[75] but little else is known about this site. Dolii fragments and a millstone have also been uncovered,[76] as well as evidence of both wine and olive presses.[77] In view of the general appearance of the complex and the evidence of agricultural activity it would seem to suggest that this was a simple farmstead. The initial construction of this complex has been dated to the Republican period,[78] but little else is known about the establishment, especially as there is no published plan. However, it does serve as a good comparison for the more opulent structures in the region. It is unlikely to have been classified among the *villae suburbanae*.

Conclusions for Villas outside Herculaneum

The importance of the final six structures for this study is their comparison to the previous villas, such as the Villa Sora. Despite the dearth of remains and infrequent excavation at many of these complexes it seems that several villas (Villas 39, 40, 42-44) were of ample proportion, exhibiting a desire for a pleasant lifestyle with generous facilities for the principal inhabitants. Those villas in the suburbs around Herculaneum that have produced evidence of agriculture are quite different, with only limited evidence of well-appointed décor or fine facilities. From this observation, there can be two conclusions: either the owner of these properties did not reside at the villa frequently (perhaps at all) and had no need for such comforts, or the owner could not afford these kind of facilities, instead concentrating upon the productive aspects of villa life. It is quite evident that these complexes were more indicative of simple farmhouses, rather than suburban villas. The larger complexes were probably *villae suburbanae*, yet it is difficult to determine conclusively with the known evidence. The urban characteristics of some complexes, particularly the Villa of the Papyri, illustrate that these palatial residences were designed to impress, despite being located beyond the city precincts of Herculaneum.

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[73] M. Pagano, "Torre del Greco. Scavo di una villa rustica", *RSP* 2, 1988a, pp. 240-1.
[74] *Ibid.*, p. 241.
[75] M. Pagano, "Torre del Greco. Località Cupa Falanga", *RSP* 3, 1989a, p. 285.
[76] Pagano, 1988a, *op.cit.*, p. 243.
[77] Scatozza Höricht, 1985, *op.cit.*, p. 164.
[78] Pagano, 1988a, *op.cit.*, p. 243.

But the most notable feature that is evident from the comparison of these structures is their division between the well-appointed terrace complexes and the agricultural establishments. Villas 39-44 have exhibited a high level of facilities with limited evidence of agriculture, whereas Villas 45 and 46 have limited areas for *otium* and large productive regions. This may simply be owing to the preferences of the excavators and what was deemed worthy of mention, with most complexes not having been excavated recently. Those villas with up to date reports usually have a higher level of consistency in their reports, so this is unlikely. It is also worthy to note that the possible *villae suburbanae* (Villas 42-44) were either located within a kilometre of Herculaneum (Villas 39, 42, 43) or on the coast (Villas 40, 44), whereas the other examples were placed further away from both the Bay of Naples (Plate 16). This difference may add further weight to the classifications that have been applied.

Overall, it seems that the archaeological evidence would agree with the comments of D'Arms,[79] yet this should not negate their classification as *villae suburbanae*, owing to their intimate connection with Herculaneum, except in relation to the Villa at Ponte di Rivieccio (Villa 41). It should also be noted that to draw a correlation between the evidence from Torre del Greco and those establishments at Torre Annunziata, which have exhibited similar tendencies. It is evident that the difference between *villae suburbanae* and small farmsteads around Herculaneum was much more marked than at those around Pompeii, having no middle ground between these types of establishments.

Comparison of Suburban Villas with Villas at Baiae and Puteoli

The centres at Baiae and Puteoli (Plate 14) have also been briefly considered in order to provide another social and statistical comparison with the *villae suburbanae* at Herculaneum. These urban centres were important for different reasons. By the end of the first century BC Puteoli had become one of the most important ports in the Mediterranean,[80] whereas Baiae had a reputation as a seaside resort town,[81] being frequented by many Roman élites from the Republican era well into the Imperial age.[82] D'Arms has analysed the historical

[79] D'Arms, 1970, *op.cit.*, pp. 9, 12.
[80] M. Frederiksen, *Campania*, British School at Rome: Rome, 1984, p. 319.
[81] Lafon, 2001, *op.cit.*, pp. 187-8.
[82] D'Arms, 1970, *op.cit.*, p. 119.

and literary evidence of both centres thoroughly,[83] so their discussion can be kept to a minimum here. The villas associated with these cities have only been used as a comparison within this study in order to broaden the material consulted from Campania and to illustrate the opulent demeanour of many villas in the region. Owing to their incomplete excavation, the two sites outside Puteoli have only been included as examples of *villae suburbanae* from another centre. The structures considered in the statistical analysis from Baiae (Villas 48-50) would have been viewed by contemporaries as *villae maritimae*, but they provide an excellent comparison with the *villae suburbanae* outside Herculaneum.

Puteoli was a successful Roman port, even after the increasing use of Ostia,[84] yet it was also regarded as one of the finest cities in Italy during the mid second century BC.[85] The wealthy élite of Puteoli have been well documented in various sources,[86] so the presence of two known well-appointed *villae suburbanae* in its outskirts would be expected. Although little detailed information has been published on either site (making statistical analysis impossible), they were *villae suburbanae*. One of these complexes was located in the south-eastern suburbs, being referred to as a large complex with an open aspect towards the coastline.[87] Investigation of this *villa suburbana* so far has exhibited the presence of a large open viewing room with marble pavement aligned with another four smaller well-appointed rooms, a large colonnade with *cocciopesto* flooring and a small bathing complex.[88]

The other *villa suburbana* was located in the western *suburbium* of Puteoli and exhibits a complex progression of alteration and development. As with the previous example, this complex was also designed with a view of the coastal landscape, which was accentuated by the construction of terraces, entertainment rooms and porticos at strategic points in its layout.[89] The entire southern side has been destroyed, but there is evidence of a large well-appointed panoramic room

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[83] *Ibid.*
[84] J.H. D'Arms, "Puteoli in the Second Century of the Roman Empire: a social and economic study", *JRS* 64, 1974, pp. 104-24.
[85] Polybius, 3.91.4.
[86] Frederiksen, 1984, *op.cit.*, pp. 320-2.
[87] C. Gialanella, "Puteoli: a villa to the south-east of the city", in *Nova Antiqua Phlegraea*, Electa: Naples, 2003, p. 51.
[88] *Ibid.*
[89] R. Iammarco, "Puteoli: a villa in the western suburbs", in *Nova Antiqua Phlegraea*, Electa: Naples, 2003, p. 56.

on the coastal side, as well as an eastern portico with brick columns.[90] The extant remains indicate that this *villa suburbana* had several rooms for entertainment and that it was intended for a lifestyle of *otium*.[91] This is epitomised in the large number of sculptural pieces dated to the late first/early second centuries.[92] The continuing theme of lifestyle and viewing rooms illustrated by these *villae suburbanae* is brought into focus when they are contrasted with an agricultural complex also discovered near Puteoli, in modern Monteruscello.[93] Despite the inability to perform any statistical analysis on these structures, the suburban villas correspond to the general characteristics of *villae suburbanae* and also exhibit similar differences to the local agricultural establishments, as seen outside Pompeii and Herculaneum.

Strabo referred to Baiae (Plate 14) as being a centre with a large number of luxurious villas.[94] The popularity of this centre was partly due to its thermal springs,[95] but its popularity was also due to the beautiful coastal panorama. Both the Emperors Claudius and Nero were active in public building at Baiae, reflecting the affection in which even the highest circles viewed this small coastal town.[96] However, among certain circles it was also notorious for its *luxuria*, *otium* and devotion to overindulgence.[97] This was epitomised in the *villae maritimae* that crowded the shoreline of the region.[98] The villas in this region did not originate as the large open-planned residences, gradually evolving over time, which is exemplified by the progression evidenced in the villa (originally built in the second century BC) within the modern Monumental Park.[99] The residential and entertainment elements of this late Republican villa were gradually developed, becoming primarily a residential complex in the first century BC.

Three coastal villas have been examined from Baiae (Villas 47-49), with two being included in the statistical analysis (Villas 48-49). Villa 47 was located

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[90] *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.
[91] *Ibid.*, p. 57.
[92] *Ibid.*, pp. 57-9.
[93] C. Gialanella, "Puteoli: a country villa in the locality of Monteruscello", in *Nova Antiqua Phlegraea*, Electa: Naples, 2003, pp. 61-2.
[94] Strabo, 5.4.7. c.f. Seneca, *Ep.*, 51.3.4.
[95] Plutarch, *Marius*, 34.2; Frederiksen, 1984, *op.cit.*, p. 333; Lafon, 2001, *op.cit.*, p. 193.
[96] Pliny, *NH*, 36.125; Suetonius, *Nero*, 31.2.
[97] Cicero, *Pro Caelio*; D'Arms, 1970, *op.cit.*, pp. 40-2.
[98] D'Arms, *Ibid.*, p. 17.

under the Castle of Baia, approximately 80 metres above sea level upon a promontory at the southern tip of the bay.[100] This *villa maritima* possessed fishponds that were originally right on the coastline and presents a similar progression in its residential features as the previous example.[101] There were two phases of construction, the first representing a well-appointed residence built in the second century BC with *cocciopesto* flooring, whereas the next phase (late first century BC) was more sophisticated and continued into the Flavian era.[102] This phase included the introduction of four small well-appointed viewing rooms on the coastal side. This coincided with this *villa maritima* becoming an Imperial property.[103] It is evident that the choice of this site for a *villa maritima* was heavily influenced by its location, allowing for an impressive view, which was accentuated by the additions to its structure during the second phase of construction.[104]

Two *villae maritimae* have been used as statistical comparisons: the Villas Ambulatio (Villa 48) and Piso (Villa 49). The Villa Ambulatio (Plate 104) was also constructed in the second century BC, having six terraces that included a long ambulatory that could have been used for a variety of occasions by the owners. The décor and architecture of the Villa Ambulatio corresponds with its well-appointed residential function, and when its position and layout are also considered it is evident that it was a *villa maritima* intended primarily for *otium* and *luxuria*. The areas within this villa that had a potential entertainment role were the ambulatory (Rm K) and the garden (Rm 16).

The Villa of Piso (Villa 49) is currently submerged in the Bay of Baiae (Plate 105), which limits the amount of information on this site. However, it illustrates just how close *villae maritimae* were constructed to the coastline, as alluded to by Vergil.[105] This residence was also constructed in the second century BC as a large complex, covering approximately 120 by 160 metres (Plate 106). A

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[99] P. Miniero, "Baia: the archaeological area of the Monumental Park", in *Nova Antiqua Phlegraea*, Electa: Naples, 2003, pp. 109-11.
[100] P. Miniero, "Baiae: the excavation of "Padiglione Cavaliere" in the Castle of Baia", in *Nova Antiqua Phlegraea*, Electa: Naples, 2003, p. 105.
[101] P. Miniero, "The origins: the Roman villa", in *The Archaeological Museum of the Phlegrean Fields in the Castle of Baia*, Electa: Naples, 2000, p. 18.
[102] Miniero, 2003, *op.cit.*, pp. 105-6.
[103] *Ibid.*, p. 106.
[104] Miniero, 2000, *op.cit.*, p. 15.
[105] Vergil, *Aeneid*, 9.710-18.

large section of this *villa maritima* included a large garden, but there were also posts that secured the fishponds located in the bay. It has been suggested that one of the first owners of this complex was Lucius Calpurnius Piso (*cos.* 15 BC). It is evident that this was a large well-appointed *villa maritima*, intended primarily for lifestyle and *otium*. The only potential entertainment area was the large open space (Rm C), but it is impossible to determine much about its specific function.

The statistical analysis of these *villae maritimae* has complemented the results from the *villae suburbanae* at Herculaneum. Owing to the limited archaeological material, only the open areas have been identified: the ambulatory and garden at the Villa Ambulatio and the garden at the Villa of Piso (Table 10). The Villa Ambulatio (48) has produced a result of 45.6% entertainment space, whereas the Villa of Piso (49) had a result of 32.3% entertainment space. In order to efficiently compare their results to the *villae suburbanae* outside Herculaneum, the external percentages of the suburban residences have been used to make the data more consistent.

This comparison has illustrated that all of these villas possessed a high percentage of entertainment space (Graph 39). The importance of social activity at *villae maritimae* is well documented.[106] At first glance the percentages indicate that *villae suburbanae* had a greater level of potential entertainment space, but these results are more indicative of the available knowledge on these sites. The immense size of the Villa of Piso (Villa 49) is also notable, which may also indicate that in reality it would have had a higher percentage of entertainment space if more were known about this complex. Nevertheless, the comparison of these structures has illustrated that there was a strong emphasis upon entertainment space at both *villae suburbanae* and *maritimae*, in these coastal regions where owners and their guests would be able to enjoy the view of the coastal panorama and the healthy sea-breezes. However, this was not limited to the extra-urban areas, with some townhouses in Herculaneum having similar social functions.

[106] D'Arms, 1970, *op.cit.*, pp. 48-55.

Townhouses on the Southern Frontage of Herculaneum

The houses on the southern frontage (Plate 17) were built upon a terrace from the 'Sacred Area' down to the House of the Albergo. The external façade of the terrace was covered with *opus reticulatum* and dressed with white plaster,[107] and was constructed in two phases. Arcades projecting into the suburban regions supported these terraces.[108] Around *Insula* IV and *Insula Orientalis* the renewal of the city walls in *opus reticulatum* 'type B' has been attributed to M. Nonius Balbus,[109] during the Augustan period.[110] The prominence of the position allowed the residents to enjoy the sea-breezes and the view of the Bay of Naples.[111] This meant that this region was highly prized, hence the large number of wealthy residences constructed in this area, affecting the design of these buildings. The location provided similar advantages to those houses in *Insula Occidentalis* in Pompeii.[112] It is for this reason that these houses provide the best comparison to *villae suburbanae* close to Herculaneum, owing to the similar facilities, décor and intended lifestyle.

The House of Aristide[113]

General Surface Area: $647.18m^2$

The House of Aristide (*Ins.* II, 1)(Plate 17) was located on the *III cardo* (Plate 107), with the rear quarters being constructed upon the extreme brow of the hill, overlooking the Bay of Naples.[114] It is interesting to note that the location of the storerooms in the complex was in a place conventionally assigned for entertaining rooms. But these are located on the lower floor, which has only partially survived whereas the upper rooms have not endured. It would have been these upper rooms that would have been used for the entertaining of guests and for a quiet respite place for the leading inhabitants of the building. The storerooms were hidden beneath the reception rooms towards the rear of the building and

[107] T. Budetta, "Ercolano: Attività dell'Ufficio Scavi: 1990", *RSP* 4, 1990, p. 220.
[108] *Ibid.*
[109] *CIL* 10.1425.
[110] R. Ling, "The study of Houses at Herculaneum", *JRA* 5, 1992, p. 332.
[111] Deiss, 1985, *op.cit.*, p. 40.
[112] R. Ling, "Pompeii and Herculaneum: recent research and future prospects", in H. McK. Blake, T.W. Potter and D.B. Whitehouse (eds.), *Papers in Italian Archaeology I: the Lancaster Seminar*, *BAR* Supp 41(i): Oxford, 1978, p. 153.
[113] See Appendix D, p. 82.

there was also a ramp that led directly from the harbour through a door onto *Cardo III*.[115] Four potential entertainment areas were included in this house: Rooms B, 9, 10 and 12. These areas were all well-appointed and their positions indicate a definite non-utilitarian aspect to their function.

It seems quite evident that the House of Aristide would have been a generous and distinguished residence, owing to its size, position and décor. The statistical analysis has illustrated that this residence had a significant amount of space (196.07m^2) dedicated for potential entertainment areas. Room 9 and 10 exhibit the owners' focus upon a pleasant lifestyle, especially when the size of the residence is taken into consideration (Table 10). In fact, this house had the smallest surface area of all townhouses under consideration (Graph 35), but had the third highest percentage of entertainment space (Graph 36). This space was primarily internal in its disposition (Graph 37), unlike most townhouses in its vicinity. The internal perspective at this residence severely contrasts with the *villae suburbanae* and illustrates its urban and distinctive character, when also compared to the other townhouses. Having such a high percentage of potential entertainment space (30.30%) does not necessarily make it a suburban villa, but instead illustrates the similar emphasis upon entertainment activity in both urban and suburban contexts. However, the reduced emphasis upon open entertainment at this complex is quite distinctive for both *villae suburbanae* and townhouses on the southern frontage of Herculaneum.

The House of Argo[116]

General Surface Area: *868.97m^2*

The House of Argo (*Ins.* II, 2)(Plate 17) was a well-appointed patrician residence (Plate 108), but only the eastern areas have been excavated, with a secondary entrance onto *III cardo*, the ground floor and some cellar rooms on the southern front.[117] The rest of the building has remained buried, yet there are still some observations that can be made about this noble residence.[118]

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[114] A. Maiuri, *Ercolano, i nuovi scavi (1927-1958)*, Vol. 1, Istituto Poligrafico della Stato: Rome, 1958, p. 373.
[115] Budetta, 1990, *op.cit.*, p. 221.
[116] See Appendix D, pp. 83-84.
[117] Maiuri, 1977, *op.cit.*, p. 23.
[118] Maiuri, 1958, *op.cit.*, p. 364.

The well-appointed nature of this building has also been exhibited by the discovery of *opus reticulatum* decorating the long wall facing onto the street of this complex.[119] The known living rooms of the house were located around the *portico* on the upper floor.[120] On the upper level there were also storerooms discovered, for the accommodation of large amounts of cereals and comestibles.[121] The House of Argo was a well-appointed residence and that the owners sought to create not only a pleasant living environment but also an impressive residence that incorporated the panorama of the coast. The entertaining rooms (Rms E, 4, 6, 10) exhibit the importance that this held to the leading residents. This is accentuated by the location of most servile rooms on the upper floors, away from the public regions of the building.[122] The residence has produced similar statistical results to the majority of residences in this region of Herculaneum (Table 10). It had a large percentage of space taken up by the colonnaded courtyard, which constituted the majority of its potential entertainment space (Table 10).

This residence had the largest percentage of entertainment space among the townhouses (Graph 36), most of which had an open demeanour. However, its size illustrates that it was a small but well-appointed residence, epitomising the ideals of *luxuria* and *otium* within a small domestic context. The intentions of its owner were similar to the owners of *villae suburbanae*, but its position in the city limited its growth.

The House of the Albergo[123]

General Surface Area: $2737.83m^2$

The House of the Albergo (*Ins.* III, 19)(Plate 17) was the largest residence in the southern region, covering at least sixty percent of *Insula III*.[124] The layout (Plate 109) was quite intricate, but this was so that the residents could enjoy both the view of the Bay of Naples as well as the large garden with colonnades towards the interior of the house.[125] Similarly to several other houses in this region of

[119] Maiuri, 1977, *op.cit.*, pp. 23-4.
[120] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[121] *Ibid.*
[122] Maiuri, 1958, *op.cit.*, p. 372.
[123] See Appendix D, pp. 84-85.
[124] Maiuri, 1977, *op.cit.*, p. 25.
[125] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

Herculaneum, the complex included a large terrace (Rm E). There were other living rooms (Rms 23-26) located below this terrace, which were probably used as well-ventilated relaxing rooms and belvederes.[126] The open areas of this residence constituted 26.82% of its surface area, dominating the main focus of the structure.

Several other smaller entertainment areas of note have been identified, suggesting that the owners had a similar attitude to owners of the *villae suburbanae* around Herculaneum, holding their social activities in an open environment. The other potential entertainment rooms included Rooms 23, 25, 26 and 32, which would have had pleasing views. When these areas are included within the statistical results for potential entertainment space, it illustrates the large amount of space that could have served such a function, comprising over 900m^2 of 2,737.83m^2. In surface area, this townhouse was comparable to the Villa Sora (Villa 40)(Graph 35), but its entertainment area was not as extensive. There was only a comparatively small amount of space (167.24m^2) devoted to internal entertainment areas, but they were still viewing Rooms (Rms 23, 25, 26, 32), highlighting the importance of possessing a pleasing coastal view.

It seems apparent that the House of the Albergo was designed to take full advantage of its position, shown by the numerous rooms focused upon the terraces and coastline. It would seem unlikely that it was originally intended to be a *hospitum* owing to the value of the property, instead being a large and impressive private residence. It also is evident that its original use changed over time, which is shown in the transformation of Rooms 32-3 into a commercial precinct. The poor state of maintenance at the time of the eruption[127] would also suggest that the owners were not as affluent as in previous periods.

It is notable that all of these residences (Aristides, Argo and Albergo) have exhibited a similar emphasis upon the provision of potential entertainment areas as *villae suburbanae*, and also that the same distribution of such areas throughout the various regions of these complexes existed. Not only does this highlight the importance of potential entertainment space in both urban and suburban contexts,

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[126] *Ibid.*
[127] Maiuri, 1958, *op.cit.*, p. 324.

but it also shows that the importance of social interaction was not limited to the urban centre (be it in a social or political context).

The House of the Mosaic Atrium[128]

General Surface Area: *1,178.98m²*

The House of the Mosaic *Atrium* (*Ins.* IV, 1-2)(Plate 17) was planned to appreciate the panorama beyond (Plate 110), with two distinct regions: the entrance area and colonnaded courtyard area.[129] These separate areas were constructed on two levels, owing to the natural slope of the ground, further accentuating the differing function of each region. As previously noted, it is quite common for these complexes to be designed with a clear demarcation between different regions within these houses. There were six rooms with potential entertainment roles: the colonnaded courtyard, as well as Rooms 5, 9, 12, 23 and 24. Room 5 seems to have served primarily as an office, whereas the décor and position of Room 12 suggests that it was a dining area. Room 9 has also been classified as a potential entertainment area, but Rooms 23 and 24 have been deemed to be small open viewing areas (Type 13).

The statistical data from this residence illustrates its intended function and the important social role that it possessed. The percentage of space (31.69%) for potential reception/entertainment was comprised of several different areas. The diversity of types of room and their number within this residence highlight that it frequently served a public role. It is also evident that the designer focused the layout towards the landscape, and yet there was also a relatively high percentage of internal reception space (Table 10). This would have provided the owners with a large number of options for choosing areas for social occasions, which would have largely depended upon each particular circumstance.

The open aspect is illustrated by the numerous viewing rooms (Rms 12, 22-24), allowing for both internal and external perspectives. The number of viewing rooms may have been even larger, owing to the questionable circumstances surrounding the use of glass around the garden. If the glass panels were not as extensive as previously thought then Rooms 7, 9 and 10 would have

[128] See Appendix D, pp. 85-86.
[129] Maiuri, 1977, *op.cit.*, p. 27.

had a pleasing view of this garden area. The inclusion of Rooms 23 and 24 also highlight the inclusion of entertainment space within the private domain of this townhouse, in a similar fashion to the Villas of Diomede (Villa 13) and Mysteries (Villa 14) outside Pompeii.

It is evident that with the well-appointed facilities and its open disposition that it should be no surprise that Maiuri has compared this *domus* to a *villa suburbana.*[130] His reasoning for this was the detachment of the residential areas and open view towards the coast and countryside,[131] which is indicative of many *villae suburbanae.* It is for this reason that the southern urban residences in Herculaneum should be compared to the villas in the suburbs of the city: they shared similar desires in their intended lifestyles but were constructed in a different type of location. Owing to their prominent location on the promontory at Herculaneum they could easily appreciate the space beyond the city precincts, only being comparable to the terrace villas in *Insula Occidentalis* in Pompeii.

The House of the Stags[132]

General Surface Area: *1,205.9m²*

Adjacent to the House of the Mosaic Atrium was the House of the Stags (*Ins.* IV, 21)(Plates 17, 111), which would have been very impressive, stretching roughly 43 metres in length.[133] This building had two distinct regions: the northern entrance quarter and southern terrace area.[134] These two parts were connected by a portico that was illuminated by windows. The period of these features has been dated to the Claudian/Neronian period.[135]

As with the House of the Mosaic Atrium, the owner of the House of the Stags had a large amount of choice when it came to entertainment space (Table 10). Room 15 and the open areas are fine examples of the variety that was available for any occasion. The portico allowed for an impressive view of the panorama beyond, while the other entertainment areas could have provided pleasing environments for reception, entertainment and relaxation. The open

[130] Maiuri, 1958, *op.cit.*, p. 302.
[131] *Ibid.*
[132] See Appendix D, pp. 86-88.
[133] Maiuri, 1977, *op.cit.*, p. 61.
[134] T. Tam Tinh, *La Casa dei Cervi a Herculaneum*, Giorgio Bretschneider Editore: Rome, 1988, p. 25.

disposition of this townhouse was similar to the House of the Mosaic Atrium (Graphs 36, 37), being only slightly lower. The potential entertainment areas comprised of a colonnaded courtyard (Rm P), Room 5 (which seems to have been a dining room), Room 15, Room 18 (which was a viewing room) and Rooms 22 and 23. This was over a quarter of the total surface area (28.37% entertainment space), which was a consistent result with other houses in the region.

The significance of the Houses of the Mosaic Atrium and Stags is that they both represent houses where the layout was specifically adapted to orientate the dining and open regions of each complex towards the coast, thus taking full advantage of the impressive view and beneficial sea breezes. These townhouses could quite rightly be compared to suburban villas in their function and lifestyle, but the one distinguishing feature is the question of privacy. The owners of both houses were evidently of some social (or at least financial) standing, suggesting that there would have been numerous visitors, making the houses quite busy at certain times, especially for the morning *salutatio*. Obviously, the opportunities for large-scale privacy would have been greater at *villae suburbanae*, but this was determined only by the position of each residence, whereas the intentions to create an impressive residence, incorporating the view of the landscape and the ensuing health benefits were evidently significant reasons for constructing both suburban villas and these large townhouses.[136]

Hoffmann has argued that the terrace houses outside both Pompeii and Herculaneum represent an attempt by the middle classes at suitably pleasant accommodation,[137] but the grand nature of some residences seem to suggest otherwise. And yet there were obvious differences between the urban residences and *villae suburbanae*: in surface area (Graph 35) and also in the amount of space dedicated to potential entertainment (Graph 36). All of these townhouses had significant amounts of space for *luxuria* and *otium*, but they were eclipsed in size by the *villae suburbanae* in the *suburbium* of Herculaneum (Graph 40).

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[135] Maiuri, 1977, *op.cit.*, p. 61.
[136] Tam Tinh, 1988, *op.cit.*, pp. 27-8.
[137] A. Hoffmann, "Ein Beitrag zum Wohnen im vorrömischen Pompeji", *Architectura* 10, 1980, pp. 1-14.

The House of the Relief of Telphus[138]

General Surface Area: *2,181.98m²*

The House of the Relief of Telphus (*Ins. Or.* I, 2-3)(Plate 17) was an enormous residence (Plate 112) and it is one of the most notable examples of a complex designed to take the most advantage of the topography to get the best viewing panorama from the house.[139] The steep slope of the ground, as well as the presence of the House of the Gemma, meant that the layout of this residence was quite unusual (Plate 112), having a significant oblique deviation from the main axis of the *insula*.[140] The house was built upon two levels, connected by a ramp, which constitute the two primary regions of the building: the *atrium* and *peristyle* quarters.[141] The ownership of this house has been attributed to one of Herculaneum's leading inhabitants, Marcus Nonius Balbus.[142] This is owing to the interconnecting passages between this residence and the Suburban Baths, above the embankment and below against the marina walls.[143] Balbus had been Proconsul of Crete and Cyrenaica, he had supported Vespasian during the civil wars in 68-69 AD and he paid for the construction of the Suburban Baths,[144] hence this interpretation. It is impossible to attribute the House of the Relief of Telphus to Balbus with any certainty, but owing to the position of this house, its size and the fine décor, it does appear plausible.

The rooms located beneath this level are similar to those discovered in the House of the Albergo by taking advantage of the naturally steep sloping topography.[145] Both the upper and lower levels of this region of the house have preserved well-appointed décor,[146] which is indicative of their function. Beneath the large drawing room was another room, adorned with finer marble pavement and wall paintings, being one of the most elaborate decorative assemblages of paintings discovered in Herculaneum.[147] To the east of this room there was also a

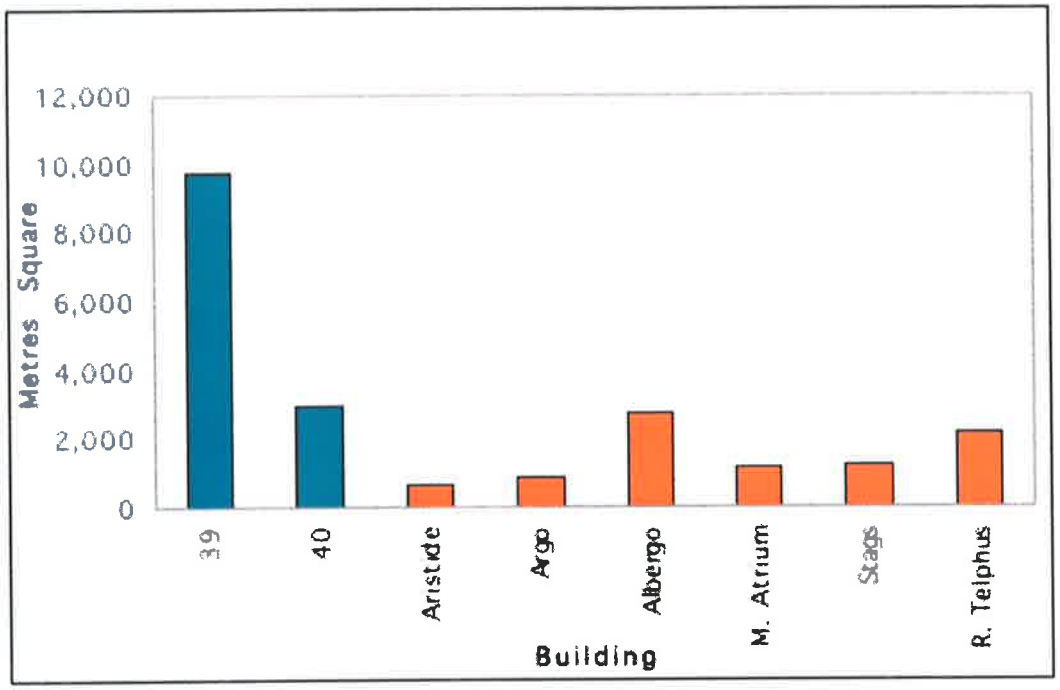
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[138] See Appendix D, pp. 88-89.
[139] Guadagno, 1979, *op.cit.*, p. 22.
[140] Maiuri, 1977, *op.cit.*, p. 65.
[141] *Ibid.*
[142] Deiss, 1985, *op.cit.*, p. 56; See also L. Schumacher, "Das Ehrendekret für M. Nonius Balbus aus Herculaneum (AE 1947, 53)", *Chiron* 6, 1976, pp. 165-84..
[143] Deiss, *Ibid.*
[144] *Ibid.*
[145] Mairui, 1977, *Ibid.*, p. 66.
[146] *Ibid.*
[147] *Ibid.*

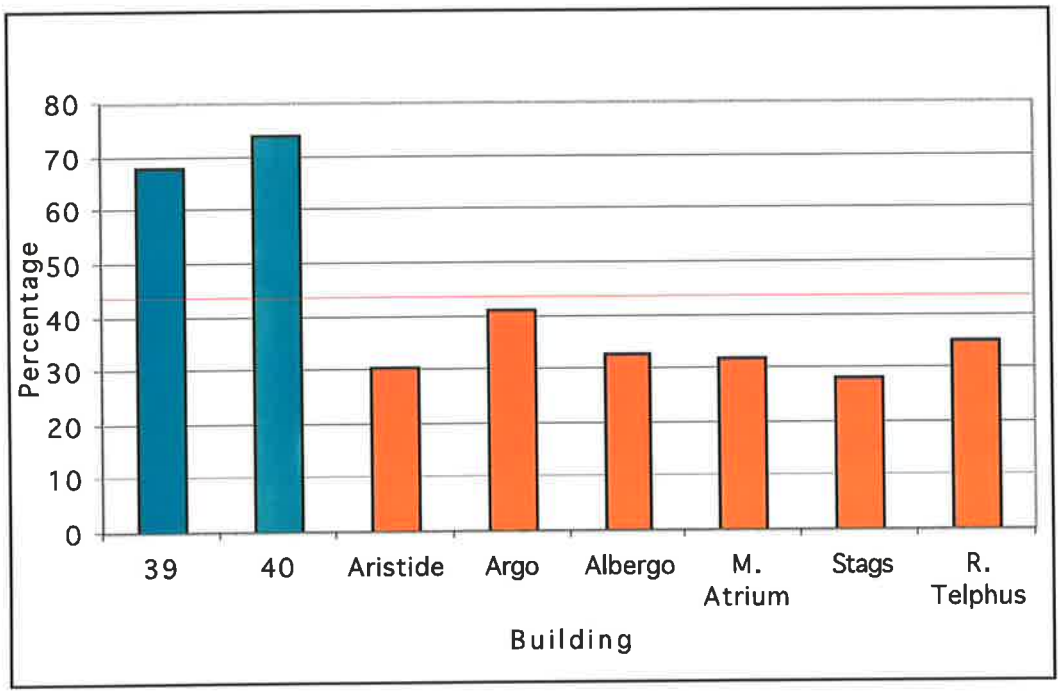
gallery, planned with half-columns and windows, which leads towards more rooms that have not yet been excavated.[148] The inclusion of so many well-appointed rooms indicates that this region of the house would have been utilised for both entertain and for relaxation.

The position of these rooms towards the rear of the complex, overlooking the vast panorama beyond is significant for both of these purposes. The adornment of these rooms accentuates the efforts by which the owners of the residence sought to not only create a pleasing environment for their own appreciation, but also to impress those guests invited into this region of the house. There were seven rooms with a potential entertainment role: the colonnaded courtyard (Rm 9), Rooms 2, 10, 12, 16, 17 and 18. All of these rooms have been allocated this function because of their position, décor and aspect. The statistical analysis highlights the large number of rooms for entertainment and relaxation, having both open and enclosed perspectives (Graph 37). These areas comprised a large percentage of the surface area (35.24% entertainment space) and are indicative of the owners' aspirations. The arrangement of this structure is clearly the result of gradual expansion and highlights the aspirations of its residents. These priorities also represent the social role that this residence performed with a wide selection of areas for the appropriate occasion. As with the previous two townhouses, this residence also made provisions for both an internal and external view. However, only one room looked towards the coastline (Rm 18), whereas the others viewed the colonnaded courtyard (Rm B) and the garden (Rm 15).

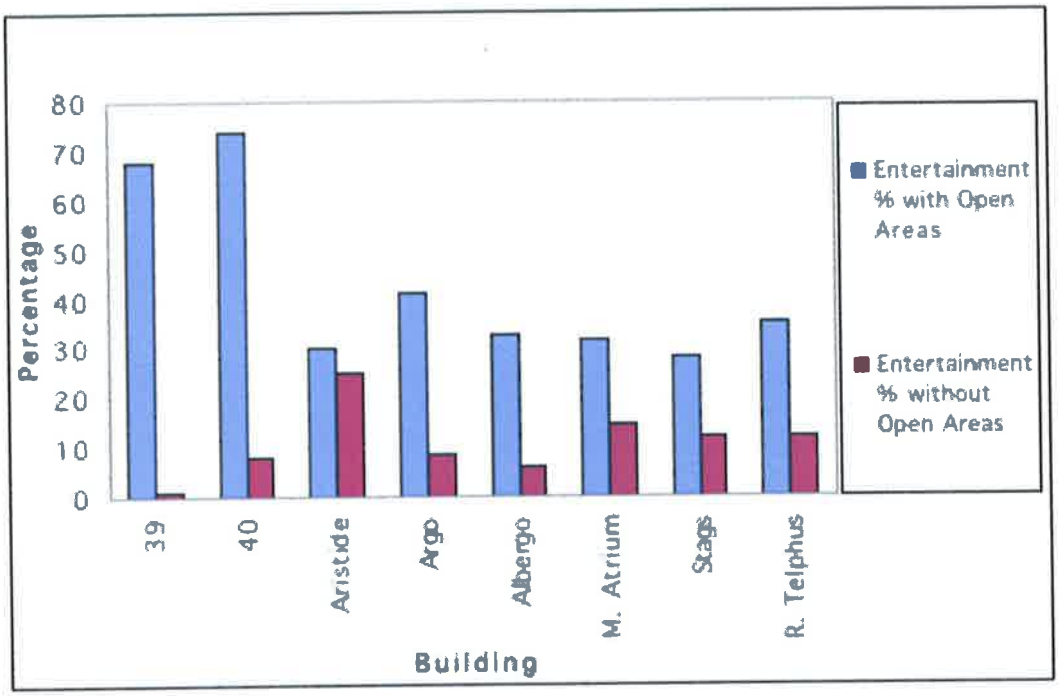
[148] *Ibid.*



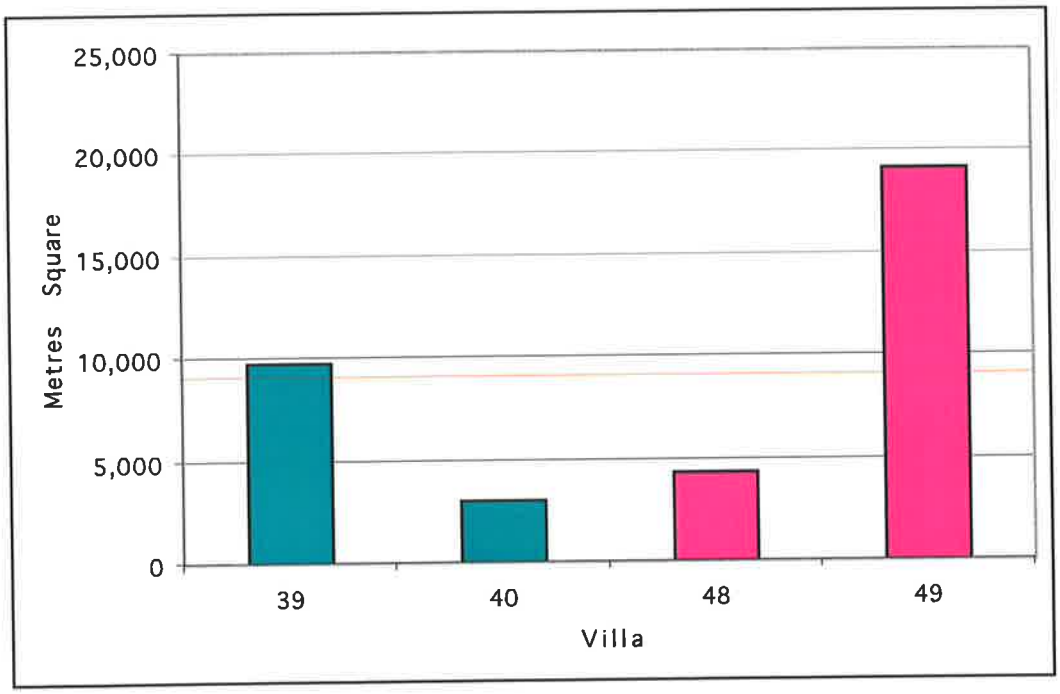
Graph 35 - showing the Comparison of Estimated Surface Areas of Villas and Townhouses at Herculaneum



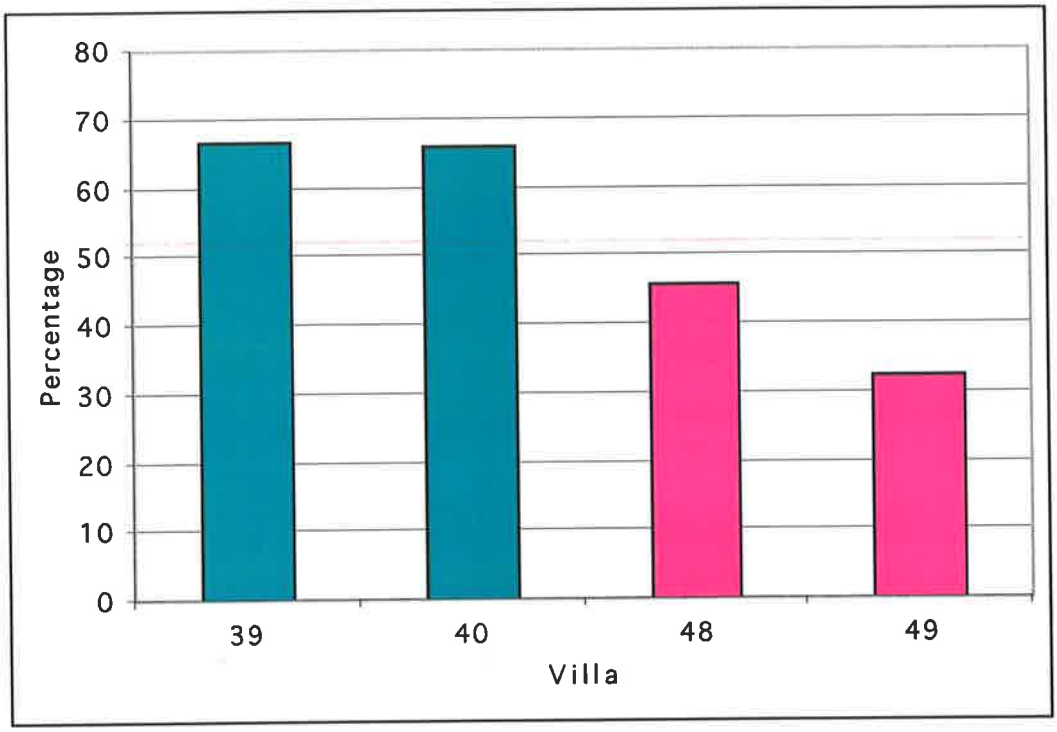
Graph 36 - showing the Percentage of Identifiable Entertainment Areas to the Known Total Area of Building Complex at Each Suburban villa and Townhouse at Herculaneum



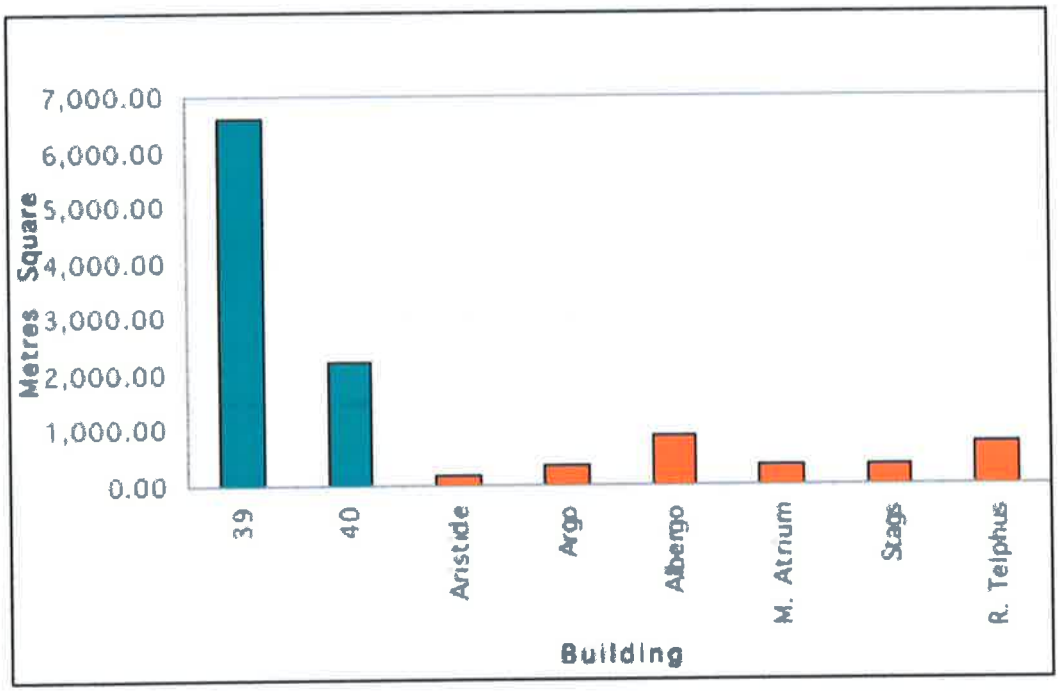
Graph 37 - showing the Percentages of Entertainment Areas With and Without Open Areas Relative to the Total Estimated Area of Building Complex at Each Suburban Villa and Townhouse at Herculaneum



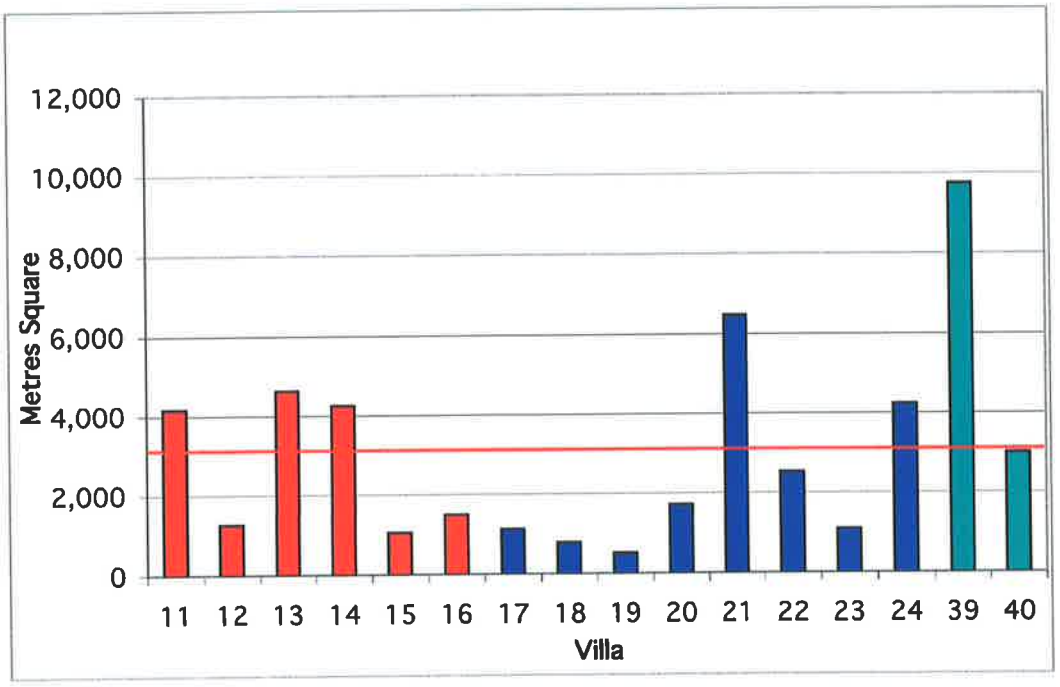
Graph 38 - showing the Comparison of Estimated Surface Areas of Villas at Herculaneum and Baiae



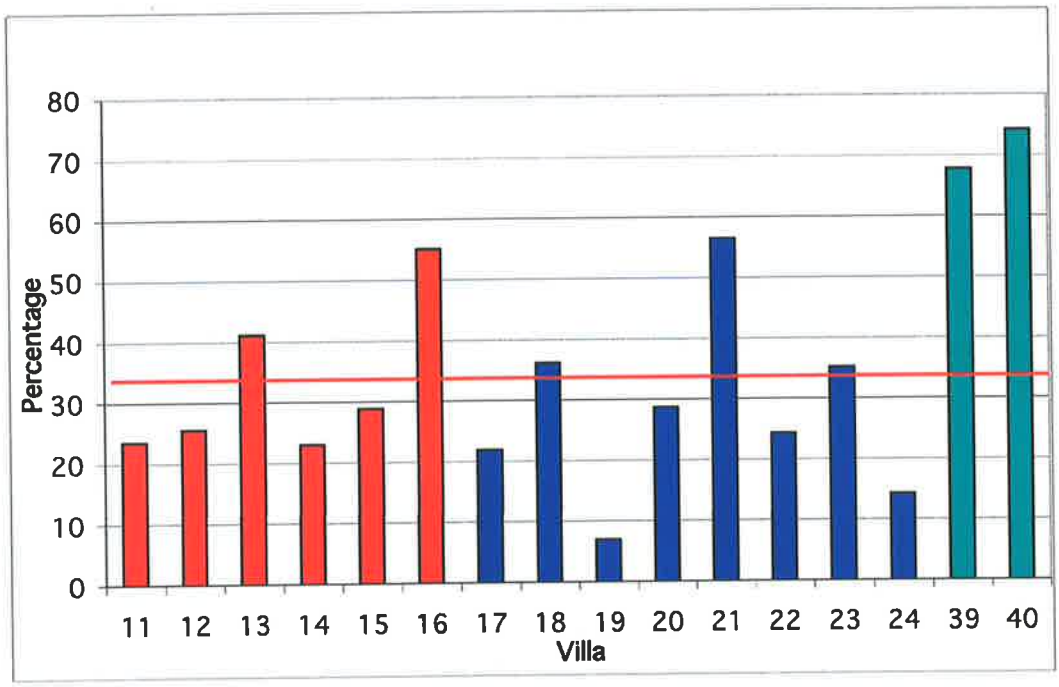
Graph 39 - showing the Percentage of Identifiable Entertainment Areas to the Known Total Area of Building Complex at Each Villa at Herculaneum and Baiae



Graph 40 - showing the Comparison of Estimated Surface Areas of Potential Entertainment Space in Suburban Villas and Townhouses at Herculaneum



Graph 41 - showing the Comparison of Estimated Surface Areas of Suburban Villas at Pompeii and Herculaneum



Graph 42 - showing the Percentage of Identifiable Entertainment Areas to the Known Total Area of Building Complex at Each Suburban Villa at Pompeii and Herculaneum

General Conclusions

The limited publication of evidence for several of the complexes that could be considered *villae suburbanae* makes it quite difficult to draw any significant conclusions. But it does seem appropriate to hypothesise that Villas 39, 40, 42-44 should be viewed as suburban, in view of their position (Plate 16) and the evidence of fine décor. The notable, informative and yet exceptional example of these is the Villa of the Papyri (Villa 39). The remaining villas appear to have been simple farmsteads and quite different to the previous examples in their facilities and character.

The evidence from Puteoli and Baiae has illustrated that the findings on the impressive demeanour and facilities at *villae suburbanae* outside Herculaneum was consistent with the suburban villas at Puteoli and also the *villae maritimae* at Baiae. This corresponds well with the comment by Cornelius Nepos suggesting how both forms of residence expressed wealth and status.[149] The villas outside Puteoli have also illustrated the difference between *villae suburbanae* and the modest agricultural complexes. However, all of the well-appointed establishments have shown a consistent desire for a coastal view and open-planned entertainment areas, focusing upon either the landscape or private gardens. The size of the villas (Graph 38) also establishes the vast amounts of wealth that these villas represented, which increased the status and prestige of their ownership. The Mean size of these four complexes was 9,063.38m^2, which illustrates the extent of their dimensions. This is further emphasised when compared to the Mean size of the townhouses under consideration in Herculaneum, which produced a Mean of 1,470.14m^2 (Graph 40).

When comparing the dimensions of the southern townhouses it is of interest to observe that the most opulent of these houses (Mosaic Atrium, Stags and Relief of Telphus) were of comparable size to many Campanian suburban villas (Graphs 38, 41). However, they were constrained in their expansion by their urban location. The attempts to break free of this by the owners is evident in the expansion and construction onto the terraces of the city-walls, as well as the acquisition of smaller houses in order to spread out, particularly at the House of the Relief of Telphus.

One of the most notable features within this group of townhouses was the wide variety of designated rooms that could have been used for reception/entertainment. This may simply be a result of the interpretations of authors such as Maiuri,[150] but it may also represent the importance of this function to the owners. This is particularly notable at the Houses of Aristide, the Mosaic Atrium, Stags and the Relief of Telphus. The latter specifically was the only example to have instances of every different kind of room, being indicative of its size and expansion over time. The Mean size of these complexes (1,470.14m^2) is similar to the Mean sizes of the Pompeian examples (1,462.6m^2)(Graph 20), yet their potential entertainment space (33.26%) was slightly lower than the Pompeian townhouses included in this study (36.12%)(Graph 21). Despite its seclusion and desire for privacy, this *villa suburbana* also made a statement about the owner's social standing as well as taking a prominent place within the *suburbium* of the city. It is unknown how involved the owners were within the affairs of the local community, but it would seem that they did participate to a certain degree and this *villa suburbana* was a consistent representation of the owners' success, even when they did not reside there.

The statistical data taken from Villas 39 and 40 as well as the townhouses illustrates two important points for this study. Firstly, the townhouses had a high percentage of entertainment space; not as high as the *villae suburbanae*, but they still performed an important social function. They also produced similar statistics to the townhouses in Pompeii (Graphs 35-37)(Table 5). However, owing to their position they also possessed impressive views of the coastal panorama, similar to the residences in *Insula Occidentalis*. But secondly, the difference between *villae suburbanae* and the townhouses was also quite marked. Owing to their position outside the city, which allowed for further expansion in their surface area, Villas 39 and 40 had a much higher percentage of entertainment space than the townhouses (Table 10). However, it is also interesting to note that the three most notable townhouses in Herculaneum (Mosaic Atrium, Stags and the Relief of Telphus) had a larger amount of internal entertainment space (Graph 37)(Table 10), which may be indicative of a more consistent social role. This may be owing

[149] Cornelius Nepos, *Atticus*, 25.14.3.
[150] Maiuri, 1958, *op.cit.*

to the differing designation of room function between the urban and suburban sites as well, but it is an interesting detail to observe.

The statistical comparison of the *villae suburbanae* outside Herculaneum and the *villae maritimae* at Baiae illustrated the consistent provision of open-planned potential entertainment space (Graph 39). In these coastal regions it would appear that the only distinction that existed between *villae suburbanae* and *maritimae* was their location. The division was only constituted in their proximity to an urban centre and the strength of this association. The Villa of the Papyri (Villa 39) clearly exhibited a close connection to Herculaneum, whereas the Villa Sora (Villa 40) had such a high percentage of both internal and external entertainment space that it would strongly suggest a connection to the city. It is of interest to note that the evidence for agricultural production at all of these sites was minimal, illustrating that these villas were primarily intended for *otium*, *luxuria* and entertainment.

The spatial data analysis has illustrated a similar tendency as in the Pompeian region, with a combination of both accessible and inaccessible potential entertainment areas in the *villae suburbanae*. The villas from Baiae produced different results, but this was due to the lower levels of available data on these structures. However, the continued presence of several potential entertainment areas located in both public and private regions is further evidence for the prominent entertainment role of *villae suburbanae* in all the regions under discussion.

When Villas 39 and 40 are compared to the *villae suburbanae* at Pompeii the first impression is the size of the Villa of the Papyri (Graph 41). This complex dwarfed large and impressive structures such as the Villas of Poppaea (Villa 21) and Mysteries (Villa 14), further accentuating its impressive character. The Villa Sora (Villa 40) had a surface area that was around the average of these suburban structures, exemplifying its place within this group. The percentage of entertainment space at Villas 39 and 40 is even more striking. Both examples from the Herculaneum *suburbium* were higher than all of the results taken from villas outside Pompeii (Graph 42). This is indicative of the reduced agricultural emphasis at both structures that were almost solely dedicated to lifestyle. It is notable that the next three highest results were from Villas 13, 16 and 21, all of

which possessed limited agricultural productivity. But all of these results highlight the diverse nature of *villae suburbanae* and just how the intentions and priorities of their owners affected their facilities.

Finally, it is also of interest to note the smaller number of known villas in the suburbs of Herculaneum than around Pompeii. This may be indicative of either more modern investigative attention being paid towards Pompeii or that the smaller number of villas is indicative of the comparable size and importance difference between the two towns. If it is taken to be the latter, there are two important considerations. Firstly, if the greater number of villas around Pompeii is indicative of its greater importance and commercial significance, then it must have been that the position of many villas close to a city of consequence was a serious consideration. The placement of large villa establishments could not have been a haphazard choice, but a considered decision and it seems evident that the distance to an urban centre was an important factor.

Secondly, the position of both cities and their *suburbium* clearly had a marked effect on the roles that the villas were intended for in either region. There is a great variation in function and facilities in the Pompeian region, whereas the difference at those residences around Herculaneum was more defined: *otium* or *rusticitas*. This reflects the intentions of their owners, epitomising the desire to construct either a well-appointed villa of *otium* in the coastal suburbs of Herculaneum, or to build a smaller productive complex in a fertile region close to an urban centre. The intentions of the owners determined a villa's character and role, which in turn defined whether it could be deemed to have been a *villa suburbana*, located in the coastal *suburbium* of Herculaneum.

Chapter VI

Suburban Villas and Stabiae

As well as discussing the villas in the vicinity of Pompeii and Herculaneum, this study has focused upon another group of *villae suburbanae* in Campania: those near the urban centre at Stabiae. The setting for the residences at Stabiae was different from those at Pompeii and Herculaneum, which highlights the flexible character of suburban villas in Campania and throughout central Italy. This group of villas included some of the largest complexes in Campania, located on the Varano ridge. The *ager Stabianus* was also populated with many small farmsteads, which is useful for this study as it illustrates the differences between *villae suburbanae* and other types of residence in a striking fashion.

Stabiae was located on the Bay of Naples to the south of Pompeii, on the modern Varano ridge. Silius Italicus mentions that Roman-Stabian relations had extended back to the end of the third century BC, with the involvement of sailors from Stabiae under the command of Corbulo in the Punic Wars.[1] The Elder Pliny referred to the city as an *oppidum*, in its existence before its destruction by Sulla in 89 BC.[2] He also remarks that: *quo die L. Sulla legatus bello sociali id delevit quod nunc in villam abiit.*[3] This is indicative of the post-Social War Stabiae, with a series of villas dominating its social landscape after 89 BC. Appian also mentions Stabiae during the Social War period, in reference to its capture by Gaius Papius,[4] but he mentions little else about this town. It was clearly a small town in its early stages, of little political or social importance. The early phases of development at Stabiae seem to indicate that it originated as a commercial port in the Etruscan period.[5] During the second century BC it appears that the economy of the region was based upon agricultural villas, which specialised in the cultivation of olives and grapes.[6] Determining urban development at Stabiae has been difficult due to the restrictions placed on previous excavations, but it is clear

[1] Silius Italicus, *Punica*, 14.408-9; c.f. A. Ferrara, "History of the Stabiae Settlement", in A. Pesce (ed.), *In Stabiano*, Nicola Longobardi Editore: Castellammare di Stabia, 2004, p. 37.
[2] Pliny the Elder, *NH*, 3.5.70.
[3] Pliny the Elder, *NH*, 3.5.70.
[4] Appian, 1.42.
[5] F. Senatore, "Stabiae: storia dell'insediamento", in D. Camardo and A. Ferrara (eds.), *Stabiae, dai Borbone alle ultime scoperte*, Longobardi: Castellammare di Stabia, 2001, p. 24.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

that by the end of the second century BC there was an urban centre based around four paved roads.[7] Material has also been produced from Stabiae that shows the existence of houses and shops, situated approximately 300 metres from the Villa of San Marco, with First Style décor.[8]

The Social War and the demise of Stabiae as a political centre, this allowed settlement by wealthy Roman citizens in this agriculturally productive region,[9] which explains the development of the very large *villae suburbanae* found at this site.[10] It appears likely that the owners of these villas were wealthy Roman citizens.[11] This did not exclude the continuation of some urban features at Stabiae,[12] and there have been discoveries of small shops along one of the roads (Plate 18).[13] There is no evidence that these commercial buildings also served as private residences, but two houses have been discovered to the north of this area.[14] After the destruction of Stabiae by Sulla, the city developed on the western side rather than the east. Several businesses were erected towards the street of Nocera, with the most panoramic positions occupied by wealthy villas.[15] This region would have been an attractive location to construct private villas, which can be seen in the reference of Cicero to his friend M. Marius owning a villa in Stabiae.[16]

A large rectangular space discovered in Stabiae (Plate 19) appears to have served as a public piazza.[17] Several statues of deities and a line of pillars uncovered along the southern and western sides suggest that it served as a religious building for the local community.[18] There is epigraphic evidence referring to the cult of the *Genius Stabiarum* and to a *Venus Stabia*, dated to after

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 28.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] G. Guadagno, "Contributo alla rilettura di Pompei ed Ercolano", in E. Acquaro (ed.), *Pompei 79*, Antiqua Supp. 15, Buffetti Editore: Rome, 1979, p. 17.
[10] D. Camardo, "Mt. Vesuvius and Human Settlement in the Gulf of Naples in the First Century AD", in A. Pesce (ed.), *In Stabiano*, Nicola Longobardi Editore: Castellammare di Stabia, 2004, p. 31.
[11] A. Ferrara, "La Villa San Marco a Stabiae" in D. Camardo and A. Ferrara (eds.), *Stabiae, dai Borbone alle ultime scoperte*, Longobardi: Castellammare di Stabia, 2001a, p. 103.
[12] Ferrara, 2004, *op.cit.*, p. 37.
[13] Ferrara, 2001a, *op.cit.*, p. 103.
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] S. Ferraro, "Le Ville di Stabiae", in E. Acquaro (ed.), *Pompei 79*, Antiqua Supp. 15, Buffetti Editore: Rome, 1979, p. 100.
[16] Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, 7.1.1; cf. R.G. Böhm, "Cicero über die Marius-villa bei Stabiae", in *La Regione sotterrata dal Vesuvio: studi e prospettive*, Universita degli studi di Napoli: Naples, 1982, pp. 241-53.
[17] Ferrara, 2004, *op.cit.*, pp. 37-9.

89 BC, which illustrate the continuation of a Stabian identity within the community.[19] It is possible that the real punishment for Stabiae in 89 BC was the loss of political autonomy to Nocera,[20] with the surrounding regions becoming part of the *ager publicus*.[21] The removal of political autonomy would have suited Sulla's purposes, leaving a political vacuum that was then filled by the Roman élite who settled in this fertile region. Sulla would have certainly destroyed some of the urban amenities, but if he planned to settle this region afterwards it is unlikely that he would have completely removed the entire urban infrastructure. The continuation of some urban characteristics can be seen in the archaeological remains.

The local *ager Stabianus* has produced at least forty-six agricultural villas either recently uncovered or referred to on file (Plate 113).[22] Few of these productive sites (that were unlikely to have been *villae suburbanae*) have been properly investigated or published, but it is pertinent to note that the local region was densely inhabited, which is to be expected in view of the fertility of the region. Another attractive aspect of Stabiae was the mineral springs region known for its curative faculty.[23] This centre, with its thermal baths and palatial villas, appears to have been ideal for relaxation and respite.[24] If some urban elements had continued at Stabiae then those villas constructed close to the centre of town should be classified as *villae suburbanae*. Many of these villas were built on a series of terraces, which have already been seen in *Insula Occidentalis* at Pompeii, the Villa of Agrippa Postumus and the southern townhouses at Herculaneum.

The development of this style of villa architecture may be indicative of the desire to create an architectural landscape, where the built element was deemed to be in close harmony with the landscape and the natural environment.[25] The most important aspect was the desire to create an impressive panorama at each

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[18] Ferrara, 2001a, *op.cit.*, p. 103.
[19] Senatore, 2001, *op.cit.*, pp. 30-1
[20] A. Ferrara, "La Sosandra da Stabiae: una testimonianza pre 79 d.C. dal centro urbano di Castellammare", *RSP* 10, 1999, pp. 167-8.
[21] Senatore, 2001, *op.cit.*, p. 30.
[22] P. Miniero, "Stabiae: Attività dell'Ufficio Scavi: 1990", *RSP* 4, 1990, p. 218.
[23] Columella, *Dei Rei Rustica*, 10.133; U. Pappalardo, "Vivere in villa nel Golfo di Napoli", in D. Camardo and A. Ferrara (eds.), *Stabiae, dai Borbone alle ultime scoperte*, Longobardi: Castellammare di Stabia, 2001, p. 47.
[24] D. Camardo, "Stabiae: storia del sito", in D. Camardo and A. Ferrara (eds.), *Stabiae: le ville*, Biblioteca del clero della Chiesa del Gesù: Castellammare di Stabia, 1989a, p. 10.

residence, taking advantage of the elevated position.[26] There are ten villas from the Stabian region to be discussed in this study, comprising six suburban villas and 4 agricultural complexes (for comparison). These sites have provided the greatest amount of information and allow for the most comprehensive statistical analysis. The large number of physical remains at the majority of this group of complexes has proven fruitful for analysis. Four of the sites (Villas 50-53) located upon the Varano ridge provided particularly good data for analysis owing to their size and available published materials.

Villa 50 - The Villa of San Marco[27]

General Surface Area: *11,083.52m²*

The Villa of San Marco (Plate 18) was one of the most impressive suburban residences in the region.[28] It incorporated many finely painted rooms, bath facilities and an enormous garden colonnaded courtyard (Plate 114).[29] This villa, as with all large villas discovered at Stabiae, was a clear demonstration of the housing tastes preferred by wealthy Romans in the late Republic and early Empire.[30] The original construction has been dated to the early Augustan period,[31] with the initial dimensions being diminutive in comparison to the later structure.[32] Unfortunately there is only a small portion of the structure currently unearthed (Plate 115),[33] which has placed some limits upon its statistical evaluation. The villa was situated upon the hill of Varano, just to the north of the urban structures, with the principal entrance being just behind a large building with thermal heating.[34] As with Vitruvius' recommendations for pseudo-urban villas, the entrance led into a colonnaded courtyard (Plate 114),[35] from which ran

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[25] Ferraro, 1979, *op.cit.*, p. 100.
[26] Pappalardo, 2001, *op.cit.*, p. 49.
[27] See Appendix E, pp. 90-93.
[28] A. Ferrara, "Villa San Marco", in D. Camardo and A. Ferrara (eds.), *Stabiae: le ville*, Biblioteca del clero della Chiesa del Gesù: Castellammare di Stabia, 1989a, p. 41.
[29] J.M. Croisille, "Les fouilles archéologiques de Castellammare di Stabia: découvertes récentes", *Latomus* 25, 1966, pp. 245-57; H. Eristov, "A propos d'une peinture de Carmiano à l'Antiquarium de Castellammare di Stabia", *Latomus* 37, 1978, pp. 625-33.
[30] O. Elia, *Pitture di Stabia*, Banco di Napoli: Naples, 1957, p. 19.
[31] T. Noble Howe, "Powerhouses: the seaside villas of Campania in the power culture of Rome", in A. Pesce (ed.), *In Stabiano*, Nicola Longobardi Editore: Castellammare di Stabia, 2004, p. 21.
[32] Ferrara, 2001a, *op.cit.*, p. 103.
[33] A. Barbet, "Villa San Marco", in A. Pesce (ed.), *In Stabiano*, Nicola Longobardi Editore: Castellammare di Stabia, 2004, p. 56.
[34] Ferrara, 2001a, *op.cit.*, p. 103.
[35] Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, 6.5.3.

a small corridor leading directly to Room 44, which was bordered by eight servile rooms.[36]

The analysis of this complex shows that it was a large and palatial *villa suburbana*. The intentions of the owners to create a well-appointed villa for *otium* and *luxuria* can be noted not only in its immense size (11,083.52m^2), but also in the large number of entertainment rooms (Table 12).[37] The layout had a very open aspect directed into the colonnaded courtyards, and beyond the residence towards the vast panorama of the Campanian coastline. If the layout is taken into consideration, particularly the large western wing of this residence, it is clear that the view was the prime reason behind the design.

The statistical data from the Villa San Marco complements its classification as a *villa suburbana*. At this complex the open areas, which were mostly adorned with columnar architecture, were used for entertainment purposes. This has been determined because of their size and the additional viewing rooms. Room H was adorned with Fourth Style décor and was bordered by Rooms 12, 16 and 53. Room 16 was located on the same axis as a fountain in Room H, which added to the visual effect. Room 59a has been judged to have been a Type 7 room, which probably served as an office due to its position, as well as the discovery of a lead weight reading '*EME HABEBIS*' in its confines. Room 20 has been classified as a dining area because of its position and décor, being isolated from the more utilitarian rooms on the opposite side of Room C.

The amount of space devoted to colonnaded courtyards and open terraces (46.32%) emphasises the unrestricted layout that evolved at this complex. The majority of these areas would have been ideal settings for social occasions, clearly exhibiting the *urbanitas* of its owners within a suburban setting. The dominance of open areas within this structure is also highlighted in the low percentage of potential internal entertainment regions in this complex, comprising only 1.21% (Graph 45). However, this does not mean that there was no provision for entertainment within the internal areas, with several regions dedicated for the *otium* of both residents and guests. In particular Rooms 12 and 53 that

[36] Ferrara, 2001a, *op.cit.*, p. 103.

overlooked an ornamental colonnaded area and provided a brazier for cooler occasions, would have been used for internal entertainment.[38]

The Hillier and Hanson method (Plate 116) has illustrated the clear division between public and private space at this suburban villa.[39] This is demonstrated by Room G, given its high Control Value (9.7). All of the public rooms (Rms G, H, 12, 16, 53, 59a) have produced a low result in relation to the entrance but are quite isolated according to their Mean Depths. This illustrates that despite their easy accessibility to the entrance, they were quite isolated from the main residential, or private, precincts. Conversely, the low Real Relative Asymmetry values for Rooms B, C, E and F have shown the high potential interaction that these open regions had within this suburban villa. This result statistically proves the emphasis upon the open regions at this residence and is especially notable when the higher Control Value score for Room C is taken into consideration (3.8). It is evident that the majority of the potential entertainment areas were intended for private occasions (Plate 117), particularly within the inner regions of the complex. Overall, the Villa San Marco provided a luxurious lifestyle for the owners of this *villa suburbana*, in a similar fashion to the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum,[40] epitomising the ideal lifestyle in the *suburbium*.

Villa 51 - The Villa Arianna[41]

General Surface Area: *20,114.29m²*

The Villa Arianna, located on the hill of Varano (Plate 18), was another well-known villa in Stabiae. Its architecture and décor was quite similar to that of the Villa San Marco,[42] indicating a likelihood that both residences were constructed around the same period and may have used the same craftsmen. In fact, this villa was only 550 metres to the west of the Villa San Marco.[43] Its plan

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[37] The décor of this structure was particularly impressive. The ceilings have even been compared to the *Domus Aurea*, c.f. B. Bergmann, "The Art of Frescoes at Stabiae", in A. Pesce (ed.), *In Stabiano*, Nicola Longobardi Editore: Castellammare di Stabia, 2004, p. 81.
[38] Ferrara, 2001a, *op.cit.*, p. 104.
[39] See Appendix E, pp. 93-95.
[40] A.M. Sodo, "The Villas of the Hill of Varano", in A. Pesce (ed.), *In Stabiano*, Nicola Longobardi Editore: Castellammare di Stabia, 2004a, p. 51.
[41] See Appendix E, pp. 95-98.
[42] Parslow, 1995, *op.cit.*, p. 181.
[43] P. Miniero, "Richerche sull'Ager Stabianus", in R.I. Curtis (ed.), *Studia Pompeiana and Classica – in honour of Wilhelmina F. Jashemski*, Vol. 1, Aristide D. Caratzas: New Rochelle, 1988, p. 236.

was designed with several rooms opening onto a central *peristyle*.[44] The main complex was massive, covering over 16,000m^2 (Plate 118).[45] The structure was very complex, reflecting a long period of alterations and additions following the topography of the location.[46] The earliest phase has been dated to the late Republican period, which included the principal entrance (Rm W13), square colonnaded courtyard (Rm 22) and tuscan hall (Rm 24).[47]

As with the Villa San Marco (50), the Villa Arianna (51) was a large establishment comprising two complexes, situated in the suburbs of ancient Stabiae. The complex had a large central colonnaded courtyard that was designed to create a clear view along the central axis, leading towards Room 18 (Plate 118). The allocation of function in this complex was largely made according to position and aspect. Of the rooms designated to have a potential entertainment function, only three (Rms T, 18, 27) did not possess a view of the bay or the mountains. Room T had an internal perspective towards the main complex, whereas Room 27 appears to have served as a potential entertainment area (Type 11) that looked towards the square Room 22. Room 18 has been classified as a Type 7 room because of its position near the hall.[48] The courtyard in the smaller complex (Rm 58) served a utilitarian role for the residents and did not possess an entertainment role. As with the previous example, this *villa suburbana* had a large number of potential entertainment areas comprising both open and enclosed spaces (Tables 12, 13). In addition it would have commanded an impressive view of the panorama from the Varano ridge. If the location of this complex is taken into consideration (Plate 18), it is clear that the view was the prime motivation for the layout of the residence.

Similarly to the Villa San Marco the statistical data illustrates how open the plan was, having a large amount (8,953m^2) of its surface area being used for open areas. This is not including the utilitarian *peristyle* located in the smaller western complex, but this structure has been included in the overall statistical

[44] Parslow, 1995, *op.cit.*, p. 181.
[45] D. Camardo, "La Villa di Arianna a Stabiae", in D. Camardo and A. Ferrara (eds.), *Stabiae, dai Borbone alle ultime scoperte*, Longobardi: Castellammare di Stabia, 2001a, p. 75.
[46] D. Camardo, "Villa Arianna", in D. Camardo and A. Ferrara (eds.), *Stabiae: le ville*, Biblioteca del clero della Chiesa del Gesù: Castellammare di Stabia, 1989b, p. 17.
[47] Camardo, 2001a, *op.cit.*, p. 75.
[48] c.f. G. Bonifacio, "Villa Arianna", in A. Pesce (ed.), *In Stabiano*, Nicola Longobardi Editore: Castellammare di Stabia, 2004a, p. 59.

analysis. Whereas the Villa San Marco had several colonnaded courtyards throughout its layout, the Villa Arianna only had two, with the main focus upon the Great *Peristyle* (Rm 19) that covered over 8,000m^2 (Plate 118). This large colonnade would have provided an impressive ambulatory allowing not only a view towards the interior, but also an unimpeded perspective towards the landscape beyond. The open and largely unrestricted design of this structure is clearly represented in the difference between the percentages of potential entertainment space that include the colonnaded courtyards (47.29% entertainment space) and exclude them (2.78% entertainment space).

The Hillier and Hanson method has illustrated the high scale of public accessibility to both Rooms 18 and 22 (Plate 120) in both their Mean Depth (4.06, 4.31) and Real Relative Asymmetry values (0.844, 0.913).[49] These results show that the rooms were unrestricted in their access from both other rooms in the complex and also from the exterior, which is also shown by their Control Values, indicating that they controlled access to other regions of the complex. The Real Relative Asymmetry of all other rooms deemed to have been potential entertainment space (Rms A, B, C, T, 3, 9, 12, 19, 27, 43) show their relatively low potential for social interaction, which further indicates their private character (Plate 119).

This is particularly notable for Room T, which produced one of the highest results for its Mean Depth (7.32), clearly showing its restricted access. Notably the Control Value of the large colonnaded courtyard also indicates its controlling function (5.11), but its depth from Exterior (5) and higher Mean Depth illustrates its withdrawn character. These statistics, in addition to the percentages produced for potential entertainment space, illustrate that the majority of this *villa suburbana* was restricted in its accessibility and epitomises the desired privacy obtainable by owning such a palatial residence.

[49] See Appendix E, pp. 98-99.

Villa 52 - The Villa Pastore[50]

General Surface Area: *19,124.82m²*

The Villa Pastore (Plate 18) was a terraced portico villa in the Varano region.[51] This complex was of considerable size with an enormous porticoed terrace along the crest of the hill (Plate 121).[52] In comparison to the viewing regions, the remainder of the complex was only several small rooms and a modest arrangement of baths. The plan of the general residential region of the complex was designed around a central courtyard, which in essence divided it into two regions: the northern and southern wings. The southern wing consisted of a long series of rooms with varying functions, whereas the northern wing contained areas such as the baths, kitchen and the front hall (Rm 31). Room 31 was tetrastyle, with the columns adorned in white plaster and the walls preserving some remnants of paintings.[53] Dating the original period of construction has been problematic,[54] but it was certainly built after 89 BC, probably at the end of the first century BC.[55]

The large scale of the villa, with the inclusion of the inner courtyard and its surrounding rooms such as a shop and the presence of surgical tools, has led some scholars to speculate that this may have been a hospital.[56] This appears unlikely in view of the richly appointed rooms, such as Rooms 24, 26, and 29.[57] The panoramic dining area (Rm 19) would suggest that this was a well-appointed residence of a wealthy owner. The inclusion of a spacious external courtyard with a large pool (No. 6) is also common for large suburban residences,[58] which accentuates this point. It is important to note that the Villa Arianna had also been constructed with many rooms facing into an inner courtyard.[59] The Villa Pastore

[50] See Appendix E, pp. 100-102.
[51] A.M. Sodo, "Villa del Pastore", in A. Pesce (ed.), *In Stabiano*, Nicola Longobardi Editore: Castellammare di Stabia, 2004b, p. 65.
[52] Parslow, 1995, *op.cit.*, p. 180.
[53] D. Camardo, "La Villa del Pastore a Stabiae", in D. Camardo and A. Ferrara (eds.), *Stabiae, dai Borbone alle ultime scoperte*, Longobardi: Castellammare di Stabia, 2001b, p. 95.
[54] *Ibid.*
[55] A.M. Sodo, "I rinvenimenti recenti: le sostruzionni della Villa del Pastore", in D. Camardo and A. Ferrara (eds.), *Stabiae, dai Borbone alle ultime scoperte*, Longobardi: Castellammare di Stabia, 2001b, p. 98.
[56] Elia, 1957, *op.cit.*, p. 19.
[57] Camardo, 2001b, *op.cit.*, p. 95.
[58] Such as at the Villa of San Marco in Stabiae, the House of Julia Felix and the House of Octavius Quartio in Pompeii as well as the Villa of the Papyri in Herculaneum.
[59] Camardo, 2001b, *op.cit.*, p. 95.

is another example of a fine suburban villa intended to create a pleasant living environment for its leading inhabitants. The designation of potential entertainment regions was largely determined by architecture, décor and position, owing to the limited recorded finds. Because of their open aspect and marble pavements, the semi-circular room and Room 19 are deemed to have been potential entertainment areas. The colonnaded courtyards are also included because of their impressive demeanour.

The statistical data (Table 12) confirms the classification of the Villa Pastore as a *villa suburbana*, illustrating its open layout (Table 13) and the importance of the view to the owners. The construction of Room 19 is a clear example of this, particularly in view of its position away from the main residence (Plate 121). However, the inclusion of areas for *al fresco* dining was not limited to this room, there being another large open room (Rm 50) overlooking the large colonnaded courtyard. The intention behind the inclusion of this room was similar to that of Room 19, but there was a subtle difference. The distinction between internal and external perspectives illustrates the motivation behind the construction of Room 50. Not only was this room large and more private than the panoramic dining room but it also provided the owner with a more controlled environment that would have suited some social occasions more than the exposed Room 19 (Plate 122).

The results from the Hillier and Hanson method (Plate 123) have illustrated the condensed collection of rooms around Room I,[60] illustrated by its large Control Value (26.75). However, the circular room and Room 19 both showed their inaccessibility in their Real Relative Asymmetry results (1.178, 1.448). They also illustrate their separation in the Mean Depth statistics (4.44, 5.23), exemplifying their private character. Room 33 produced a high interaction potential among the group of entertainment rooms, according to its Real Relative Asymmetry score (0.103), which seems indicative of its central position. However, it must be reiterated that the limited information on this complex makes the statistical analysis only of limited use. But in order for a consistent approach to be taken, the method has been applied and it is still noteworthy that the results are similar to those of the Villas of San Marco and Arianna.

As with the Villa Arianna (Villa 51), this establishment was built along the Varano ridge in order to take advantage of the panorama below (Plate 18). It had two colonnaded courtyards (Plate 121), with the largest covering over 10,000m^2. As with Villas 50 and 51, it is evident that the Villa Pastore (Villa 52) was a *villa suburbana* that had an open aspect almost solely designed to appreciate the view. The large cluster of rooms around Room I may have been used for productive purposes rather than a hospital in view of the results from this villa as a whole. However, this does not preclude its classification as a *villa suburbana*. There was still some provision for internal entertainment space, but it was minimal compared to the two previous *villae suburbanae*. However, the Villa Pastore is a fine example of a large and luxurious residence in the *suburbium* of Stabiae.

Villa 53 - The Villa Filosofo[61]

General Surface Area: *512.24m^2*

The Villa Filosofo (Plate 124), another villa constructed in Stabiae, was a villa of *otium* that maintained clear connections with the urban centre.[62] This structure was quite modest, which becomes clear when comparing the size of this complex with other Stabian villas, such as the Villas of San Marco, Arianna and Pastore (Graph 43). The building was approximately 90 metres to the east of the urban centre (Plate 18), having qualities of an agricultural villa, but also exhibiting the general characteristics of a suburban villa.[63]

Several rooms identified were used for agricultural purposes, but it seems that the building was still intended to be a residential villa.[64] The kitchen (Rm 12) has also been identified, judging from the ceramic finds with blackened bases.[65] The garden (No. 2) included a well that served the household.[66] There have been several objects uncovered such as *amphorae*, metal locks and nails, oil lamps, agricultural utensils, mirrors, game dice, glasses, a steelyard, and bronze and

[60] See Appendix E, pp. 102-103.
[61] See Appendix E, pp. 103-104.
[62] A. Ferrara, "Nuovi elementi dagli scavi borbonici a Stabiae: la Villa del Filosofo e la sua integrazione con l'impianto urbano", in D. Camardo and A. Ferrara (eds.), *Stabiae, dai Borbone alle ultime scoperte*, Longobardi: Castellammare di Stabia, 2001, p. 61.
[63] *Ibid.*
[64] *Ibid.*, p. 63.
[65] *Ibid.*
[66] *Ibid.*

silver coinage.[67] These finds support the architectural evidence that suggest that although the Villa Filosofo was not as wealthy as some other residences around Stabiae, it should still be classified as a suburban villa. The intentions and priorities of the owners would have determined the nature of each villa establishment, not their comparative wealth, which is pertinent when comparing this suburban villa to the previous large-scale *villae suburbanae* (Villas 50-52).

The difficulty that arises when analysing this comparatively modest structure is in its comparison to the larger neighbouring residences. The surrounding *villae suburbanae* would have had a direct effect upon the perception of this structure. It is evident that the resources available to the owners were significantly less than the owners of the other establishments, but this should not alter its classification. This residence placed a large degree of emphasis upon agricultural productivity, but this has been noted in several *villae suburbanae* in other regions, such as the Villa of T. Siminius Stephanus outside Pompeii (Villa 15). This is particularly evident when the overall shape of the complex is taken into consideration, it being shaped almost exclusively as a residential villa.[68]

The inclusion of the central courtyard within the statistical data (Table 12) evidences that this residence had a high percentage of potential entertainment space (51.36% entertainment space)(Graph 44). Despite the modest demeanour of this area, it was left open towards the view of the panorama (Table 13) and would have allowed for an open perspective from Room 9 via the doorway. Regardless of its more modest character, the Villa Filosofo (Villa 53) should be classified as a *villa suburbana*. The difference in the resources available to the owners of this complex and the other larger examples, as well as their differing levels of influence throughout the Stabian community, should not be used to determine whether this residence should be classified as a *villa suburbana*.

The Hillier and Hanson method has produced results that illustrate the limited divisions between accessible and inaccessible space at this complex (Plate 125).[69] Both Rooms A and 9 were unrestricted with Mean Depth results of 2.30 and 3.26 respectively. Room A had one of the highest Control Value results

[67] *Ibid.*
[68] *Ibid.* The shape was similar to the Villa of Asellius outside Pompeii (Villa 23).
[69] See Appendix E, p. 104.

(3.89), which is indicative of such central courtyards. It also produced the lowest Real Relative Asymmetry score (0.603), indicating that it had the highest potential for social interaction. Room 9 was not among the most restricted areas with a Real Relative Asymmetry value of 1.049, and its accessibility was also shown by its low Depth from Exterior (2) and average Control Value. It is evident that the majority of potential entertainment space at this villa was used for public purposes (Plate 126). This corresponds well with the general demeanour of this *villa suburbana*, illustrating the distinct characteristics that occurred within this classification of residence.

Villa 54 - The Villa of Anteros and Heracleo/Villa of the Faun[70]

General Surface Area: $4,557.12m^2$

The Villa of Anteros and Heracleo (or the Villa of the Faun)(Plate 18) was another suburban villa in Stabiae designed to appreciate the panorama of the Bay of Naples. It was located on the hill of Varano, almost immediately after the Villa of San Marco.[71] This building has been only partially excavated, but some important observations can still be noted. The original complex has been dated to the mid second century BC. There were several additions carried out during the first century BC,[72] corresponding with the renovations of several other complexes in the region. The layout (Plate 127) was a series of rooms decorated with mosaics that opened onto separate colonnaded courtyards (Rms A-B).[73]

The plan was based upon a series of rectangular spaces and designed for an open perspective to take advantage of the panorama of the gulf. This complex does not appear to have been as extensive as some other villas in the region (Graph 43), but it was certainly a substantial residence in its own right. It is important to note that some of the main residence, including the front hall region and the main residential precincts are yet to be excavated fully. This may distort our image of this complex as the only accessible floor plan is dated to 1779 and scaled in Neapolitan Palms, which hardly makes the sources reliable by modern

[70] See Appendix E, pp. 104-105.
[71] M.M. Magalhaes, "La cd. Villa del Fauno: un possedimento imperiale a Stabiae?", in D. Camardo and A. Ferrara (eds.), *Stabiae, dai Borbone alle ultime scoperte*, Longobardi: Castellammare di Stabia, 2001, p. 105.
[72] *Ibid.*, p. 107.
[73] Parslow, 1995, *op.cit.*, p. 64.

standards. Assuming that the bias of excavation went towards the decorated sections of this complex rather than the less appealing utilitarian areas, some results should be able to be taken from the available information. So, with this in mind and judging from the available evidence it should be viewed as another *villa suburbana.*

The statistical analysis of this site confirms its classification as a *villa suburbana.* As with Villas 50, 51 and 52, the layout of this structure had an open aspect with the main residential region overlooking a large colonnaded courtyard of similar fashion to the Villas of Arianna (Villa 51) and Pastore (Villa 52)(Graph 45). With the inclusion of this *peristyle*, the percentage of potential entertainment space produced is 59.13%, which is indicative of most *villae suburbanae* in the region (Table 12). As with Villas 50-52, there was a low degree of emphasis placed upon internal entertainment space, with the only notable example being Room 6. There was also a high degree of emphasis placed upon private entertainment regions at this *villa suburbana*, but Room B seems to have served a public role. This room was of large proportions (86.35m^2), bordering the colonnaded courtyard that was visible through small windows (Plate 127). As exhibited in the Villas San Marco and Arianna, this complex was a fine *villa suburbana* but on a smaller scale to the other structres.

Villa 55 - Villa at Capella San Marco

General Surface Area: 3,260.16m^2

This complex was located approximately 300 metres from the Villa San Marco (Plate 20), being placed on the ridge of Varano.[74] According to Carrington this establishment only had one storey and produced no evidence of agriculture,[75] there only being a rectangular courtyard near the kitchen on the south-eastern side of the structure that may have been used for agricultural production (Plate 128).[76]

The large colonnaded courtyard had a double row of columns[77] and was clearly used for residential purposes, probably including a social function. The limited agricultural evidence and the presence of elegant décor and mosaic

[74] W.F. Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villas destroyed by Vesuvius*, Vol. 2, Aristide D. Caratzas: New Rochelle, 1979, p. 305.
[75] R.C. Carrington, "Studies in the Campanian 'Villae Rusticae'", *JRS* 21, 1931, p. 116.
[76] Jashemski, 1979, Vol. 2, *op.cit.*, p. 305.

pavements[78] make it evident that this was a *villa suburbana*. The statistical data (Table 12) confirms this classification. The projected percentage of open space within the known regions of this complex (74.77%) highlights the open character that it possessed, taking advantage of the panoramic view from the Varano ridge.

Despite the dearth of current information on this site its classification as a *villa suburbana* seems appropriate. It was only slightly smaller than the previous villa (Villa 54)(Graph 43), and its percentage of entertainment space was the highest in this region (Graph 44), which was mostly a public entertainment area. When the size and potential entertainment space of this villa is compared to *villae suburbanae* in other regions its classification as a relatively modest *villa suburbana* seems certain.

Villas further out from Stabiae

There are many known villas located further out in the *ager Stabianus* (Plate 20). Four complexes will be considered here to serve as a good comparison with the previous structures. The function of these villas focused primarily upon agriculture, contrasting with the large villas on the Varano ridge. These complexes provide a greater understanding about the size of the Stabian *suburbium* and its nature. As with some villas in the outer *suburbium* of Pompeii the appropriate entertainment percentage for the villas located further out from Stabiae should not include the courtyards because of their solely utilitarian focus.

[77] *Ibid.*
[78] Carrington, 1931, *op.cit.*, p. 116.

Villa 56 - Villa Petraro[79]

General Surface Area: *1,209.9m²*

The Villa Petraro (Plate 20) was discovered in 1957 and then backfilled.[80] The nature of this complex was that of an agricultural establishment (Plate 129), but the residential precincts were well treated.[81] The complex was approximately 900 metres from the Villa of San Marco, located slightly away from the central settlement of Stabiae after the events of 89 BC. It was initially constructed out of Sarno river travertine and white limestone in the *opus incertum* during the Augustan period, but was later added to with *opus vittatum* in a second phase of construction.[82] The statistical data (Table 12) available from this complex has provided some assistance in its classification. It is notable that when compared to the other villas from this region it has a lower percentage of entertainment space (26.94%)(Graph 44).

In other areas of Campania such as the inner suburbs of Pompeii, this would be a consistent result with many *villae suburbanae*. However, in this instance it is clear that the role of the central courtyard was primarily utilitarian, indicating that it should be removed from this group of areas. This has been deemed appropriate in view of the dearth of decorative features in this courtyard, in addition to the finds of several pieces of agricultural equipment in this open area. If this is taken into account then the percentage of potential spaces for social activity is reduced to Rooms 10 and 19, being Type 10 and 11 rooms respectively, and providing a result of 6.37% entertainment space (Graph 47)(Tables 12-14).

It is clear that at the Villa Petraro there was only limited emphasis upon social endeavours, with the residence being primarily intended for productive ends. The only two entertainment rooms are internal in their disposition, which is vastly different to the Villas on the Varano ridge. Its location made this residence unable to access such an impressive view as the other villas that would have reduced the appeal of an open-styled residence significantly. As with many

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[79] See Appendix E, pp. 105-106.
[80] A. Ferrara, "Villa Petraro", in D. Camardo and A. Ferrara (eds.), *Stabiae: le ville*, Biblioteca del clero della Chiesa del Gesù: Castellammare di Stabia, 1989b, p. 83.
[81] *Ibid.*
[82] A.M. Sodo, "Villa Petraro", in A. Pesce (ed.), *In Stabiano*, Nicola Longobardi Editore: Castellammare di Stabia, 2004c, pp. 68.

similar structures in the outer suburbs of Pompeii, it seems that this complex would have been viewed as a modest agricultural complex, not a suburban villa. It is significant to note that this farmstead was much larger than Villa 53, but it was the residential facilities that distinguished a *villa suburbana* from a primarily agricultural complex, such as the Villa Petraro.

Villa 57 - Villa A at Carmiano[83]

General Surface Area: *346.69m²*

The Villa A at Carmiano (Plate 130) was roughly 600 metres from the Villa of San Marco in Stabiae (Plate 20). This complex has produced evidence of both viticulture and the sale of wine at a small shop.[84] The wine production occurred in a *torcularium*.[85] There was another complex located close to this building, which also had a *torcularium* within its precincts.[86] The close proximity of these buildings suggests that they were small productive properties, devoted to the cultivation of grapevines and wine production.[87]

The statistical evidence (Table 12) taken from Villa A at Carmiano exhibits the agricultural and modest nature of this complex. This was the smallest structure discussed in the region (346.69m²), being significantly smaller than most villas located on the ridge of Varano (Table 12). The central courtyard was small (48.82m²), as was the sole potential entertainment room (Rm 1), illustrating that social activity was not an important consideration when the residence was constructed. As with the Villa Petraro, the focus of the structure was internal rather than external (Graph 45). This highlights that a lifestyle of *otium* and *luxuria* was not intended for its residents who would have focused upon *rusticitas* (Table 14). Therefore, this complex should not be viewed as a *villa suburbana*.

When this property is compared to the previously discussed villas in Stabiae, it is evident that it served a different purpose to the larger complexes. Having examined both the Villas Petraro and Carmiano, it is clear that they were

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[83] See Appendix E, pp. 106-107.
[84] D. Camardo, "Villa A di Carmiano", in D. Camardo and A. Ferrara (eds.), *Stabiae: le ville*, Biblioteca del clero della Chiesa del Gesù: Castellammare di Stabia, 1989c, p. 69.
[85] Miniero, 1988, *op.cit.*, p. 247.
[86] Camardo, 1989c, *op.cit.*, p. 69.
[87] *Ibid.*

agricultural villas in the *ager Stabianus*.[88] Most agricultural villas in the region had production on properties of small to intermediate size and the buildings themselves only covered an area between 400 and 800m^2.[89] In view of their modest facilities and size it is thought that most of them had owner-occupiers.[90] The most intriguing aspect is the minimal distance from the extravagant complexes of Stabiae, such as the Villas of San Marco and Arianna.

It is evident that both smaller villas were not closely connected to the larger villas in the final period.[91] Despite the relatively minimal distance between the Villa Petraro and the Villa at Carmiano, and the larger suburban villas, the difference is more attributable to the facilities and general character of these smaller complexes. It is more appropriate to classify these as farmhouses, especially in view of their emphasis upon agriculture. Bonifacio has highlighted that the owners had made some attempts to improve the demeanour of this residence,[92] but the statistical evaluation of potential entertainment space has highlighted the difference between this complex and the Stabian suburban villas. There are two more examples of permanent residences from this region that, despite having aspects of well-appointed residential facilities, were primarily agricultural establishments.

Villa 58 - Villa at Casa dei Miri

General Surface Area: 4,656m^2

This complex (Plate 131) was a large establishment but most of its surface area was made up of open regions including a large central courtyard (Rm B) and what was probably a kitchen garden to the south-east (Rm D).[93] The layout of this structure exhibits some urban characteristics, with the entrance leading directly into Room A.[94] This may be explained by its close connection to Stabiae, being

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[88] c.f. M. Mastroroberto, "The Decoration", in A. Pesce (ed.), *In Stabiano*, Nicola Longobardi Editore: Castellammare di Stabia, 2004, p. 85.
[89] A. Ferrara, "Ville rustiche e ville di lusso nell'*Ager Stabianus*", in D. Camardo and A. Ferrara (eds.), *Stabiae: le ville*, Biblioteca del clero della Chiesa del Gesù: Castellammare di Stabia, 1989c, p. 89.
[90] *Ibid.*
[91] S. Ferraro, *Stabiae: le ville e l'antiquarium*, Azienda Autonoma di Cura Sogiorono e turismo Castellammare: Stabiae, 1980, p. 7.
[92] G. Bonifacio, "Villa Carmiano", in A. Pesce (ed.), *In Stabiano*, Nicola Longobardi Editore: Castellammare di Stabia, 2004b, p. 75.
[93] Jashemski, 1979, Vol. 1, *op.cit.*, p. 330.
[94] Carrington, 1931, *op.cit.*, p. 121.

located approximately 800 metres from the Villa San Marco (Plate 20). Room B most likely served a residential function,[95] possibly filling a potential reception/entertainment role as well. This is shown by the wall décor that was usually absent in purely utilitarian open areas. These paintings depicted fish in a blue sea, possibly indicating the presence of a pool in this open area.[96]

A dining room (Rm c) has also been identified (Plate 131),[97] but there has been little comment on this region of the building. However, another important focus of the residence was upon agriculture, with finds of *dolia* for either wine or oil storage discovered in the utilitarian courtyard (Rm C).[98] The eastern entrance also appears to have been large enough for carts,[99] allowing for the easy transportation of produce. Carrington has mentioned that the large area to the west (Rm G) was used as either a wine or oil storeroom (Plate 131),[100] which seems to confirm the prominence of productivity within the intentions of the owners.

When examining this structure there are three notable aspects. Firstly, it was a large complex but most of the internal regions were devoted to productivity. However, it was not a purely utilitarian establishment, having features that suggest there was some provision for a social role by the owner. Secondly, this complex epitomises the ideals of Roman self-sufficiency, which is illustrated in the presence of the kitchen garden (Rm D). This garden would have been used for the household rather than for commercial advantage, unlike the production of wine or oil that occurred at this residence. Finally, owing to its position and judging from the overall layout of the structure, the focus of the building would have been largely towards the internal courtyard. Therefore, it appears unlikely that this villa would have been classified as a *villa suburbana*. When these considerations are combined with the statistical data (Table 12) it confirms the impression that this establishment was a sizeable complex that was permanently resided in by its owners, but that focused predominantly upon productivity. This was quite different to most *villae suburbanae* located on the ridge of Varano.

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[95] Jashemski, 1979, Vol. 2, *op.cit.*, p. 304.
[96] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 330.
[97] R.C. Carrington, R.C., "Some Ancient Italian Country-Houses", *Antiquity* 8, 1934, p. 275.
[98] Jashemski, 1979, Vol. 1, *op.cit.*, p. 330.
[99] *Ibid.*
[100] Carrington, 1934, *op.cit.*, p. 275.

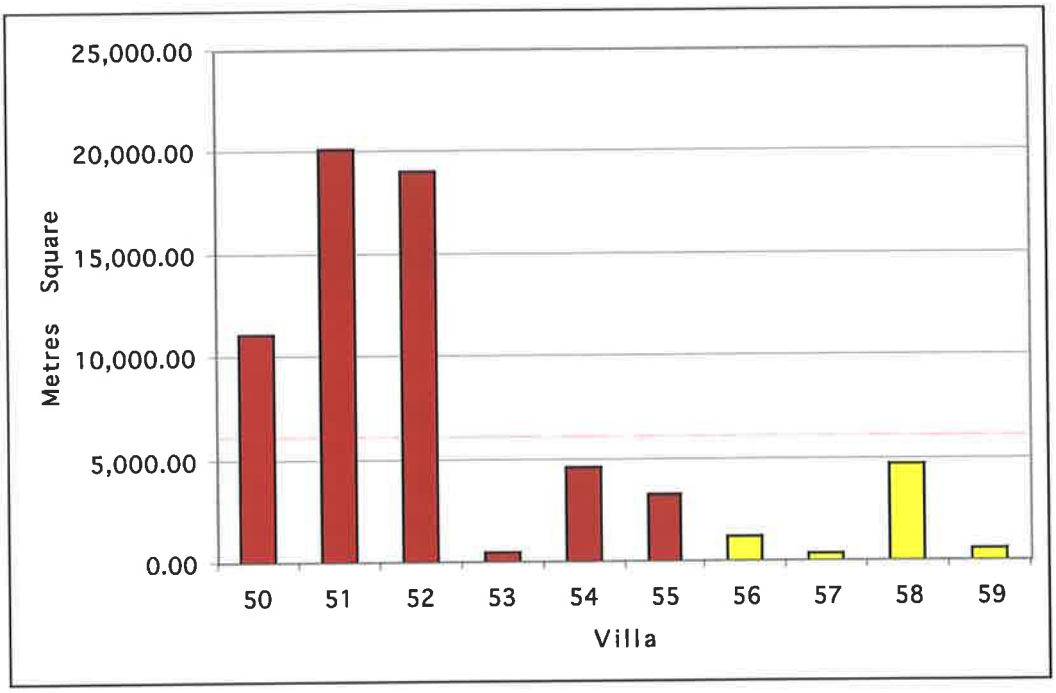
Villa 59 - Villa at Capella degli Impisi

General Surface Area: $582.8m^2$

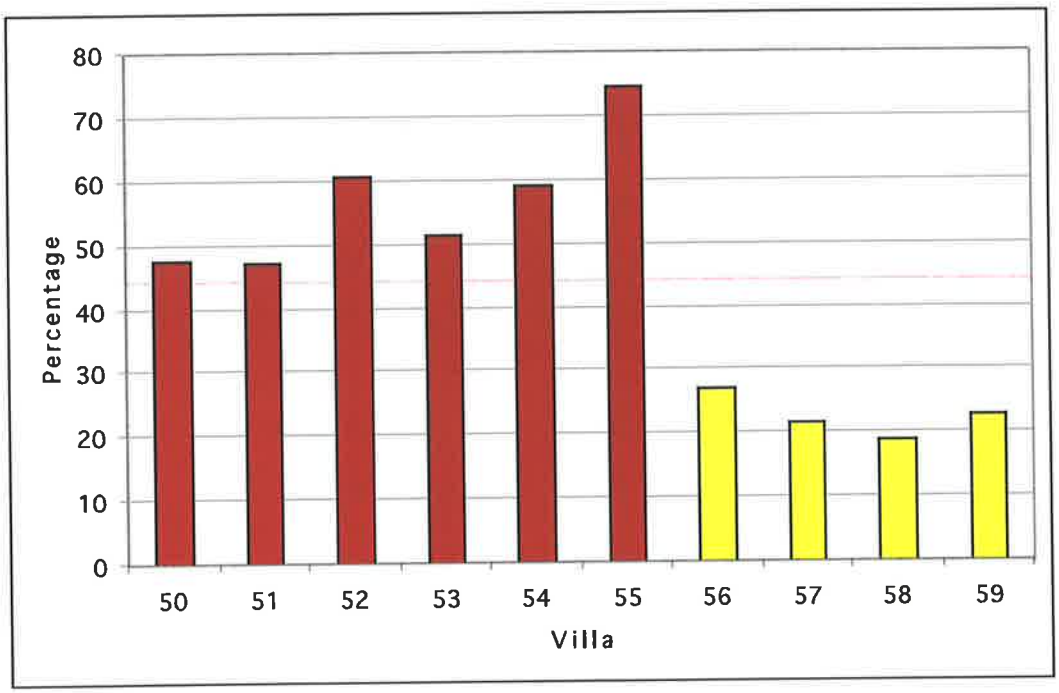
This complex was constructed approximately 1.5 kilometres from the Villa San Marco (Plate 20) and seems to have been a small agricultural farmstead in the *ager Stabianus*. There has been little published about this site, but it is evident that it was planned around a central courtyard with the living quarters arranged on one side (Plate 132).[101] On the other edge of the structure was a kitchen garden (Rm b) that had direct access to the courtyard.[102] There seems to have been a dining room (Rm C) on the same axis as the courtyard as well. This was the only known room to have an entertainment role, which would have been minimal because of its size (Table 12).

Judging from the general character of the structure and the statistical data (Table 12), it is evident that contemporaries would not have deemed it a *villa suburbana*. The limited social role of this establishment is epitomised not only in its size but also because roughly half of its surface area was taken up by the kitchen garden (Plate 132). Both Villas 58 and 59 illustrate that despite their differing sizes (Graphs 45, 47)(Table 12) they both had a limited focus upon social activities, with the owners preferring to concentrate upon agricultural production.

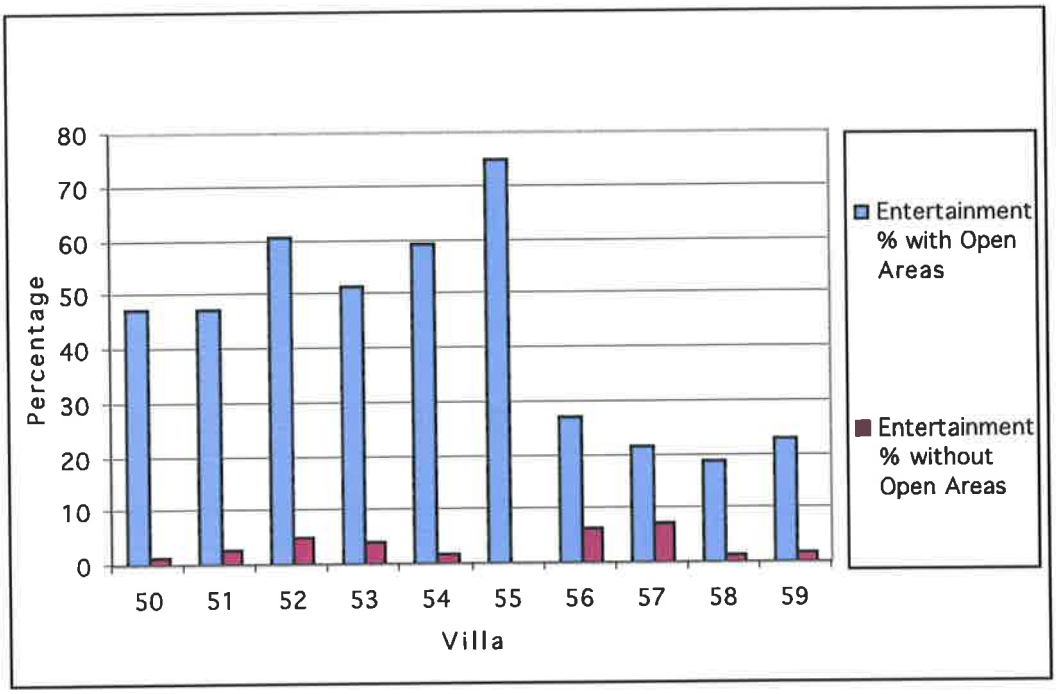
[101] Jashemski, 1979, Vol. 2, *op.cit.*, p. 312.
[102] *Ibid.*



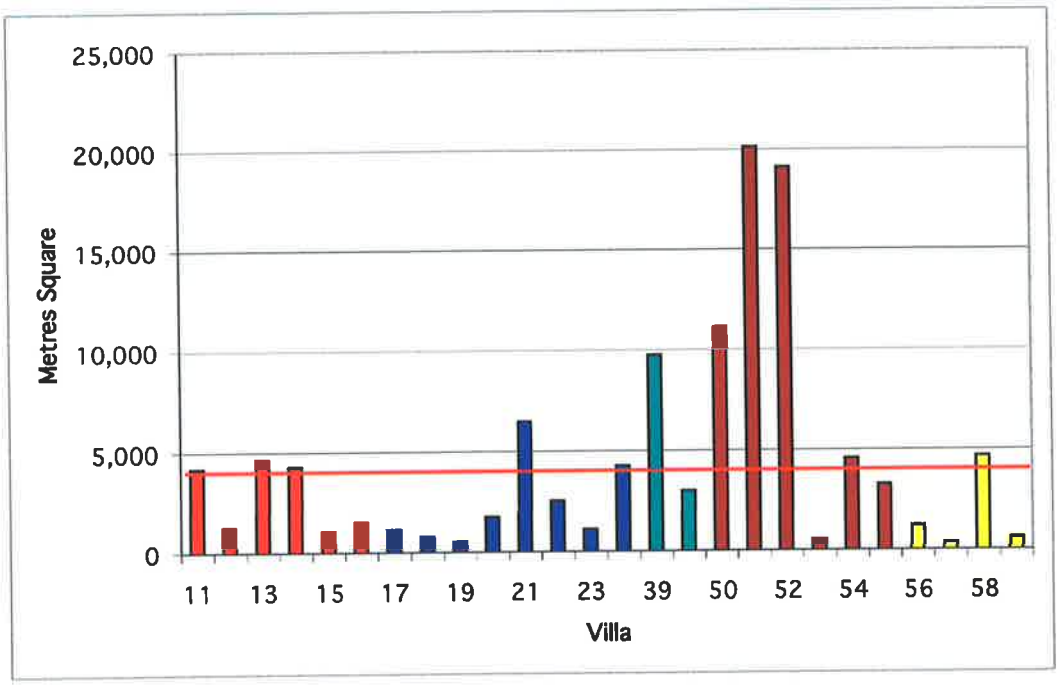
Graph 43 - showing the Comparison of Estimated Surface Areas of Stabian Villas



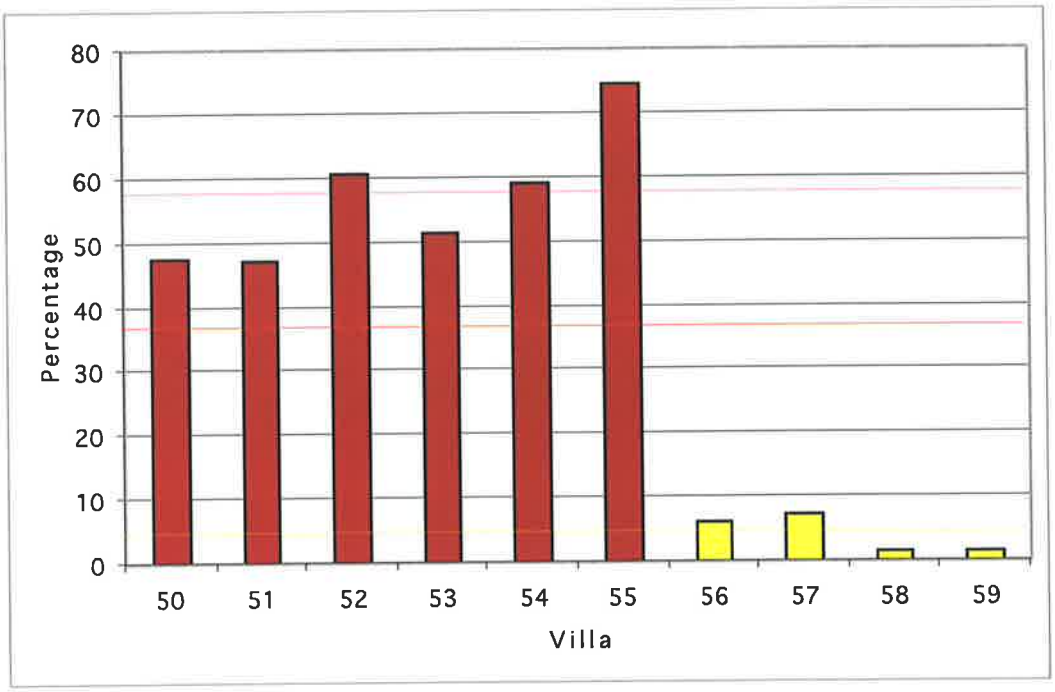
Graph 44 - showing the Percentage of Identifiable Entertainment Areas to the Known Total Area of Building Complex at Each Stabian Villa



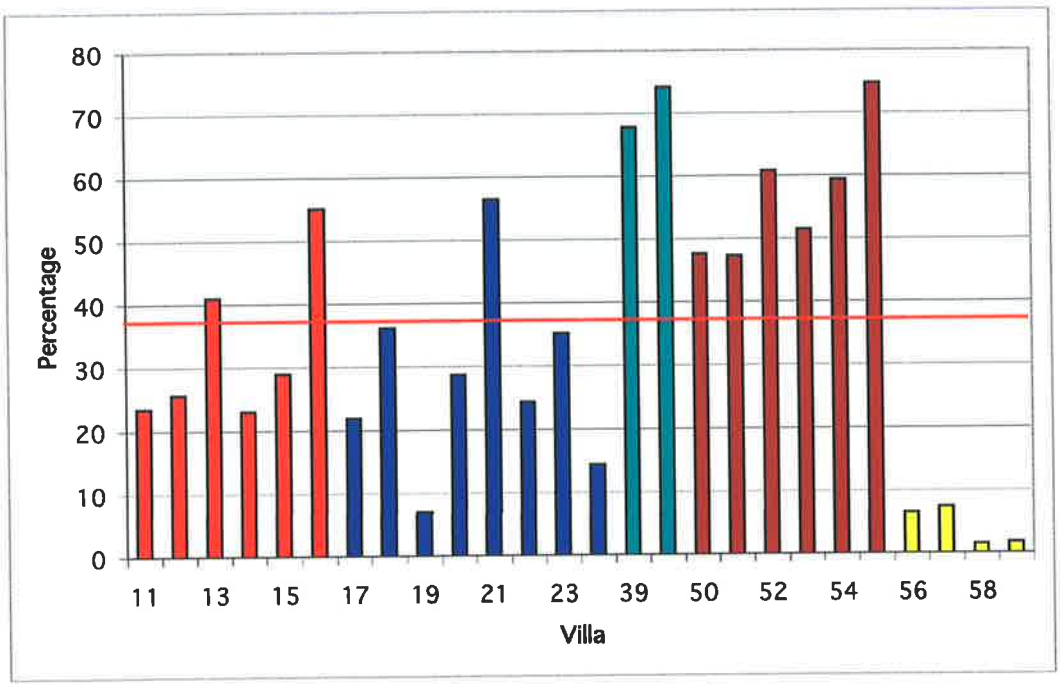
Graph 45 - the Percentages of Entertainment Areas With and Without Open Areas Relative to the Total Estimated Area of Building Complex at Each Stabian Villa



Graph 46 - showing the Comparison of Estimated Surface Areas of Suburban Villas at Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabiae



Graph 47 - showing the Applicable Percentage of Identifiable Entertainment Areas to the Known Total Area of Building Complex at Each Stabian Villa



Graph 48 - showing the Percentage of Identifiable Entertainment Areas to the Known Total Area of Building Complex at Each Suburban Villa at Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabiae

General Conclusions

The investigations at many villas located in the *ager Stabianus* show that the palatial villas in the vicinity of the Varano ridge were the exception rather than the rule. The other complexes that are discussed in the region lacked the lavish décor during the final phase of habitation, probably indicating that the owners were frequently absent.[103] According to Miniero, of forty-five agricultural villas in the hinterland of the region, twelve have evidence of a wine cellar and a *torcularium* and five had an olive press, which seems to suggest that wine and oil were their principal products.[104] Such finds and the dearth of decoration highlight the difference between these complexes and the luxurious villas on the Varano ridge. The difference between the *villae suburbanae* (Villas 50-55) and the farmsteads (56-59) is most clearly illustrated in Graph 47.

The marked difference in entertainment space is compelling evidence of how *villae suburbanae* and agricultural complexes contrasted with each other. The group of residences discovered in this region have produced the clearest results of any area considered and are indicative of how this region differed from the other suburban areas in its marked division of status and function. This is particularly evident when comparing the Mean results of potential entertainment space on Graph 47. The *villae suburbanae* (Villas 50-55) have a Mean percentage of 58.33% (as shown by the Brown line), whereas the smaller agricultural farmsteads have an average percentage of 4.22% (as shown by the Yellow line). This result clearly exhibits the differing social intentions that the owners had for each type of structure.

Having considered the suburban villas at Stabiae, it is evident that there were three extremely large complexes (Villas 50-52) that dominated the Varano ridge (Graph 43). The Villas of San Marco, Arianna and Pastore were all over 10,000m^2 in their dimensions (Graph 43)(Table 12), whereas the other complexes were significantly smaller. Four complexes were not classified as suburban villas (Villas 56-59). This is significant because the Villa Petraro (Villa 56) is more than twice as large as the well-appointed Villa Filosofo (Villa 50), which is the smallest complex classified as a suburban villa (Graph 43). It is evident that its

[103] Miniero, 1988, *op.cit.*, p. 262.
[104] *Ibid.*, p. 263.

immense neighbour, the Villa San Marco, dominated this complex, making it seem less significant. However, the characteristics of the Villa Filosofo suggest that it was a suburban villa, simply constructed on a smaller scale than its neighbours.

This is particularly pertinent when the original periods of construction are taken into consideration. Of the suburban villas, five (Villas 50-54) have dateable periods of initial construction. It is noteworthy that the two smaller examples (Villas 53, 54) have been dated to before the intervention of Sulla in 89 BC. The other three *villae suburbanae* (Villas 50-52) were constructed after this event. This would explain the ample proportions of their layouts in comparison to not only the other Stabian examples (Graph 43), but also suburban villas in other regions of Campania (Graph 46). When examining all of the suburban villas at Stabiae it is obvious that the coastal panorama and sea breezes were the main attraction for this location, similar to those suburban villas constructed around Pompeii and Herculaneum.

The Hillier and Hanson method has clearly illustrated the differing social roles that were present in *villae suburbanae*. Particularly the large establishments (Villas 50-52) have exhibited a differentiation in accessible/inaccessible (public/private) space. Of the smaller *villae suburbanae*, only the Villa at Capella San Marco has not exhibited some differentiation, but this is probably owing to the incomplete state of its plan. Villas 53 and 54 have both exhibited some distinction in public and private areas, but at a reduced level in comparison to the Villas San Marco, Arianna and Pastore (owing to their smaller layouts).

The limited degree of urban infrastructure at Stabiae made the nature of these complexes quite different to the other centres considered. Judging from the comparative size of the complexes in all of these regions (Tables 4, 7, 10, 12), the majority of the residences on the Varano ridge were significantly larger, only being comparable to the Villas of Poppea and Papyri in Campania (Graph 46). The expansion of these villas may have been due to the lack of restrictions on space by the absence of a prominent urban centre. It is for this reason that the villas at Stabiae are more comparable with villas located further out in the suburbs, such as those examined in Chapter Four (Graph 48). The difference was

the space available for extensive terraces and porticoes, as well as the increased social freedom for large-scale architectural ornamentation.

It becomes evident that the location of the *villae suburbanae* at Stabiae influenced their character and layout, primarily owing to the available view. As is to be expected, the larger establishments had a significantly higher number of potential entertainment areas (Graph 44), which were usually designed with an open disposition (Graph 45, 47). It is the consistent combination of provisions for a panoramic setting and a close position to the urban facilities of Stabiae that are the main features of these *villae suburbanae.* For this reason the Stabian examples are quite similar to the residences situated in the *suburbium* of Herculaneum.

Despite the similarities to *villae suburbanae* outside Herculaneum, Stabian suburban villas also possess a unique feature. The evidence from all the examples from the *ager Stabianus* demonstrates that the *suburbium* of Stabiae was significantly smaller than those near Pompeii and Herculaneum. Stabiae has a major concentration of palatial *villae suburbanae* close to the remaining urban facilities, but no distinctive suburban villas further from the ridge of Varano. This was probably partially because of the panoramic advantages that this area provided in preference to not-so scenic locations in the area, but this would not entirely explain the dearth of well-appointed residences elsewhere. It appears more likely that this was a reflection of the limited size and importance of Stabiae itself. The attraction of this centre would have been significantly reduced after the loss of its political and legal rights/independence in 89 BC, which severely impacted upon the size of its perceived *suburbium.* This would have also diminished the influence of the centre dramatically and made the construction of well-appointed *villae suburbanae* less attractive.

Another result of the events of 89 BC would have been the rise in the influence of the local wealthy members of the community. The replacement of the regular official function of a centre's jurisdiction by the unofficial sway of the local élite was a natural progression in this instance. This is what Cicero referred to in the post-Social War period in his *De Legibus* as the concept of two

fatherlands, being *alteram loci, alteram iuris.*[105] With the loss of official processes the local influential members of society needed to maintain their position in a less formal format. These large residences on the Varano ridge (50-52, 54-55) would have become the places for the unofficial organisation of the local population. Instead of using administrative procedure the owners were likely to have wielded social pressure and financial domination. The resulting situation meant that the sphere of influence exerted by Stabiae was reduced, which is reflected in the size of its *suburbium*. This is exhibited in the concentration of large *villae suburbanae* close to the urban centre, and its hinterland, being made up of modest agricultural establishments that were clearly not *villae suburbanae*.

[105] Cicero, *De Legibus* 2.1-5; E. Gabba, "Rome and Italy in the Second Century BC", *CAH* 8, 2nd ed., Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1989, pp. 211-2.

Conclusions

The literary and archaeological evidence discussed leads to several conclusions that enable a clearer understanding of life in *villae suburbanae*. The region beyond the urban precincts is, by nature, difficult to define because of its subjective nature, but from the evidence has emerged a distinct group of residences classified as *villae suburbanae*. Not every building in the *suburbium* was a *villa suburbana*, and this study has shown how *villae suburbanae* differed from other structures, showing their prominence throughout the extra-urban areas. Their prominence resulted from their impressive architectural and decorative features, and the highly social function that these residences enabled their owners to perform. It was this public role that distinguished *villae suburbanae* from the typical agricultural farmsteads that were so common throughout the extra-urban hinterland of the cities under question.

Villae suburbanae were well-appointed residences located in the *suburbium*, which possessed facilities that enabled them to serve an entertainment role, while also allowing for the owner's privacy. These residences were often used for agricultural productivity, but not as a prime focus. This definition of *villae suburbanae* has been constructed using ancient literary sources and the available archaeological data. As discussed, the literary conception of *villae suburbanae* is invaluable as these references have illustrated the varied way in which the residences were used.

The literary sources have illustrated that villas deemed to be in the suburbs of Rome could be located as far as 40 kilometres from the *urbs*. Literature has also provided a clearer understanding of the functions served by, and advantages to, owning a *villa suburbana*. The most significant benefit was its proximity to the city, which allowed for easy communication and transportation between the city and the residence, reducing time and expense for the owners. A suburban villa provided the

owner with a greater amount of privacy than in an urban townhouse and more freedom from the social pressures of the city, as outlined by Horace.[1]

As well as the social and private functions of *villae suburbanae*, residences were quite often agriculturally productive. Numerous references made in the literature concerning the need for effective productivity at suburban estates have been examined in this study. By possessing elements of productivity a well-appointed residence that was in all other respects designed for the enjoyment of its owners, was deemed to be more socially acceptable to the Roman consciousness.

The luxurious facilities mentioned in the literary sources and discovered at many Roman suburban villas illustrates that productivity was usually only of small, if any, concern for the owners. Frequently *villae suburbanae* were purely residential, designed for the enjoyment of the owner and their guests. In fact, the receiving and entertainment of guests was of prime importance for owners of a *villa suburbana*. As shown by Martial, there seems to have been a fair degree of social motivation towards acquiring a suburban villa.[2] The need to advertise the success and social standing of the owner often influenced the creation of lavish suburban residences as mentioned by Statius,[3] and was lamented by agrarian writers such as Columella.[4] A well-appointed residence does seem to have been an essential feature of suburban villas, distinguishing them and their owners from the simple farmsteads that were so common throughout the Italian countryside.

It is evident that the view from a suburban villa was of the utmost importance, accentuating the *otium* of its facilities and the owner's *urbanitas*.[5] Many rooms in suburban villas were built for their panoramic position, as this extended the domain of the property to the viewers beyond its actual limits and accentuated the impressive character of the residence. Martial highlighted the effect the view at his villa on the Janiculan hill had upon him, as well as the combined urban and rural

[1] Horace, *Satires*, 6.16-76; *Ep.*, 10.6-7; *Odes*, 2.3.11-16.
[2] Martial, *Ep.*, 4.64; 5.35.
[3] Statius, *Silvae*, 1.3; 2.2.
[4] Columella, 1.*Praef.*15-19; 1.7.3; 10.*Praef.*2.
[5] Pliny, *Ep.*, 2.17.1; Statius, *Silvae*, 1.3; 2.2; Martial, *Ep.*, 7.17.2.

characteristics of his suburban property.[6] The frequently elevated locations of suburban villas would also have presented health benefits because of their high levels of ventilation, especially in comparison with the condensed living conditions in Rome.

The features of *villae suburbanae* highlight the variation between each suburban residence. They were often a combination of both *rusticitas* and *urbanitas*, symbolising the synthesis of the *suburbium* in general. It was this duality of function and character that made them unique and desirable. The use of the term *villa suburbana* has illustrated their status and advantages. When this was not the intention of the author, another term (*suburbano, rus, villa*) was used instead of *villae suburbanae*.

The status acquired by owning a suburban villa can be attributed to two factors. Firstly, the value of most *villae suburbanae* was quite high. Because of their residential facilities and their intimate connection with the city, they were attractive residences, which added to their value. *Villae suburbanae* were valuable investments and the productivity at some estates was an additional advantage. But land value is only one factor that made suburban villas desirable. The term *villa suburbana* was only used in connection to the residence itself, not the estate. To be a *villa suburbana*, a residence had to symbolise *otium* on at least a basic level. It must have been a pleasant place to live, and not used purely for productivity.

Continual occupation was not a requirement to classify a residence as a *villa suburbana*. A *villa suburbana* was to be used at the owners' discretion, which was the main reason behind their variety. Different proprietors would have envisaged different roles for their *villae suburbanae*, and many residences are frequently different because of this. Productivity, *otium*, *luxuria*, *urbanitas* and *rusticitas* were all elements of *villae suburbanae*, all occurring at varying levels within different suburban villas. It was this multi-faceted role that *villae suburbanae* performed that made them unique and desirable, as well as being varied in their character according to the intentions and priorities of their owners.

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[6] Martial, *Ep.*, 4.64.

The literary conception of *villae suburbanae* has been confirmed by the archaeological material from around Rome. It is evident that suburban villas in this region were constructed along such impressive lines that they could only be comparable in size and character to the Imperial palaces on the Palatine hill. The Imperial residences commanded a dominant position within the city and were clear examples of the emperor's position. Suburban villas served a similar role, except they were located within the hinterland of the capital. Suburban villas around Rome were frequently constructed in the Tiburtine, Sabine and Alban regions, which would have been advantageous for their panoramic views and healthy breezes. These areas, especially the Tiburtine and Alban hills, were highly desirable to wealthy landowners as fashionable areas that provided an escape from the daily responsibilities in the city, which is further exemplified in the construction of several suburban Imperial villas in addition to the large urban palaces. Property prices would have been high in these areas, as prime locations were seen not only as providing an ideal living environment, but also as a secure investment.

Several estates have produced evidence of agricultural productivity, but it is of interest to compare the two regions of Tivoli and Dragoncello in this regard. Productivity in the lowland regions was significantly greater, and coincided with the levels of *luxuria* being much lower. Properties located in this area were not as fashionable as the elevated regions to the northeast. A relaxed lifestyle was more important in the larger and more lavish *villae suburbanae* in the fashionable areas, which had a comparatively smaller degree of productivity. Higher levels of available funds allowed these owners to construct spacious ornamental gardens and large entertainment areas, adding to the *luxuria* and *otium* at these *villae suburbanae*. The most notable examples of large palatial suburban villas were those owned by the Imperial families.

The statistical evidence from both the Imperial palaces and the *villae suburbanae* illustrate the important social role that these residences played. The entertainment role of the Imperial palaces is to be expected in view of their owners' position and responsibilities, and in the Imperial *villae suburbanae* it does not appear to have been too dissimilar, especially at the Villas of Domitian (Villa 2) and

Hadrian (Villa 3). These Imperial suburban villas had high percentages of entertainment space and were provided with large entertainment structures, such as theatres. This is also shown at the Villa of the Quintili (Villa 7) after it was acquired by the Emperor Commodus.

The Villa of the Quintili provides important information for this study. Despite the additions of Commodus, this senatorial *villa suburbana* already had a high percentage of entertainment space, illustrating that its social role was not purely the prerogative of the Imperial family, but the wealthy members of Roman society in general. These rich members of the community, regardless of their socio-political position, frequently adorned their *villae suburbanae* with large-scale entertainment areas in the Roman *suburbium*. This is indicative of how the social activity of Rome was not limited to the capital itself, but continued into its hinterland.

The immense size and facilities of suburban villas outside the capital was significant because of their effect upon other residents in the Roman *suburbium*. The Imperial palaces upon the Palatine were clearly visible within the busy *urbs*, but the circumstances were different in the suburbs. Some of the larger *villae suburbanae* were intended to advertise the owners' success and status to the smaller local communities in the Roman hinterland and to the other members of the wealthy classes who also possessed *villae suburbanae*. The high level of social activity in the *suburbium*, particularly in the Tiburtine and Alban regions, meant that these large suburban villas were quite visible. However, they were also far enough from the capital to avoid serious censure.

In the Republican period, the ostentatious display of wealth was seen as unbecoming to the political élite, so *villae suburbanae* would have been quite attractive as they were far enough away from the capital to avoid being blatantly obvious. In the Imperial period suburban villas would have been particularly attractive to both the Emperors and the senatorial class. The *suburbium* allowed the Emperors to construct large palatial suburban villas without the restriction of neighbouring properties, although this was not always such a problem, as seen in the *Domus Aurea*. Senators would have grasped the opportunity to display their social

position and success in the *suburbium*, where the danger of insulting the Emperor was lower than in the *urbs*. However, this was not always the case, as shown in the acquisition of the Villa of the Quintili (Villa 7). The additional space would have also allowed for greater freedom in social activities, which would have been of some importance at *villae suburbanae.*

The importance of social activity in the Roman *suburbium* can be seen in the percentage of potential entertainment space provided within the *villae suburbanae* considered, and also in the literary evidence from the period. Entertainment areas in suburban villas usually had an open disposition in order to enjoy light and ventilation, but the primary motivation was the view. These viewing rooms were constructed for either an internal or external perspective, depending upon the position of the residence and each room under question. Of the Roman *villae suburbanae*, the only example with entertainment space less than twenty percent of the residence was the Villa dell'Auditorium (Villa 5). However, this was also the earliest example and contrasts greatly with the two latest examples (Villas 3, 7). The difference between these residences is likely to be indicative of differing levels of wealth between the Republican villa and the two Imperial *villae suburbanae*, but it is also representative of a progression in architectural styles and the changing attitudes towards the display of wealth. This is particularly evident when the percentage of internal entertainment space is considered at the Villa dell'Auditorium (Villa 5).

It is significant to note the presence of agriculture at seven of these *villae suburbanae* (Villas 4-10). This is particularly relevant when it is remembered that those *villae suburbanae* with no evidence of agricultural activity were Imperial suburban villas, which makes them exceptional structures, particularly the Villa of Hadrian (Villa 3). Leaving aside the Villa dell'Auditorium (Villa 5) because of its early construction, the presence of agriculture had little effect upon the percentage of entertainment space provided at these residences. Complexes such as the Villas of the Volusii Saturnini (Villa 6), Fontana Piscaro (Villa 8) and those on the *Via Gabina* (Villas 9-10) illustrate how potential entertainment areas were combined with a utilitarian function, embodying the duality of *villae suburbanae.* These examples taken from the Roman *suburbium* have complemented the literary conception of

villae suburbanae, showing that the ideal of *villae suburbanae* was reflected in reality.

The ancient literary sources also showed that *villae suburbanae* were constructed outside other cities than the *urbs* proper. Applying an understanding of *villae suburbanae* to those structures in the immediate outskirts of Pompeii reveals several similarities to the Roman structures. Villas, such as the Villas of Diomede and the Mysteries, are prime examples of opulent and spacious residences intended to create a pleasant living environment with panoramic views of the coastal landscape. The villas in this region have also produced evidence of agriculture, especially viticulture, which was so prevalent in the fertile region of Campania. This combination of *otium* and productivity is indicative of many *villae suburbanae*, as shown in the literary and archaeological evidence. These villa complexes were also compared with the large urban structures within the city to demonstrate that the entertainment space within these different structures was quite similar. However, a greater freedom for the development of large impressive residences beyond the city precincts existed for the owners of *villae suburbanae*, than was present for those owners of urban townhouses.

The statistical data has shown the importance of open-planned entertainment in Pompeian *villae suburbanae*, with particular emphasis upon views of the coastline. The Villas of the Mosaic Columns (Villa 12) and T. Siminius Stephanus (Villa 15) were not in a position to view this coastal landscape, but both structures exhibited a prominent utilitarian role within their precincts. The alterations at the Villa of the Mysteries (Villa 14) also severely limited its percentage of entertainment space in accordance with the priorities of its owner during its final phase of habitation. The emphasis upon production at these *villae suburbanae* contrasted with the dominant focus on *luxuria* and *otium* at both the Villas of Diomede (Villa 13) and Imperiale (Villa 16).

The percentages of entertainment space at these *villae suburbanae* were comparable to the large townhouses in Pompeii (Graph 51), with the main difference being their surface areas. *Villae suburbanae* were provided with more entertainment

space within their confines, allowing for various viewing rooms with both an internal and external perspective. This view of the landscape was where the *villae suburbanae* differed from the urban townhouses. The percentage of entertainment space in the House of the Faun (Graph 51) was the highest among all of the Pompeian precincts in the city or inner suburbs, but its early period of construction and impressive demeanour at its inception make it unusual and hardly typical. It is significant that the largest urban property in Pompeii was the House of Julia Felix, and yet the advertisement of luxury and relaxation was not its only focus; it maintained a clear emphasis upon financial gain. This is indicative of the financial circumstances of its owners, which were comparatively reduced at the time of the eruption.

The disparity between the financial resources of owners of *villae suburbanae* is evident, especially when the facilities at the Villas of Diomede (Villa 13) and T. Siminius Stephanus (Villa 15) are compared. It should be reiterated that these *villae suburbanae* were residences of the wealthy classes and even though the finances of some owners were lower than others, the high status of these structures remained. The *villae suburbanae* in the inner *suburbium* of Pompeii have illustrated a duality in function, and their facilities differ from the suburban villas outside Rome. Large well-appointed *villae suburbanae* were constructed outside both cities, and epitomised status and the priorities of their owners. It would be unrealistic to expect Pompeian *villae suburbanae* to be constructed on a similar scale to those suburban villas built for Emperors and senators outside the capital where social pressures and expectations were significantly greater. However, the general character shown by all of these *villae suburbanae* is the same: they provided status and privacy for their owners, being frequently exhibited in a combination of *urbanitas* and *rusticitas*.

Those villas located further from Pompeii are more difficult to define as *villae suburbanae*. Judging from the evidence, suburban villas were not necessarily located directly outside the city limits. But the significant distances travelled within the *suburbium* of Rome cannot be applied directly to a smaller and comparatively less imposing city such as Pompeii. By analysing the complexes further out from the city it appears that several complexes would have been classified as *villae*

suburbanae. These villas had large amounts of space devoted to potential entertainment space, indicating that the social role of these *villae suburbanae* was just as important as in those residences located closer to the city. This is important because it represents the extension of social activity beyond the urban limits, and demonstrates that the distinction between urban and rural lifestyles was not as definite within suburban villas. It has been shown that these *villae suburbanae* took advantage of the coastal landscape with the inclusion of open viewing rooms. These suburban villas (Villas 17-24) contrasted with other smaller villas, which were more likely to be purely productive farmsteads. As in Rome, there seems to have been a preference towards specific regions for the construction of *villae suburbanae* in Pompeii, particularly Boscoreale and Torre Annunziata.

The statistical data from the villas in the *ager Pompeiana* illustrates the difference between *villae suburbanae* and the agricultural complexes in these areas. Of the twenty-two complexes analysed in the outer *suburbium* of Pompeii, only eight *villae suburbanae* have been identified (Villas 17-24). Of the eight *villae suburbanae*, only one has produced no significant evidence of agriculture: the Villa of Poppaea (Villa 21). The Villa of Poppaea was the largest and most palatial residence in the outer *suburbium* of Pompeii.

It is notable that the remaining seven Pompeian outer suburban villas served dual roles of entertainment and productivity. The Villa of Iucundus (Villa 17) was predominantly focused upon private entertainment and its classification as a *villa suburbana* is evident owing to its finds and the occupation of its owner, Iucundus. Of the *villae suburbanae* it would be expected that Villas 19 and 24 had higher percentages of potential entertainment space, but their incomplete excavation has limited their examination. When these *villae suburbanae* are compared to the agricultural complexes in the area there is a clear difference in their focus and facilities.

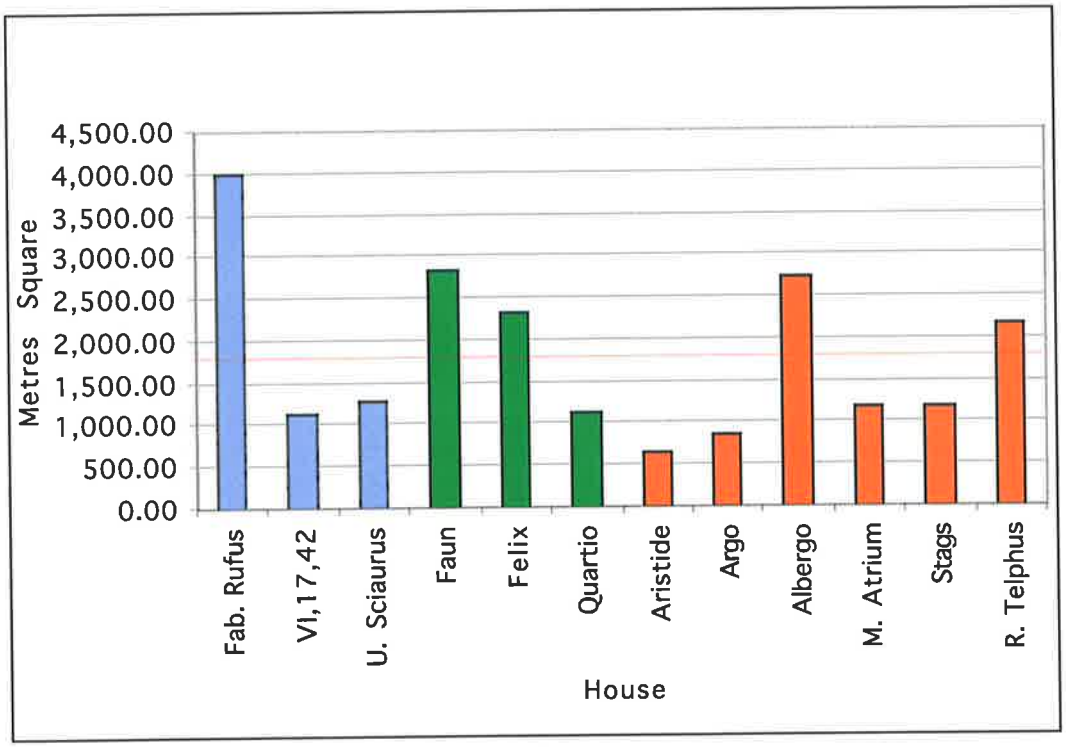
When all of the identified *villae suburbanae* outside Pompeii are compared, there is an evident separation of complexes into two sizes ($<3{,}000m^2$; $>4{,}000m^2$), with little grey area between the two groups. It is of interest to note the distance

from Pompeii did not determine the size of the larger complexes (Graph 31). However, when the percentage of entertainment space at these *villae suburbanae* is considered, their grouping becomes less distinct (Graph 32). The majority of complexes have a percentage of entertainment space between 15-35%, which is likely to have been higher at several sites if their excavation had been more comprehensive (Villas 19, 22, 24).

Regardless of their position from the city, there was a similar emphasis on, and variation between, the entertainment roles for these residences. It is not surprising that the Villas of Diomede (Villa 13), Imperiale (Villa 16) and Poppaea (Villa 21) produced the highest percentages of potential entertainment space. These *villae suburbanae* were primarily residential villas for *luxuria* and *otium*, with a focus upon viewing the landscape. The rest of the *villae suburbanae* outside Pompeii had dual roles of lifestyle and production. It is pertinent that of the fourteen identified *villae suburbanae* (in both the inner and outer *suburbium* of Pompeii), only three were purely focused upon *otium*, whereas the remainder served as productive estates also. This corresponds with the literary conception and the *villae suburbanae* outside Rome and further exemplifies that the essence of suburban villas was consistent despite the variation between each owners' priorities and resources.

Villae suburbanae outside Herculaneum have complemented the examples from Rome and Pompeii. Of the known villas in the region, only a few possessed the facilities and general well-appointed appearance to justify a definition as a *villa suburbana* (Villas 39-40, 42-44). The most obvious example of this type of complex was the Villa of the Papyri, but the grandeur of this establishment was not typical. A similar number of suburban villas and simple farmsteads have been found in the hinterland of Herculaneum, but there were fewer complexes around this smaller urban centre than at Pompeii. The desire for a viewing platform within the city precincts was present in the large townhouses on the southern frontage of the Bay of Naples. These houses reflect a similar tendency towards view appreciation as the complexes in *Insula Occidentalis* in Pompeii, where the reduced defensive requirements of the city allowed for wealthy residents to expand their houses in order to gain a more open disposition for their residences. There was a similar motivation

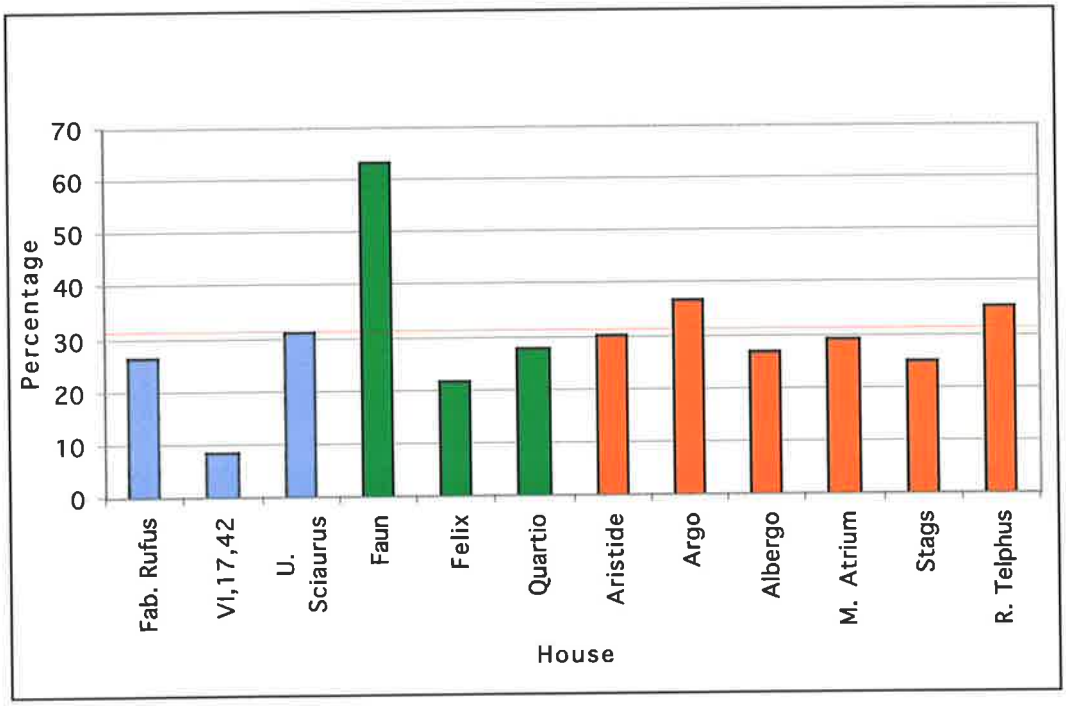
in this growth as for the development of large suburban villas, though on a lesser scale when compared to the number of *villae suburbanae* outside Pompeii.



Graph 49 - showing the Comparison of Estimated Surface Areas of Townhouses in Pompeii and Herculaneum

The statistical data from the suburban villas outside Herculaneum has continued the general theme exhibited in the suburbs of Rome and Pompeii. Despite having fewer examples to use, the size and facilities of the Villa of the Papyri (Villa 39) and the high percentage of entertainment space in the Villa Sora (Villa 40) have illustrated that they were two well-appointed *villae suburbanae* in the coastal *suburbium* of Herculaneum. Both complexes possessed large percentages of potential entertainment space that were among the highest of all examined *villae suburbanae* (Graph 53). The results from these complexes were complemented by those at Puteoli and Baiae, where both *villae suburbanae* and *maritimae* illustrated the wealth and status that these establishments conveyed, as well as their appreciation for open-planned entertaining areas and coastal viewing rooms.

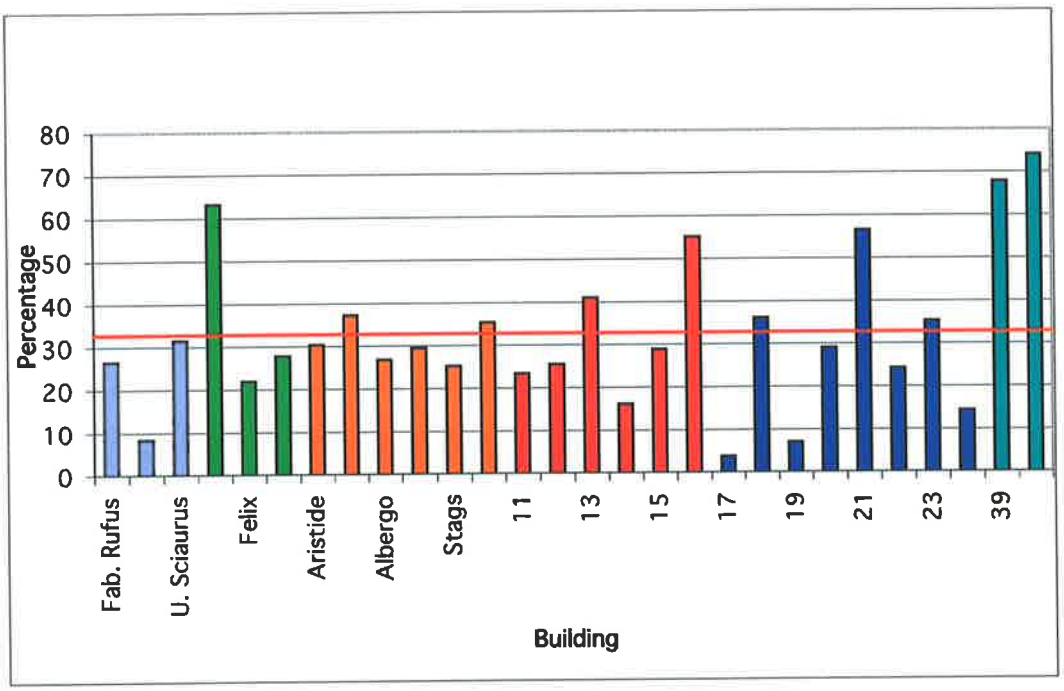
Both *villae suburbanae* from the *ager Ercolano* have exhibited a high level of facilities and potential entertainment space, particularly the space providing an open aspect. There was only limited emphasis upon agricultural productivity at these residences, with the main focus being upon *otium* and the view of the coast. This corresponded to the townhouses on the southern limits of the city. When these townhouses are compared to those in Pompeii, it is evident that there was a large variation in surface area (Graph 49), but a strong correlation in potential entertainment space (Graph 50).



Graph 50 - showing the Percentage of Identifiable Entertainment Areas to the Known Total Area of Building Complex at Townhouses in Pompeii and Herculaneum

All of the townhouses examined in this study had a similar percentage of entertainment space, except for the House of the Faun (which was exceptional) and House VI, 17, 42, which has only been partially excavated. Otherwise the consistent provision of entertainment space is clearly evident. When these residences are compared to the *villae suburbanae* outside both centres they exhibit a greater

consistency in their entertainment space than the *villae suburbanae* (Graph 51). The social requirements of these large townhouses would have been consistent, which was not the case in many suburban residences. The *villae suburbanae* outside both centres had more variation in their entertainment capacity because of their role duality (lifestyle and productivity), especially in the outer suburbs. The *villae suburbanae* outside Herculaneum demonstrate that both examples had important social responsibilities for their owners (Graph 51). This trend was also quite similar to most suburban villas in the Pompeian region, which is indicative of the city's prominence in comparison to Herculaneum and Stabiae.



Graph 51 - showing the Percentage of Identifiable Entertainment Areas to the Known Total Area of Building Complex at Each Suburban Villa and Townhouse at Pompeii and Herculaneum

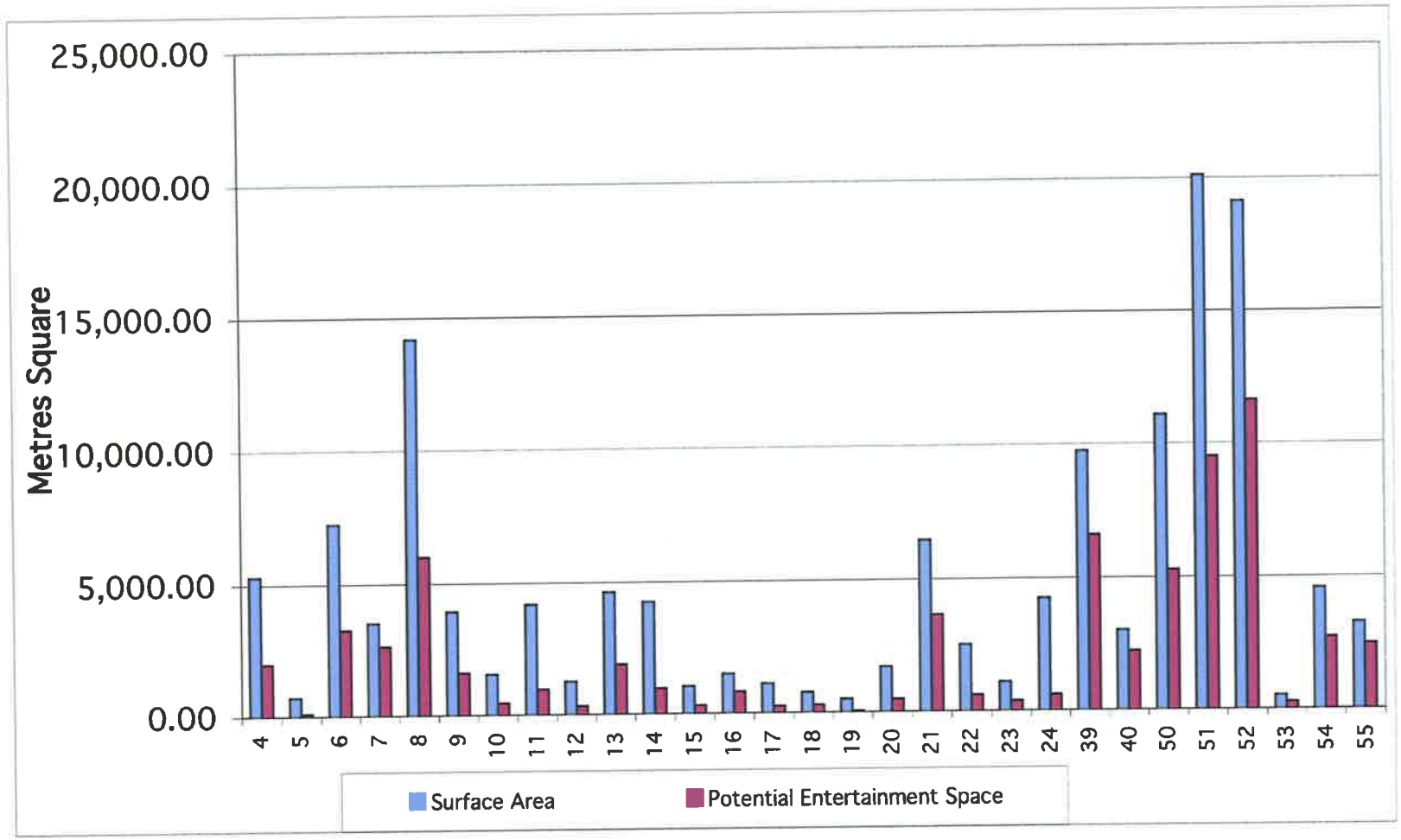
Stabiae has also exhibited similar characteristics of life in the suburbs, with a series of grand, opulent residences along the Varano ridge. The majority of these complexes (Villas 50-55) have little evidence of agriculture, with the prime focus being upon *luxuria* and *otium* for the enjoyment of the owners. However, Stabiae

has provided a different scenario from the other centres in Campania because of its limited urban features, resulting from Sulla's destruction. Sulla's actions allowed for even greater expansion by the wealthiest of landowners in Stabiae, resulting in enormous complexes. This reflects how if the limitations of an urban environment were removed and the capital was available, these complexes could become extremely large. The examination of Stabiae has also illustrated the difference between large *villae suburbanae* and much smaller farmsteads located in the *ager Stabianus* (Villas 56-59). These smaller villas were evidently not *villae suburbanae*, but their comparison with suburban villas highlights the difference between these two types of complex.

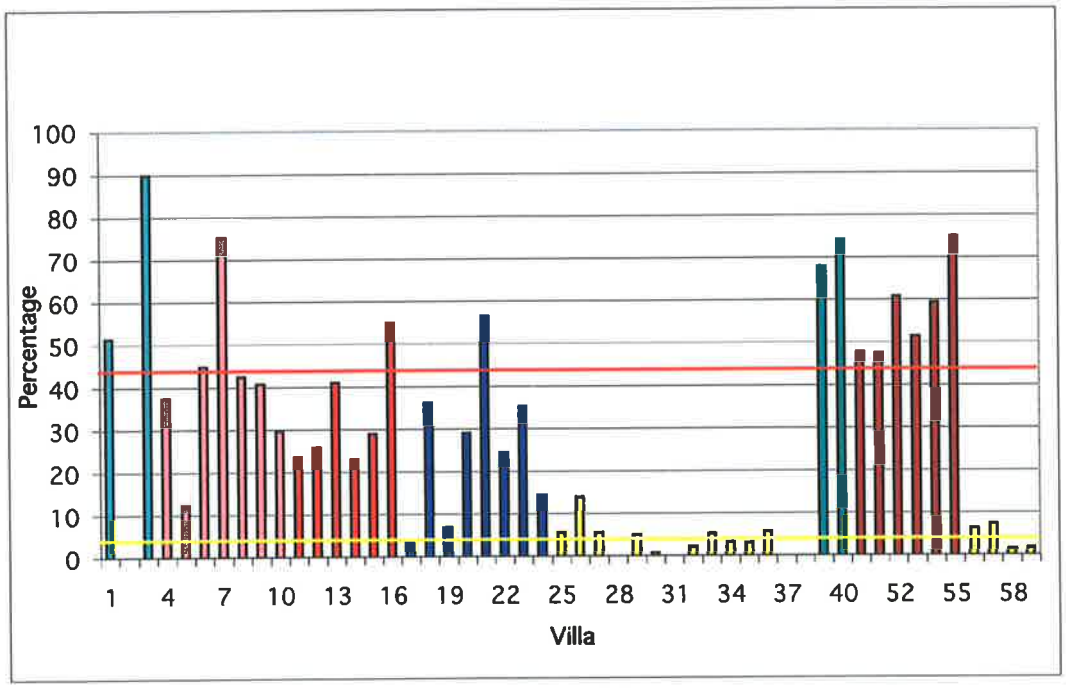
The statistical data from Stabiae has produced the clearest division between *villae suburbanae* and agricultural complexes (Graph 53). This area included five impressive suburban villas (Villas 50-55), all possessing high percentages of entertainment space. For the most part, these results are indicative of their large surface areas (except for Villa 53) and their entertainment facilities (Graph 52). This is further exemplified when they are compared to the four agricultural complexes that have been considered (Villas 56-59). The surface area of these structures was larger than some of the *villae suburbanae* (particularly Villa 53), but the differences in provision of entertainment space clearly illustrate the difference in their character (Graph 53).

These examples have exhibited the difference between *villae suburbanae* and agricultural complexes so clearly because of the socio-political climate at this centre. The three largest *villae suburbanae* (Villas 50-52) are a group of closely neighbouring residences that took advantage of the panorama from the Varano ridge, and served to advertise the position of their owners to the local community. These large residences had little agricultural productivity, but this was not their main purpose. They provided pleasant and spacious residences for their owners and were used to exemplify their dominance over the local Stabian society. These suburban villas were not secluded; they were expressions of status, power and success set in an idyllic landscape.

When these *villae suburbanae* are compared to other examples from Campania (Graph 52), their immense size dwarfed even the Villa of the Papyri (Villa 39). The size of Villas 50-52 illustrate how the dominance of these complexes over the Stabian community, possessing a degree of prominence that was quite different from those *villae suburbanae* outside Pompeii and Herculaneum. The percentage of potential entertainment space in these residences was also more consistent than at other centres, being comparable to the urban townhouses in this respect. The villas at Stabiae provide the only evidence within this study where *villae suburbanae* seem to have been prominently involved in a political sphere, which is indicative of the different social circumstances at this centre. This meant that the Stabian *villae suburbanae* had an increased presence within the community and provided a different setting and perspective of *villae suburbanae* in general. It is also of interest to note the greater emphasis upon private entertainment space at most *villae suburbanae* around Herculaneum and Stabiae than at those near Pompeii. This was indicative of the differing social and political climates at these urban centers, which in turn affected the role of their *suburbium*.



Graph 52 - showing the Comparison of Estimated Surface Areas and Potential Entertainment Areas in All Suburban Villas from Rome, Pompeii and Herculaneum

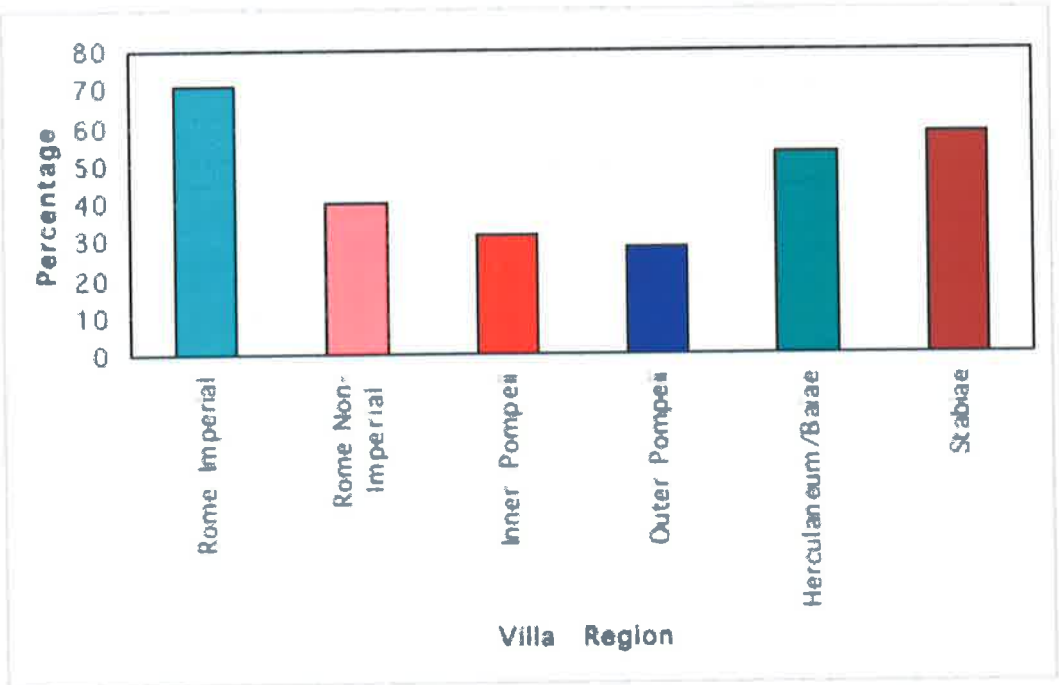


Graph 53 - showing the Percentage of Identifiable Entertainment Areas to the Known Total Area of Building Complex at Every Villa

The Hillier and Hanson method has also shown the variation in the accessibility of different potential entertainment areas in *villae suburbanae*. This illustrates the divergent uses that these areas had, as well as the different occasions that a suburban villa could be used for. The majority of establishments classified as *villae suburbanae* had several rooms for a potential entertainment function, which were often located in both easily accessible and inaccessible areas of the complex, indicating both public and private roles. This secondary form of analysis has also illustrated that small potential entertainment areas that were largely inaccessible (typically Type 13 rooms) were most common in the larger suburban villas, such as Villas 14, 50 and 51, whereas the larger open colonnaded courtyards with a higher degree of accessibility were common to all *villae suburbanae*. The benefits of using this method as a corroborating set of data have illustrated through the common correlation of room location with levels of accessibility and the additional insight

that it can provide when determining a potential entertainment function. This being said, the Hillier and Hanson method cannot have been a central theme of this study because of the limited number of sites that it could be applied to on a reliable basis. However, the spatial data analysis has certainly given added insight into the differing levels of accessibility for some areas (and possibly their intended function) at several of the *villae suburbanae* when applied in conjunction with the potential entertainment analysis.

The Mean percentages of potential entertainment space at *villae suburbanae* and agricultural complexes from all of the considered regions exhibit their marked difference. The *villae suburbanae* have an average percentage of 42.75% across all of the regions (Graph 53)(as shown by the red line), whereas the agricultural farmsteads have a result of 4.73% (Graph 53)(as shown by the yellow line).



Graph 54 - showing the Mean Percentage of Identifiable Entertainment Areas to the Known Total Area of Building Complex in Every Region

But there was a definite regional difference as shown by Graph 54. Owing to the status, influence and wealth of their owners, it is of no surprise that the Imperial

villae suburbanae outside Rome have produced the highest Mean percentage (70.61% entertainment space). There was a significant contrast to the results from the non-Imperial suburban villas considered from this area (39.86% entertainment space), which was below the Mean results for all areas (46.89% entertainment space; shown by the red line on Graph 54). However, this Mean result is indicative of the high percentages exhibited at *villae suburbanae* considered from Herculaneum (52.96% entertainment space) and Stabiae (58.33% entertainment space). Those large residences had a significantly higher percentage of potential entertainment space than those suburban villas outside Pompeii.

The Pompeian examples show that there was a greater Mean percentage in the inner *suburbium* (31.67% entertainment space) than in the outer regions (27.94% entertainment space), but also that there was not a major difference.[7] This is significant because it illustrates the spread of intended social activity throughout the *suburbium* of Pompeii. This is evident in all of the other regions bar Stabiae, which is a notable exception because of its unusual socio-political history.

It is evident that a full understanding of *villae suburbanae* requires consideration not only of their literary conception but also the archaeological record. Suburban villas were often a combination of several divergent qualities. They epitomised an ideal lifestyle for their owners, a combination of urban sophistication and rural respectability. The *suburbium* of a city allowed for this dual nature. Martial highlighted this fusion in his indecision over classifying his property as either an urban or rural residence. Vitruvius also expressed the increasing urban nature of many non-urban residences by using the term *pseudourbana*.

It is evident that a *villa suburbana* was a well-appointed residence with an open aspect for the pleasure of both resident and visitor. The desire for *otium* and *luxuria* was a primary feature of a *villa suburbana*, but it did not preclude agricultural productivity, which allowed for some kind of social acceptability even at the most opulent of residences. It is in this way that suburban villas maintained a

[7] The results taken from each region are significant, but there should be a note of caution. Although this study has taken into account all the available data, this is very limited for Herculaneum, and a definitive understanding of suburban villas there must await further excavation.

dual role within both the rural and urban spheres of the community. *Villae suburbanae* were a combination of *urbanitas* and *rusticitas*, exemplifying the advantages of residing in the *suburbium* presented to the wealthy members of each community. In fact, *villae suburbanae* became the embodiment of the entwined nature of these two regions, representing both town and country.[8]

[8] Future research on the nature of *villae suburbanae* will be able to be focused upon other regions throughout the Roman Empire. This model of investigation will certainly be applicable to other regions, such as the provinces of Gaul and Britain. Having analysed examples from Latium and Campania, it is likely that these results will be found to be representative of most regions in the Italian peninsula. However, this mode of analysis should be used in the future for other regions in Italy and then in turn areas like southern Gaul and the Adriatic coast could be used as comparative groups because of the large corpus of data in these regions. The expansion of this research should be fruitful because it will further our understanding of possible regional variations and the development of *villae suburbanae* over time.

ABBREVIATIONS

AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJAH	American Journal of Ancient History
AJPh	American Journal of Philology
ANRW	Aufsteig und Niedergang der Römischen Welt
ArchLaz	Archeologia Laziale
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
CronErc	Cronache Ercolanesi
CronPomp	Cronache Pompeiane
ILS	Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
MDAIR(A)	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts Römische Abteilung
MEFRA	Mélanges de L'École Française de Rome
NSc	Notizie degli Scavi
OpRom	Opuscula Romana
PBSR	Papers of the British School at Rome
PP	Parola del Passato
REL	Revue des Etudes Latines
RSP	Rivista di Studi Pompeiana
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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Glossary of Room Types and their Architectural Setting (as Defined by Allison, 2004)

Type 6	Large/Medium Room off Corner of the Front Hall.
Type 7	Open-sided Room Opposite Main Entrance or Leading to a Garden.
Type 9	Main Garden, Colonnaded Garden/Courtyard and their Ambulatories or Terrace.
Type 10	Large/Medium Closed Room off a Garden/Terrace but with a Limited View.
Type 11	Large/Medium Open-Fronted Room off a Garden/Terrace with a Window or wide Entranceway Giving a View of a Garden or Lower Floor.
Type 13	Small Open-Fronted Room off a Garden, Terrace or Lower Floor.

Table 1

All Villas		
Villa Number	Name/Location	Chapter
1	Livia at Prima Porta	2
2	Domitian at Castel Gandolfo	2
3	Hadrian at Tivoli	2
4	Horace at Licenza	2
5	Auditorium	2
6	Volusii Saturnini	2
7	Quintili	2
8	Fontana del Piscaro	2
9	Via Gabina A	2
10	Via Gabina B	2
11	Cicero	3
12	Mosaic Columns	3
13	Diomede	3
14	Mysteries	3
15	T. Siminius Stephanus	3
16	Imperiale	3
17	Lucius Caecilius Iucundus	4
18	Popidius Florus	4
19	Boscoreale	4
20	Fannius Synistor	4
21	Poppaea at Oplontis	4
22	Agrippa Postumus	4
23	Asellius at Boscoreale	4
24	L. Crassius Tertius	4
25	Boscoreale	4
26	Boscoreale	4
27	Pompeii	4
28	L. Arellius Successus	4
29	Regina at Boscoreale	4
30	Scafati	4
31	M. Livius Marcellus	4
32	Boscoreale	4
33	Boscoreale	4
34	Domitius Auctus	4
35	Crapolla at Scafati	4

36	Boscoreale	4
37	Barbatelli	4
38	Scafati	4
39	Papyri	5
40	Sora	5
41	Ponte di Rivieccio	5
42	Real Boschetto	5
43	Villa dell'Epitaffio	5
44	Calastro	5
45	Novelle (Cave Montone)	5
46	Cupa Falanga	5
47	Villa at Baiae Castle	5
48	Villa Ambulatio	5
49	Villa of Piso	5
50	San Marco	6
51	Arianna	6
52	Pastore	6
53	Filosofo	6
54	Anteros and Heracleo	6
55	Capella San Marco	6
56	Petraro	6
57	Carmiano	6
58	Casa dei Miri	6
59	Capella degli Impisi	6

Table 2									
Villa No.	**Area m^2**	**Type 6**	**Type 7**	**Type 9**	**Type 10**	**Type 11**	**Type 13**	**Total**	**Ent. %**
1	11,329.91	71.28		5,677.54	70.2			5,819.02	51.36
2									
3	107,525								89.85
4	5,285.98	66.73		1,752.58		154.27		1,973.58	37.34
5	723.63	60.98	27.1					88.08	12.17
6	7,247.79	23.68		2,852.59	56.76	13.03		3,246.06	44.79
7	3,499.89							2,626.97	75.06
8	14,189.26			6,001.1				6,001.1	42.29
9	3,909.19			1,591.11				1,5911.11	40.70
10	1,536.89	25.69		429.2				454.89	29.6
Augustus	4,200	78.21		764.63		57.83		900.67	21.45
Tiberiana	34,370.59			20,403.49				20,403.49	59.36
Flavia	13,200	255		3,307		300		3,862	29.26

Table 3				
Villa	**Entertainment Size with Open Areas**	**Size of Open Area(s)**	**Entertainment % with Open Area**	**Entertainment % without Open Area**
1	5,819.02	5,677.54	51.36	1.25
2	NA	NA	NA	NA
3	NA	NA	NA	NA
4	1,973.58	1,752.58	37.34	4.45
5	NA	NA	NA	12.17
6	3,246.06	2,852.59	44.79	5.43
7	NA	NA	NA	NA
8	6,001.1	6,001.1	42.29	NA
9	3,909.19	1,591.11	40.70	NA
10	454.89	429.2	29.6	1.67
Augustus	900.67	764.63	18.21	3.24
Tiberiana	20,403.49	20,403.49	59.36	NA
Flavia	3,862	3,307	29.26	4.2

Table 4									
Villa No.	**Area m^2**	**Type 6**	**Type 7**	**Type 9**	**Type 10**	**Type 11**	**Type 13**	**Total**	**Ent. %**
11	4,165	72		904.5				976.5	23.45
12	1,252			320				320	25.56
13	4,616.09		24	1,592	171	104.5		1,891.5	40.98
14	4,249.53	113.27	43.37	571.42		116.5	131.95	976.51	22.98
15	1,047.11	40.44		232.87	28.8			302.11	28.85
16	1,491.97	12.47		698.64	76.02	34.23		821.36	55.05

Table 5									
Townhouse	**Area m^2**	**Type 6**	**Type 7**	**Type 9**	**Type 10**	**Type 11**	**Type 13**	**Total**	**Ent. %**
Fab. Rufus	4,004.9		73.44	694.29	293.36			1,061.09	26.49
VI,17,42	1,133.2	75.74					18.33	94.07	8.3
U. Sciaurus	1,282.51	79.93	38.81	283.31				402.05	31.35
Faun	2,832	109.23	27.03	1,613.6		39.5		1,789.36	63.18
Felix	2,333	22.56		486				508.56	21.79
Quartio	1,145	28.98		228.73		60.34		318.05	27.76
Tragic Poet	424.75	36	24.75	72	7.92			140.67	33.12
Fronto	450.24	77.19	12.69	109.31				199.19	44.24
Surgeon	626.65	61.37	22.05	62.9			13.47	159.79	25.5
Vettii	1,085	79.25		462.4	39.52			581.17	53.56
Pansa	1,742.18	79.52	24	294				397.52	25.36
Labyrinth	1,798	32	25.48	618.7	48.3			724.48	40.3
Centenary	2,189.14	76.03	20.56	670.86	19.11			786.57	35.93

Table 6				
Villa	**Entertainment Size with Open Areas**	**Size of Open Area(s)**	**Entertainment % with Open Area**	**Entertainment % without Open Area**
11	976.5	904.5	23.45	1.73
12	320	320	25.56	NA
13	1891.5	1592	40.98	6.49
14	976.51	571.42	22.98	9.53
15	302.11	232.87	28.85	6.61
16	821.36	698.64	55.05	8.23
Fabius Rufus	1061.09	694.29	26.49	9.16
House VI,17,42	94.07	NA	NA	8.3
U. Sciaurus	402.05	283.31	31.35	9.26
Faun	1789.36	1613.6	63.18	6.21
Felix	508.56	486	21.79	0.9
O. Quartio	318.05	228.73	27.76	7.8
Tragic Poet	140.67	72	33.12	16.17
Fronto	199.19	109.31	44.24	19.96
Surgeon	159.79	62.9	25.5	15.46
Vettii	581.17	462.4	53.56	10.95
Pansa	397.52	294	25.36	8.42
Labyrinth	724.48	618.7	40.3	5.88
Centenary	786.57	670.86	35.93	5.26

Table 7									
Villa No.	**Area m^2**	**Type 6**	**Type 7**	**Type 9**	**Type 10**	**Type 11**	**Type 13**	**Total**	**Ent. %**
17	1,113.88	40.69		202.5				243.19	21.83
18	773.4	85.39		181.58	11.74			278.71	36.04
19	510	24.89				10.49		35.38	6.94
20	1,712.48	38.4		357.6		94.56		490.56	28.65
21	6,460	33.03		3,340.45	63.55	206.28		3,643.31	56.4
22	2,520			612				612	24.29
23	1,094.64	14.98		258.48	43.83	66.61		383.9	35.1
24	4,239.36			604.78				604.78	14.27
25	527.56	28.8		98.34				127.14	24.1
26	495.5			68.07				68.07	13.74
27	440.75	24.48		60.13				84.61	19.2
28	205.72	18.14						18.14	8.82
29	532.42	25.96		78.17				104.13	19.56
30	866.78	5.55		187.39				192.94	22.26
31	199.9			58.39				58.39	29.21
32	591.87	12.49		38.06				50.55	8.54
33	574.56	29.92		90.72				120.64	21
34	632.68	19.73		163.1				182.83	28.9
35	536.79	16.07						16.07	2.99
36	NA								52.16
37	NA								NA
38	NA								NA

Table 8				
Villa	**Entertainment Size with Open Areas**	**Size of Open Area(s)**	**Entertainment % with Open Area**	**Entertainment % without Open Area**
17	243.19	202.5	21.83	3.65
18	278.71	181.58	36.04	12.56
19	NA	NA	NA	6.94
20	490.56	357.6	28.65	7.76
21	3643.31	3340.45	56.4	4.69
22	612	612	24.29	NA
23	383.9	258.48	35.1	11.46
24	604.78	604.78	14.27	NA
25	127.14	98.34	24.1	5.46
26	68.07	68.07	13.74	NA
27	84.61	60.13	19.2	5.55
28	NA	NA	NA	8.82
29	104.13	78.17	19.56	4.88
30	192.94	187.39	22.26	0.64
31	NA	58.39	29.21	NA
32	50.55	38.06	8.54	2.11
33	120.64	90.72	21	5.21
34	182.83	163.1	28.9	3.12
35	NA	NA	NA	2.99
36	NA	NA	52.16	5.65
37	NA	NA	NA	NA
38	NA	NA	NA	NA

Table 9			
Villa No.	**Only Utilitarian**	**Both Utilitarian and Entertainment**	**Most Appropriate Percentage**
17	X		3.65
18		X	36.04
19	NA	NA	6.94
20		X	28.95
21	1	5	56.4
22		X	24.29
23		X	35.1
24		X	14.27
25	X		5.46
26		X	13.74
27	X		5.55
28	NA	NA	
29	X		4.88
30	X		0.64
31	X		NA
32	X		2.11
33	X		5.21
34	X		3.12
35	X		2.99
36	X		5.65
37	NA	NA	
38	NA	NA	

Table 10									
Villa No.	**Area m^2**	**Type 6**	**Type 7**	**Type 9**	**Type 10**	**Type 11**	**Type 13**	**Total**	**Ent. %**
39	9,747		103.5	6,501				6,604.5	67.76
40	2,998.11	29.32		1,978.48		216		2,223.8	74.17
48	4,308.4			1,964.66				1,964.66	45.6
49	19,200			6,209.67				6,209.67	32.34
Aristide	647.18	37.65		32.57	77.11	48.74		196.07	30.3
Argo	868.97	39.62		282.98	29.25	5.13		356.38	41.01
Albergo	2,737.83	61.3		734.24	59.96	45.98		901.48	32.93
M. Atrium	1,178.98	68.98	56.63	198.34		23.11	26.44	373.62	31.69
Stags	1,205.9	31.7	73.13	199.25		19.97	18.04	342.09	28.37
R. Telphus	2,181.98	54.43	13.03	504.43	30.21	148.2	18.61	768.91	35.24

Table 11				
Villa	**Entertainment Size with Open Areas**	**Size of Open Area(s)**	**Entertainment % with Open Area**	**Entertainment % without Open Area**
39	6,604.5	6,501	67.76	1.06
40	2,223.8	1,978.48	74.17	8.18
48	1,964.66	1,964.66	45.6	NA
49	6,209.67	6,209.67	32.34	NA
Aristide	196.07	32.57	30.3	25.26
Argo	356.38	282.98	41.01	8.52
Albergo	901.48	734.24	32.93	6.11
M. Atrium	373.62	198.34	31.69	14.80
Stags	342.09	199.25	28.37	11.85
R. Telphus	758.91	504.43	35.24	12.12

Table 13				
Villa	**Entertainment Size with Open Areas**	**Size of Open Area(s)**	**Entertainment % with Open Area**	**Entertainment % without Open Area**
50	5,267.5	5,133.76	47.53	1.21
51	9,511.75	8,953	47.29	2.78
52	11,619.23	10,630.53	60.75	5.17
53	263.08	242.11	51.36	4.09
54	2,702.7	2,616.35	59.31	1.89
55	2,437.5	2,437.5	74.77	NA
56	325.91	248.87	26.94	6.37
57	74.4	48.82	21.46	7.38
58	883.2	816.64	18.97	1.43
59	133.94	124.13	22.98	1.68

Table 14			
Villa No.	**Only Utilitarian**	**Both Utilitarian and Entertainment**	**Most Appropriate Percentage**
50		**X**	47.53
51		**X**	47.29
52		**X**	60.75
53		**X**	51.36
54		**X**	59.31
55		**X**	74.77
56	**X**		6.37
57	**X**		7.38
58	**X**		1.43
59	**X**		1.68

Appendix A

Rome and the Suburbs

Horace

Horace was writing from a different perspective to Cato and Varro, outlining the differences in their writings and experience.[1] Sections of the *Satires*, *Epistles* and *Odes* provide a different perspective, containing little technical information about villas, but interesting points about the activities at these residences. In *Satire II.VI*, Horace illustrated the desire and benefits of escaping from the city: *Ergo ubi me in montes et in arcem ex urbe removi, quid prius illustrem saturis Musaque pedestri*?[2] He described the hectic nature of life in Rome, complaining about the busy streets and the crowds and the weight of his responsibilities.[3] He then praises the benefits of escaping Rome to spend time at his property and the enjoyable lifestyle that was possible there.[4] This sentiment was also shown in *Epistle I.X*, where Horace again praised the decision to escape Rome: *Tu nidum servas; ego laudo ruris amoeni rivos et musco circumlita saxa nemusque.*[5]

It was a common sentiment of his to encourage a relaxing life rather than the chaotic lifestyle within the city.[6] Syme has illustrated that the individuals addressed in the *Epistles* were of a lower standing than those in other collections,[7] which has been used to highlight the private nature of these poems.[8] These passages where Horace laments at being unable to write in Rome,[9] may also provide another interpretation. He is reflecting the idealistic image of the country that was held while residing in the city,[10]

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[1] J.S. Ackerman, *The Villa: form and ideology of Country Houses*, Thames and Hudson: London, 1990, p. 35.
[2] Horace, *Satires*, 6.16-17.
[3] Horace, *Satires*, 6.20-58. J.C. McGann, "The Three Worlds of Horace's satires", in C.D.N. Costa (ed.), *Horace*, Routledge & Kegan Paul: London, 1973, pp. 63-4.
[4] Horace, *Satires*, 6.59-76; S.H. Braund, "City and Country in Roman Satire", in S.H. Braund (ed.), *Satire and Society in Ancient Rome*, University of Exeter Press: Exeter, 1989, pp. 39-40.
[5] Horace, *Epistles*, 10.6-7.
[6] Horace, *Odes*, 2.3.11-16.
[7] R. Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1989, p. 396.
[8] E. W. Leach, "Horace's Sabine Topography in Lyric and Hexameter Verse", *AJPh* 114, 1993, p. 292.
[9] O.A.W. Dilke, "Horace and the Verse Letter", in C.D.N. Costa (ed.), *Horace*, Routledge & Kegan Paul: London, 1973, p. 102.
[10] E. Fraenkel, *Horace*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1957, p. 142.

but this does not mean that he was against city living.[11] This is clearly shown in *Satires II.VII*: *romae rus optas; absentem rusticus urbem tollis ad astra leuis.*[12] This estate was managed by a *vilicus*,[13] having eight rural slaves,[14] as well as tenants in five plots around his suburban villa.[15] These people would have allowed for Horace's relaxed lifestyle in the outskirts of Rome, although he does mention participating in the 'joys' of a simple agricultural lifestyle.[16]

Despite his different method and purpose for writing when compared with Cato and Varro, there were still similarities. It was common for Horace to expound the virtues of a simple lifestyle,[17] avoiding extravagant display: *non ita Romuli praescriptum et intonsi Catonis auspiciis veterumque norma. Privatus illis census erat brevis, commune magnum: nulla decempedis metata privatis opacam porticus excipiebat Arcton, nec fortuitum spernere caespitem leges sinebant, oppida publico sumptu iubentes et deorum templa novo decorare saxo.*[18] Despite the evident glorification of previous times within this passage, his sentiment of prudence and the avoidance of luxury is evident. He continues this theme in Book II, *Odes* XVIII: *nihil supra deos lacesso nec potentem amicum largiora flagito, satis beatus unicis Sabinis.*[19] His Sabine property is also mentioned in Book III, *Odes* I: *cur valle permutem Sabina divitias operosiores?*[20] It is clear from both references to his Sabine property that Horace was portraying himself as happily and modestly residing outside of Rome.

There is a question concerning the motivation of Horace in regard to this portrayal of his lifestyle. Horace owed his Sabine villa to his patron and friend Maecenas.[21] As Oliensis has suggested, it appears likely that Horace was trying not to advertise his material success through the patronage and his friendship with Maecenas.[22] This questions even Horace's avoidance of luxury. But also, these passages do not suggest that many of the Roman land-owners were following his advice. Nevertheless,

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[11] N. Rudd, "Horace as a Moralist", in N. Rudd (ed.), *Horace 2000: a celebration*, Duckworth: London, 1993, p. 83.
[12] Horace, *Satires*, 2.7.28-9.
[13] Horace, *Epistles*, 1.14.1-4.
[14] Horace, *Satires*, 2.7.117-118.
[15] P. Roasafio, "Slaves and Coloni in the Villa System", in J. Calsen (ed.), *Landuse in the Roman Empire*, L'erma di Bretschneider: Rome, 1994, p. 148.
[16] Horace, *Epodes*, 2; H.D. Sedgwick, *Horace: a biography*, Russell and Russell: New York, 1947, pp. 55-6.

the great value in these passages is the portrayal of the privacy, comfort and lifestyle,[23] which could be found living outside of Rome, appealing to the memories, hopes and dreams of his audience.[24]

The House of Augustus

The site (Plate 23) was chosen by Augustus after his victory at Actium but previously he resided in a modest house on the Palatine, which he had acquired from Hortensius in 44 BC. After the conquest of Egypt in 28 BC, he bought other property, such as the house of Catilina and then rebuilt the area to create the much larger House of Augustus. The original modest structure was burned, probably in AD 3, and subsequently rebuilt in fine style. This complex was divided into three sections. The first of these, on the Velia side, included the Propylaia, Temple of Apollo, the Portico of the Danaids, as well as the Greek and Latin libraries.[25]

Little remains of the original residential precinct of this residence, owing to the complex having been ransacked over the centuries, but the remains illustrate how well-appointed the facilities and décor were. There is only evidence of the wall paintings in three underground rooms (Rms D-D-D), which were gracefully adorned with images of Cupid and Venus, Jupiter and Antiope as well as other mythological themes. The upper terrace of the complex was centred on a small hall and the series of terraces were decorated quite simply. The surviving décor of the complex was well performed, with a common focus on plants in Hellenistic style, but with a distinct Egyptian influence. The House of Augustus was not as conspicuous as many of the later palaces constructed on the Palatine, but it is evident that it was by no means a modest dwelling.

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[17] Rudd, 1993, *op.cit.*, p. 72.
[18] Horace, *Odes*, 2.15.10-20.
[19] Horace, *Odes*, 2.18.11-14.
[20] Horace, *Odes*, 3.1.47-8.
[21] Horace, *Satires*, 1.1.23-34; E. Oliensis, *Horace and the Rhetoric of Authority*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1998, p. 48.
[22] Oliensis, *ibid.*, p. 49.
[23] A. Ramsay, "An Inquiry into the Situation and Circumstances of Horace's Sabine Villa", in B.D. Frischer and I.G. Brown (eds.), *Allan Ramsay and the Search for Horace's Villa*, Ashgate: Aldershot, 2001, p. 111.
[24] M. Owen Lee, *Word, Sound and Image in the Odes of Horace*, University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor, 1969, p. 51.
[25] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 29.

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The *Domus Tiberiana*

Construction of the *Domus Tiberiana* has been attributed to the Emperors' Tiberius and Gaius (Plate 24), who added the *Domus Gaiana*. Despite its name, little of this complex can be credited directly to Tiberius, with more attributed to his successors. The public nature of this structure is important to note because these palaces were not entirely isolated from the general public, which explains the impressive nature of the Imperial residences on the Palatine. As with the House of Augustus, little remains of the *Domus Tiberiana* wing of the imperial palace, mostly the underground passages that connected with the residence of Augustus. These substructures are quite irregular in their layout, providing an artificial platform upon which the palace proper was constructed. But these remains have allowed for a reconstruction of the complex, with its impressive height over the *Via Nova*. The arched substructures of the southern frontage, a row of cells that were not occupied by members of the Imperial family.

Although there is little information about this part of the Imperial residence, it is important to take note of the impressive dimensions of this addition.

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The *Domus Aurea*

The *Domus Aurea* (Plate 25) was the most impressive Imperial residence, covering roughly over 1.5 square kilometres. It was so named because, according to Pliny the Elder, the façade of the main complex was gilded.[26] Remains of this complex have been discovered between the Palatine and the gardens of Maecenas on the Esquiline. There are several literary sources on the evolution of the *Domus Aurea*, which are of use for understanding this complex. Tacitus and Suetonius refer to the damage to the *Domus Transitoria* in the fires of AD 64,[27] with the ensuing construction of this palace. Suetonius also referred to the authorisation of 50,000,000 *sesterces* by the Emperor Otho for the completion of the *Domus Aurea*.[28] Dio Cassius mentions that the wife of Vitellius, Galeria, was unsatisfied with the décor of the palace,[29] which is evident of the incomplete state of the complex at this time. Following from this period, the reference by Pliny the Elder, who mentions that the statues from this residence were removed by Vespasian and dedicated in the Temple of Peace,[30] symbolising the termination of construction upon this structure. The *Domus Aurea* was a representation

[26] Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 36.3.
[27] Tacitus, *Annals* 15.39, 42; Suetonius, *Nero*, 31.
[28] Suetonius, *Otho*, 7.
[29] Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, 65.4.2.
[30] Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 34.84.

of the extreme excesses of the Emperor Nero, which was in turn used by later authors, such as Suetonius, to reflect his personality.

The central feature of the Oppian wing (Plate 26) was a large colonnaded courtyard, which was complemented by a long façade. It seems that this wing of the complex was originally much longer, divided into three distinct quarters with the Octagonal room (Rm 128) in the middle. However, this was only one section of the *Domus Aurea*, with the complex having been much larger. There were probably upper stories and they seem to have extended into terraces towards the rear of the structure, probably leading onto gardens. Judging from the design of the *Domus Aurea* it is clear to see the influence of villa architecture, as well as some Hellenistic inspiration in some of the décor, epitomising the ultimate in wealth and luxury.

When examining the decoration of the *Domus Aurea* it is interesting to note that the wall paintings of the most palatial rooms, except for the Octagonal room (Rm 128), and Rooms 44 and 45, were not the prime focus of the ornamentation, instead being dominated by higher marble facing. A good example of this is the central room of the western wing (Rm 29), which has marble panels up to the point of the vaulting. The *Domus Aurea* has been described as an exceptional example of the imitation and elaboration of Hellenistic architecture and décor, yet incorporating these influences into the traditional Roman house. One of the main features of this establishment was the gardens, which was as much a part of this complex as the structure itself. These gardens made it into a *rus in urbe*,[31] which intended to give the emperor more distinction owing to the immense area covered by his estate within the urban precincts.

The grand proportions of this estate within the city was, in many ways, an attempt to create a new city by Nero, with himself as represented by his residence, being the prime focus. His desire to illustrate his dominance and majesty were epitomised in the colossal statue that he erected of himself off the new *Via Sacra*. This could also be interpreted as not only adding to the honour of the Emperor Nero, but also as an attempt to create a pleasant and more private residence, while maintaining his place within the capital. It appears that Nero tried to separate the *Domus Aurea* from the city by

[31] Martial, *Epigrams*, 12.57.21.

increasing the size of his estate. Pliny the Elder has illustrated the size of the estate, with some exaggeration.[32]

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The *Domus Flavia*

The *Domus Flavia* was probably one of the most impressive examples of an Imperial residence that remains (Plate 27). Vespasian reduced the Imperial estate upon his accession in AD 69, limiting it to the previous limits of the Palatine. Vespasian began the construction of the *Domus Flavia*, but it came to its true realisation under Domitian. It was planned along the lines of a traditional Roman residence, but on a grander scale.

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[32] Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 33.54; 36.3.

There were three halls that opened to the front of the palace: Room A in the centre, Room B on the left and Room D on the right. Room A (which has been referred to as the 'throne room') was constructed in brick and had impressive dimensions, measuring roughly forty-nine by thirty-seven metres. This room was decorated with sixteen columns with bases and capitals cut in ivory-coloured marble. The 'throne' itself (Rm C), was placed on the same axis as the entrance in the apse towards the rear. Room B included a large altar at the far wall from the entrance. This level of rooms included areas for the conducting of state ceremonies for invited guests. Both the staircase (Rm d) and the adjacent room (Rm e) were adorned with fine frescoes that have not survived. Room D was located on the other side of Room A, still possessing traces of the podium upon which the Emperor would have passed judgement.

Behind these three halls was an open colonnaded courtyard (Rm F), measuring roughly 3600 square metres. Suetonius refers to this area as being a favourite place for Domitian to walk under the colonnades away from the crowds and also danger.[33] Two sides of the courtyard were bordered by a series of nine rooms, all of which served an unknown function, except the central vestibule (Rm G) that served as a reception room. Room H was located on the eastern side of the courtyard. Room J was located to the right of Room H (Plate 27), which seems to have several water features and good light and ventilation. The central fountain was elliptical with niches and recesses, probably for plants and statues.

It must be noted that below these rooms there were more rooms, including fine apartments, galleries and a covered passage. One of these rooms included a 'bathroom', which measured over twenty metres in length, with walls encrusted with Florentine mosaic, a marble basin, porphyry columns and marble bas-reliefs of the highest quality. As with all of the large Imperial residences, the high platform upon which this palace was constructed would have created an impressive panorama, allowing for a dramatic view of the entire city. It was also desirable because the elevated position added to the prominence of these residences in the eyes of the public, emphasising the importance of the *princeps*. The *Horti Adonaea* were constructed by Domitian to add to the grandeur

[33] Suetonius, *Dom.*, 14.4.

of the *Domus Flavia*. It seems likely that these gardens were placed on the hill just above the Coliseum. The position of these gardens would have complemented the position of the *Domus Flavia* and greatly added to not only the grandeur of the building, but the lifestyle of the residence as well.

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Villa 1 - The Villa of Livia at Prima Porta

This complex was constructed in three phases: the first occurred between 50-30 BC, then in the middle of the first century AD and finally during the Constantinian era. There are three known sectors within this complex, but there are still areas that remain covered. This complex is one of the largest known Imperial villas, covering around 14,000 square metres. The plan of the main residence led from the *Via Flaminia* through the entranceway towards the front hall (Rm 43)(Plate 28). Beyond this there was a small garden and two small rooms (Rms 50, 52) with a corridor and the baths on the right and the garden terrace to the west. A colonnade encircled the large garden terrace, which was probably a single aisled structure. There was also a two metre long pool, which was later converted into a small planting bed, probably during the mid-late first century AD. The garden terrace was further enhanced by the inclusion of a hanging garden, with apsidal niches for the addition of taller plants.

A small garden was located in the southwest corner, roughly in front of the underground complex of this villa with a series of pierced pots, probably being used for planting a garden, similar to those discovered at the Villa of Hadrian at Tivoli. It seems that this garden was established during the initial phase of occupation, but it still experienced alterations. This garden may have been a laurel grove, which would connect well with the imagery of the Prima Porta statue of Augustus, and the nearby wall paintings. This region of the complex had relatively minor rooms, eventually being decorated with Antonine wall painting. However, this did not mean that these quarters were without pretensions, clearly having an impressive demeanour.

These decorative features illustrate the subtleties of Augustan decorative schemes. The landscape décor created a spatial illusion of an open-air garden within a subterranean room. The most famous of the artistic pieces was the famous Prima Porta statue of Augustus, made predominantly from Parian *lychnites* marble. This was the finest type of white marble for sculpture, which seems appropriate for a statue celebrating the Emperor Augustus.

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Villa 2 - The Villa of Domitian at Castel Gandolfo

It was an immense complex, with several buildings, including the residential quarters for the emperor, baths and a theatre. Between all of these features there were fine ornamental gardens, which unified the entire complex. The *Domus Aurea* influenced the complex, but owing to its position, there was greater space for enlargement. The literary sources have described it as a luxurious and well-appointed residence,[34] which would seem appropriate in view of the facilities at the *Domus Flavia*. The complex was also provided with an impressive landscape, commanding a panorama that stretched out towards the sea and the surrounding countryside. Owing to the incomplete excavations of the Imperial residential quarters it is impossible to define any specific viewing rooms, but it seems reasonable to judge that the view of this impressive landscape would have been utilised. Each terrace was roughly 500 metres in length, with four distinct levels.

One of the most impressive features of this complex was the theatre. Domitian's appreciation for drama has been well documented, which would make the presence of this structure not surprising.[35] This structure was located on the northern side of the middle terrace. It appears that the architecture of this impressive structure was of the highest quality, with spaces for statues in the *scaenae frons*.

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[34] Statius, *Silvae*, 3.5.28; Suetonius, *Dom.*, 19.
[35] Suetonius, *Dom.*, 4.4, 7.1; Dio, 67.1.2.

Villa 3 - The Villa of Hadrian at Tivoli

The general layout of the structures (Plate 29) appears to have been planned in a coherent style, but it is still difficult to understand as a whole. The position of each building was intended to take advantage of the topography, which added to the entire effect. The plan was aligned upon a series of different axes, but it suited the undulating nature of its position. In several of the structures, this understanding was displayed in his architectural tastes. This complex has been the topic of much discussion and for the purposes of this study, owing to its immense size only certain aspects will be discussed. The particular rooms to be considered are the designated dining areas, such as the Arcaded and Scenic *triclinia* with their associated structures. Within the villa, Hadrian had provided enough space for banquets that almost a countless number of people could have been entertained. All of these reception rooms had been intended for summer dining, which appears to have been the time of year when the Emperor anticipated to be staying at this *villa suburbana.*

The room called the Imperial *triclinium* was the first dining room to be constructed at the villa, probably completed by AD 125, but it has been questioned as to whether this room served as a dining room, or possibly as a front hall, which seems more likely. The most significant dining rooms at Hadrian's villa for this discussion are the Arcaded and Scenic *triclinia*, which were part of a semi-circular area under a vaulted canopy that was open to the view. The Arcaded *triclinium* was originally designed on a north-south axis with three main quarters: an open columned portico, central hall and a southern semi-circular room. This region was later converted into a less conventional layout, eventually having only one solid wall, with an impressive spatial orientation allowing for an unimpeded view on most major axes. A major feature to be viewed was a pool placed alongside the building.

This region of the villa would have served as both dining area and reception room, having a large amount of spatial freedom. The large semi-circular area of the Scenic *triclinium*, which has been referred to as a *Serapeum*, was located beneath the half-dome of the Scenic *triclinium*, which was roughly 13 metres in diameter. This was planned to view the Canopus, which served in a similar fashion to a decorative pool, as

at many wealthy villas, but on a monumental scale with strong Egyptian influences. The design was intended to join nature, art and architecture in a dynamic spatial concept. There were also small pavilions located on either side, which served as small private rooms, being open to the breeze and the Canopus. This Scenic *triclinium* was used for a relatively small number of people, designed as a two-part grotto with the Canopus serving as its ornamental water feature. The view of the Canopus would have been extremely impressive, especially with its associated sculptures.

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Villa 4 - The Villa of Horace at Sabinum

This complex (Plate 32) included a colonnaded courtyard, covered passage and a terrace with ambulatories. It also has a large garden around the structure and owing to the elevation of the building it would have been possible to view the mountains from the residence over the covered passage.

The design of the residential quarters of the villa had two stories, with a narrow hall (Rm E) running the length of the structure, dividing it into northern and southern quarters. The covered passage served as a second hallway for the southern portion of the residence. Each of the two sections had a central space, being Room F in the southern region (Plate 32). The northern quarters also included a large winter entertainment room (Rm B2) to the east and a smaller summer entertainment room (Rm B1). There were also several other rooms of unknown function in the western portion of these quarters. The gardens were expanded during the late Republic/early Empire, which may have been requisitioned by Horace. Despite Horace mentioning the agricultural activity that took place on his estate,[36] it did not preclude the residence having the appropriate facilities for the *otium* of an extra-urban lifestyle. It appears that the gardens were originally agricultural in intention, but also possessed ornamental characteristics.

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Villa 5 - The Villa dell'Auditorium

The initial phase of this structure was a farm complex based around a central court with rooms on three sides. There was a kiln in one of the rooms on the eastern side (Rm 23), with a garden or animal enclosure to the north. At this time the complex covered roughly 300 square metres, not including the garden. The entrance to the structure was on the western side. There were nine rooms around the courtyard (Rm 18), with four rooms on the eastern side (Rms 22, 23, 10, 9), which included the largest room in the centre (Rm 23)(Plate 33). The general demeanour of the complex at this time was modest, focused predominantly upon production and it has been dated to the middle of the sixth century BC.

The second phase saw an increase in the surface area of the structure, covering roughly 700 square metres (Plate 33). It was at this time that the separation of two districts occurred with each possessing different functions. The northern wing contained the residential precincts, whereas the southern district served a servile function. The changes that occurred during this period saw the realisation of a large structure with high quality construction. However, there was an oil press under the portico of the northern (residential) wing. Finds in the southern wing of the complex included a large number of *dolii*. This period lasted from roughly the end of the sixth to the middle of the fifth century BC.

Over the resulting phases of habitation and alteration, this suburban villa gradually developed its pretensions, which included the creation of Room 2 during the fourth phase. The oil press was removed from the portico in the third phase, which made the distinction of function between the regions increasingly marked. During the third phase there was also the introduction of a front hall, but this was not fully realised until the third century BC (Phase Four), with the creation of a tuscan front hall. It was during this century that there were clear Hellenistic influences in its the layout and décor. Habitation continued at this complex into the second century AD.

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Villa 7 – The Villa of the Quintili

This complex (Plate 35) was originally constructed in the early-mid second century AD, having several distinct regions, which all served a separate function. For the purposes of this study the most important division was between the public (A) and private (B) areas of the residence, which provides the best indication of how this *villa suburbana* was used by its owners. They were both closely connected to each other, but there was a clear division in function between each region.

The private section (B) of this residence (Plate 35) was located in the eastern quarters of the main complex. The first stage of the main structure was indicative of the pre-Imperial ownership, which principally included a scenic wing that viewed the countryside towards the *Via Latina.* This was surrounded by a private garden that would have added to pleasant demeanour of the structure. This was later replaced a series of brick walls and the addition of small adjoining rooms, latrines, baths and servile rooms during the early phases of its Imperial ownership. This area was accessed from the large courtyard (A 1) via a small hall (A 16), which led directly into two *cubicula* (B 17, 18) that also faced onto the courtyard (Plate 35). Both of these rooms were heated, as was another impressive and well-appointed room (B 19), which also possessed marble pavement. It is likely that this room would have been the master bedroom for the residents. The well-appointed nature of this *villa suburbana* in the Imperial phase is exhibited in that even the corridor (B 20) was decorated with marble wall panels, as well as the extremely elaborate décor in the large baths within this section of the residence (B 21-24)(Plate 35). Baths were apparently quite important to the Emperor Commodus,[37] which may explain the magnificent character of these rooms.

The public regions (A) of the Villa of the Quintili were located near the entrance. Upon entering the complex, the first area to be encountered was a large

[37] *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, 11.5.

courtyard (A 1), which had white marble steps, marble pavement and a portico on one of the long sides (Plate 35). It is likely that this area was used as a gathering/entertainment space. On one side of this area was a small cult building (A 12), which included a small fountain (A 13). In view of the presence of a larger example (H), this smaller example probably served a private role for the household. To the north of the courtyard there was a raised platform, which had three well-appointed rooms (A 2-4). The central room of this group (A 2) functioned as a vestibule for the large Octagonal Hall (A 5). This hall has only limited remains of its décor, but owing to its size and location it is more than likely to have been an important reception room. It possessed four entrances and the walls comprised of large pillars with triangular bases. All of these rooms on this level (A2-5) had hypocaust heating, which would have added to their comfort when being used for entertainment or reception.

Behind this hall was Room A10, which would have been used as an entertainment area for viewing the landscape beyond. Further out from this was the so-called Maritime Theatre (F), which has been so named because of its similarity to the Theatre at Hadrian's Villa. The interior of this structure was paved and probably lined with a colonnade. It is more than likely that it also possessed a small ornamental garden in the middle.

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Villa 9 – Villa A on the Ancient *Via Gabina*

This complex has produced a large quantity of *amphorae* sherds dated to the second and first centuries BC, but owing to the extant remains little is known about this Republican complex. The Augustan villa (Plate 37) has illustrated that this complex was of substantial proportions, including a colonnaded courtyard, but its design was irregular with the northern and southern sections being on a different alignment. Upon entering the villa, preceding this courtyard there was a front hall of unusual design.

There were two further periods of major restructuring at this complex, probably in the Domitianic and Hadrianic periods, such as the inclusion of the bath suite in the northwest quarters during the reign of Domitian and their enhancement in the Hadrianic era. The bath complex was well-appointed, having a mosaic pavement. There was a walled garden in the western region of the complex and a portico on the southern side defined the garden on that perimeter (Plate 37). Notably, part of the western wall had been kept deliberately low in order to allow a view of the surrounding countryside for its occupants. This would have been an impressive view, including a view of the capital, thereby maintaining a psychological connection between this villa and the city. There has been evidence of grain production discovered at this complex, illustrating some diversification of production by the owner as well. The occupation of this site concluded by around AD 238, judging from the numismatic and pottery evidence.

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Villa 10 – Villa B on the Ancient *Via Gabina*

This complex was gradually expanded and was altered to have a differentiation between the First Pompeian Style décor in the residential quarters and the rustic precinct within the complex (Plate 38). There is evidence of agriculture from the very outset, located on the western side of the complex. Judging from the wall decorations and the facilities within this early complex, it would seem appropriate to estimate that this was the residence with a small estate, possibly providing a modest profit in Roman commercial life. It also seems likely, judging from the differentiation between residential and productive space within the complex, the wall paintings and the minimal distance to the capital, that the owner probably resided at the complex for sizeable periods of time.

The second phase occurred around the early Imperial period in which there were major reconstructions. This included the addition of a front hall (Rm A), bath facilities and the construction of a well-appointed adjoining room (Rm C) on the western side (Plate 39). The size of the entire complex was increased, thoroughly changing the general demeanour of the residence. A pool was also added to the garden, but there is no indication that the nature of the agricultural activity was altered greatly, despite such significant extensions. One of the most notable features of these alterations was the complete separation of the residential and agricultural regions. It is clear that at this time it had the characteristics of an advanced *villa suburbana* with the benefits of comfortable amenities without removing the original integrity of the structure.

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Appendix B

Urban Residences and Suburban Villas at Pompeii

Villa 11 - The Villa of Cicero

The centre of this building (Plate 40) was based around a small colonnaded courtyard with six columns and a central marble fountain basin (Rm C), which led to the north via a group of rooms and entered onto another court or front hall which was parallel with another colonnaded courtyard (Rm A). To the west, there was a large T-shaped room that contained fine mosaics depicting the Dioscurides. A large square room opened up on the southwest, including an opening in the middle of each wall. These openings provided three large viewing spaces through which the view of the Bay of Naples was clearly visible. A terrace also surrounded each of these three sides (Rm D), which would have been an optimal viewing platform. This platform was paved with mosaics and colonnaded on three sides, which would have added to the grandeur of the landscape. To further exemplify the importance of the view in this suburban villa, a suite of two dining rooms were located to the southeast of the terraces. To the northwest was a large sunken garden at a lower level, surrounded by an arcade consisting of nine by eleven columns (Rm B).

The spatial data analysis for this structure has been based upon the division of bounded space within the structure, as with the other sites studied with this method. This is intended to provide a consistent source of information in order to allow for the most reliable comparison of sites. In this instance it is only Rooms A, C and E that have required division in an unbounded fashion, but with these large, unrestricted areas the spatial division is clearly presented through their floor-plans and the differentiation in their flooring.

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Spatial Data Analysis Statistics for Villa 11					
Room	Mean Depth	Real Asymmetry	Control Value	Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Exterior
Ext	4.2	0.168	1.2	1.115	0
A	**3.025**	**0.106**	**2.617**	**0.705**	**2**
B	**4.675**	**0.193**	**0.5**	**1.280**	**1**
C	2.6	0.084	2.47	0.557	3
D	3.1	0.110	1.584	0.731	1
E	2.575	0.082	2.257	0.548	2
1	1.225	0.011	0.417	0.078	3
2	4.175	0.167	0.167	1.106	3
3	3.725	0.143	0.417	0.949	3
4	3.9	0.152	1.75	1.010	4
5	3.6	0.136	0.375	0.906	5
6	3.625	0.138	1.917	0.914	4
7	3.375	0.125	0.417	0.827	3
8	**3.55**	**0.134**	**0.167**	**0.888**	**3**
9	2.7	0.089	0.637	0.592	3
10	3.875	0.151	0.625	1.002	5
11	4.85	0.202	1	1.341	6
12	3.875	0.151	0.625	1.002	6
13	2.95	0.102	3.41	0.679	5
14	3.35	0.123	0.705	0.819	4
15	3.1	0.110	0.595	0.731	4
16	3.1	0.110	0.265	0.731	4
17	3.625	0.138	0.455	0.914	6
18	3.6	0.136	0.14	0.906	4
19	3.325	0.122	0.24	0.810	4
20	4.3	0.173	0.25	1.150	4
21	4.1	0.163	1.83	1.080	7
22	5.025	0.211	0.33	1.402	8
23	4.125	0.164	1.66	1.089	8
24	5.1	0.215	0.33	1.429	8
25	4.15	0.165	1.23	1.097	7
26	4.225	0.169	1.25	1.124	3
27	3.825	0.148	0.47	0.984	5
28	3.9	0.152	0.14	1.010	5
29	3.45	0.128	0.39	0.853	3
30	4.05	0.160	0.14	1.063	5
31	5.225	0.222	0.5	1.472	4
32	3.3	0.121	1.7	0.801	2
33	4.075	0.161	0.5	1.071	3
34	4.6	0.189	0.25	1.254	4
35	2.975	0.103	3.72	0.688	4

Villa 12 - The Villa of the Mosaic Columns

The residential precinct of this complex (Plate 41) was only accessible from four of shops (Rms A-D), divided by the main entrance (Plate 2). The commercial region of the complex took up most of the ground level, with several of the residential areas being located on upper floors. The area around the front hall (Rm E) produced grain-mills and basins. This structure originated as an agricultural villa, with evidence of an enclosed yard during the first period of habitation. There were baths during at least the later periods, but the placement of these rooms were in alignment with the shopping precincts, suggesting that they were constructed during this first phase. The next phase changed this complex into a building of an increasingly residential nature, constructed in *opus incertum* and included the construction of the large villa building (Plate 3). The most important innovation that occurred during this period was the construction of the upper floors. This clearly separated the residential zone from the commercial regions.

Ensuing from this phase was the addition of a large portico, which had mosaic pavement and was quite impressive. The spacing between the columns was accentuated by the use of white *tesserae*. There were also several reconstructions to this villa after the earthquake in AD 62, resulting in the collapse of several shops. This phase saw the sealing of the northern door leading from the portico, probably for structural reasons. The upper level of the main residence was also damaged, but it continued in its use after repairs had been completed. The ground floor had several additions with the inclusion of mosaic pavements and marble statues in the garden area, suggesting that the upper level would have been suitably refurbished.

The spatial data analysis for this structure has been based upon the division of bounded space within the structure, as with the other sites studied with this method. This is intended to provide a consistent source of information in order to allow for the most reliable comparison of sites. In the case of the Villa of Mosaic Columns all of the divisions were made according to the principles of bounded 'gamma analysis' except for the division between Rooms 3 and 4. This unbounded division was

clearly indicated by the line of columns that were only present on this side of the courtyard.

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Spatial Data Analysis Statistics for Villa 12

Room	Mean Depth	Relative Asymmetry	Control Value	Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Exterior
Ext	5.04	0.351	1	1.792	0
E	**4.2**	**0.278**	**0.83**	**1.419**	**2**
1	4.2	0.278	0.83	1.419	1
2	5.04	0.351	1	1.792	1
3	3.36	0.205	1.33	1.047	2
4	2.72	0.149	0.91	0.763	3
5	4.64	0.316	0.2	1.614	6
6	3.76	0.24	0.25	1.224	5
7	2.8	0.156	2.5	0.798	4
8	3.76	0.24	0.25	1.224	5
9	3.12	0.184	1.52	0.940	4
10	3.68	0.233	3.33	1.188	5
11	4.64	0.316	0.2	1.614	6
12	4.56	0.309	0.7	1.579	6
13	4.56	0.309	0.83	1.579	6
14	5.44	0.386	1	1.969	7
15	4.08	0.267	0.33	1.366	5
16	5.6	0.4	0.33	2.040	8
17	5.6	0.4	0.33	2.040	8
18	4.08	0.267	0.17	1.366	6
19	3.12	0.184	3.75	0.940	5
20	4.04	0.264	0.67	1.348	6
21	4.04	0.264	0.67	1.348	6
22	4.08	0.267	0.17	1.366	6
23	3.84	0.246	0.5	1.259	6
24	4.8	0.330	2.5	1.685	7

Villa 13 – The Villa of Diomede

The designer of this suburban villa did not follow the usual conventions in relation to other villas outside the Porta Ercolano (Plate 42). The villa was constructed along the lines of gradually descending terraces, which allowed for the greatest use of the upper levels as viewing platforms and created a pleasant sanctuary in the gardens beneath. The upper level contained the main area of residence for the household, having direct access to the street level, but it was also raised above this. This level also included the servile rooms that, similarly to the so-called Villa of Cicero, were located on the eastern side near the Via dei Sepolcri. These rooms included the kitchens, latrine and baths (Plate 42). Other servile rooms were located on the level below the principal quarters, which was a result of the sloping topography. This created a clear distinction between the different regions within the building, which was a common feature of Roman housing. Beyond this area was the garden district that extended below the terraces, which were constructed during the final period of occupation.

The building lies on a roughly 45 degree angle to the line of the façade, which created some unusual features. Owing to this, the entrance vestibule was triangular and there was need to be judicious in the design of those rooms between the colonnaded courtyard and the façade. This alteration to the original plan, which had a nucleus around a central hall, increased the imposing effect of the architecture. The introduction of the colonnaded courtyard would have significantly improved the lighting and ventilation in this central area of the building. Over the pool in this area was a painting of a well-stocked fishpond, intending to extend the impression of the pool beyond its actual space.

The other substantial alteration to this building was the replacement of the columnar portico with a long gallery and the addition of a large room on the north-eastern side of the colonnaded courtyard. This room had a large number of windows, doors at either end, providing an impressive landscape. This room was used as a large dining hall. There was a large central opening in the outer walls from the colonnaded courtyard that almost extended from ceiling to floor, as well as two

windows for the view to the southwest. However, the axis of this room was not aligned with the colonnaded courtyard, but with the sunken garden (Plate 42). In order to create this open viewing parlour, the previous columnar portico was enclosed, but this modification accentuated the outlook from the villa. The position of the doors suggests that there was enough room for dining couches to be placed in the middle of the room. This area would have only been used with invited guests. On either side of this room there were another two rooms, which were probably used for smaller dining parties. It seems more likely that these smaller spaces had a private function. Access to these smaller dining areas was probably restricted owing to their intimate disposition. There is a possibility that only certain members of the residents would have had free access to this area of the residence. From these rooms extended a deck that ran around four sides of the porticoes that surrounded the sunken garden.

The gardens associated with this building are also significant when interpreting the lifestyle at this suburban villa. Firstly, there was a garden located to the south of the main apsidal bedroom (Plate 42). It was apsidal in shape and located on the southwest side of the colonnaded courtyard. This room may be a good example of a *cubiculum in hapside curatum.*[1] This room is positioned in the centre of this side of the wing bordering onto the colonnaded courtyard. Its most compelling feature is the three large windows that looked out onto this garden. If desired, these windows could also be closed with shutters in order to maintain an element of privacy. These windows allowed a virtually uninterrupted view of the small garden outside. This garden was probably located outside these windows on a platform at street level and was accessible via a narrow corridor at the eastern wing of the colonnaded courtyard.

From the position of this garden it appears that it functioned as a private retreat and provided a tranquil environment for the residents. However, this private garden is an important feature when considering the design of this residence. It reflects the desire to create a pleasing view in the most private spheres of the building. This shows that the need for a pleasing view was not only to impress

[1] Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, 2.17.8.

visitors, but for their own enjoyment. Owing to the position of the garden and the bedroom near the Via dei Sepolcri, the inclusion of the shutters in the apsidal bedroom also highlights the desire for privacy. But the inclusion of these large windows also exhibits the desire for light and ventilation, suggesting that this room was used for other purposes than just for sleeping.

The large sunken garden was another important feature of this suburban villa. This area was accessible in a couple of different ways. Firstly, as the villa was entered, there was a staircase in the northern corner of the colonnaded courtyard beside the doorway. Secondly, there were stairs behind the southeast side of the long gallery and thirdly via a corridor from the service quarters at either end of the main wing. This garden was surrounded on all sides by a garden portico, constructed out of pillars with linking flat arches that created multiple doorways. The axis of the garden was emphasised by two features: the tank and a large rectangular platform (Plate 42). The tank was placed near the centre of the garden and was suitable for the breeding of fish. There was a cylindrical column topped with a marble disc in the middle of this tank, which was used as a fountain.

The rectangular platform was placed between the tank and the southwest wing of the portico. It was raised two steps above the garden, paved with white mosaic with black edging and bordered by a partitioned wall that held six columns in brick on the corners and in the middle of the sides. A wooden frame with vines may have connected these columns to create an arbor for summer dining. The rooms that bordered onto this garden are roughly of uniform size, suggesting a similar purpose, possibly used for work in summer, rather than entertaining (Plate 42). This garden was not intended for private use, but to be enjoyed by both the inhabitants and their guests. This design was intended to create a comfortable living environment and make a statement of success, culture and status.

The spatial data analysis for this structure has been based upon the division of bounded space within the structure, as with the other sites studied with this method. This is intended to provide a consistent source of information in order to allow for the most reliable comparison of sites. The division of space for the Villa of Diomede

was made purely in accordance with the principles of bounded division in its 'gamma analysis'.

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Spatial Data Analysis Statistics for Villa 13

Room	Mean Depth	Relative Asymmetry	Control Value	Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Exterior
Ext	4.82	0.212	0.1	1.369	0
A	**3.84**	**0.157**	**5.41**	**1.017**	**1**
1	6.92	0.328	0.83	2.121	9
2	6.03	0.279	0.97	1.802	8
3	6.13	0.285	0.64	1.838	8
4	5.11	0.228	3.19	1.473	7

5	6.08	0.282	0.14	1.820	8
6	**6.95**	**0.330**	**0.33**	**2.132**	**9**
7	3.34	0.13	2.14	0.838	8
8	**6.95**	**0.330**	**0.33**	**2.132**	**9**
9	4.76	0.208	0.64	1.347	6
10	4.47	0.192	1	1.243	5
11	4.39	0.188	1	1.215	4
12	4.05	0.169	1	1.093	3
13	3.92	0.162	0.6	1.046	2
14	4.61	0.200	0.76	1.293	2
15	5.45	0.247	0.49	1.594	3
16	**5.32**	**0.24**	**2.49**	**1.548**	**3**
17	**4.61**	**0.200**	**0.86**	**1.293**	**2**
18	5.45	0.247	0.49	1.594	3
19	6.24	0.291	0.49	1.878	4
20	**6.82**	**0.323**	**0.2**	**2.086**	**9**
21	5.89	0.271	3.47	1.752	8
22	6.82	0.323	0.2	2.086	9
23	6.82	0.323	0.2	2.086	9
24	5.92	0.273	0.67	1.763	8
25	5.39	0.243	1.16	1.573	3
26	4.68	0.204	0.58	1.318	2
27	4.76	0.208	1.2	1.347	2
28	5.74	0.263	0.5	1.698	3
29	4.82	0.212	0.2	1.369	2
30	4.76	0.208	1.2	1.347	2
31	5.74	0.263	0.5	1.698	3
32	4.68	0.204	0.45	1.318	2
33	5.45	0.247	0.75	1.594	3
34	6.37	0.298	1.5	1.924	4
35	7.39	0.355	0.5	2.290	5
36	5.55	0.252	0.25	1.630	3
37	4.58	0.198	1.2	1.283	2

Villa 14 – The Villa of the Mysteries

The entrance to this villa was from the eastern side via a triangular courtyard, which originally developed from a farmyard surrounded by agricultural buildings. The original entrance (Plate 43) was not directed towards the closest major road, which was later changed with the introduction of expanded industrial and agricultural production. There were two entrances: the first point of access being onto the Via dei Sepolcri and the other was from the subordinate street that accessed the coastal road between Pompeii and Herculaneum. The access hallway was transformed into an unusually wide corridor, which suggests that it was used for vehicle access for delivering merchandise to the agricultural quarters.

Following from the original construction of the Villa of the Mysteries there were several alterations made to the building, which signify a change in the emphasis of the function of the building, originally designed as an unambiguous suburban villa. Around 90 to 70 BC, there is evidence of the influence of Greek architecture on the villa. Maiuri thought that this was symbolic of a new owner from the newly established Roman colony,[2] but it may simply have been a change in focus by the owners or descendants. The most notable extension was the construction of a colonnaded courtyard towards the eastern side with columns in Nucerian tufa. There was also added a completely new district of lodgings with rooms and doors that were of smaller dimensions to the previous examples (Plate 44). A smaller hall, originally tuscan in design, was added along with baths.

The next phase of alteration occurred in the Augustan period, between 30 BC and AD 14. At this time the doors of the large tuscan hall were partly closed, reducing the height of the adjoining rooms. In this period, the rooms constructed were smaller and lower in design. During the period between AD 14 and the damaging earthquake in 62, there were several other changes made to the building. The most notable of these was the construction of the viewing room on the western side of the villa (Rm 2)(Plate 44).

At this time, the colonnaded courtyard served as the central focus of the building. On the eastern side were the servile regions of the villa, which in the final phase of development were converted into a rustic area. This change was closer in character to that of an agricultural establishment rather than that of a palatial suburban retreat. In this phase one of the noblest rooms (Rm 48-49) was converted from a large entertainment room into a *torcularium*. It is pertinent that its owners did not inhabit the Villa of the Mysteries at the time of the eruption of Vesuvius. There were still repairs and alterations being made at this time after the earthquake in AD 62, so the only residents were of a servile nature in August AD 79.

The original plan was from the outset designed to utilise the impressive landscape of the Bay of Naples. The most prominent viewing room was the central

[2] Maiuri, 1948, *op.cit.*, p. 103.

room (Rm 2). However, with the alterations to the building between AD 14 and 62, the possibilities for appreciating the impressive landscape were further increased. The shape of the room was originally a simple rectangle, but this was altered to allow for a semicircular extension beyond the previous limits. The shape of this terrace allowed for a greater appreciation of the panorama and also provided protection from bad weather. This extension had three large windows that opened onto the view with low windowsills.

The *torcularium* (Rm 48-49) was a significant modification to the Villa of the Mysteries during the final phase of development between roughly AD 62 and 79. The room that later housed the *torcularium* was originally a large open room, probably serving an entertainment role before its alteration. This room would have had a free prospectus of the fields and Mount Vesuvius before the construction of the later surrounding wall. This room was also of sufficient height that it would have maintained its privacy from the passing travellers on the road to Herculaneum. As a *torcularium*, it appears that the process used would have been that the grapes were transported through the eastern entrance via a ramp (Rm 57), the grapes were then pressed and decanted in the *torcularium*. Following from this, the *amphorae* were probably then stored and aged in the covered hall. Despite the lack of *amphorae*, the presence of this *torcularium* confirms the intentions of the villa owner towards the villas productivity. This change in focus is indicative of how families differed in responding to their particular and ever changing circumstances.

The spatial data analysis for this structure has been based upon the division of bounded space within the structure, as with the other sites studied with this method. This is intended to provide a consistent source of information in order to allow for the most reliable comparison of sites. The 'gamma analysis' for the Villa of the Mysteries (in both its early and late phases) was made according to bounded divisions, including the separation of the open courtyard (Rm P).

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Spatial Data Analysis Statistics for early Villa 14					
Room	Mean Depth	Relative Asymmetry	Control Value	Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Exterior
Ext	4.41	0.227	0.5	1.329	0
A	2.22	0.081	3.43	0.475	3
P	**2.56**	**0.104**	**4.51**	**0.608**	**2**
1	3.44	0.162	0.36	0.951	3
2	**3**	**0.133**	**0.24**	**0.779**	**4**
3	3.53	0.168	0.11	0.986	3
4	3.47	0.164	1.11	0.962	1
5	**3.09**	**0.139**	**0.67**	**0.814**	**5**
6	**3.09**	**0.139**	**0.78**	**0.814**	**4**

7	5.28	0.285	0.25	1.668	8
8	5.28	0.285	0.25	1.668	8
9	4.31	0.220	2.83	1.290	7
10	3.63	0.175	0.75	1.025	6
11	3.97	0.198	0.58	1.157	6
12	4.34	0.222	1.75	1.302	7
13	5.31	0.287	0.33	1.680	7
14	2.91	0.127	1.53	0.744	5
15	2.91	0.127	0.21	0.744	3
16	3.28	0.152	1.44	0.888	3
17	3.25	0.15	0.75	0.877	4
18	3.13	0.142	0.61	0.830	3
19	2.81	0.120	1.8	0.705	4
20	2.78	0.118	0.54	0.693	3
21	2.97	0.131	0.27	0.768	4
22	2.91	0.127	1.02	0.744	4
23	3.25	0.15	0.81	0.877	5
24	2.94	0.129	0.74	0.756	4
25	**2.84**	**0.122**	**2.03**	**0.717**	**5**
26	2.97	0.131	0.57	0.768	4
27	2.84	0.122	1.38	0.717	5
28	2.78	0.118	0.63	0.693	4
29	3.53	0.168	0.11	0.986	3
48-49	**4.16**	**0.210**	**0.58**	**1.231**	**4**

Spatial Data Analysis for the later Villa 14					
Room	Mean Depth	Real Asymmetry	Control Value	Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Entrance
1	**4.39**	**0.1**	**0.86**	**0.961**	**5**
2	**3.67**	**0.078**	**1.08**	**0.75**	**4**
3	3.53	0.075	0.75	0.721	4
4	4.54	0.104	1.49	1	5
5	**5.35**	**0.13**	**0.58**	**1.25**	**6**
6	**3.82**	**0.084**	**1.15**	**0.807**	**4**
7	3.43	0.072	0.39	0.692	3
8	4.14	0.092	0.125	0.884	4
9	**4.62**	**0.108**	**0.2**	**1.038**	**5**
10	**5.3**	**0.127**	**0.2**	**1.221**	**6**
11	6.19	0.153	0.5	1.471	7
12	5.28	0.125	1	1.201	6
13	5.07	0.122	1.45	1.173	6
14	6.03	0.148	0.33	1.423	7
15	6.64	0.107	0.2	1.028	5
16	4.58	0.105	0.78	1.009	5
17	3.97	0.087	1.25	0.836	4
18	4.64	0.107	0.2	1.028	5
19	3.54	0.075	0.063	0.721	3
20	3.54	0.075	0.063	0.721	3
21	5.3	0.069	0.39	0.663	3
22	N/A	0.127	0.25	1.221	6
23	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	2
24	4.49	N/A	0.11	N/A	2

25	3.51	0.104	0.5	1	4
26	3.48	0.074	1.063	0.711	3
27	3.54	0.073	0.063	0.701	3
28	3.54	0.075	0.063	0.721	3
29	3.54	0.075	0.063	0.721	3
30	3.54	0.133	0.2	1.278	2
31	3.54	0.133	0.2	1.278	2
32	3.54	0.075	0.063	0.721	3
33	3.54	0.075	0.063	0.721	3
34	3.54	0.075	0.063	0.721	3
35	5.42	0.13	0.5	1.25	2
36	3.91	0.086	0.2	0.826	2
37	3.91	0.086	0.2	0.826	2
38	3.86	0.084	2.2	0.807	2
39	4.84	0.113	0.33	1.086	3
40	4.84	0.113	0.33	1.086	3
41	3.54	0.075	0.11	0.721	2
42	4.14	0.092	0.125	0.884	4
43	4.12	0.092	1.125	0.884	4
44	5.1	0.121	0.5	1.163	5
45	5.03	0.118	0.66	1.134	5
46	4.07	0.09	0.95	0.865	4
47	4.14	0.092	0.125	0.884	4
48-49	4.43	0.101	0.5	0.971	2
50	5.41	0.13	1.11	1.25	1
51	N/A	N/A	0.22	N/A	1
52	4.68	0.108	1.2	1.038	1
53	5.65	0.137	0.5	1.317	2
54	5.51	0.133	0.83	1.278	2
55	5.49	0.132	1.7	1.269	2
56	6.46	0.161	0.33	1.548	3
F(1)	3.53	0.075	1.31	0.721	4
F(2)	3.65	0.078	3	0.75	4
F(3)	3.64	0.078	0.53	0.75	4
F(5)	3.84	0.084	0.53	0.807	4
P(1)	3.37	0.077	2.205	0.740	4
P(2)	5.203	0.124	1.08	1.192	6
P(3)	4.319	0.098	2.66	0.942	5
P(4)	4.35	0.098	1.86	0.942	5
P(5)	N/A	N/A	0.11	N/A	1
P(6)	4.58	0.105	0.66	1.009	4
Atrium	2.91	0.056	1.173	0.538	3
Peristyle	**2.55**	**0.046**	**11.475**	**0.442**	**2**
Small Peristyle	3.16	0.064	4.59	0.615	3
Entrance	3.7	0.079	1.435	0.759	0
Courtyard	3.28	0.067	2.89	0.644	3
C'porticus	N/A	N/A	1	N/A	1
P	4.53	0.104	3.03	1	1
R	4.36	0.099	1.11	0.951	1
Portico	4.9	0.115	1.53	1.105	6

Villa 15 – The Villa of T. Siminius Stephanus

There were two corridors within the complex (Rms C, D), Room D connecting the southern court to the colonnaded courtyard (Rm H)(Plate 55). The southern courtyard (No. A), opened onto a room (Rm B), which served an agricultural function in view of the finds uncovered, including a bronze horse bit and muzzle. The courtyard opened onto another small room (Rm E), which included finds of a bronze rectangular mirror, four oil lamps, two small glass bottles, an iron hoe and axe. Owing to the diversity of finds within this room, it seems to have served as a rustic room, which appears logical in view of its size and position. It seems likely that both Rooms Z and J were also intended for agricultural activity.

Further down Corridor C were two large rooms (Rms F, G), constructed with *opus incertum*. Room F was well-appointed, notably with the mosaic of the philosophers. There are seven male figures depicted in Greek dress with one of them addressing the others. Owing to the well-appointed nature of this pavement and the position of the room, apart from Room G, it appears that this room served an entertainment role. This mosaic exhibits an attempt by the owner to advertise his cultural pretensions. However, the remainder of the structure was quite modest. This suggests that the mosaic was indicative of the owners' aspirations, but that the necessary financial means were not available to further adorn the residence.

In view of the fine décor and the associated finds it appears that this room served as the principal entertaining room for the inhabitants. Room G served an entertainment role (Plate 55), which was connected to Room S that bordered onto the colonnaded courtyard (Rm H). Both Rooms G and S were paved with marble. Near these rooms (Rms G, S) located on the western side there was another room that has produced evidence that it was used for agricultural purposes, which is furthered by the basic style of decoration used within these quarters. The colonnaded courtyard (Rm H) produced two marmoreal tubs in the south-eastern ambulatory. The northern rooms (Rms W,V) all bordered onto the colonnaded courtyard (Plate 55), allowing for a view in the direction of Mount Vesuvius from the main residential quarter.

The wall paintings have not survived in this region, but all rooms were floored in mosaic pavement. There have been remnants of white plaster recovered from one of these rooms (Rm N), but the finds are insufficient to determine its function. Rooms P, Q and R were all covered in rough plaster and had remnants of *amphorae* and oil lamps, which is common within this residence. There is evidence of an upper level above Room P, by the presence of a staircase (Rm O) to the east.

The spatial data analysis for this structure has been based upon the division of bounded space within the structure, as with the other sites studied with this method. This is intended to provide a consistent source of information in order to allow for the most reliable comparison of sites. As with the previous two examples, all of the divisions involved with the 'gamma analysis' for the Villa of T. Siminius Stephanus were made by bounded spaces, providing a consistent source of data for comparison.

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Spatial Data Analysis Statistics for Villa 15					
Room	Mean Depth	Relative Asymmetry	Control Value	Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Exterior
Ext	3.98	0.149	0.17	1.020	0
A	2.93	0.096	3.36	0.660	1
B	3.76	0.138	0.28	0.945	2
C	2.93	0.096	5.17	0.660	2
D	2.76	0.088	2.23	0.602	2
E	3.76	0.138	0.28	0.945	2
F	**3.90**	**0.145**	**0.11**	**0.993**	**3**
G	**3.19**	**0.109**	**0.44**	**0.75**	**3**
H	**2**	**0.05**	**13.03**	**0.342**	**3**
J	3.52	0.126	0.25	0.863	3
N	2.98	0.099	0.06	0.678	4
O	2.98	0.099	0.06	0.678	4
P	2.98	0.099	0.06	0.678	4
Q	2.98	0.099	0.06	0.678	4
R	2.98	0.099	0.06	0.678	4
S	2.90	0.095	0.39	0.650	5
V	**2.98**	**0.099**	**0.06**	**0.678**	**4**
W	**2.98**	**0.099**	**0.06**	**0.678**	**4**
Z	3.52	0.126	0.25	0.863	3
1	3.76	0.138	0.2	0.945	5
2	3.76	0.138	0.2	0.945	5
3	3.76	0.138	0.2	0.945	5
4	3.76	0.138	0.2	0.945	5
5	2.79	0.089	4.06	0.613	4
6	2.98	0.099	0.06	0.678	4
7	5.10	0.205	0.25	1.404	7
8	5.10	0.205	0.25	1.404	7
9	4.12	0.156	3.25	1.068	6
10	5.10	0.205	0.25	1.404	7
11	3.29	0.114	2.5	0.784	5
12	2.60	0.08	1.81	0.547	4
13	4.26	0.163	0.25	1.116	6
14	4.26	0.163	0.25	1.116	6
15	3.98	0.149	0.17	1.020	2
16	3.57	0.128	0.25	0.880	4
17	2.79	0.089	0.31	0.613	4
18	3.90	0.145	0.11	0.993	3
19	3.90	0.145	0.11	0.993	3
20	2.62	0.081	1.06	0.554	4
21	2.48	0.074	0.17	0.506	3
22	2.98	0.099	0.06	0.678	4
23	2.98	0.099	0.06	0.678	4
24	3.90	0.145	0.11	0.993	3

Villa 16 – Villa Imperiale

The general layout (Plate 58) was based upon a long colonnade, which lay above a broad paved road that dropped steeply. The columns of this colonnade were constructed of brick and were thickly stuccoed. There were two points of access to the portico, both being a set of narrow stairs placed just outside the Porta Marina. There were several benefits provided by this long colonnade, including the provision to walk and view the seashore and activity at the mouth of the Sarno River.

Behind the junction of the porticoes lay a group of rooms, of which only four have been identified among a larger group. These rooms were framed by corridors that isolated them rather than allow for communication between them (Plate 58). Of these rooms, the most impressive was a large banquet hall (Rm A), which was barrel-vaulted over the dining couches. The pavement was well appointed and performed in marble slabs of different colours, framed with shale and palombino marble. To the south there was another dining room (Rm B), decorated with a cream coloured ground with delicate architectural features and pastel figures. This room had an open disposition with windows to the west and south. To the east there was another finely decorated room (Rm C), accessed by a short corridor (Plate 58). The room was quite small and possessed a triple window that was unusual in form. Finally, the fourth room that has been excavated was the largest among this group, but owing to the state of disrepair to the structure after AD 62, there are few remains.

The spatial data analysis for this structure has been based upon the division of bounded space within the structure, as with the other sites studied with this method. This is intended to provide a consistent source of information in order to allow for the most reliable comparison of sites. The Villa Imperiale was only divided according to bounded space in its 'gamma analysis'. This was deemed to be important particularly in relation to the large portico on the western side of the structure.

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Spatial Data Analysis Statistics for Villa 16					
Room	Mean Depth	Relative Asymmetry	Control Value	Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Exterior
Ext	4.73	0.573	0.5	2.286	0
A	**3.27**	**0.349**	**0.83**	**1.391**	**3**
B	**3.27**	**0.349**	**0.83**	**1.391**	**3**
C	**2.27**	**0.195**	**1.83**	**0.778**	**4**
1	4.47	0.533	1.33	2.126	1
2	**3.67**	**0.410**	**1.5**	**1.636**	**2**
3	3.67	0.410	0.45	1.636	7
4	4.4	0.523	0.5	2.083	8
5	3.8	0.430	0.2	1.716	7
6	2.87	0.287	2.58	1.146	6
7	3.07	0.318	0.75	1.268	4
8	3.07	0.318	0.75	1.268	3
9	3.07	0.318	0.5	1.268	5
10	2.6	0.246	0.7	0.980	5
11	3	0.307	1.53	1.225	6
12	3.67	0.410	1.2	1.636	7

The House of the Faun

In the House of the Faun (Plate 62) the most important front hall had tuscan architecture (Rm B) with living rooms on three sides. Included among these living rooms was Room D, located behind the hall on its axis and at right angles to the colonnaded courtyard behind (Rm G). The smaller front hall was tetrastyle (Rm b) with rooms for domestic service bordering on to it, which continued down the right side of the building. Owing to the choice of rooms and the grandeur of the tuscan hall, there was a clear demarcation of space between each entrance. Room B was used for the reception of guests, whereas Room b served domestic purposes in a private role. The plan of the building instituted a clear demarcation between the public and private domains, as well as the well-appointed and servile regions.

There were two colonnaded courtyards located within this townhouse (Rms G, K). The first was designed as a broad rectangle, with the dimensions of seven columns by nine columns. The columns were Pompeian Ionic with Attic bases with a simple architrave and Doric frieze. There was a significant degree of seclusion in this colonnaded courtyard, when compared to that available in both Rooms B and D. However, all of the rooms (Rms D-F) bordering onto this colonnaded courtyard had large windows facing onto the colonnaded courtyard, but they were not orientated to take full advantage of the garden view. A row of specialised reception rooms were created, including a large rectangular room containing the famous Alexander mosaic (Rm H). The position of this fine mosaic is understandable and provides a clear indication of the owner's intellectual and cultural pretensions. This room contained grandiose Corinthian capitals with corkscrew volutes at the entrance to the room. These rooms flanked onto the colonnaded courtyard and were orientated towards the garden, but they were probably remodelled after the creation of the second colonnaded courtyard (Plate 62).

The second colonnaded courtyard (Rm K) was added to the House of the Faun in the early first century BC, no earlier than the late second century BC, and styled in accordance with the end of the first style period. The plan of this area was almost square, as with many second style exampes, and had eleven by thirteen

columns. These columns had thick terracotta quadrants and were stuccoed with only the capitals being carved in tufa. This colonnaded courtyard does not seem to have been constructed to increase the accommodation of the residence, but instead included a domestic garden. The reason for this was the presence of a cistern beneath each additional wing of the second colonnaded courtyard, possibly for irrigation and the presence of a fence between the columns to prevent easy access, thus protecting the plants.

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The House of Julia Felix

The main residence of Julia Felix included living rooms with a portico and gardens with an entrance vestibule onto Via dell'Abbondanza. However, the principal entrance was located along a side street to the west (Plate 63). The architecture of these quarters was of great distinction, so much so that Maiuri felt that it should be classified as a 'villa' despite its position well within the city.[3] The plan of this residence was square, with the kitchens placed on the western wing and the well-appointed living rooms located on the eastern wing. These living rooms contained large square windows that faced towards the garden area. The garden associated with this residence was well designed and had a long pool, with marble bridges and niches for fish. A marble spout was located in the middle.

The portico was unusual, designed with marble pillars on the western side and small stuccoed pillars painted green along the southern and eastern sides and a series of alternating apsidal and rectangular niches in the wall (Plate 63). The presence of the western colonnade with sixteen white marble Corinthian pillars is rare for a private building (Plate 6), the only known example in Pompeii. The western portico opened in the centre with an open room, having marble covered couches and a cascade water feature at one end. This room has been classified as a *Grotto-triclinium.*

[3] Maiuri, 1978, *op.cit.*, p. 84.

Rakob has shown that the design of this room was as a garden *triclinium*,[4] with the room having a vaulted ceiling being roughly 4.7 metres square with a wide entrance opening onto the western colonnaded courtyard. A ledge ran around the perimeter of this room on which food could have been served. In the middle of each sidewall there were sky-blue niches, the effect intended to create an artificial grotto. This *triclinium* was on the same axis as the pergola on the opposite wall of the portico, overlooking the pool (Plate 63).

There were also a series of marble and terracotta statues decorating the portico and the pool. These statues depicted quite a broad range of themes and personages, such as a philosopher, possibly Pittacus of Mytilene. There were also statues symbolic of wine production, such as a statuette of a satyr child and a marble satyr placed at the northern end of the pool. By including these images of viticulture it seems clear that the owner was attempting to illustrate their connection with this industry. These are complemented by the Bacchic wall paintings in the residence. Scheidel has shown that not only was wine production an important source of income, but that the inter-cultivation of several commodities would have also been important.[5] As commented upon by Purcell,[6] the cultivation of grape products became an identifying feature among those who participated in viticulture.

The Bath facilities had been rented out for semi-public use by Julia Felix, which has been shown by the inscription discovered painted on the wall of the house:

IN PRAEDIS IVLIAE SP F FELICIS
LOCANTUR
BALNEUM VENERIVM ET NONGENTVM TABERNAE PERGVLAE
CENACULA EX IDIBUS AUG PRIMIS IN IDVS AVG SEXTAS ANNOS
CONTINVOS QVINQVE
S. Q. D. L. E. N. C.[7]

The most notable feature of this bathing complex was that it was intended to be used by well-regarded members of the community, exhibited by the well-

[4] Rakob, 1964, *op.cit.*, pp. 182-93.
[5] Scheidel, 1992, *op.cit.*, pp. 207-12.
[6] Purcell, 1996, *op.cit.*, p. 121.

appointed decoration and the additional facilities that accompanied the usual bathing services. The finds in the bath complex have been clearly datable to no later than the last quarter of the first century BC, suggesting a construction date for this region around the early Augustan era. These features included a window that communicated with the adjacent tavern that would have served as an easy means of obtaining refreshments while the clients bathed. The entrance to the baths was raised and decorated with a good quality portal that was adorned with half columns leading towards a small portico and a small cloakroom to one side.

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[7] *CIL*, 4.1136.

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The House of Octavius Quartio

In this complex (Plate 64) the front hall included a planted pool that was marked on three sides with pedestals that may have supported statues. The décor of this room created a strong parallel with the decorations towards the rear of the house and illustrates the desire of the inhabitants to create a pleasant and impressive environment in which to both reside and entertain. There were two small rooms placed on either side of the front hall. The wings of the original structure were changed to serve other purposes by the time of the final phase of habitation with the eastern side serving as a vestibule to the kitchen and the western side being made into a small-enclosed room.

The rooms that were transformed throughout this time were located around the garden area. One of the most important alterations, which completely changed the general impression of the house, was the replacement of a large room with a truncated colonnaded courtyard behind the front hall. This led to a large *triclinium*, being almost square in shape, containing three couches on the left hand side and entrances to two smaller rooms, including a shrine room, on the opposite side. This *triclinium* was the most well-appointed room in the complex and viewed the garden through the southern door.

The gardens in the House of Octavius Quartio are one of the most notable features. When viewing these gardens, a prominent aspect was the pool that divides the region. The entire area of the garden covers roughly 55 by 29 metres, with pergolas and rows of shrubs running parallel to the pool. It was roughly 49 metres in length and had a sequence of pools that varied in size and connected by overflow troughs. It is important to observe that the placement of this pool was not in the centre of the garden, but instead it was located on the same axis as the large dining room. This meant that the establishment of this series of pools was intended to enhance the view from the dining room. It is also important to note that the garden space was surrounded by a high wall, which would have limited the view outside. However, Plane trees were positioned to flank this enclosure wall, which would have opened up the perspective of the property a great deal. The rows of fruit trees were also used in an ornamental fashion and appear to have added to this effect. The presence of the wall highlights the importance of the garden as a viewing space for the inhabitants, rather than the panorama beyond. Zanker has commented that the elaborate nature of this estate appears to have been disproportionate to the modest means of the proprietors' living space.[8] Therefore, it appears that the introduction of this garden complex, and the alterations to the associated rooms was a clear statement by the owners concerning their level of culture and status.

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Other Townhouses

The traditional allocation of room function has been used within this group of structures considering that they have been used purely on a comparative basis. Four rooms within the House of the Tragic Poet (Plate 65) have been classified as having a potential entertainment role: Rooms 8, 12, 15 and C. Room 8 was a central open sided room and has been viewed as a *tablinum* due to its position on the main axis of the residence, whereas Room 12 was probably originally intended to be used for entertaining, despite its later use as a storeroom. Room 15 was probably used as a dining room and looked onto the colonnaded courtyard (Rm C).

Six areas have been included among the potential entertainment rooms in the House of M. Lucretius Fronto (Plate 66): Rooms F, H, L, S, T and U. Rooms F, S, T and U have been identified as dining rooms, whereas the position of Room H indicates that it was probably an entertainment room, which led through to the open area at the rear of the structure (Rm L).

Five areas have been included from the House of the Surgeon (Plate 67). Room 7 seems to have primarily served as a *tablinum*, whereas Rooms 9 and 10 have been identified as dining rooms. The open garden area (Rm 20) has also been included, which is further accentuated by the inclusion of a small open room bordering onto it (Rm 19).

The House of the Vettii (Plate 68) has at least five potential entertainment areas, including the central colonnaded courtyard (Rm B). Room C has been traditionally identified as dining room, whereas Rooms A, D, E and F have also been included due to their position and décor.

Three areas have been identified as potential entertainment spaces in the House of Pansa (Plate 69): Rooms A, 5 and 13. The central colonnaded courtyard (Rm A) has been included, as well as rooms that have been classified as an entertainment room (*tablinum*?)(Rm 5) and a dining room (Rm 13).

The House of the Labyrinth (Plate 70) has been viewed as possessing four potential entertainment areas: Rooms A, B, C and D. The colonnaded courtyard (Rm A) has been included, which was bordered by Room B, which probably served as a *tablinum*. Room C has been classified as an entertainment room, whereas Room D has been identified as a dining room.

Finally, the House of the Centenary (Plate 71) has been classified as having five potential entertainment areas: Rooms A, B, C, D and E. The colonnaded courtyard (Rm A) has been included, whereas Room B has been identified as an entertainment room. Rooms D and E are judged to have been dining rooms, whereas Room C probably also served for dining.

Appendix C

Villas in the Outer Suburbs of Pompeii

Villa 17 – Villa of Lucius Caecilius Iucundus at Pisanella at Boscoreale

The plan of this villa was rectangular with a second floor, which seems to have contained the bedrooms, whereas the kitchen, bakery, baths, dining room, stable, wine cellar and slaves quarters were on the ground floor. This villa has produced evidence of a *torcularium*. A channel ran directly from the presses to the wine cellar, where a series of *dolii* were sunken into the ground. Pliny the Elder mentioned that sinking the *dolii* into the ground was good for weak and thin wines to maintain an even temperature.[1] The olive press was similar to the wine *torcularium*, and the oil was mostly stored in *dolii* in the corridor outside the wine cellar (Plate 72). There was also an olive crusher, discovered near the olive press. Diversification of production was practised at this estate, shown by the presence of a threshing floor. The discovery of pig skeletons also exhibits that animal husbandry was undertaken. Day has illustrated the large profits that would have been obtainable at this villa purely through the production of wine and oil, highlighting the benefits of such an estate.[2]

The kitchen was located in the eastern region (Rm A), with a large wooden bench for food preparation. But the most famous finds were the cache of silverware in the wine cellar. These pieces seem to have been an accumulation of family pieces collected from the late first century BC to early first century AD (Plate 8). There was also a hoard of over one thousand gold coins uncovered, which is more evidence of the owner's wealth. It is clear that the owner was trying to create a balance between a productive and pleasant living environment. This is exhibited by the large amount of space dedicated to agriculture, but also the views of the bay and surrounding countryside that could be appreciated from Room I.

The spatial data analysis for this structure has been based upon the division of bounded space within the structure, as with the other sites studied with this method. This is intended to provide a consistent source of information in order to allow for the most

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[1] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 15.136.
[2] Day, 1932, *op.cit.*, pp. 180-2.

reliable comparison of sites. The bounded divisions within the Villa of Iucundus have been used for all spaces except for Rooms L, 3 and 4, which are unbounded. The three entrances to these unbounded regions indicated spatial divisions, which were also indicated by the excavators of this complex.

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Spatial Data Analysis Statistics for Villa 17					
Room	Mean Depth	Relative Asymmetry	Control Value	Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Exterior
Ext	3.1	0.15	0.58	0.842	0
A	3.07	0.147	1.11	0.830	3
B	2.9	0.135	1.11	0.762	3
C	2.97	0.140	0.11	0.790	3
D	2.97	0.140	0.11	0.790	3
E	2.8	0.128	1.36	0.722	2
F	2	0.071	5.52	0.401	2
G	2.97	0.140	0.11	0.790	3
H	3.6	0.185	0.33	1.043	4
I	**3.77**	**0.197**	**0.33**	**1.111**	**3**
J	3.47	0.176	2.5	0.991	3
K	3.6	0.185	0.33	1.043	4
L	2.87	0.133	0.11	0.750	3
M	4.37	0.240	0.5	1.352	5
N	3.47	0.176	1.33	0.991	4
O	2.93	0.137	0.36	0.774	2
P	2.67	0.119	1.05	0.670	1
Q	2.8	0.128	1.11	0.722	1
R	3.03	0.145	0.11	0.814	3
S	3.87	0.205	0.33	1.151	4
T	4.67	0.262	0.5	1.472	3
U	2.93	0.137	0.11	0.774	3
V	3.87	0.205	0.33	1.151	4
W	3.93	0.209	0.5	1.175	4
X	2.9	0.135	2.11	0.762	3
Y	3.7	0.192	0.33	1.083	2
Z	3.87	0.205	0.5	1.151	4
2	2.13	0.080	6.44	0.453	2
3	3.03	0.145	0.11	0.814	3
4	3.03	0.145	0.11	0.814	3

Villa 18 – Villa of Popidius Florus at Boscoreale

The main entrance to this complex (A) was from the north, which had a storeroom (Rm 1) on the left and led directly towards an open courtyard, which was originally surrounded by an ambulatory (Plate 75), but this was later altered. This entrance was secured with two large doors. The eastern ambulatory (Rm B) was supported by three columns that were simply decorated, as was the southern portico (Rm C). This area surrounded a wine cellar (Rm D), which was surrounded by a garden. There were remnants

of several large *dolii* within this area. Jashemski has postulated that the garden was probably an ornamental garden.[3]

There was an upper level, shown by a staircase (Rm 3). The kitchen (Rm 6) was located in the northern region (Plate 75). At the opposite end of the eastern ambulatory was the *torcularium* (Rm 17), paved with *cocciopesto*. Judging from its décor it appears that Room 2 was originally a dining area, but later used for food preparation and as a workshop. Three large *dolii* were uncovered, accentuating the emphasis upon agriculture.

In the northwest corner there was a large open room (Rm 4), and to the south of this room was a latrine. On the other side of this corridor, there was another large room (Rm 5), which seems to have had an internal focus, having a large window onto the open courtyard. There were four other open rooms located in the southern region (Rms 18-21). All of these rooms looked directly onto the southern portico and only Room 20 did not have a window towards the countryside (Plate 75). The bath facilities were located in the northeast region (Rms 7, 9, 10).

The rooms on the eastern side formed a separate group of apartments from this residential region (Rms 11-16). This group of rooms was separated from the other rooms by wooden doors. Owing to its position, it is likely that it was an entrance hall for this group. There was also another staircase in the south-eastern corner. To the north of the entrance hall was a small room (Rm 12), which had a window looking onto the eastern portico of the courtyard. This window suggests that despite the division of the doors leading into Room 11, the separation between the two quarters was not complete. There was another room (Rm 13), which was decorated in fourth style and paved with mosaic. However, this room was slightly larger than Room 12 and the window looked towards the countryside (Plate 75).

Room 14 served an unknown function, but it was simply decorated. Judging from its position, it could have been a reception room, but the décor would suggest otherwise. The purpose of Room 15 is also unknown, but it was decorated in fourth style. Room 16 seems to have been a dining room, being large and well lit, located in the southeast corner (Plate 75). Similarly with Room 14, this room was not finely decorated, which furthers the

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[3] Jashemski, 1979, *op.*cit., pp. 319-20.

suggestion that this region was undergoing renovation or alteration at the time of the eruption, especially for two such prominent rooms. However, Room 16 would have had an open and well-ventilated disposition, with the inclusion of two large windows.

The importance of wine production to the owner is exemplified by the discovery of a dedication to three deities: Bacchus, Venus and Hercules.

Haec iuga quam Nysae colles plus Bacchus amaiut,
Hoc nuper Satyri monte dedere choros.
Haec Veneris sedes, Lacedaemone gratior illi,
Hic locus Herculeo nomine clarus erat.

Not only does this dedication reflect the importance of grape production but also it refers to the three most important Pompeian deities, suggesting a clear association with the city and its popular cults.

The spatial data analysis for this structure has been based upon the division of bounded space within the structure, as with the other sites studied with this method. This is intended to provide a consistent source of information in order to allow for the most reliable comparison of sites. The spatial divisions within this complex for the 'gamma analysis' have been made according to the indicated bounded space, except in the division of Rooms B and 23, which had an unbounded division. This separation of space for the Access Map was made because of the previous existence of a wall that was replaced by a line of columns, as well as the different materials used in the flooring, thus indicating an unbounded spatial division.

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Spatial Data Analysis Statistics for Villa 18					
Room	Mean Depth	Relative Asymmetry	Control Value	Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Exterior
Ext	3.47	0.176	0.91	0.974	0
A	3.23	0.159	1	0.880	1
B	**2.47**	**0.105**	**0.89**	**0.580**	**4**
D	2.9	0.135	1.28	0.749	3
2	2.87	0.133	2.91	0.737	2
3	3.83	0.202	0.2	1.116	3
4	3.83	0.202	0.2	1.116	3
5	**3.47**	**0.176**	**0.58**	**0.974**	**2**
6	3.1	0.15	0.667	0.828	4
7	4	0.214	0.33	1.183	5
9	3.9	0.207	0.83	1.144	5
10	3.93	0.209	1	1.156	5
11	2.73	0.123	2.917	0.682	2
12	2.97	0.140	0.367	0.777	3
13	3.7	0.192	0.2	1.065	3
14	3.7	0.192	0.2	1.065	3
15	4.07	0.219	0.75	1.211	2
16	**4.07**	**0.219**	**0.75**	**1.211**	**2**
17	4.03	0.216	0.143	1.195	6
18	4.03	0.216	0.143	1.195	6
19	4.03	0.216	0.143	1.195	6
20	4.03	0.216	0.143	1.195	6
21	4.03	0.216	0.143	1.195	6
22	3.07	0.147	5.58	0.816	5
23	**2.23**	**0.087**	**2.11**	**0.485**	**3**
24	3.13	0.152	1.53	0.840	1
25	3	0.142	0.643	0.789	4
26	3.33	0.166	1.03	0.919	1
27	2.67	0.119	0.697	0.659	2
28	4.2	0.228	0.33	1.262	2
29	3.03	0.145	1.667	0.801	4

Villa 19 – Boscoreale

Upon entering the portico of this structure, the *torcularium* (Rm 7) was the first room to be encountered (Plate 78). However, despite its obvious productive nature, it was flanked by rooms with elegant décor. The *torcularium* produced evidence of several large *dolii*, but it was also decorated with a painting of Bacchus. The pavement in the portico, as well as some elegant rooms (Rms 8-11) was executed in *opus signinium* in a geometric pattern. Room 5 was paved in white *tesserae*, whereas Room 4 and the baths (Rm 6) were paved with *opus sectile* using multicoloured marbles. This is contrasted to the agricultural rooms that had either *cocciopesto* (Rms 2, 7) or beaten earth (Rm 3). This difference in the flooring would have demarcated the function of each room.

The northern elegant region was clearly the principal residential quarters, including Rooms 9-11. All appear to have been decorated in third style. The consistent execution of wall décor and pavement within this region of the house suggests that they were envisaged as a group. Room 8 served as a hallway through which both Rooms 9 and 10 were accessed (Plate 78). Room 10 was decorated with images of birds and fruit, whereas Rooms 9 and 11 were adorned with representations of swans. Room 10 was adorned with a geometric pattern on the northern wall, complementing the décor in the other rooms.

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Villa 20 – Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale

This villa was centred on a square colonnaded courtyard (Rm E), which had banks of rooms along three sides. The entrance was placed to the south, along side a series of living apartments, working rooms and storerooms. The colonnade had six columns on each side, surrounded by deep porticoes. This colonnaded courtyard was splendidly decorated and contained fountains in the centre. The architecture of the surrounding porticoes was richly decorated with coffered and gilded ceilings and an ornamental carved architrave. This colonnaded courtyard had no direct access to the agricultural regions of the villa.

The northern side of the colonnaded courtyard contained splendid rooms intended for the leading residents. The noble quarters on the northern side contained a fine rectangular room at the western end (Rm N), which was connected to another small room (Rm M) via a small lobby (Plate 79). There was a large square banquet hall (Rm H), followed by a smaller well-appointed room (Rm G). Symmetrical windows that viewed onto the colonnaded courtyard bordered the hall, but there were no windows on the external side. This is of interest because the owners were not concerned with acquiring a peripheral view, preferring an internal emphasis onto the colonnaded courtyard. Throughout the rest of this complex the majority of the rooms had large windows to the exterior of the building, but it is of interest to note the absence of this feature within this room. The room measures

8.30 by 7.30 metres and was 3.8 metres high. From this hall there was a small corridor leading into a well-decorated small room (Rm G), which had a large window to the exterior (Plate 79). Owing to the size of this room, its position and the presence of such a large window it is likely that it was used for leisure and for viewing the panorama. It is pertinent to observe the different viewing focus in both rooms, the banquet hall drawing attention to the central garden in the colonnaded courtyard as a controlled environment, whereas Room G focused upon the natural landscape. From this portico there were also other colonnades that connected the residential quarters with the agricultural area.

The agricultural district was connected to the residential building by a colonnade that ran to the south of the residence proper. Within this area, to the east lay a bakery and there were a *torcularium* with places for two wine presses on the western side. From this evidence, it is clear that the production of wine was an important element of the estates' economy. A *trapetum* for processing olives was also discovered, illustrating that the productive activity was based upon grape and olive cultivation.

The spatial data analysis for this structure has been based upon the division of bounded space within the structure, as with the other sites studied with this method. This is intended to provide a consistent source of information in order to allow for the most reliable comparison of sites. The only unbounded spatial division made for the 'gamma analysis' of this structure was between Room A and B. This division was made because of their differing levels and the columnar line, indicating an unbound division.

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Spatial Data Analysis Statistics for Villa 20

Room	Mean Depth	Relative Asymmetry	Control Value	Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Entrance
Ext	N/A	N/A	0.75	N/A	0
1	2.44	0.092	4.83	0.575	2
2	3.28	0.147	0.33	0.918	3
3	2.31	0.085	0.7	0.531	3
4	2.85	0.119	2.46	0.743	3
5	3.43	0.157	0.125	0.981	3
6	3.41	0.155	0.625	0.968	3
7	3.41	0.155	0.625	0.968	3
8	3.43	0.157	0.125	0.981	3
9	3.43	0.157	0.125	0.981	3
10	3.56	0.165	0.25	1.031	4
11	4.53	0.227	0.25	1.418	5
12	3.75	0.177	0.2	1.106	2
15	**2.63**	**0.105**	**0.827**	**0.656**	**4**
16	2.84	0.119	1.08	0.743	4
17	3.81	0.181	0.5	1.131	5
18	4.28	0.212	0.5	1.325	6
19	3.28	0.147	1.33	0.918	5
20	2.84	0.119	1.077	0.743	4
21	3.81	0.181	0.5	1.131	5
22	2.94	0.125	0.077	0.781	4
23	2.68	0.108	2.41	0.675	4
24	N/A	N/A	0.33	N/A	1
B	2.82	0.12	2.625	0.75	1
C	2.53	0.099	0.78	0.618	2
D	2.59	0.103	0.28	0.643	2
E	**1.88**	**0.057**	**6.57**	**0.356**	**3**
F	3.69	0.173	0.25	1.081	5
G	**3.69**	**0.173**	**0.25**	**1.081**	**5**
H	**3.08**	**0.134**	**1.33**	**0.837**	**4**
I	3.91	0.188	0.33	1.175	5
L	2.94	0.125	0.08	0.781	4
M	3.78	0.179	0.33	1.118	5
N	**2.84**	**0.119**	**0.41**	**0.743**	**4**
O	2.81	0.117	0.58	0.731	4

Villa 21 – Villa of Poppea at Oplontis

The focal point of this villa was a large tuscan front hall. There were three doors leading from the hall to the northern (landward) side, but beyond the pool, there were no doors on the sides, creating a symmetrical design. The rooms proceeded along short corridors towards a colonnade of porticoes (Plate 82), which have been partially excavated. Richardson has put forward that these colonnaded porticoes probably continued along the southern side of the hall and connected with each other,[4] and in light of the consistent use of symmetry in this residence, it appears likely. Such a colonnade would have created an agreeable walkway, allowing for an appreciation of the view. However, Richardson has also pointed out that there may have also been some viewing rooms placed within this region,[5] which would also have been in accordance with the general tendency of most suburban villas.

Room 23 (Plate 82), located on the eastern side of the front hall, was square and opened onto the colonnade on the eastern side. There was also a dining room towards the end of the portico (Rm 41), with space for two couches at right angles. On the western side of the front hall, opposite Room 23, was another room decorated with second style wall paintings (Rm 11). Room 12 was a small entertainment area for Room 11, painted with late second/early third style paintings. Room 41 opened towards both the south and the west, which allowed for the view from both of the couches placed within this *biclinium*. Room 14 (Plate 82), located to the west of the colonnade, was a long rectangular *triclinium* and the position of the couches has been shown by the markings in the mosaic pavement. Room 15, also located on the western side of this colonnade was a large banquet hall. Between this hall and the garden there was a large central area that enhanced the viewing platform of the hall. There were two openings from this room: onto the colonnaded portico to the front and behind this room was an ornate water garden. This was on the same axis as Room 15, suggesting that its prime role was to be appreciated from the hall. The majority of these rooms were designed in order to appreciate the view from the rooms.

The water garden was square in shape with a light-roofed portico supported by slim columns at each corner. In the centre was a deep square tank that enclosed a large circular

[4] Richardson, 1988a, *op.cit.*, p. 182.
[5] *ibid.*

trough. This consisted of two rings that surrounded a water-jet in the middle. All of these elements were constructed in masonry and painted with plain stucco. There were also several pieces of sculpture uncovered in the garden, such as representations of Aphrodite and a child with a goose.

The servile region was almost completely separate from the well-appointed regions of the complex. These quarters were large and positioned around a courtyard. The division between the well-appointed and servile districts was not unusual, becoming increasingly apparent at many suburban villas. There was a *torcularium* (Rms 82, 84) at this complex but it does not appear to have been functional at the time of the eruption. This may suggest that the focus of the owner was purely to possess a villa for *otium*, which had changed since its original construction.

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Villa 22 – The Villa of Agrippa Postumus in Boscotrecase

The plan (Plate 83) was based around a central colonnaded courtyard with a domestic district and a series of decorated rooms opening onto a long terrace. Only part of the complex has been excavated and none of the known portions represent the most important regions. The eastern wing has provided evidence that it was the servant's quarters and the agricultural precinct. The more distinguished part was located to the west of the front hall and other well-appointed rooms further to the north on higher ground. The western precinct was a summer residence with a superb view of the Bay of Naples to the south. The known sections of this villa complex can be divided into three distinct parts: the servile quarter, terraces and colonnaded courtyard.

The servile region was almost completely functional in its architectural constitution, having few pretensions. It was based around a courtyard with deep porticoes on two sides and part of another side. This region contained the kitchen, latrine, animal housing and a row of uniform rooms along one side. It is clear that this region would not have been used by the leading residents, instead being a servile district for the daily operation of the estate. It is significant that, just as with the Villa of Fannius Synistor, there was a clear demarcation between the noble and servile regions.

The second explored region was a series of terraces. These were set apart from the servile region of the villa, only being accessible from the south-eastern corner of the courtyard. The terraces consisted of a series of rooms of uniform depth and almost standardised size (Plate 83), looking onto a long raised terrace and beyond on the southern side. Two rooms (Rms 15-16) on the eastern side possessed refined décor, with large

doorways. The following room (Rm 17) was similar in size but had been converted into a corridor to connect the terrace with the colonnaded courtyard located behind this row of rooms. There were two small, decorated rooms further along the terrace (Rms 19-20), which flanked a corridor that led to the north towards another small group of rooms. It seems that these two small rooms, owing to their size and position, were also used for private leisure. The colonnaded courtyard (Rm B) was square in shape with five columns on each side. Unfortunately, the nature of the rooms surrounding this region is unclear.

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Villa 23 – Villa of Asellius at Boscoreale

The structure was almost square with a plan (Plate 84) allowing for the greatest amount of light and ventilation. There was a central garden within the courtyard, accentuating its *otium* and pleasant demeanour. The main entrance (A') was located on the same axis as the rear door (A), with security being entrusted to servants housed in Rooms 17 and 21. Its ownership has been provided by the discovery of a bronze seal in the

storeroom (Rm 17), naming both the owner Asellius and its procurator, Thallus. It would seem that this complex was only resided in occasionally by the owner.

There were two rooms (Rms 8, 24) that were used for sacred purposes. It is significant that both were located in the centre of the northern and western porticoes (Plate 84), accentuating their importance. Room 8 has been identified as an *exedra Veneris Pompeianae*, whereas Room 24 was a household shrine. The focal position of the shrine to Venus, as well as its greater size seems to suggest that this shrine was intended to be noticeable to visitors, whereas the shrine was smaller and intended for private use.

The water supply was supplied via three *puteali* (Nos. c, n, p), as well as the addition of two bronze faucets (Nos. e, o), allowing access to the municipal water supply. This connection illustrates that there was some association between the owners and the urban centre,[6] suggesting that this villa was seen as a suburban villa. The flooring varied in the different regions of the complex. There were several rooms that had black and white mosaic (Rms 16, 18-20), other rooms and the ambulatories of the portico had *cocciopesto* flooring (Rms 5, 8, 9-15, 21-3, 25-8), whereas some were simply beaten earth, including the shrine and the front hall (Rms B, 1-4, 24). It is of interest to note the basic flooring within rooms such as the front hall (Rm B) and the shrine (Rm 24). There was greater effort taken in Rooms 18-20, which served as viewing spaces, owing to the placement of windows on both sides of each room. Many rooms were plastered simply (Rms 1, 7, 12, 14, 17, 21-3, 25, 27, 28), which is indicative of their function. There was an upper floor, at least over Rooms 10-12, accessed by a staircase (No. k) in Room 9.

The front hall (Rm B) was used by the servile members of the household, explaining its unpretentious décor. This is supported by three storerooms (Rms 1-3) and latrine (Rm 4) on the western side. This hall was also used as a kitchen, owing to the discovery of a bench (No. b) for food preparation in the corner. There was also a semicircular niche for a household shrine in the northern wall (No. d). Owing to its position in this kitchen area, this was probably used by the servile members of the household.

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[6] For the Pompeian water supply and its constraints see A.T. Hodge, "In Vitruvium Pompeianum: Urban Water Distribution Reappraised", *AJA* 100.2, 1996, pp. 261-76.

There were also bath facilities (Rms 5-7), but only Room 5 was accessible at the time of the eruption, with the entrances to Rooms 6 and 7 being blocked. Room 8 was well decorated, with the image of *Veneris Pompeianae* represented in the central panel of the northern wall. The finds within this room included busts of Jupiter with an eagle and Diana. Room 9 served as an entrance room for both the ground floor rooms to the north (Rms 10-12) and the upper storey.

On the ground level behind this entrance room were three small rooms (Rms 10-12). To the east of Rooms 11 and 12 was a large saloon (Rm 13), which had entrances into Room 9 and onto the northern ambulatory. There was a large window facing the north (Plate 84), which viewed the countryside and created a pleasant environment for its patrons. It is of interest that this room did not overlook the colonnaded courtyard, instead overlooking the landscape beyond the building. It is also important to note that this room was floored with *cocciopesto*, which must have lessened the overall effect of the rooms' décor.

Room 18 was floored with black and white mosaic, which made it more impressive than Room 13 to the north. The adjoining room (Rm 19) has remnants of fourth style décor on the northern and eastern walls, but the other walls are unadorned. This room may have served as an entertainment space, judging from the topics depicted upon the walls and its position in relation to the colonnaded courtyard. Both rooms looked onto the colonnaded courtyard through their entrances and also had an outlook towards the panorama beyond via a window on the same axis (Plate 84). There was another large saloon (Rm 20), which would have commanded both an internal and external view.

On the other side of the colonnaded courtyard there were other rooms that were used for residential purposes. Room 25 was without painting, which may indicate that it was being renovated at the time of the eruption. Room 26 possessed fourth style paintings. Room 22 was well decorated but its function is difficult to determine. Owing to its position, size and décor, as well as the discovery of a small shrine, it is clear that it did not have a servile use and was used by the residents as a quiet room for relaxation. Rooms 27 and 28 were used as storerooms.

The spatial data analysis for this structure has been based upon the division of bounded space within the structure, as with the other sites studied with this method. This is intended to provide a consistent source of information in order to allow for the most reliable comparison of sites. The 'gamma analysis' for the Villa of Asellius was performed with the use of bounded divisions except for the unbounded divisions of Room P1 from Rooms A and A'. These divisions were made because of their use as entrance areas, which was distinct from the courtyard area.

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Spatial Data Analysis Statistics for Villa 23					
Room	Mean Depth	Relative Asymmetry	Control Value	Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Exterior
Ext	3.2	0.133	0.7	0.817	0
A	2.63	0.098	1.81	0.606	1
A'	2.69	0.102	2.39	0.628	1
B	3.31	0.14	5.25	0.858	2
C	3.49	0.150	3.2	0.925	2
P1	**2.17**	**0.070**	**3.04**	**0.435**	**2**
P2	**2.86**	**0.112**	**3.64**	**0.691**	**3**
P3	**2.63**	**0.098**	**4.97**	**0.606**	**3**
P4	**3.37**	**0.143**	**0.34**	**0.881**	**4**
1	4.29	0.199	0.17	1.223	3
2	4.29	0.199	0.17	1.223	3
3	4.29	0.199	0.17	1.223	3
5	3.09	0.126	0.14	0.777	3
6	4.29	0.199	0.17	1.223	3
7	4.29	0.199	0.17	1.223	3
8	3.09	0.126	0.14	0.777	3
9	2.86	0.112	2.14	0.691	3
10	4.74	0.226	0.5	1.390	5
11	3.77	0.167	1.25	1.029	4
12	3.83	0.171	0.25	1.052	4
13	**3.43**	**0.147**	**0.45**	**0.903**	**2**
14	4.46	0.209	0.25	1.286	3
15	4.46	0.209	0.25	1.286	3
16	4.46	0.209	0.25	1.286	3
17	3.6	0.157	0.25	0.966	2
18	**3.83**	**0.171**	**0.2**	**1.052**	**4**
19	**3.83**	**0.171**	**0.2**	**1.052**	**4**

20	**3.83**	**0.171**	**0.2**	**1.052**	**4**
21	3.6	0.157	0.2	0.966	2
22	3.6	0.157	0.14	0.966	4
23	4.46	0.209	0.33	1.286	5
24	3.49	0.150	2.14	0.925	4
25	3.6	0.157	0.14	0.966	4
26	4.46	0.209	0.33	1.286	5
27	3.6	0.157	0.14	0.966	4
28	3.6	0.157	0.14	0.966	4

Villa 24 – Villa of L. Crassius Tertius at Torre Annunziata

This villa was based around a central courtyard, with a large number of rooms around the perimeter (Plate 87). There were two elegantly painted rooms in the upper level of this complex, illustrating the pretensions of the owner. The décor of these rooms has been dated to the Republican period, whereas two other rooms were decorated in fourth style.

In the agricultural region, there have been hundreds of *amphorae* recovered, exhibiting the production that occurred on this estate. However, there was evidence of several *amphorae* from other regions of the Mediterranean, such as Lesbos, indicating the tastes of the last occupants. The architecture and décor of this villa is clearly reminiscent of the Hellenistic influences of the owner. But this does not preclude the inclusion of local produce either. In fact, there have been numerous pieces of pruned grapevine leaves, tendrils and small branches discovered in one of the rooms, illustrating the owners' activity in viticulture. One of the vessels had an inscription referring to a local producer of wine from Pompeii. The wealth of the owners has also been shown by the discovery of two collections of coins and objects, discovered in Rooms 10 and 15. The gold pieces found in Room 15 were discovered in a wooden box, probably stored in the upper levels of the building. The coins discovered in Room 10 consisted of a hoard of 409 coins: 2 gold, 189 silver and 218 bronze issues. The discovery of both collections illustrates not only the wealth of the inhabitants, but also the distinction in function between the use of gold coins and other issues by the household.

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Villa 25 - Boscoreale

There were two entrances to this building (Nos. A and A'). Entrance A was probably the main entrance, with doors constructed from wood on a stone threshold, including pillars on each side, making the entrance more impressive. These pillars were adorned with representations of sphinxes in Noceran tufa and this entrance was also covered with a small roof. The other entrance supported an upper mezzanine, which was full of *amphorae* and other terracotta vessels. On the right of this entrance were the kitchen (Rm 12) and baths (Plate 88). The kitchen was simple in design, with rustic walls, beaten earth flooring and an oven in the north-western corner. The baths were modest (Rms 10-11), with Room 10 being paved in *cocciopesto* with walls in rough plaster, whereas the Room 11 was decorated with dark green paint and paved with black and white mosaic. A storage room (Rm 13) was placed on the other side in which there were several finds, including five large *dolii*.

The central region of the complex had simple flooring of beaten earth leading into the courtyard (Rm B) and hallway (Rm C). This hall had a simple roof and the entrance from the open courtyard was adorned with two simple Doric columns (Nos. b and b'), covered in white plaster. There was an upper level, which was common at most sites under discussion, with a staircase in the hallway. On the northern side of this hall was a storeroom (Rm 1). Room 2 was a *torcularium*, which opened onto the hall, having *cocciopesto* pavement and white wall plaster. A pool opened up in the floor for processing grapes, with the pavement being altered for this purpose.

Two small rooms were placed on the opposite side of a cental corridor (Rms 3, 4), both of which had *cocciopesto* pavement and wall decoration. Both of these rooms had reasonable décor to make them comfortable, but not the level of décor that was produced at

larger estates. Room 5 was located to the east, having direct access to the hallway via the central corridor. The remains of several pieces of furniture and many pieces of broken terracotta vessels were recovered from this room.

To the south was another room (Rm 6), which served an agricultural purpose. This room communicated with the *torcularium* and had direct access to the outside to the east. Judging from the layout and function of this villa, it seems that there was a clear separation of space, divided by the central corridor. The residential rooms were located on the northern side, whereas the productive rooms were placed to the south. However, this was by no means a great division between the two regions, but the placement of each space may be significant. Other agricultural rooms were located on the southern side (Rms 7-9). These rooms were floored with concrete and remained unpainted, which is customary for such rooms. There were several agricultural tools discovered, as well as three large *dolii*, found in Room 7. Owing to the line of the walls there was probably a wine cellar placed on the southwest side of the courtyard, but this region has not been fully excavated. Outside there has also been a funerary monument to the north (No. D).

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Villa 26 – Boscoreale

There were two entrances to the villa (A , A'), which were on the same axis (Plate 89). Entrance A was the main entrance with better road access, whereas Entrance A' opened towards the countryside. There are rooms on the northern perimeter that have not been excavated.

Around Entrance A there was a shop with large red inscriptions painted on the walls, suggesting that the owner sold wine directly to travellers on the main road to the east. There were also a large number of names, memoirs and bookkeeping notes on the walls. At this entrance there was no door present, whereas the other entrance (A') had a strong door, which was closed at the time of the eruption. This doorway led directly to an open courtyard (Rm C) and the central region of the complex.

In the southwest corner of the courtyard was a large garden (D), which held a large number of terracotta vessels at the time of the eruption. There was a *torcularium* (Rm 2) on the western side confirming the agricultural nature of this property. Room 3 served as a storeroom, with large numbers of fragments of *dolii* uncovered. Room 4 operated as a hallway for the adjoining rooms, including two other small rooms (Rms 5, 6).

There was a *horreum* (Rm 7), which bordered onto this hallway and this room has evidence that the building was undergoing renovation at the time of the eruption. The kitchen (Rm 8) was large and well facilitated with a large bread oven (p) and two stoves (q) for cooking. Room 11 served an agricultural function with several animal skeletons uncovered, including sheep, pigs and chicken. Room 12 bordered onto the kitchen and produced a group of seven bronze idols. The stable (Rm 13) was placed on the southern side, having a drinking trough in the northeast corner and barn facilities.

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Villa 27 - Pompeii

There was a set of baths (Rm 1), which had modest dimensions (Plate 90), and the wall paintings included depictions of two dolphins as well as a representation of a *palaestra* in another room. Within the tub there was also a small herm, which was a representation of Hercules, as well as two statues of gladiators and a naked athlete pouring oil. The technique used for these herms was modest, with the athlete having a rough complexion. There have only been a few finds uncovered within the complex, and none display any great degree of affluence. Most finds were agricultural equipment, kitchen utensils and terracotta vessels. A bronze candelabrum placed upon three lion's legs was discovered, as well as five terracotta oil lamps.

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Villa 29 – The Villa Regina at Boscoreale

The main entrance to the complex was on the southern side, on the same axis as the length of the portico (Plate 92). The doorway was roughly 2.28 metres wide, being necessary for the transportation of agricultural goods. The ground of this entrance was simply beaten earth, with evidence of furrows left by the wagon wheels. There was an upper floor over this room, exhibited by the holes for the support joists. Following from the entrance there was a small hallway roughly 4.35 metres long, with had *cocciopesto* flooring (Rm XIV). Another room bordering onto this hallway (Rm XII), had plain white plaster, but there was little decoration of distinction. Owing to the finds recovered, such as a table, shelves and several culinary items this room would have served as a storeroom. The main focus was upon a central courtyard, allowing accessibility throughout the building. This area was supported by a series of nine columns and a semi-column, which were without a stylobate of masonry, but a base of tiles dressed in *cocciopesto*. The columns were covered in smooth plaster and painted in red and white. The floor of the portico was beaten earth, but the region between the wine cellar and the portico was paved with *cocciopesto* at a slight incline, running towards a low canal on the southeast.

The residential region was located upon the northern side of the central portico, including a well-decorated room (Rm IV). The dimensions were roughly 5.90 by 4.40 metres, but the flooring was *cocciopesto*, which was frequently used throughout the residence. The décor of this room was better than the majority of the complex, but not as sumptuous as several of the well-appointed villas. This room was in good condition at the time of the eruption, but there is evidence of reconstruction. There have been no furnishings discovered within this room, but owing to the level of décor and its separation from the productive region and its dominant alignment opposite the entrance to the portico, its function as a *triclinium* appears likely.

At least three bedrooms have been identified, Rooms V, X and XVI (Plate 92). Room V was located to the south of the portico, which maintained its privacy by the inclusion of a wooden entrance door. The flooring was *cocciopesto*, which is a recurring feature within this villa. In the upper level above this room there seems to have been

another storeroom, with the discovery of eight vessels and three terracotta lamps above the collapsed upper floor.

Room X was accessed via the entrance hall (Rm XIV), and has evidence of some minor restoration. The flooring was *cocciopesto* and the décor was performed in simple plaster. This room (Rm X) is different in its position and demeanour to Room V, suggesting that it was a bedroom for a servile member of the household. Room XVI also served as a bedroom, located on the southern wing of the portico. This room appears to have undergone some reconstruction, which was not completed by the time of the eruption. The walls were devoid of plaster and the flooring was *cocciopesto*. The difference between the well decorated Room V and the other two rooms (Rms X, XVI) illustrates that Room V was intended for leading members of the household, hence the importance to maintain its décor prior to the restoration of the other rooms. When the rooms that had their decorative characteristics (Rms V, IV) are considered in comparison to the remaining rooms of this complex, it is clear that these rooms needed to be well decorated for the principal inhabitants, whereas the other more function rooms did not necessarily require the outlay for their decorative schemes.

The servile region included a kitchen (Rm II) that opened onto the portico, but a rectangular window in the northern wall also illuminated it. This room was not plastered, with a large amount of traces of smoke damage on the northern and western walls. The flooring was beaten earth, with a simple hearth in the middle of the room. This room was located close to the *torcularium*, separated by a narrow passage.

The *torcularium* (Rm IX) was just under 55 metres square, consisting of two fundamental areas: the basin, and the main operation area. The later was rectangular and was entered from the central portico, floored in *cocciopesto* and crowded with wooden tables. The walls were covered in a simple white plaster, which is common in many villas in the region. However, there were some wall-paintings near the line of *dolii*, representing relevant religious images, such as Dionysos. The anchoring apparatus of the wine-presses were also located in this room. The basin was position in the other section of the *torcularium*, which had two windows that allowed for the fast emptying of baskets of grapes in to the basin.

There was also a wine cellar (Rm I), located on the western side of the villa near the courtyard. This room had simple white plaster and the flooring was beaten earth. Within this room there were eighteen *dolii*, buried in the ground up to the neck, but not with the spacing recommended by Pliny the Elder.[7] Instead they were arranged in three lines of six *dolii*, running north to south, occupying the western side of the room. The size of the *dolii* varied, from a minimum of 216 litres, but the average size was roughly 500 litres.

A Barn (Rm VIII) has also been identified, which had two entrances, one from inside the villa onto the northern portico and the other was from outside the building, near the threshing floor (Rm XVII). The flooring was *cocciopesto*, which is interesting in view of there being no division in the use of this material between the different regions of the complex. There was an upper floor, which had similar décor to Room IV). This area seems to have been used for residential purposes. The threshing floor (Rm XVII) was roughly seven by 6.5 metres, positioned outside the villa proper without any roof. It was essentially a quadrangular platform, paved in *cocciopesto* and raised roughly 200 millimetres above the natural level of the surroundings. There have been traces of carbonised vegetables discovered in this area, as well as an *amphorae* and a heap of mixed ceramic fragments.

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[7] Pliny the Elder, *Nat Hist.*, 15.136.

Villa 30 at Scafati

The residential rooms of this villa were located around a central front hall (Plate 93)(Rm C), but these rooms were serviceable, including the kitchen (Rm f) and a toilet (Rm g). There was a bath complex, including Rooms 5 and 6. Room 4 included a small shrine, which was a semicircular niche in the middle of the eastern wall. The position of this room would have allowed a view of the open portico but it would have still been quite dark. This design is consistent with the plan of this complex, intended for utility rather than *otium*. Four rooms (Rms 1-3, 9) served as bedrooms, with Rooms 1 and 2 probably being more important because of their larger size.

The courtyard (No. A) was surrounded by a portico to the north and east, but originally this also continued around the southern side, attested by the walled columns in the sides of the northern *pluteus* of Room 11. The columns were adorned in white plaster, with Doric capitals including engraved palmettes, and red and blue paint. Most wall paintings were fourth style, but the workmanship was performed in a simplistic fashion, which is in accordance with the general demeanour of the complex.

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Villa 31 – Villa of M. Livius Marcellus at Boscoreale

Within this villa, there was only one room to produce evidence of paving, and this was *cocciopesto*. This room also produced evidence of wall plaster. A pool was constructed between two exterior columns with a basin, decorated in waterproof plaster and measuring 2.5 by 11 by 2.5 metres. Judging from the strength of the walls and the associated expense, it has been hypothesised that the size of the estate would have been substantial.

The *torcularium*, located on the southern side of the complex (Plate 94), had an open disposition towards the south and was decorated with smooth plaster. The

torcularium was placed in this position in order to precede the enclosed space of the residential quarters to the north, including the main inner room.

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Villa 32 at Boscoreale

The plan was rectangular (Plate 95), with rooms that were generally modest. The flooring was uniformly of beaten earth and the walls are almost completely devoid of wall decoration. The purpose of the villa was almost completely devoted towards grape and olive production.

The principal entrance (No. A) was simple but also very wide for the transportation of produce to and from the villa. There was the discovery of three large *dolii* on the western side and also numerous fragments of large *amphorae* uncovered within a courtyard (Rm B), which was the common entrance to the surrounding rooms. To the north of this room was the latrine (Rm d). Several of the rooms on the eastern side (Rms 1, 2, 4) were storage rooms, whereas Room 3 seems to have been a dining area.

The western side of the courtyard included another large storage room (Rm 10), in which were fragments of wine *amphorae*. There was a staircase leading to an upper level in the southern side of the building (Rm 5). Room 6 was the only decorated room within the complex, suggesting that it was a principal residential room. This is also supported by its central location within the complex. A *trapetum* (Rm 7), for crushing olives was also uncovered. The precise purpose of Room 9 is unknown, but owing to its position and size it would have served a residential function. There was a barn (Rm 12) on the north-western edge, accessed from the courtyard by a narrow corridor (Rm f). This room produced finds of large piles of straw, also found in Room 13, which served as a large shed.

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Villa 33 at Boscoreale

There were two entrances (No. a, b), located on the southern and northern sides of the complex. Owing to the size and their position it appears that the northern door was used for the transportation of goods. This is supported by the close position of the barn (Rm S), threshing room (Rm X) and storage room for hay (Rm V). However, it is possible that the principal entrance may have been via the south-eastern portico (Rm D), which led into the residential quarters (Plate 96).

The residential districts of this residence were located in Rooms A-D. Room A was entered from Portico D, placed at a lower position to this room. Portico D has only been partially excavated, but it is clear that rectangular columns of tufa near the entrances to both Rooms A and C supported it. The function of Room A is unclear, but owing to its position and décor it is clear that it would have had general residential purposes.

Room B was slightly raised from Room A and of a greater size, having its entrance communicating with the central colonnaded courtyard. Room B seems likely to have served an entertainment role. It was well decorated with a combination of two landscapes depicting a maritime scenes and a river panorama, creating a pleasant dining environment. The view to the west of the open colonnaded courtyard and a window to the east (Plate 96), complementing these landscape paintings. Room C was a bedroom, which had good lighting and ventilation, as well as access to Room B. There was a window between this room and the *torcularium* (Rm H). This created a pleasant environment, complemented by the well-appointed décor.

As with many villas, the central feature of the complex was an open courtyard, which connected the residential and rustic quarters. This portico extended around the southern and eastern sides of the courtyard, with the eastern section being constructed from *opus reticulatum*, whereas the southern portico was constructed from a combination of brick, tile, tufa and sarno stone. The eastern portico was decorated in a similar style to the residential quarters, suggesting a clear demarcation of use and function between the eastern and western sections.

The agricultural quarters were located in Rooms E-V (Plate 96), dominating the remainder of the complex. Room G was used as a wine cellar, with four large *amphorae*

discovered in the north-western corner. There was a *torcularium* (Rm H) within this complex, exhibiting that the main source of revenue for the villa was probably wine production. This suggestion is furthered by the inclusion of a wall painting to the right of the entrance of this room, depicting Bacchus and Silenus. There was a corridor (Rm L) from the kitchen (Rm K) to the latrine (Rm M), and three other rooms (Rms N, O, P). There was also a threshing floor, illustrating some diversification of production.

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Villa 34 – Villa of Domitius Auctus at Scafati

The plan was centred on a courtyard (Rm A), with a series of open rooms to the west. The portico (Rm B) has produced evidence of an agricultural nature, including animal skeletons, bronze bridals and an iron hoe. Room C was a wine cellar with six *dolii* discovered *in situ* (Plate 97). Rooms D and H were the only rooms decorated, with the remainder being rustic in their décor with *cocciopesto* flooring.

Room D was entered by a doorway to the north from portico B and adorned with yellow paintwork on white pillars, depicting candelabras with foliage. This room contained several silver figurines, depicting figures including Isis as Fortuna, Venus and a serpent. Rooms G and H (Plate 97) were accessed by an entranceway (Rm F) and Room G was decorated in a simplistic fashion and produced various pieces of domestic evidence, such as a basin, a small pot, three coins and three *amphorae*.

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Villa 35 – Villa of Crapolla at Scafati

The central courtyard of this villa (Plate 98) was surrounded by a portico supported by columns constructed from *opera laterizia* and surrounded a basin that was made from *opus incertum* and roughly 1.5 metres long. The discovery of four large terracotta *dolii* (No. n), affirms the predominance of agriculture at this establishment.

Room 3 appears to have been a front hall and food preparation seems to have occurred in the centre of this room on a platform (No. c), upon which was considerable amounts of coal and ash. There was also a large volcanic *mortarium* discovered in this room (No. d) and a staircase in the southern corner that led to an upper level (No. e). The large kitchen area was of some importance within the living quarters of this establishment. The bath facilities were located behind this room (Rms 6-8). Room 2 was a stable, which highlights the agricultural function of this complex by its central position. Room 9 also seems to have served an agricultural function, whereas Rooms 10 and 11 were probably bedrooms (Plate 98). Room 1 was probably a dining area, in view of the presence of a shrine (No. a), and its size and position.

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Villa 36 - Boscoreale

The plan was similar to several other villas in the region, centred on an open courtyard. This uncovered space bordered on the northern and eastern sides, including a portico (Rm B) supported by pillars, adorned with white plaster on the eastern side.

Within the northern side of the portico, a small painted shrine was uncovered (No. a) between the entrances to Rooms C and D. Beneath the niche in the wall for this shrine was an altar for the dedication of libations. The placement of this shrine may be significant for the function of both Rooms C and D (Plate 99), it being placed in a prominent and central position within the residence. Room C was paved in *opus signinium*, with white plaster covering the upper regions of the walls, whereas the finds included a lead vessel and six *amphorae*. Owing to the décor of this room in a relatively modest dwelling, it would

appear likely that is was used as an entertainment space, especially in view of the position of the shrine close to its entrance. Room D was linked with the oven (E), and with Rooms F and G. In the north-west corner of this room there was a small plastered grindstone.

A room that was used for agricultural purposes (Rm L) adjoined the eastern wing of the portico, producing many fragments of *amphorae*. The finds from this villa are consistent with the meagre level of décor at this site. Most of the finds comprise of terracotta cups, pots and *amphorae*.

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Villa 37 – Villa in the region of Barbatelli

Some of the finds at this complex include the remains of small herms shaped out of tufa, as well as a tile inscribed *L - EVMCHI*. There was also a silver saucepan, discovered beside a human skeleton around 20 metres to the east from the centre of this villa, decorated with a number of maritime images. There were also five goblets, two iron keys and many coins dated from Agrippa to Domitian. There were 187 coins in all, which may have been the savings of this individual. It appears that these artefacts were probably taken by this resident while they tried to escape the eruption in AD 79. There have also been several pieces of furniture and bronze pieces discovered in this villa, suggesting that this complex was finely adorned, which may provide some indication of the owner's wealth and desire for status.

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Appendix D

Suburban Villas and Herculaneum

Villa 39 - The Villa of the Papyri

Upon crossing the threshold at this complex (Plate 100), the area around the front hall was the first region to be encountered, as with the majority of Roman houses. It is important to note that with many suburban villas the building commonly led directly towards a colonnaded courtyard, such as the Villas of Diomede and the Mysteries, in accordance with the recommendations of Vitruvius.[1]

The front hall was floored with black and white mosaic pavement and had a pool surrounded by eleven fountain statues. There were also spouts for spraying water into the pool around its perimeter, which would have made it more of a water feature rather than purely functional. There were also other statues placed in niches in the walls of the hall. The whole effect would have been impressive upon visitors, making a clear statement about the tastes and culture of the principal inhabitants. The decorative layout provides an interesting correlation with the décor commonly found in colonnaded courtyards, notably in the Great *peristyle* in this villa. However, the front hall had lost its intended original function as the central living space, instead serving as an elaborate entrance vestibule, as well as providing a connection between the other regions of the residence.

The region around the square colonnaded courtyard (Rm B) was used for entertaining and dining by the leading residents, replacing the original function of the front hall. This colonnaded courtyard was square, with ten columns on either side with a long, narrow pool in the centre. In each corner of this pool was a conch shell fountain with a bronze *herma*. At the end of the ambulatory was another room, which probably served as an entertainment space. This room was square, appearing to be in the appropriate position for entertaining or dining. Also connected to this colonnaded courtyard was another small apsidal room.

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[1] Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, 6.5.3.

The general living quarters were located to the east of the square colonnaded courtyard (Plate 100), but these two regions remained independent of each other, which is indicative of their separate purposes. This area of the villa was exposed to the external northern side and towards an internal court, which would have been well illuminated. Within this region there were the baths, which were quite small, but that was quite common in late Republican and early Imperial villas. However, these baths would have been ample enough to service the residents.

The second room in this precinct was the library, which has produced a substantial collection of carbonised papyrus rolls, including many philosophical works. Some rolls were arranged on shelves around the room, whereas others were placed upon a central bookstand. The discovery of this library is significant not only because of the literary information that has been obtained, but it also has highlighted the importance of intellectual and literary culture. On the south-eastern side of this library was another group of rooms within this region. These quarters served as reception rooms. Little has survived from these rooms, except the marble *intarsia* pavement, exhibiting the well-appointed nature of their décor. Owing to the size and position of these rooms, it appears likely that they served more of a private nature than those around the square colonnaded courtyard. This is in keeping with the general layout and division of the complex into public and private space. These reception rooms were used for private entertaining and reflection, whereas the entertaining rooms around both the square colonnaded courtyard and the Great *peristyle* would have functioned as reception rooms for larger groups.

The Great *peristyle* (Rm C) was added to the original structure in the second phase of development, which occurred before the end of the first century BC. It was located to the west of the square colonnaded courtyard, accessed via a large open-ended room (Rm D). Room D was delimited partially with a double threshold of marble, and the room itself was of an impressive demeanour. Within this room was an archaistic statue of *Athena prómachos*, which not only maintained the general decorative theme of the villa but also appeared to be an appropriate statue for a place of business for a *patronus*, being the goddess of wisdom. The Great *peristyle* was roughly 100 metres in length and 37 metres wide. In the centre was a large central

pond, measuring 66 by 7 metres. Between the columns of the portico and along the borders of the tank was an impressive gallery of statues, with a broad range of representations, such as Hellenistic monarchs, various orators, philosophers and deities. The diverse range of topics exhibited reflects the tastes of an intellectual and literary connoisseur, who exhibited the varied nature of his interests throughout his spacious suburban residence. However, there are several unusual and rare examples within the collection, containing several portraits of unknown philosophers and rulers, which reveal his eclectic tastes.

It is important to note that this Great *peristyle* ran parallel to the coastline of the Bay of Naples, providing a lengthy and pleasant ambulatory for the residents. There was no view of the coast within this colonnaded courtyard, but this was because it was intended as a large private area. However, their efforts to take advantage of the view are reflected in the series of terraces that lead down towards the coast, as well as the construction of the round belvedere beyond this colonnaded courtyard (Plate 100). The numerous artistic works in the Great *peristyle* that surrounded the observer complemented the private nature of this area. The importance of the view was emphasised at the open belvedere (Rm E), located further to the west of the Great *peristyle.* This rotunda was raised roughly four metres from the surrounding ground and was adorned with a striking circular pavement in marble *intarsia.*

The spatial data analysis for this structure has been based upon the division of bounded space within the structure, as with the other sites studied with this method. This is intended to provide a consistent source of information in order to allow for the most reliable comparison of sites. The divisions within the Villa of the Papyri for its 'gamma analysis' were made purely by the separation of bounded space, being the clearest representations of spatial divisions.

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Spatial Data Analysis Statistics for Villa 39					
Room	Mean Depth	Relative Asymmetry	Control Value	Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Exterior
Ext	3.14	0.158	0.14	0.875	0
A	3.34	0.173	0.64	0.957	2
B	**3.10**	**0.155**	**4.5**	**0.859**	**1**
C	**4.24**	**0.24**	**1.2**	**1.325**	**4**
D	**3.17**	**0.160**	**0.34**	**0.888**	**2**
E	5.21	0.311	0.5	1.722	5
1	3.83	0.209	3	1.158	3
2	3.93	0.217	0.75	1.199	4
3	4.34	0.247	0.7	1.366	4
4	3.34	0.173	0.7	0.957	3
5	3.55	0.188	2.5	1.043	4
6	4.07	0.227	0.7	1.256	3
7	3.97	0.22	0.4	1.215	4
8	3.38	0.176	3.03	0.974	3
9	4.14	0.232	0.2	1.285	4
10	4.03	0.224	0.2	1.240	4
11	4.03	0.224	0.25	1.240	3
12	4	0.222	0.25	1.227	2
13	2.93	0.142	0.39	0.789	2
14	3.69	0.199	1.14	1.100	2
15	3.76	0.204	0.5	1.129	3
16	3.03	0.150	0.14	0.830	2
17	3.69	0.199	1.2	1.100	4
18	4.62	0.268	0.5	1.481	5
19	3.97	0.22	0.2	1.215	4
20	3	0.148	2.2	0.818	3
21	3.24	0.165	0.53	0.916	4
22	3.24	0.165	1.03	0.916	3
23	3.76	0.204	1.03	1.129	2
24	2.76	0.130	0.47	0.720	2

Villa 40 - The Villa Sora

In this complex (Plate 103), there was a central group of rooms, including a front hall and a room with a water-staircase, of which other examples have been discovered in and around Pompeii. There was also a large room and at least one dining area (Rm 2), one of which would have served as a winter dining room. Room 5 also opened up towards the north, viewing a garden that was only limited by a portico. This room had marble pavement with niches for statues on the sides of the central apse. The presence of large entertaining rooms confirms the opulent nature of the complex. There were also bath facilities discovered, including a small room that was decorated with plaster reliefs. The complex has exhibited evidence of

numerous phases of construction and alteration, illustrated by the use of different building materials.

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The House of Aristide

The front hall (Rm A) of this house opened directly onto the street (Plate 107). There was an open porch located outside the building, which served as a vestibule. Leading from the hall were four doorways. The second door led into a corridor that connected to four small rustic rooms (Rms 1-4). The third doorway accessed a large room (Rm 9), which probably served both entertainment and utilitarian roles. The final door joined a large hall (Rm B) with two small rooms paved in mosaic, Room 7 and a large dining room (Rm 8). Beyond this was a sizeable external deck, which had a grand room (Rm 10) on the western side. This room was illuminated by an ample window and would have presented a pleasant living space for the residents.

The rear of the building would have been in the perfect position for viewing the Bay of Naples (Rms 10, 11, 12). This part of the building projected over the lowest and steepest slope of the promontory, supported upon a vaulted construction, which formed a sturdy foundation made of concrete walls, three metres thick in some places. The subterranean areas were imposing, leading down to the lower floor, which contained storerooms that looked out upon the coastal landscape beyond.

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The House of Argo

The entrance to this building (Plate 108) was a deck with two rectangular pillars and 2 half-columns in tile and tufa, similar to those in the colonnaded courtyard. This led into a covered hall (Rm 1), which opened onto the colonnaded courtyard as well as a couple of other rooms. One of these (Rm 2) was modestly decorated, with flooring in rough *cocciopesto*, whereas the other room (Rm 3) was a small but elegant room. This room had a sizeable square window allowing for a view of the garden, but it remained separate from the larger Room 4. This was placed on one of the shorter sides of the portico, on the same axis as the garden that allowed for the most dominant view of the garden. The rooms in this region (Rms 4-7) comprised the noblest quarters for reception in this house. Room 4 was paved with multicoloured marbles. There was a corridor that led to another adjoining room (Rm 6), which also had a large window. The eastern rooms (Rms 8-12) were added at the same time as the colonnaded courtyard. In the centre of this group was an well-appointed room (Rm 10), which had mosaic pavement and fine décor with storage rooms on either side.

The colonnaded courtyard was constructed around three sides of a garden, there being an entrance porch on the other side. This colonnade consisted of columns and half-columns set against pilasters of tufa and brick with fine stucco. The area was designed having eight columns and pilasters on the long side, with four columns and pilasters on the shorter side. To the east of this colonnaded courtyard, there was placed another smaller colonnaded courtyard with stuccoed brick columns, but only the southeast corner has been uncovered (Plate 108).

There were several other small rooms (Rms 18-20) that bordered onto it, which were quite elegant, but have not been completely excavated. The balcony (Rm 22) led down a staircase onto a lower terrace (Rm 24), which extended the length of the building on the southern side and would have had a pleasant region for viewing the coast. A small room (Rm 25) was connected to this terrace and had a

large square window, occupying a good portion of the south-western wall and allowed both for the view and sea-breezes.

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The House of the Albergo

The plan of this residence (Plate 109) was based upon several corridors to connect the different regions. These corridors created a distinct division between the separate quarters of the house. There were four different sections: the front hall region, colonnaded courtyard quarter, terrace portico and the lower levels. The front hall area was centred on the hall (Rm A), placed near the entrance with several rooms surrounding it. There were bath facilities on the right hand side (Rms 12-14). The colonnaded courtyard included a large sunken garden below the level of the portico. The terrace portico region of the building included a large room (Rm 23) probably for receiving guests.

One of the most notable features was the commercial activity within this residence, which significantly altered the character of the residence during the final phase of occupation. The owners at this time were in the middle of large-scale modifications at the time of the eruption. These amendments to the house included the complete detachment and conversion of the southern wing into a self-contained residence (*Ins.* III, 18). One of the large portico rooms (Rms 32-33) was also converted into a shop. There was also a courtyard, including its surrounding rooms, which appears to have been used as a workshop rather than as servant's quarters. All of these alterations seem to suggest that there was either a change in ownership or the primary focus of the residents had changed. It is clear that its function had changed from being a patrician domicile into a house of an increasingly functional and mercantile nature.

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The House of the Mosaic Atrium

The entrance to this house (Plate 110) led directly from the entranceway to the front hall, but it was unusual because the pool was out of line with the axis of the room, owing to the irregular roof. The hall was paved with a chessboard styled mosaic. The hall led directly into an open planned room (Rm 5), but the form of this room was closed towards the end with partitions of pilasters, holding windows above them. This unusual design resulted in the creation of three aisles, with a wider and higher corridor in the middle, flanked by two smaller aisles.

The entrance area was connected to the colonnaded courtyard quarter by a windowed portico. The inter-columnar spaces in this portico were walled in and windows were cut into the spaces, thus sheltering the residents from inclement weather. On the northern wall there were paintings of plants, grapevines, ivy and branches of oleander under the windows, columns and doorposts. This was an attempt to expand the impression of the garden, making it seem even larger. The eastern side tapered into a narrow corridor that may have been protected by glass, including a number of small rooms. It is uncertain just how extensive the glasswork actually was. There were five rooms, comprising four small rooms and a central larger example (Rm 9). The *cubicula* were all decorated with red wall paintings and ceilings, whereas Room 9 was designed with slender architecture and landscape paintings.

However, the true living quarters of the House of the Mosaic Atrium were accessible from the southern wing. The most notable was the dining room (Rm 12), which was in the centre of a series of rooms (Rms 13-14, 17-18). This room was

large and well appointed, producing fine marble paving and wall paintings. All of these rooms enjoyed the view of a covered colonnade and an underlying narrow terrace, towards the panorama beyond. On either side of this colonnade there were two small open rooms (Rms 23-24), being used for private relaxation by the inhabitants and particularly as living rooms to enjoy the landscape and sea breezes. This portion of the house has been dated to a later period than the northern region, probably to post AD 62.

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The House of the Stags

The entrance to the House of the Stags was impressive, having a corridor with marble pavement leading to a small testudinate front hall (Plate 111). This served as a vestibule that opened onto other rooms within this region. The hall was connected with a large room (Rm 5), and on the other side there was a corridor that led to the internal section of the house, including the servile region, incorporating the kitchen and larder.

Room 5 and 9 were soberly decorated and the architecture was similarly subdued. However, the main decorative feature was the pavement, which had been embellished with an intricate pattern of marble *intarsia*. The original layout would have allowed for an impressive panorama of the garden and the pergola on the

terrace towards the sea from a large open portal. On the same side of the hall there was another small room, which led to the kitchen.

The portico was sizeable, but at the time of the eruption the architectonic element of its columns had gone and it had taken the form of a corridor with windows. Despite this alteration, the wall paintings and pavement were still preserved, with the divisions of the mosaic matching the windows in the walls. The portico overlooked a garden, which was enclosed between its walls. This garden was decorated with marble sculptures and tables. This garden area would have provided a pleasant internal scene to be enjoyed while dining or relaxing in all of the rooms surrounding it.

The southern quarter of the House of the Stags was located beyond the portico and the garden, comprised of a terrace from which the panorama of the Bay of Naples could be fully appreciated. In the centre of this terrace there was a room that served as a summer dining area and a large room paved in *opus sectile*. This well appointed room was flanked on either side by two smaller rooms, which had fine décor and sizeable windows looking onto the internal garden. There was also a pergola placed in the middle of a deck, which was designed with four pilasters. On either side of this pergola there were two small open rooms (Rms 22-23), which would have been used for private relaxation and provided a good position to enjoy the view of the landscape. Beyond these rooms, there was a 'sun-room', which would have permitted for one of the most impressive views of the seaside. It is clear from the large number of rooms intended to appreciate the view that each was intended to serve for different occasions. The large central room could have been used as an entertaining place for guests, whereas Rooms 22-23 could have served more of a private function, reserved almost entirely for the principal residents. The 'sun-room' could only have been used when the weather was pleasant, but the inclusion of the other more enclosed rooms would not have precluded the enjoyment of the view at these times.

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The House of the Relief of Telphus

The front hall area of this building was constructed on the same level as the street, with the entrance of the residence leading directly to the front hall (Rm A). There were colonnades located on the sides of the hall, forming two minor aisles (Plate 112). The hall had an Etruscan roof, which was on the same level as the upper floor. This room has also been described as a columned court, but the intended function of the room means that it should still be classed as a hall. On the northern side of the hall led two small doors from the living quarters to a stable, which had independent street access via a ramp for small carts and animals (*Ins. Or.* I, 3). There was a steep sloping corridor leading from this region of the building down to the colonnaded courtyard quarter below, which predominantly consisted of the well-appointed part of the colonnaded courtyard and terraces.

The colonnaded courtyard (Rm B) was constructed out of brick columns and it enclosed a garden that was enclosed by low walls. Within this garden there was also a rectangular tank in the middle of the garden. The colonnaded courtyard was a later construction than the entrance area, owing to the discovery of older constructions below the courtyard level. The garden was located above several subterranean rooms that have not been excavated, but the remaining portion of the garden was paved by a stratum of *bipedales*. The most impressive rooms of the

entire complex were located to the south of the colonnaded courtyard (Rms 10, 12). These rooms were richly decorated, having the remains of wall paintings, marble *dados* and *opus sectile* pavements and mosaic. The ambulatory of the colonnaded courtyard continued beyond these rooms, opening onto a terrace and several other rooms (Rms 16-18).

The largest of these rooms (Rm 18) was positioned on the extreme southern edge of the complex. The dimensions of this room measured 9.20 by 6.60 metres and it had its chief entrance on the side of the deck. It was floored with an imposing polychrome marble pavement and it also contained a sumptuous *dado* with large horizontal and vertical panels of *cipollino*, *pavonazzetto* and African marble. The dating of these features has been given to the Flavian period and it was used as a drawing room. There was a garden placed to the north of this room (Rm 15), which appears to have been a late addition to the complex, owing to the remains of the preceding construction still surviving.

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Appendix E

Suburban Villas and Stabiae

Villa 50 - The Villa of San Marco

The front hall (Rm 44) of this complex (Plate 114) was constructed as a tetrastyle hall, with a tufa pool and mosaic paving. The pavements of this room and the surrounding areas have been dated to the Augustan period. There were a series of small rooms bordering onto this hall, as well as a staircase leading to an upper level. The combination of the colonnaded courtyard with the front hall was the initial nucleus of the early villa, organised around the garden area (Rm 9) to the south-west and the baths. The complex had many alterations and additions in the Claudian era, evidently because of the increased demands for exhibition by the owners. Despite these later additions there was a conscious decision to maintain a unified appearance in the décor of the complex. It was at this time that the large pool (No. 15) was constructed in the garden area.

The front hall was originally connected to the baths by a small corridor (Rm 31), but this was closed in a later period. The baths had large dimensions and could almost have been deemed to be public space rather than private, especially if the owner was entertaining guests. The front hall also proceeded onto an open planned room (Rm 59a), in which was discovered a lead weight inscribed '*EME HABEBIS*'.[1] This discovery clearly exhibits the commercial practices that would have been performed in this room. Beyond the hall there were also a series of structures constructed, which were used as servile quarters, including the kitchen (Rm 26). These rooms faced a portico and were decorated in a simplistic fashion. This portico has been dated to the Claudian period.

The region around the Great *peristyle* (Rm H) was one of the most significant quarters, having several notable aspects. This colonnaded courtyard was adorned in fourth style, and the architecture created a double-tiered pavilion. Access to this region was by a ramp, overcoming the 5 metre gradient between both colonnaded

[1] *CIL* 10.8067,5.

courtyards. One important room adjoining this colonnaded courtyard was Room 16, which had impressive dimensions (Plate 114), having the capacity to accommodate a large number of people. The position of this entertaining room would have allowed an agreeable view of the colonnaded courtyard, including its garden and pool.

Within this colonnaded courtyard was a garden area, enlarged during the Claudian era and included a pool (No. 15). By removing the eastern wall the garden was enlarged to cover around 28 by 45 metres. This extra space allowed for the inclusion of the 38 metre pool. There was a fountain in the middle, which was placed on the same axis as Room 16, adding to the pleasant view from this space. The amplification of the garden also allowed for the creation of two small open areas (Rms 12, 53), each being composed of three small rooms (Rms 30, 50, 53 and 8, 12 14) on either side. On the south-eastern side, the visitor entered via a staircase into the first room (Rm 30), which functioned as a clearing, placed in front of a larger room (Rm 53), which was adorned with frescoes. The function of this room was for *otium*. This room appears to have been used in both summer and winter, with the discovery of a metal brazier. The room behind (Rm 50) was more protected, bordering onto the external perimeter of the complex. It is clear that these rooms were intended for private use, taking advantage of the internal view of the garden and pool. It seems plausible that the small open room (Rm 30) preceding the principal space (Rm 53) would have increased the available privacy, which was more pronounced in the rear room. The southeast wall of the Great *peristyle* formed a shallow hemicycle, adorned with apsidal niches that concealed a narrow corridor that led towards a shrine-room. This corridor included a place for the storage of a white marble crater.

This shrine-room (Rm N) was a fine example of a private household shrine, including well-appointed wall decor and architecture. The focus point of this room was the water feature, comprising a water-stair fountain sunken behind the rear wall. Water was supplied by the central pool in the garden. Apsidal niches fitted with water pipes and decorated with small wall mosaics flanked this water feature. The other niches around this shrine-room were also decorated with stuccoed reliefs. In the opening between these niches there was also a marble table discovered. This

piece was white marble and the bases of the legs were carved into the shape of lions' paws. Owing to the similarity in the materials used for both the crater and this table, it appears that this table was used to display such a fine marble vessel.

There was another small garden area (No. 19), which seems to have had an external disposition. This garden was placed between the residential areas, intended to create a quiet vista while taking advantage of the view of the Bay of Naples from the Room 16. There seems to have been four large windows that allowed this small garden to be well lit and ventilated. The spatial data analysis for this structure has been based upon the division of bounded space within the structure, as with the other sites studied with this method. This is intended to provide a consistent source of information in order to allow for the most reliable comparison of sites. Despite such a large surface area and its corresponding number of rooms, all of the spatial divisions within the Villa San Marco were made according to its bounded areas when the Access Map was produced for the 'gamma analysis'.

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Spatial Data Analysis Statistics for Villa 50					
Room	Mean Depth	Relative Asymmetry	Control Value	Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Exterior
Ext	6.35	0.120	0.64	1.350	0
A	6.63	0.126	1	1.421	10
B	**5.75**	**0.106**	**0.83**	**1.199**	**9**
C	**4.86**	**0.086**	**3.8**	**0.974**	**7**
E	**4.47**	**0.077**	**0.53**	**0.876**	**6**
F	**4.54**	**0.079**	**1.2**	**0.893**	**5**
G	**4.78**	**0.084**	**9.7**	**0.954**	**3**
H	**7.01**	**0.135**	**5.66**	**1.517**	**2**
J	8.13	0.160	0.33	1.800	4
N	7.11	0.137	0.61	1.542	1
1	7.29	0.141	2.5	1.588	3
2	5.89	0.109	0.47	1.234	2
3	6.48	0.123	0.14	1.383	2
4	5.41	0.099	0.09	1.113	4
5	6.48	0.123	0.14	1.383	2
6	6.48	0.123	0.14	1.383	2
7	5.49	0.100	5.5	1.133	1
8	6.23	0.117	0.25	1.320	2
9	7.98	0.156	0.11	1.762	3
10	7.98	0.156	0.11	1.762	3
11	8.96	0.178	0.33	2.009	4
12	**7.98**	**0.156**	**0.11**	**1.762**	**3**
13	7.97	0.156	2.11	1.759	3
14	7.97	0.156	2.11	1.759	3
15	8.96	0.178	0.33	2.009	4
16	**7.98**	**0.156**	**0.11**	**1.762**	**3**
17	8.13	0.160	0.33	1.800	4
18	5.41	0.099	0.09	1.113	4
19	5.41	0.099	0.09	1.113	4
20	**5.40**	**0.098**	**0.14**	**1.110**	**8**
21	5.41	0.099	0.09	1.113	4

22	5.41	0.099	0.09	1.113	4
23	5.41	0.099	0.09	1.113	4
24	5.41	0.099	0.09	1.113	4
25	5.41	0.099	0.09	1.113	4
26	5.41	0.099	0.09	1.113	4
27	5.10	0.092	0.2	1.035	5
28	4.11	0.069	2.05	0.785	4
29	4.90	0.087	0.53	0.984	5
30	3.90	0.065	5.73	0.732	5
31	4.89	0.087	0.13	0.982	6
32	4.89	0.087	0.13	0.982	6
33	4.89	0.087	0.13	0.982	6
34	4.89	0.087	0.13	0.982	6
35	4.89	0.087	0.13	0.982	6
36	3.95	0.066	1.24	0.744	6
37	4.16	0.071	0.47	0.797	6
38	5.37	0.098	0.11	1.103	8
39	5.37	0.098	0.11	1.103	8
40	5.37	0.098	0.11	1.103	8
41	5.37	0.098	0.11	1.103	8
42	5.04	0.090	0.28	1.020	8
43	4.22	0.072	1.45	0.813	8
44	4.30	0.074	5.95	0.833	7
45	5.14	0.093	0.11	1.045	8
46	7.22	0.139	0.33	1.570	10
47	6.24	0.117	2	1.323	9
48	5.34	0.097	0.47	1.095	8
49	6.19	0.116	0.66	1.310	9
50	5.25	0.095	1.14	1.073	8
51	6.09	0.114	0.66	1.285	9
52	6.96	0.133	2	1.504	10
53	**7.98**	**0.156**	**0.11**	**1.762**	**3**
54	7.68	0.150	0.33	1.686	11
55	7.42	0.144	0.83	1.621	11
56	5.40	0.098	0.14	1.110	8
57	5.09	0.091	1.67	1.032	8
58	5.84	0.108	0.33	1.222	9
59a	**4.95**	**0.088**	**0.23**	**0.997**	**2**
60	4.63	0.081	2.81	0.916	8
61	4.85	0.086	2.14	0.972	8
62	5.81	0.108	1.17	1.214	9
63	5.81	0.108	1.17	1.214	9
64	6.80	0.130	0.5	1.464	10
65	6.80	0.130	0.5	1.464	10
66	5.81	0.108	1.17	1.214	9
67	6.80	0.130	0.5	1.464	10
68	4.23	0.072	0.17	0.815	8
69	5.40	0.098	0.14	1.110	8
70	4.93	0.088	11.1	0.992	8
71	5.97	0.111	0.08	1.254	9
72	5.97	0.111	0.08	1.254	9
73	5.97	0.111	0.08	1.254	9
74	5.97	0.111	0.08	1.254	9
75	5.65	0.104	0.58	1.174	9

76	5.97	0.111	0.08	1.254	9
77	5.97	0.111	0.08	1.254	9
78	5.97	0.111	0.08	1.254	9
79	5.97	0.111	0.08	1.254	9
80	5.49	0.100	0.64	1.133	9
81	5.34	0.097	0.22	1.095	9
82	5.62	0.103	0.14	1.166	9

Villa 51 - The Villa Arianna

Upon entering this villa a passage led directly to the central colonnaded courtyard, which had eight columns to the north and south and six on the other sides. These columns were constructed in brick and covered with plaster. The uneven proportion of columns was intended to allow an unimpeded view along the axis of this colonnaded courtyard and tuscan hall. On the western side there were a series of rooms (Rms 23-26) connected by a narrow corridor (Plate 118). All of these were paved with mosaic flooring and produced impressive wall décor.

Directly to the north via the entranceway (Rm 46) was the front hall, and on either side of Room 46 were another two small rooms (Rms 44-45). The mosaic flooring in these bedrooms have been dated to between the late second and early first Centuries BC, belonging to the earliest phase of construction. The front hall (Rm 24) was decorated with early fourth style paintings, at a similar time to those paintings around the Great *peristyle* of the Villa San Marco. It appears likely that Rooms 44-45 originally opened onto the *atrium*, but these entrances were closed after the inclusion of the central colonnaded courtyard. To the west there was a large room (Rm 27), opening onto the colonnaded courtyard and enclosed enough for protection from inclement weather.

To the east of the Room 18, there was a room intended to take advantage of the panorama of the Bay of Naples (Rm 43). This room had an open plan with the central focus being the view. The placement of this room suggests that it was not intended for public use, being separate from the central axis of the residence. It appears that only the residents and their invited guests would have used this room to enjoy the landscape beyond. This room had small rectangular sunken gardens on two sides that probably connected at the rear, accentuating its pleasant demeanour.

Room 3 had an open disposition in comparison to Room 27. Similarly to Room 42, this position allowed for a view of the panorama, especially in comparison to Room 27. There was another large open room within the villa (Rm 12), which also took advantage of the view towards the bay and the mountains. This room also looked out over the terraces that were built with a similar purpose by the owner.

There were several other well-appointed rooms, suggesting that they were used by the principal residents (Rms 5, 7, 9, 10). One of these was Room 5, which had flooring in black and square mosaic with cross shields. Room 7 was used as a room for study or reading. Its position, as with the room beside it (Rm 9), would have allowed for a full appreciation of the view. The décor of Room 10 was well executed and it may have also been a bedroom.

The terraces (Rms B-C) were some of the most impressive structures at this complex. They were constructed upon six levels, continuing for eight metres below the current level. The western rooms were created to communicate with the original nucleus of the villa and the colonnaded courtyard that originally belonged to another structure. These rooms were designed to have the best view of the panorama with large windows towards the sea. In this region, the first room encountered (Rm 11) was paved with white and black mosaic. Room 12 was adorned in an elegant manner with small figurines and plant shoots painted on the walls. A similar style of décor was used in Room E, which was also intended to appreciate the view. In the centre was a large open room (Rm A), which had ample windows and lighting on all sides. At the entrance, it opened towards a stairway that led to the terraces (Rms B, C). This region then opened up towards an enormous colonnaded courtyard (Plate 118) and it is thought that this area originally belonged to another structure, being added during the Flavian era.

The servile region (Rms 32, 36, 43, 52,53) was on the northern extremity (Plate 118), being plainly decorated with corridors of *cocciopesto* and slender dividing walls. The kitchen (Rm 4) produced several finds of terracotta pots, metal knives and other culinary pieces. The water supply was in a nearby courtyard (Rm 21). Owing to this, the kitchen was placed close to the baths. The productivity has

been confirmed by the discovery of an access road for delivery wagons to the rustic district, which was highlighted by the remains of two carts. It has been suggested that these vehicles would have been used to transport wine, especially with the discovery of an animal wineskin within one of them. In view of this and the prevalence of wine production in the region, viticulture at this villa appears quite likely.

One of the most impressive regions was the Great *peristyle* (Rm 19), which covered an immense area to the west of the residence. Brick columns with white plaster surrounded this region. The walkway on the eastern side produced several tiles showing the central access to alarge room (Rm T). Rooms O and N border onto the eastern side of the Great *peristyle*, painted in third style and had a high degree of craftsmanship. Both rooms had access to the Great *peristyle* via another room (Rm M), but both had large windows that looked onto it.

Another room in this series (Rm R) located to the south was decorated in fourth style and paved with *opus sectile* mosaic. But this room has also provided evidence of previous third style wall paintings, suggesting that it had undergone renovation in the last phase of habitation. The incomplete state of the redecoration at the time of the eruption is clearly visible in the eastern portico (Rm U) with the southern wall being unfinished. The use of *opus reticulatum* in Rooms M and N suggest that these rooms can be dated to the beginning of the first century AD, whereas the use of *opus mixtum* in Rooms E, F, G and L suggest a date during the Tiberian era. The spatial data analysis for this structure has been based upon the division of bounded space within the structure, as with the other sites studied with this method. This is intended to provide a consistent source of information in order to allow for the most reliable comparison of sites. All of the spatial divisions within the Villa Arianna for the 'gamma analysis' were made according to the principles of bounded space, as with the Villa San Marco.

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Spatial Data Analysis Statistics for Villa 51

Room	Mean Depth	Relative Asymmetry	Control Value	Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Exterior
Ext	4.59	0.104	0.53	0.991	0
A	**5.75**	**0.137**	**0.11**	**1.311**	**5**
B	**5.66**	**0.135**	**0.61**	**1.286**	**5**
C	**6.59**	**0.162**	**1**	**1.543**	**6**
D	5.25	0.123	1.6	1.173	4
T	**7.32**	**0.183**	**0.83**	**1.744**	**7**
1	5.83	0.14	0.33	1.333	5
2	4.85	0.111	1.51	1.062	4
3	**5.18**	**0.121**	**0.14**	**1.153**	**4**
4	4.32	0.096	2.94	0.916	3
5	5.03	0.116	0.42	1.112	4
6	7.48	0.187	0.5	1.788	6
7	5.24	0.122	1.5	1.170	5
8	4.76	0.108	4.31	1.037	4
9	**5.69**	**0.135**	**0.61**	**1.294**	**4**
10	4.96	0.114	3.08	1.093	4
11	5.99	0.144	0.17	1.377	5
12	**5.75**	**0.137**	**0.11**	**1.311**	**5**
13	5.99	0.144	0.17	1.377	5
14	5.66	0.135	0.44	1.286	5
15	7.39	0.185	1.5	1.763	7

16	8.54	0.218	0.5	2.081	8
17	4.90	0.113	0.97	1.076	6
18	**4.06**	**0.088**	**1.5**	**0.844**	**1**
19	**5.61**	**0.133**	**5.11**	**1.272**	**5**
20	6.65	0.163	0.17	1.559	6
21	6.65	0.163	0.17	1.559	6
22	**4.31**	**0.095**	**7.16**	**0.913**	**3**
23	6.65	0.163	0.17	1.559	6
24	4.27	0.094	0.43	0.902	2
25	7.56	0.190	0.83	1.810	7
26	6.65	0.163	0.17	1.559	6
27	**5.30**	**0.124**	**0.1**	**1.187**	**4**
28	6.65	0.163	0.17	1.559	6
29	4.24	0.093	0.47	0.894	2
30	4.65	0.105	0.19	1.007	4
31	4.89	0.112	8.36	1.073	5
32	5.87	0.141	0.09	1.344	6
33	5.87	0.141	0.09	1.344	6
34	5.87	0.141	0.09	1.344	6
35	5.87	0.141	0.09	1.344	6
36	5.87	0.141	0.09	1.344	6
37	5.87	0.141	0.09	1.344	6
38	5.87	0.141	0.09	1.344	6
39	5.31	0.124	0.1	1.189	4
40	5.31	0.124	0.1	1.189	4
41	5.31	0.124	0.1	1.189	4
42	5.31	0.124	0.1	1.189	4
43	**6.06**	**0.146**	**0.53**	**1.396**	**4**
44	5.89	0.141	0.33	1.349	5
45	4.66	0.106	0.43	1.010	4
46	4.77	0.109	1.1	1.040	4
47	4.92	0.113	0.66	1.082	5
48	4.85	0.111	1.83	1.062	5
49	5.82	0.139	0.33	1.330	6
50	4.73	0.108	1.75	1.029	3
51	5.37	0.126	1.59	1.206	4
52	6.35	0.155	0.33	1.476	5
53	5.23	0.122	0.66	1.167	3
54	4.62	0.104	0.9	0.999	2
55	4.49	0.101	2.49	0.963	1
56	4.59	0.104	0.86	0.991	2
57	5.04	0.117	0.86	1.115	3
58	5.62	0.133	1.53	1.275	4
59	5.82	0.139	0.99	1.330	3
60	5.63	0.134	0.2	1.278	2
61	5.38	0.126	1.53	1.209	2
62	6.59	0.162	0.33	1.543	5
63	5.63	0.134	0.53	1.278	4
64	6.72	0.165	1.33	1.579	6
65	5.70	0.136	1.09	1.297	5
66	7.31	0.182	0.5	1.741	7

Villa 52 - The Villa Pastore

The front hall of this residence (Plate 121) had direct access to a small room (Rm 28), which contained a small painted altar. This room was paved with a white mosaic with black bands, and the altar was within a niche with plastered steps. To the south-east there was another small room (Rm 12), which produced four pots containing painting colours (red, yellow, white and blue), suggesting that the villa was undergoing redecoration at the time of the eruption. There was a small colonnaded courtyard (Rm 33) connected to the front hall, which had five columns on the western and eastern sides by seven columns on the southern edge, with a small niche in a semicircular wall on the northern side with two columns. This was paved with marble in the middle, whereas the semicircular niche had black mosaic with white bands. A small portico entered onto the baths (Rm 39).

From the front hall, there was also a small portico with *cocciopesto* pavement and two columns, accessing the kitchen (Rm 27), which had a masonry bench and an oven. Room 23 was floored with a mosaic depicting sea animals. The eastern wall had a tub, dressed in plaster and borne by marble supports in the form of lion legs. The most palatial room within the residential region, although being slightly separate was a panoramic dining room (Rm 19), located roughly 40 metres west of the main complex. This room was paved in *opus sectile* with multicoloured marble, and the prime focus of the room was towards the Bay of Naples. The placement of this room was intended to take advantage of its position on the hill of Varano. The particular location is interesting when compared to the other probable dining area (Rm 50).

There have also been several interesting finds uncovered, including some acquired in Room 35, which was a simply decorated room, but contained two tripods adorned with the legs of a lion, a silver jug, a *strigile* and surgical tools. Room 40 contained a figurine of a bronze *Priapus*, at least fifteen bronze vessels, two *strigils*, two tripods, as well as numerous terracotta and glass pots. Room 43 produced a small silver figurine of a youth with a dish and *cornucopia*, a bronze ring with the seal *M.P.C.* Room 46 contained numerous vessels in bronze, terracotta and glass and remnants of furniture, and it may have been a latrine. Similar finds were in Rooms

47-8, on the southern side of the courtyard and 36-7 in the northern region. Room 20 has been described as a shop with a sales bench, also producing five bronze coins. This may have been used for market-days, whereby local trade benefited of not only the owner, but also the neighbouring producers.

One of the most notable aspects was the large pool (No. 6), being over 20 metres in length. The edges were dressed in marble and included steps on the north-western side. It was in the centre of an open area, bordered on the north by a covered passage and a long wall in multi-coloured *opus reticulatum*. In the centre of this wall there was a large semicircular entertainment area (Plate 121), framing the pool. The covered passage (Rm 5) had thirty-two windows with marble sills, viewing the pool with a colonnade. These windows had shutters, protecting the occupants from inclement weather, but with agreeable conditions these windows would have allowed lighting for this region.

The portico (Rm 4) behind Room 5 extended for around 145 metres that opened towards the coast. The structure included columns adorned in plaster, with walls mostly constructed in *opus reticulatum*. This portico had access independent of the complex, via a set of seven stairs (Rm 3), which were also adorned with plastered columns. On the opposite south-western side of the portico there was another small portico (Rm 51), paved in a striking mosaic of white bands. This opened up onto a small room to the south-west (Rm 53), which was also decorated and paved in marble. On the southern side of this room was a small triangular household shrine (Rm 52).

There also appears to have been a fine dining room (Rm 50) nearby, paved in *opus sectile* with multi-coloured pieces of marble. This had a pleasant view of the pool and the courtyard with the northern portico. This would have been accentuated by a fountain (Plate 121) on the same axis, framed by two columns. The position of this room, in comparison to Room 19, would have allowed a greater versatility in use, owing to the increased connection with the natural environment. This would have determined the use of each room, allowing the residents to choose which room to use, depending upon the circumstances. Surrounding this room was a narrow

corridor (Rm 55), paved in *cocciopesto* and constructed on a slightly lower level to Room 50.

The spatial data analysis for this structure has been based upon the division of bounded space within the structure, as with the other sites studied with this method. This is intended to provide a consistent source of information in order to allow for the most reliable comparison of sites. The principle of bounded space was applied to all of the spatial divisions for the 'gamma analysis' of the Villa Pastore, making the optimal set of data for comparison with the other *villae suburbanae* in this region.

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Spatial Data Analysis Statistics for Villa 52					
Room	Mean Depth	Relative Asymmetry	Control Value	Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Exterior
Ext	4.23	0.161	2	1.106	0
A	3.05	0.102	0.04	0.702	5
B	3.05	0.102	0.04	0.702	5
C	3.05	0.102	0.04	0.702	5
E	3.05	0.102	0.04	0.702	5
F	3.05	0.102	0.04	0.702	5
G	3.05	0.102	0.04	0.702	5
H	3.05	0.102	0.04	0.702	5
I	2.14	0.057	26.7	0.390	4
J	3.05	0.102	0.04	0.702	5
K	3.05	0.102	0.04	0.702	5
L	3.05	0.102	0.04	0.702	5
M	3.05	0.102	0.04	0.702	5
N	3.05	0.102	0.04	0.702	5
O	3.05	0.102	0.04	0.702	5
P	3.05	0.102	0.04	0.702	5
Q	3.05	0.102	0.04	0.702	5
R	3.05	0.102	0.04	0.702	5
S	3.05	0.102	0.04	0.702	5

T	3.05	0.102	0.04	0.702	5
U	3.05	0.102	0.04	0.702	5
V	3.05	0.102	0.04	0.702	5
W	3.05	0.102	0.04	0.702	5
X	3.05	0.102	0.04	0.702	5
Y	3.05	0.102	0.04	0.702	5
Z	3.05	0.102	0.04	0.702	5
1	3.05	0.102	0.04	0.702	5
2	3.30	0.115	1	0.787	4
3	3.84	0.142	0.83	0.972	3
4	4.86	0.193	2.16	1.321	1
5	3.60	0.13	2.33	0.890	1
6	**4.44**	**0.172**	**1**	**1.178**	**5**
7	2.53	0.076	1.54	0.523	3
8	2.67	0.083	0.54	0.571	5
9	5.33	0.216	1.33	1.482	3
10	**3.49**	**0.124**	**0.75**	**0.852**	**4**
19	**5.23**	**0.211**	**0.33**	**1.448**	**1**
24	4.37	0.168	1.25	1.154	2
26	5.86	0.243	0.25	1.664	2
29	4.28	0.164	0.5	1.123	2
31	6.33	0.266	0.5	1.825	4
33	**3.07**	**0.103**	**0.5**	**0.708**	**2**
39	4.60	0.18	0.25	1.232	2
50	**3.49**	**0.124**	**0.75**	**0.852**	**4**

Villa 53 - The Villa Filosofo

The entrance to this complex was via a corridor, onto which bordered six small rooms (Rms 13-18) on the northern side (Plate 124). The position of Rooms 15-18 indicates that these rooms were deviated to the east away from the main road, indicating that the road predated its construction. Room 16 contained an *intaglio* carved with the image of a bearded man, which has been judged to represent Socrates. To the south of the corridor was a courtyard with a portico on two sides, floored in brick pavement and with columns constructed from brick and stone. The plan is similar to the Villa Petraro (Plate 129), which was also centred upon a portico. Similarly to this villa there were thermal rooms on the eastern side, including Room 4, with rooms bordering three sides of the courtyard (Plate 124). The mosaic pavement of Room 4 was adorned with a dolphin wound around a trident and a representation of Medusa on the ceiling with a relief of Venus in a niche.

The spatial data analysis for this structure has been based upon the division of bounded space within the structure, as with the other sites studied with this method.

This is intended to provide a consistent source of information in order to allow for the most reliable comparison of sites. The extant material from the Villa Filosofo has allowed for a consistent approach to the 'gamma analysis', simply being based upon the principles of bounded space.

Select Bibliography

Ferrara, A., 2001, "Nuovi elementi dagli scavi borbonici a Stabiae: la Villa del Filosofo e la sua integrazione con l'impianto urbano", in Camardo, D. and Ferrara, A. (eds.), *Stabiae, dai Borbone alle ultime scoperte*, Longobardi: Castellammare di Stabia, pp. 59-68.

Spatial Data Analysis Statistics for Villa 53					
Room	Mean Depth	Relative Asymmetry	Control Value	Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Exterior
Ext	3.26	0.215	0.14	1.049	0
A	**2.30**	**0.123**	**3.89**	**0.603**	**1**
B	2.39	0.132	5.64	0.645	2
1	2.74	0.165	2.47	0.808	2
2	3.70	0.257	0.25	1.254	3
3	3.70	0.257	0.25	1.254	3
4	2.91	0.181	0.47	0.887	2
5	3.35	0.223	1.25	1.091	3
6	3.26	0.215	0.14	1.049	2
7	3.26	0.215	0.14	1.049	2
8	5.52	0.430	0.5	2.099	6
9	**3.26**	**0.215**	**0.14**	**1.049**	**2**
10	4.65	0.347	0.33	1.695	5
11	3.70	0.257	2	1.254	4
12	4.57	0.34	1.33	1.658	5
13	3	0.190	0.47	0.929	3
14	3.35	0.223	0.14	1.091	3
15	3.35	0.223	0.14	1.091	3
16	3.35	0.223	0.14	1.091	3
17	3.35	0.223	0.14	1.091	3
18	3.35	0.223	0.14	1.091	3
19	5	0.380	1.5	1.858	5
20	5.96	0.472	0.5	2.304	6
21	4.13	0.298	0.83	1.454	4

Villa 54 - The Villa of Anteros and Heracleo/Villa of the Faun

The servile regions of this building have been the most thoroughly excavated, including a long corridor with brick paving, including two masonry seats at the entrance. The finds in this corridor included a bronze *stilus*, a small hoe, a piece of ivory and two terracotta oil lamps. This corridor led to the smaller colonnaded courtyard, which had four columns along the shorter edge. The rooms surrounding

this colonnaded courtyard were organised symmetrically (Plate 127), including a staircase to an upper level. The small colonnaded courtyard was floored in a pavement of crushed bricks and the walls were decorated with white plaster and the presence of a *catillus* indicates that this region was probably mostly utilitarian. Despite the nature of this region, it appears likely that it was close to the main residential quarters.

The residential quarters may have been centred on the front hall, to the north-west of the excavated areas. In the known sections of this region, there was a clear change in the style of pavement. If this villa was similar to the other villas in Stabiae, this area probably extended to the south with a large portico including a panoramic terrace towards the Bay of Naples. A good example is a room (Rm 4) near the large portico (Plate 127), which was paved with *opus sectile*, whereas Room 7 possessed white mosaic surrounded by black bands and Room 8 had a polychrome mosaic. Room 15 was quite sizeable, positioned close to the large portico in order to create a pleasant setting.

The large portico had twenty large and forty smaller columns placed in a double line on the longer side, and at least half this number along the shorter edge. This progressed towards the north, continuing to a terraced area. The external masonry was painted with white plaster and both the small and large columns were made of brick, with white plaster décor, including grooves to accentuate the form.

Select Bibliography

Magalhaes, M.M., 2001, "La cd. Villa del Fauno: un possedimento imperiale a Stabiae?", in Camardo, D. and Ferrara, A. (eds.), *Stabiae, dai Borbone alle ultime scoperte*, Longobardi: Castellammare di Stabia, pp. 224-35.

Parslow, C., 1995, *Rediscovering antiquity: Karl Weber and the excavation of Herculaneum, Pompeii and Stabiae*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Villa 56 - Villa Petraro

The residential region of this villa (Plate 129) was located on the northeast side of the structure in a group of five rooms. The entrance was a small vestibule (Rm 13), which led directly towards two small, enclosed rooms and two entertainment rooms (Rms 10, 19). The rooms on this side of the courtyard

communicated with each other by a covered passage (Rm 14), lit by five openings, which were in perfect alignment with the entrances to four rustic rooms (Rms 1-4) on the other side of the courtyard. The eastern side incorporated several utilitarian rooms, including the kitchen (Rm 15) and baths (Rms 11, 12, 16, 17). The rustic region communicated with the residence and Room 14 by a corridor (Rm 9), but there was a clear separation between the two areas, making them quite distinct. Of the remaining rooms, it would appear that both Rooms 10 and 19 would have functioned as dining areas, owing to their dimensions. It seems that the baths were undergoing repairs or restoration at the time of the eruption, indicated by *amphorae* containing plaster and twenty-five detached panels.

Select Bibliography

Ferrara, A., 1989b, "Villa Petraro", in Camardo, D. and Ferrara, A. (eds.), *Stabiae: le ville*, Biblioteca del clero della Chiesa del Gesù: Castellammare di Stabia, pp. 83-4.

Villa 57 - Villa A at Carmiano

The layout was planned as a complex of small dimension, roughly 400 square metres (Plate 130), roughly half the size of the Villa Petraro and significantly smaller than the Varano villas. The entrance was on the northern side with a room for the doorkeeper. The portico of the southern wing was almost completely decorated. On one side of the *torcularium* was a large well-appointed room (Rm 1), which was splendidly decorated and placed on the same axis as the main entrance. This would have allowed, in conjunction with the inter-columnar spaces in the southern portico, for a clear view from this room towards the courtyard. The presence of these rooms is indicative of the owners' desire to raise the character of the residence and also provide some indication of how often the owners dwelt there.

In this complex, Room 8 was decorated with black wall painting and there was also a wine cellar, containing twelve *dolii*. This was in keeping with the consideration that this building would have served a property of modest dimensions, especially when compared to the larger establishments. Among the finds discovered at Villa A at Carmiano, there were several fine bronze vases and numerous pieces of terracotta.

Select Bibliography

Camardo, D., 1989c, "Villa A di Carmiano", in Camardo, D. and Ferrara, A. (eds.), *Stabiae: le ville*, Biblioteca del clero della Chiesa del Gesù: Castellammare di Stabia, pp. 69-72.

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Miniero, P., 1988, "Richerche sull'Ager Stabianus", in Curtis, R.I. (ed.), *Studia Pompeiana and Classica – in honour of Wilhelmina F. Jashemski*, Vol. 1, Aristide D. Caratzas: New Rochelle, pp. 231-92.

Richardson jnr, L., 2000, A Catalog of Identifiable Figure Painters of Ancient Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabiae, John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore.

Plate 1
Relief from Avezzano (from Purcell, 1996)

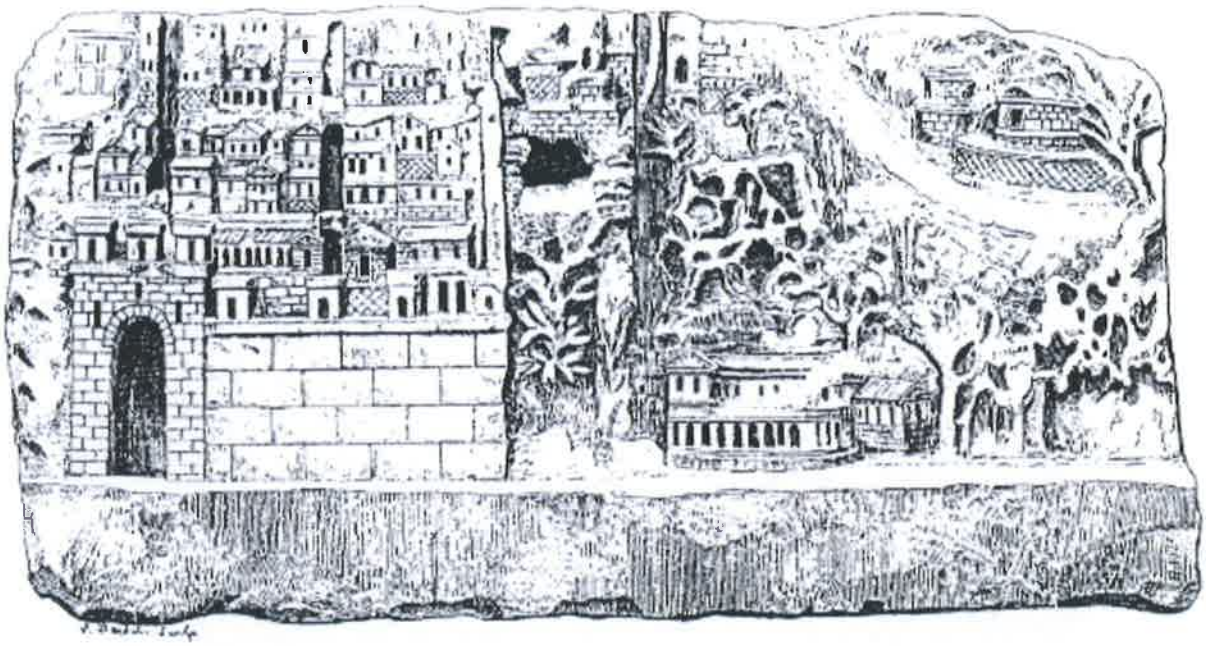


Plate 2
Entrance to the Villa of the Mosaic Columns



Plate 3
Courtyard of the Villa of the Mosaic Columns



Plate 4
Entrance to the Villa of Diomede from the Via dei Sepolcri



Plate 5
Walled courtyard at the Villa of the Mysteries

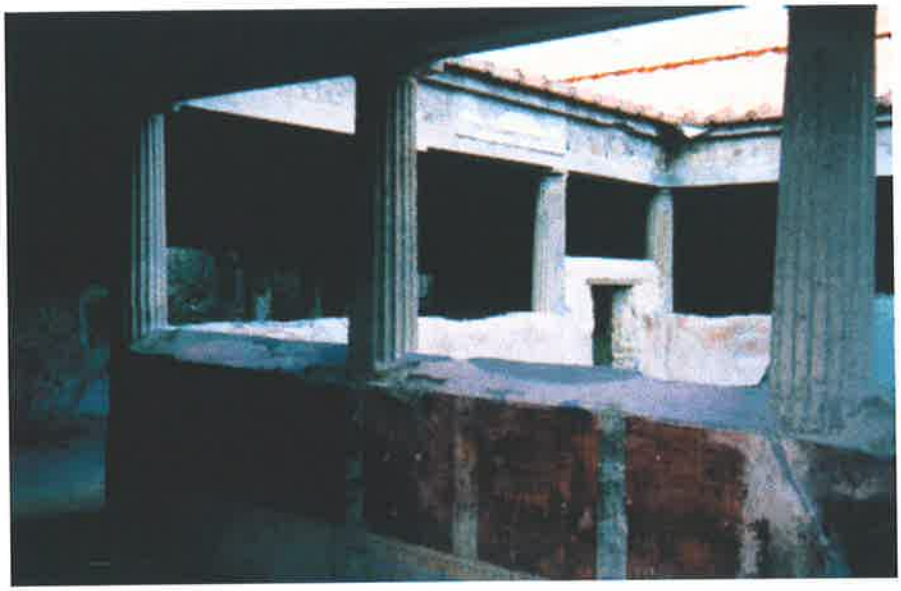


Plate 6
Western portico in the House of Julia Felix



Plate 7
Shop in the House of Julia Felix



Plate 8
Silverware from the Villa of Iucundus at Pisanella (from Acquaro, 1979)



Plate 9
Map of Rome and the Servian Wall

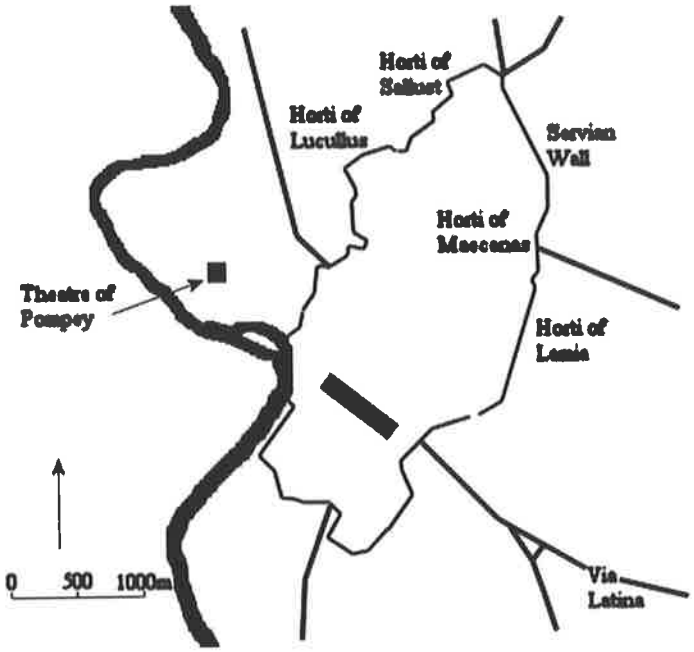


Plate 10
Map of Rome and its hinterland

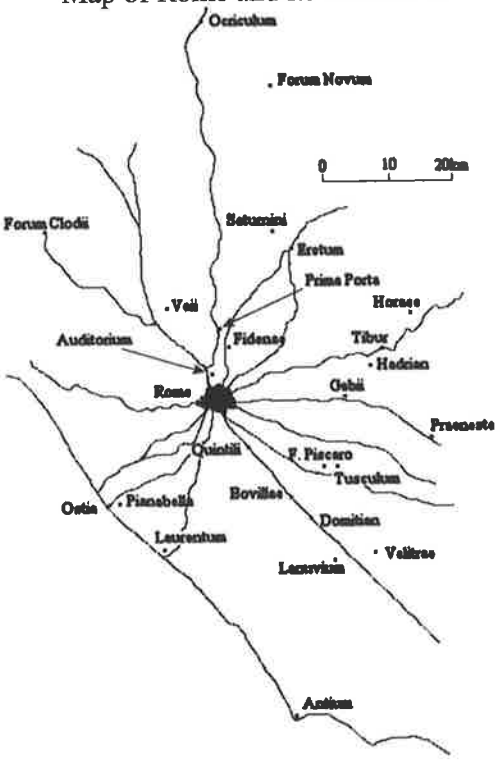


Plate 11
Map of Villas outside the Porta Ercolano

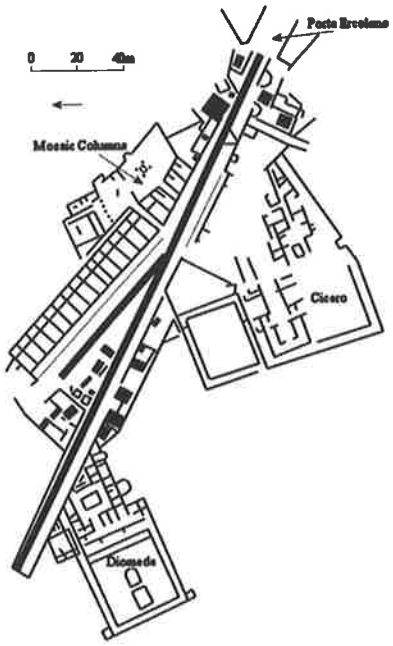


Plate 12
Map of the Pompeian *suburbium*

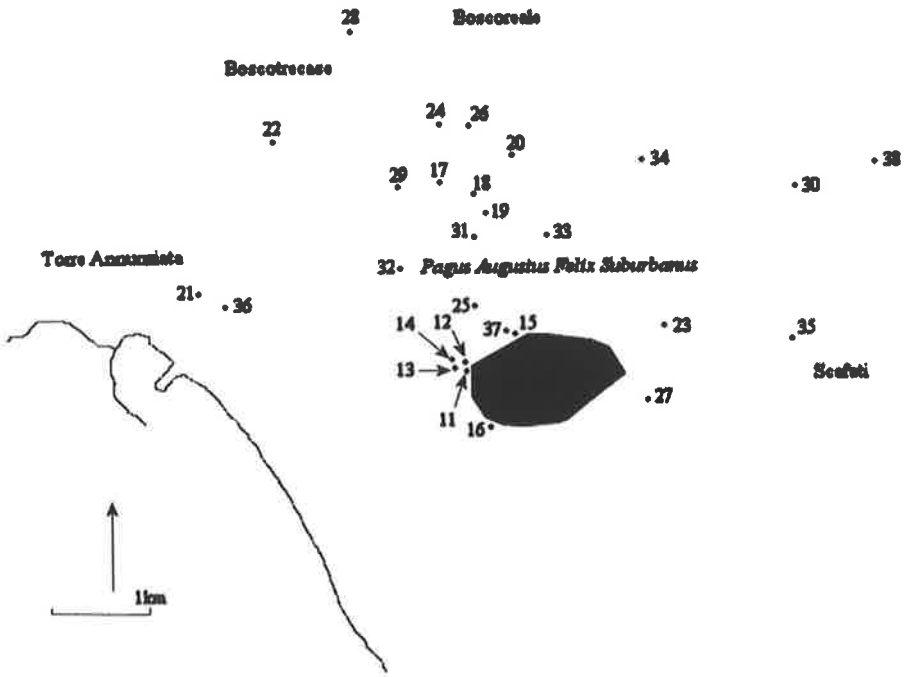


Plate 13
Map of Pompeii

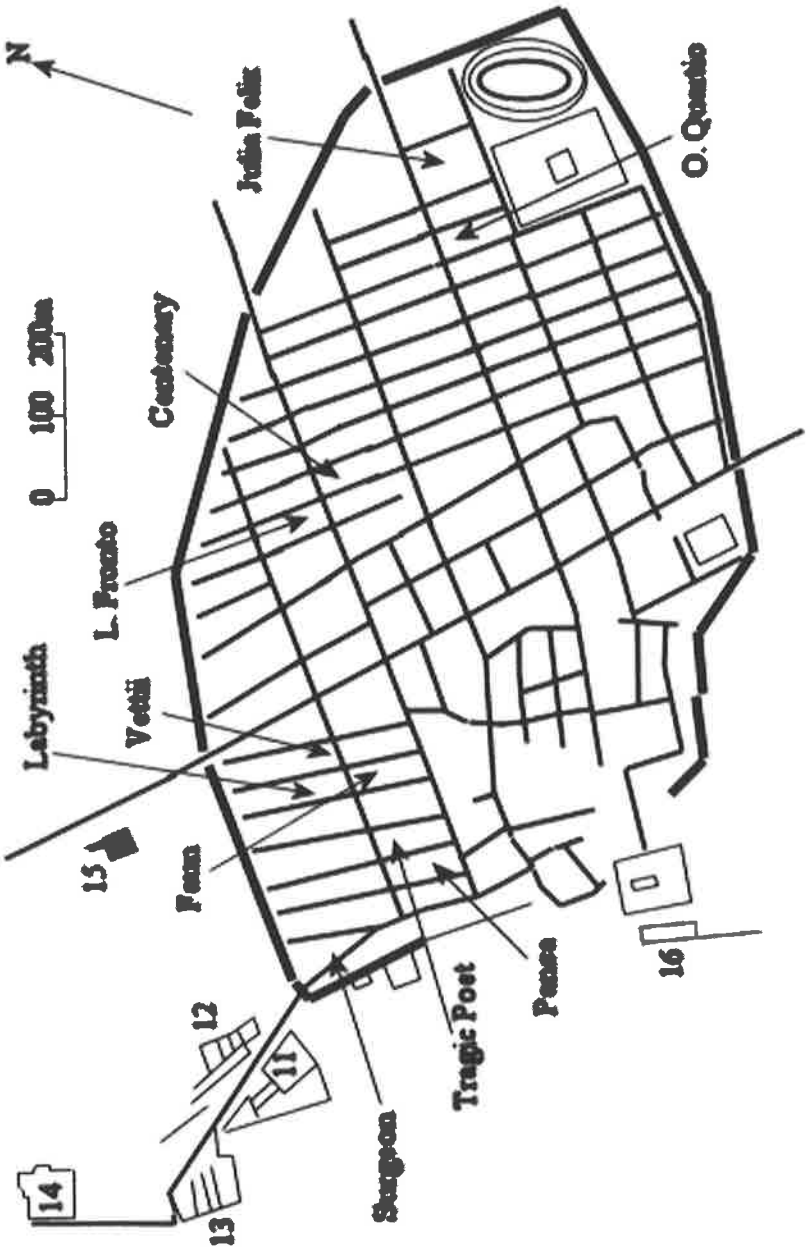


Plate 14
Map of Campania and Latium

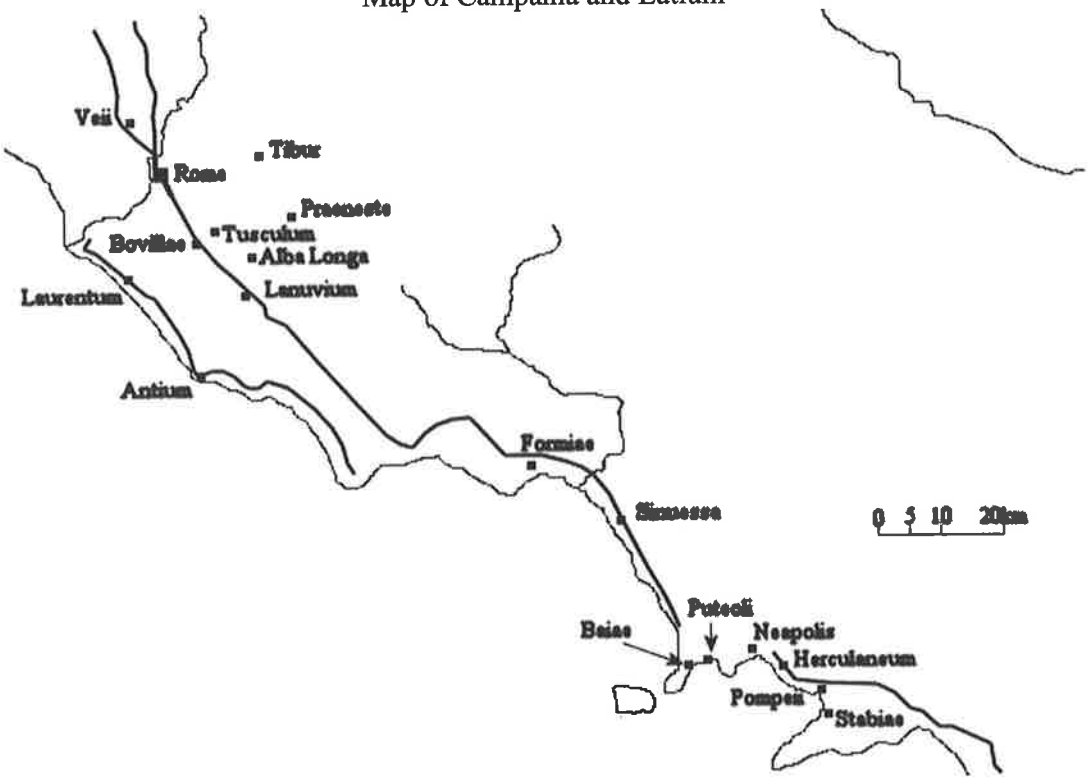


Plate 15
Map of Herculaneum and the Villa of the Papyri

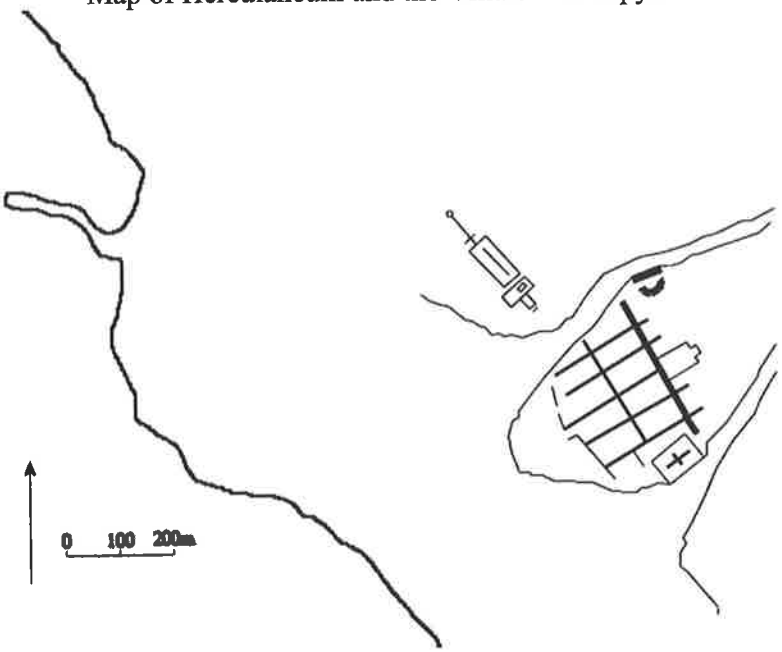


Plate 16
Map of the Villas in the hinterland of Herculaneum

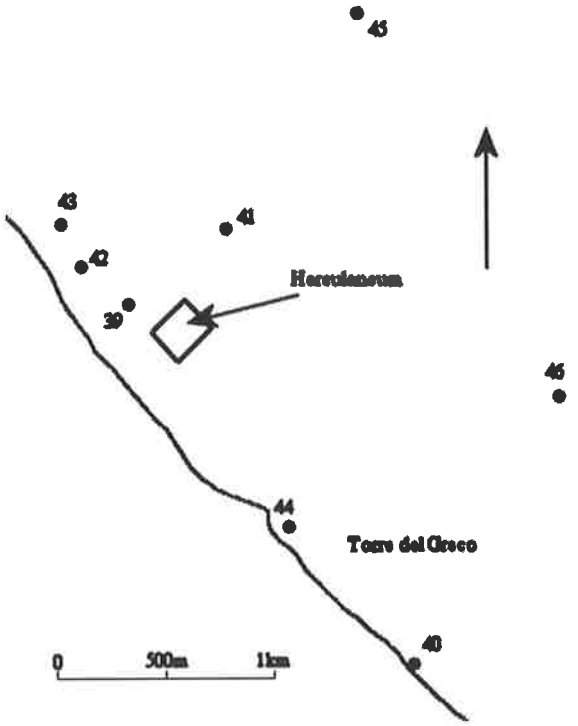


Plate 17
Map of Herculaneum

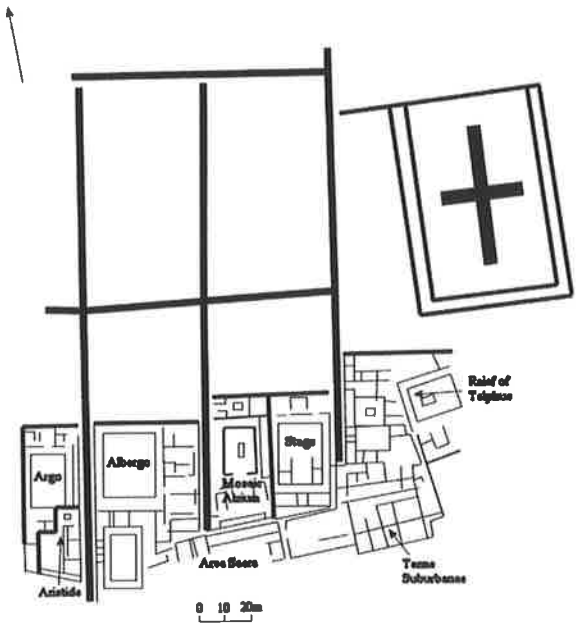


Plate 18
Map of Stabiae with its Urban Features

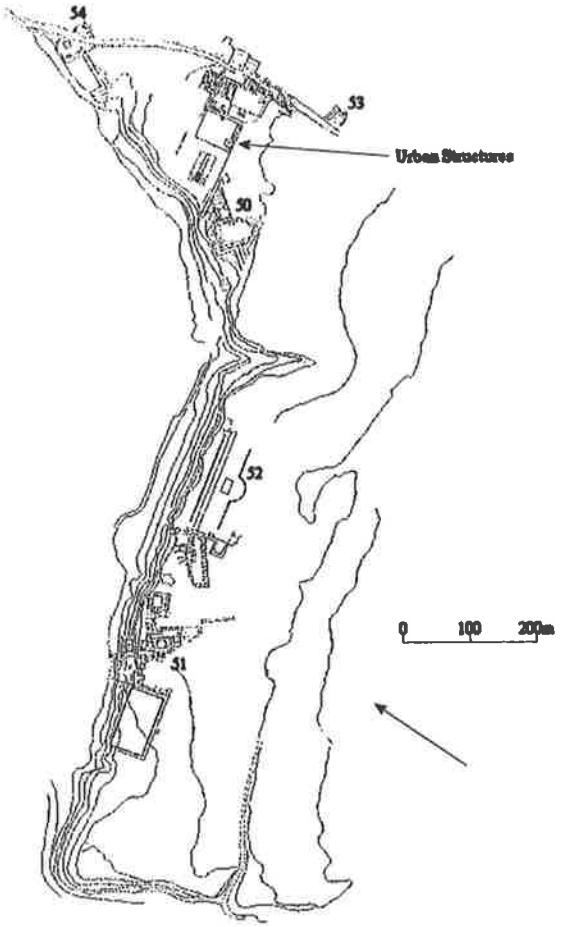


Plate 19
The Urban Features of Stabiae

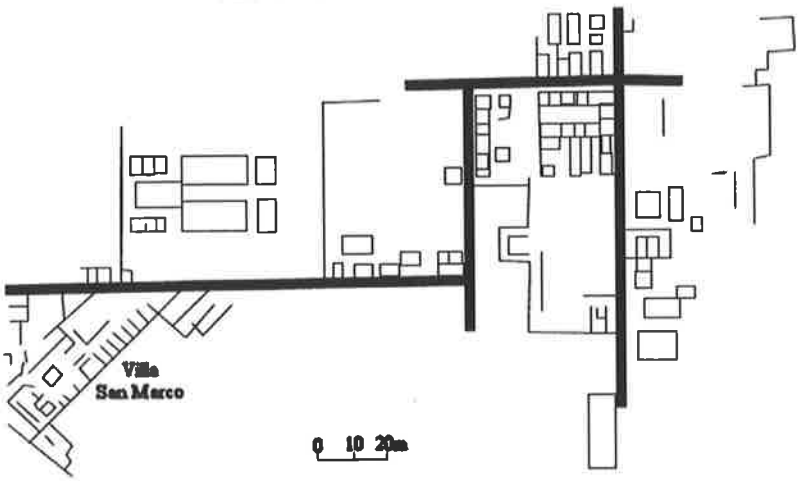


Plate 20

Map of the Campanian Region

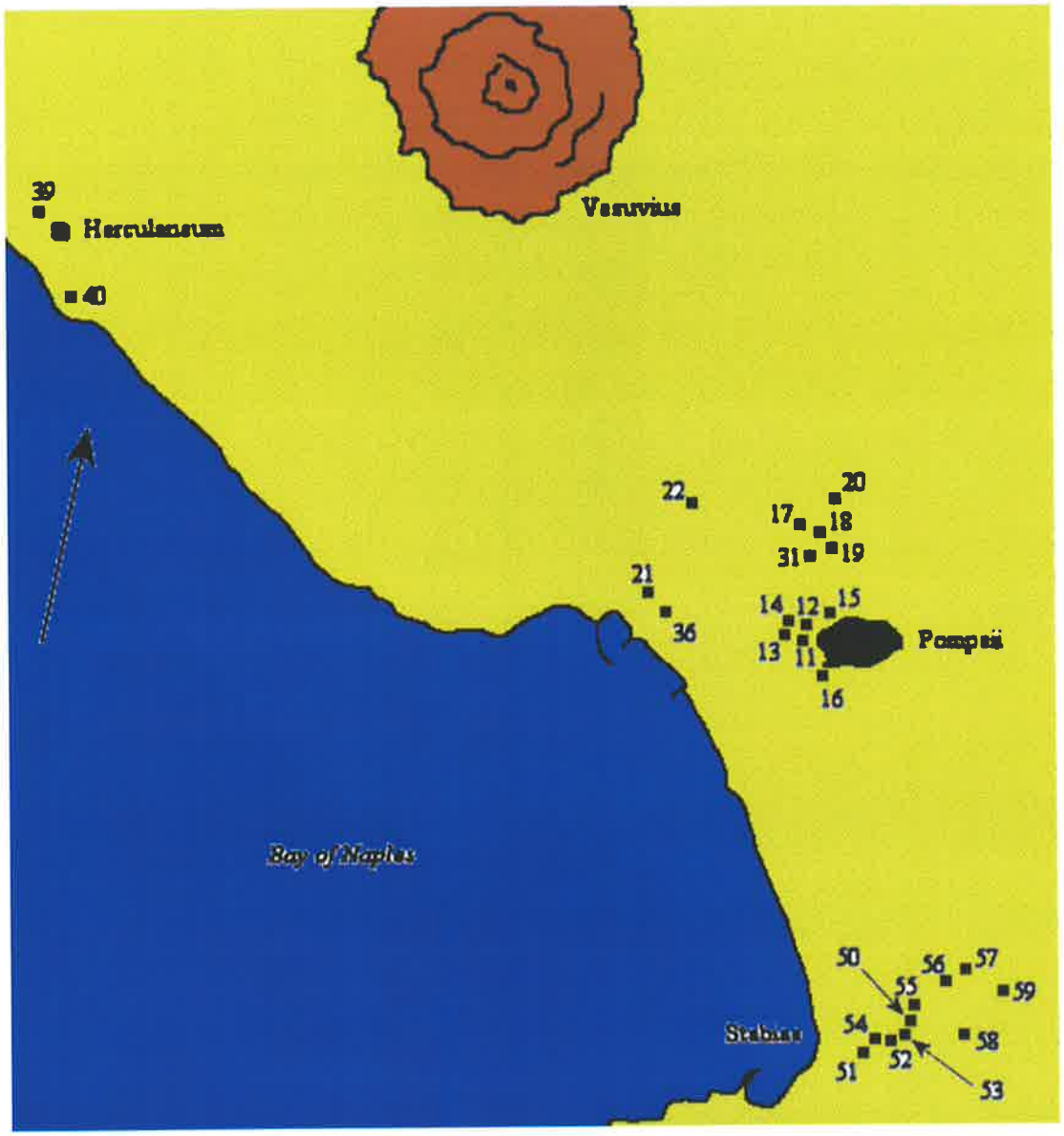


Plate 21
Villa at Dragoncello (after Pellegrino, 1983)

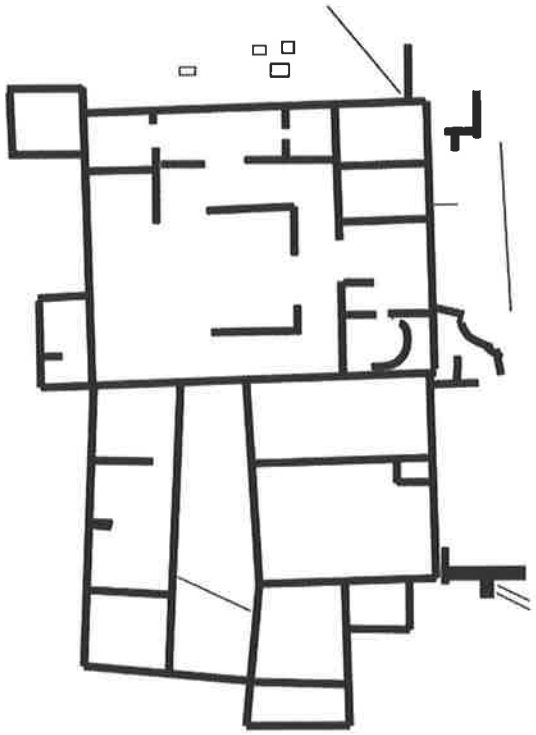


Plate 22
Villa at Pianabella (after Lauro, 1984)

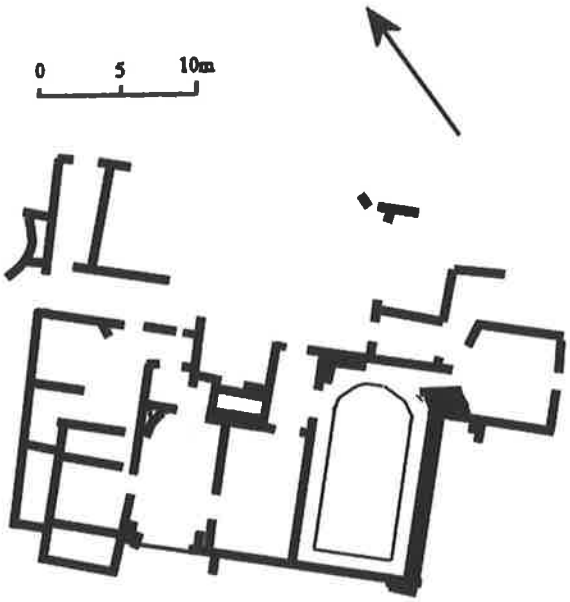


Plate 23
House of Augustus (after Lanciani, 1967a)

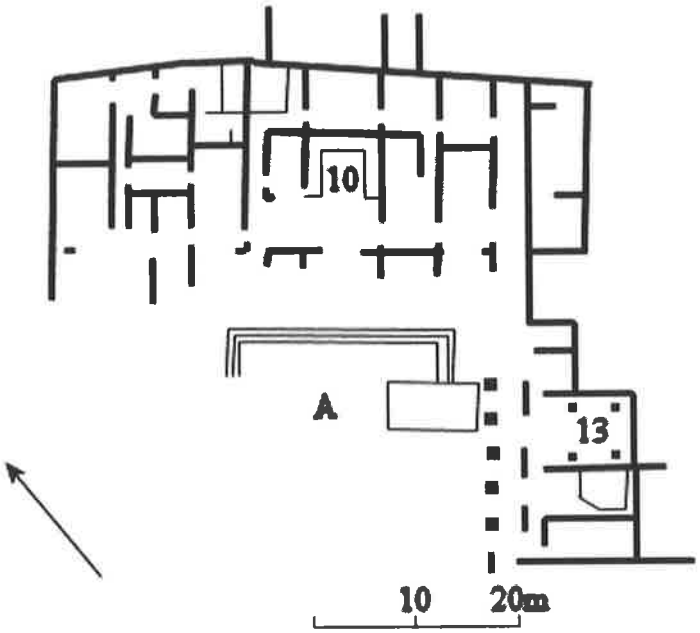


Plate 24
Domus Tiberiana (after Platner, 1911)

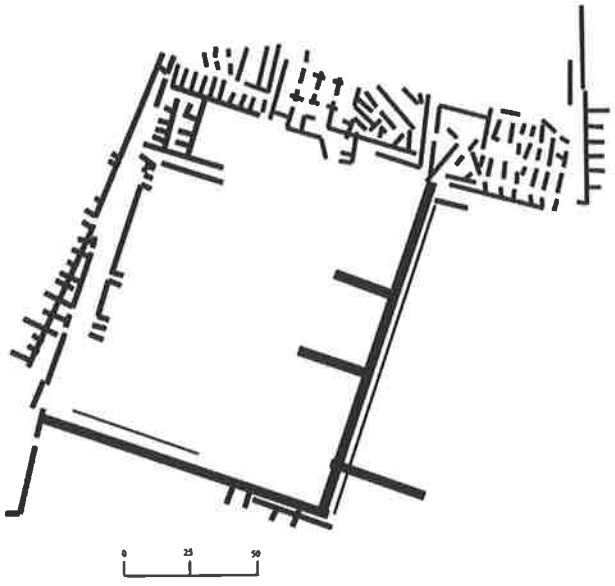


Plate 25
Domus Aurea (after Ward-Perkins, 1956)

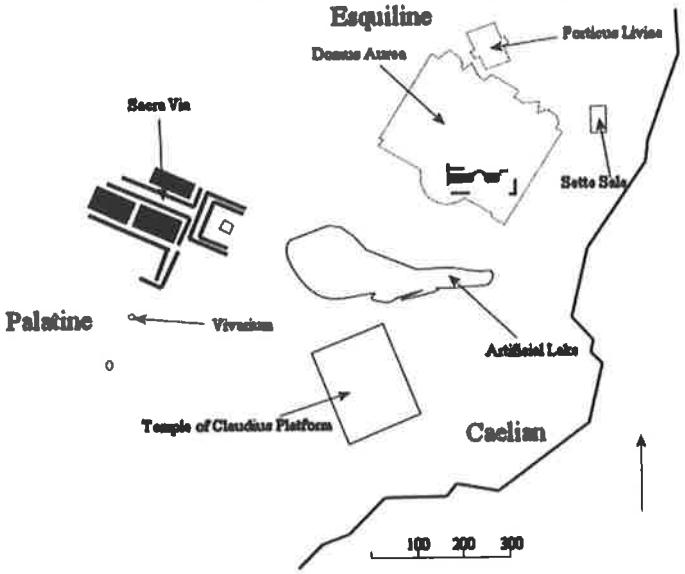


Plate 26
Oppian Wing of *Domus Aurea* (after Segala, 1999)

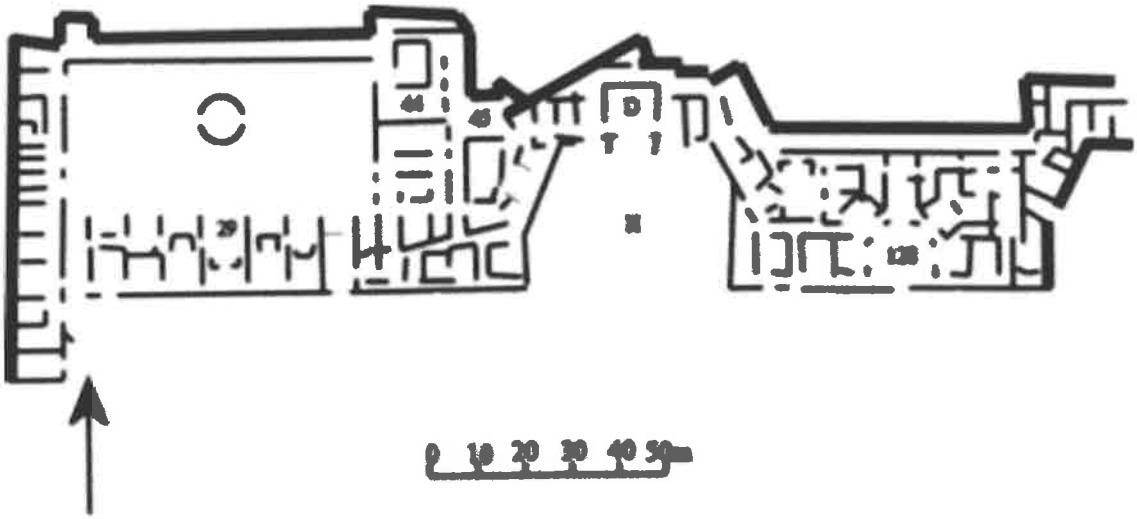


Plate 27
Domus Flavia (after Lanciani, 1967a)

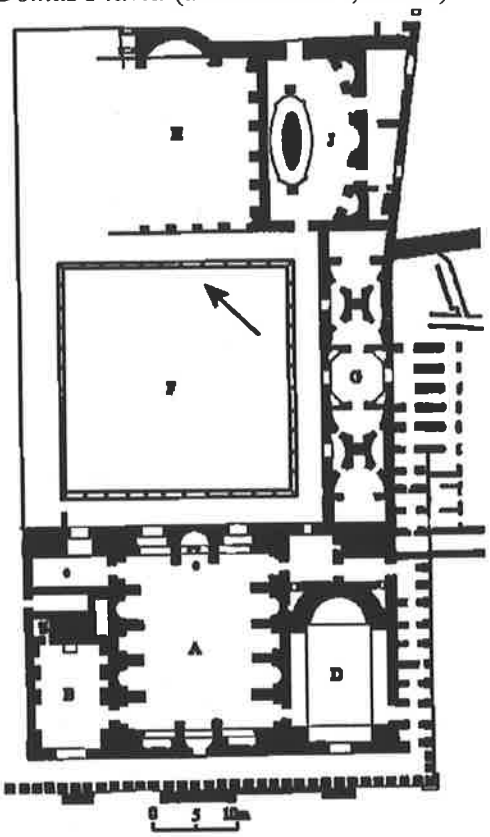


Plate 28
Villa of Livia (Villa 1) (after Klynne)

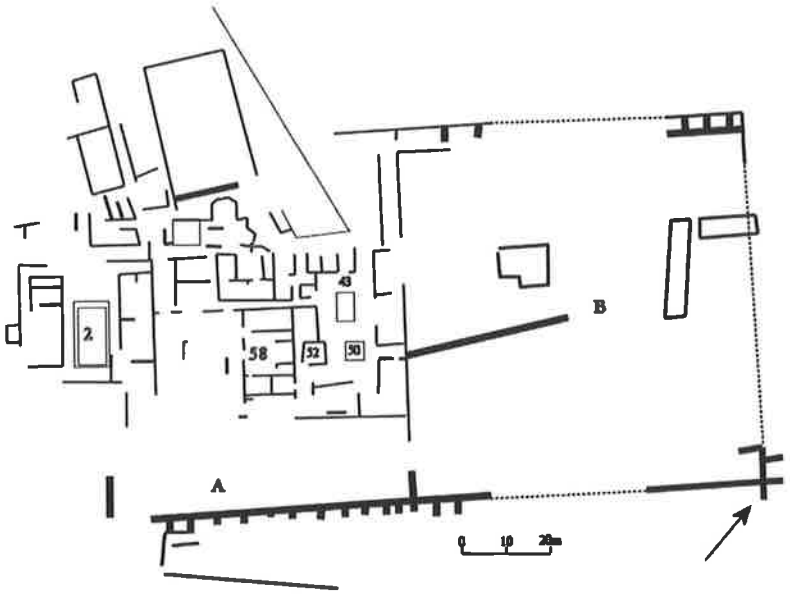


Plate 29
Villa of Hadrian (Villa 3) (after MacDonald + Pinto)

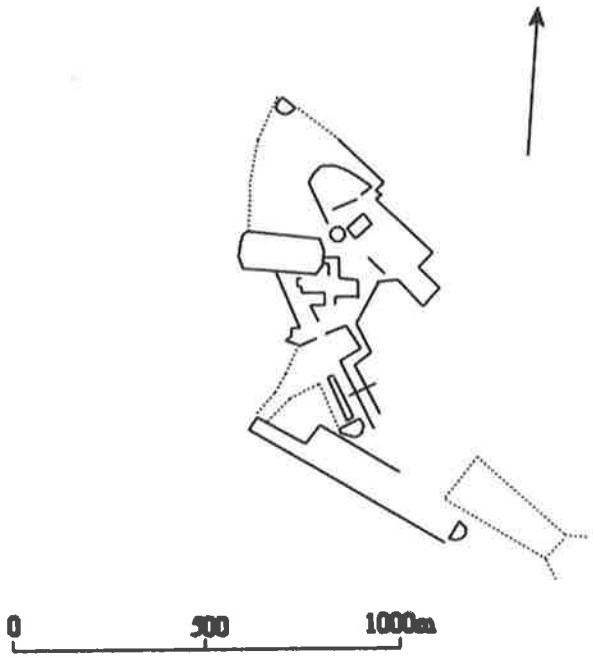


Plate 30
Republican Villa at Tivoli (after MacDonald + Pinto)

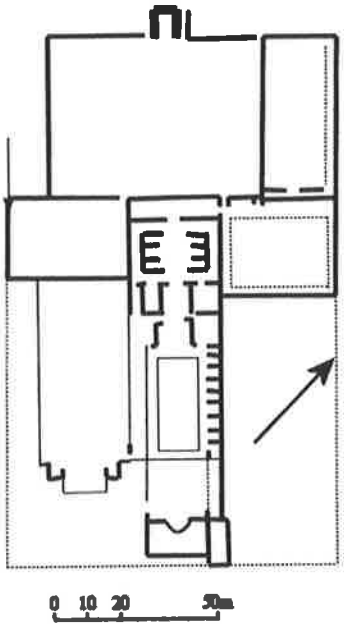


Plate 31
Extra-urban garden excavation (after Bird *et al.*, 1993)

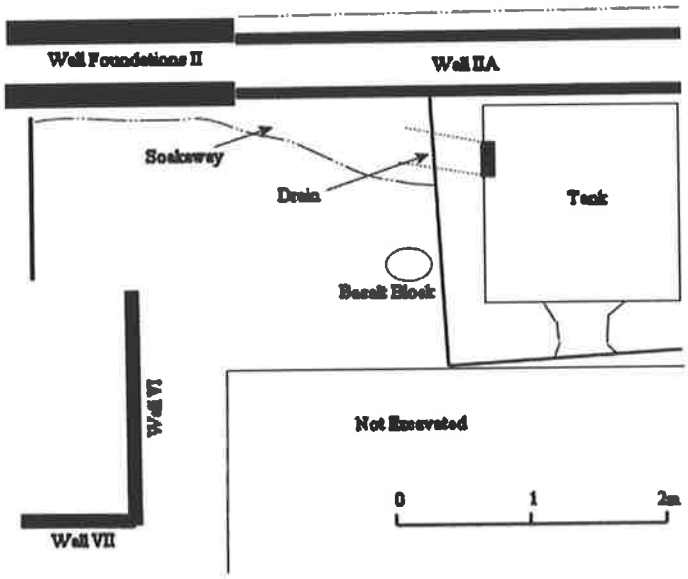


Plate 32
Villa of Horace at Licenza (Villa 4) (after Frischer)

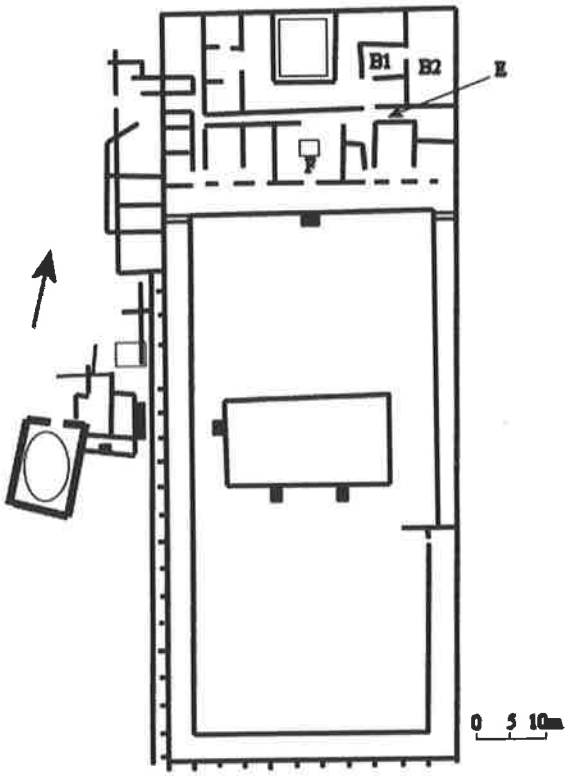


Plate 33
Villa dell'Auditorium (Villa 5) (after Carandini *et al.*, 1997)

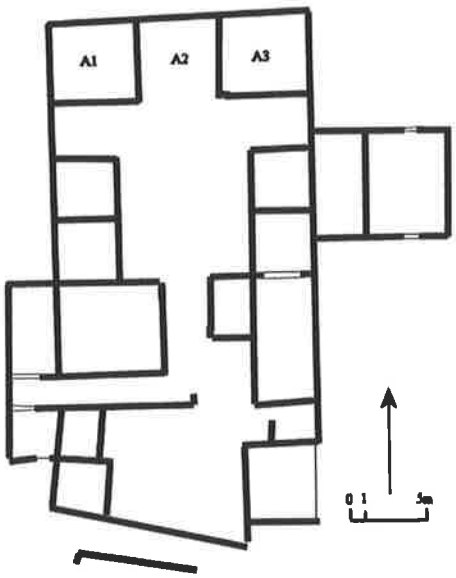


Plate 34
Villa of the Volusii Saturnini (Villa 6) (after Boatwright, 1982)

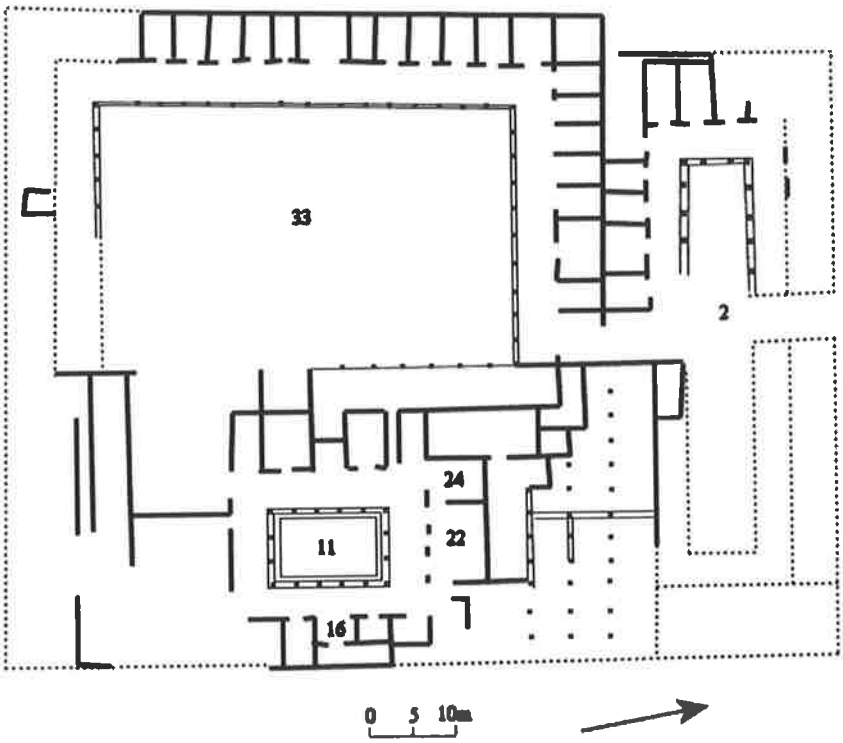


Plate 35

Villa of the Quintili (Villa 7) (after Paris)

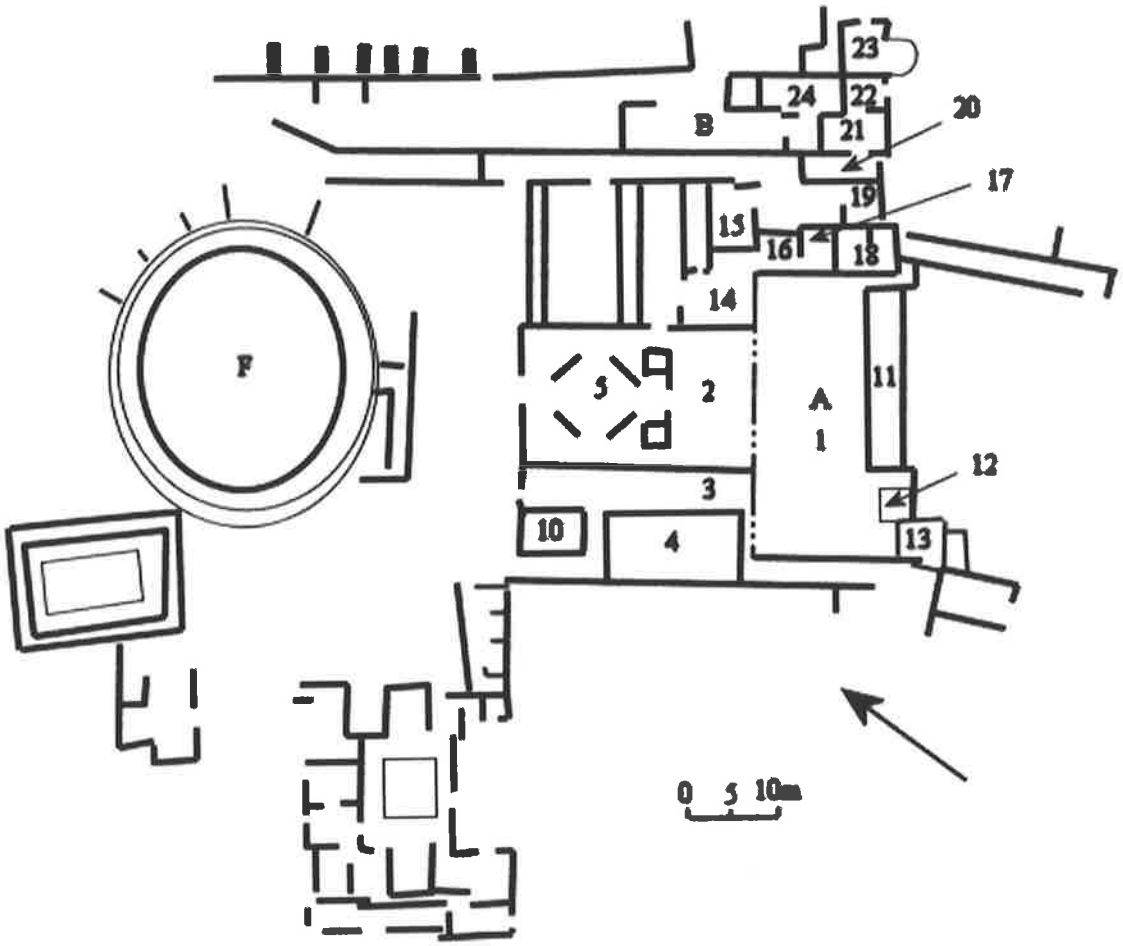


Plate 36
Villa Fontana del Piscaro (Villa 8) (after Egidi, 1981)

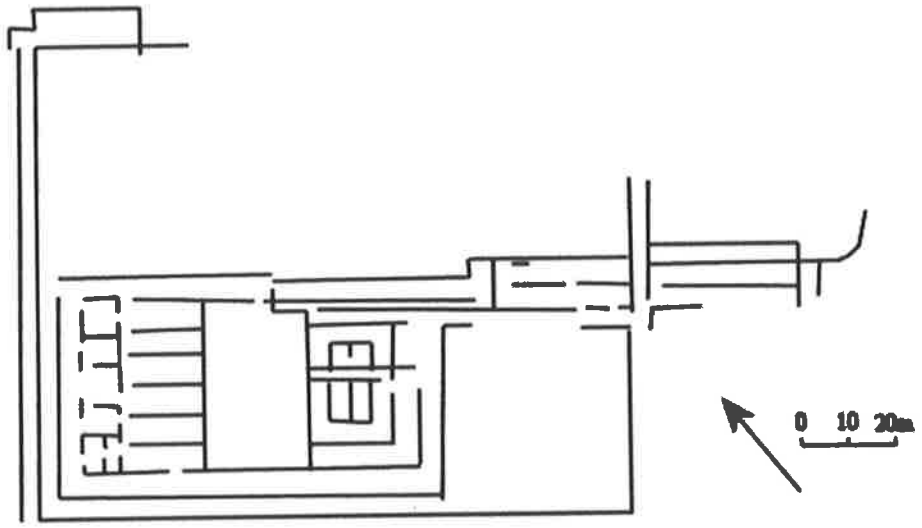


Plate 37
Villa on Via Gabina A (Villa 9) (after Widrig, 1983)

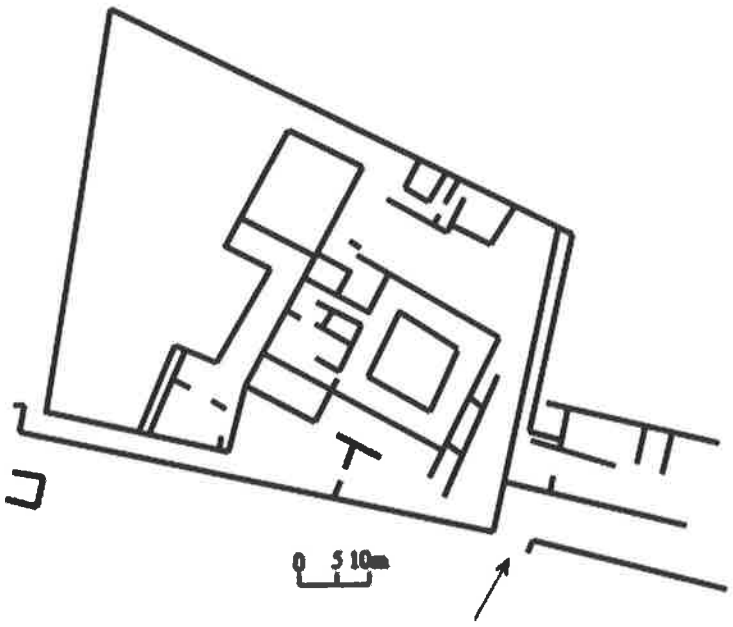


Plate 38
Villa on Via Gabina B Phase 1c (Villa 10) (after Widrig, 1987)

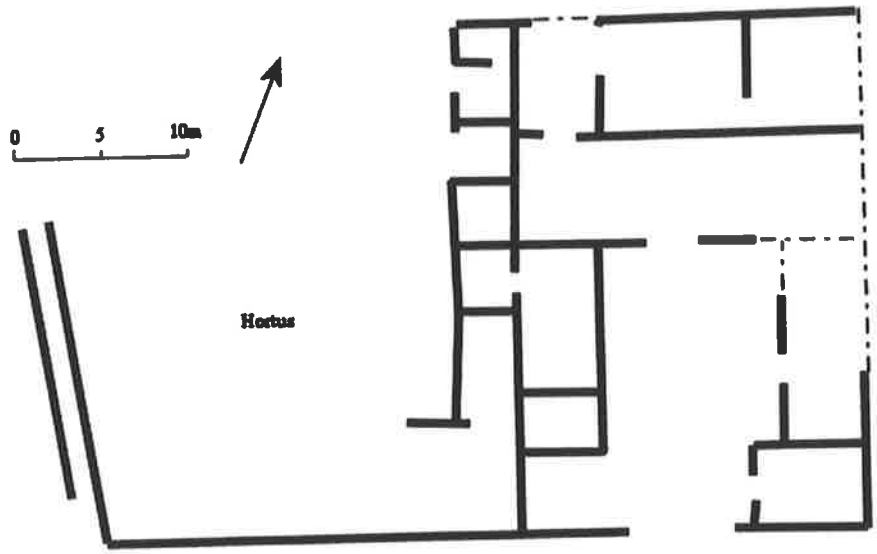


Plate 39
Villa on Via Gabina B Phase 2B/C (after Widrig, 1987)

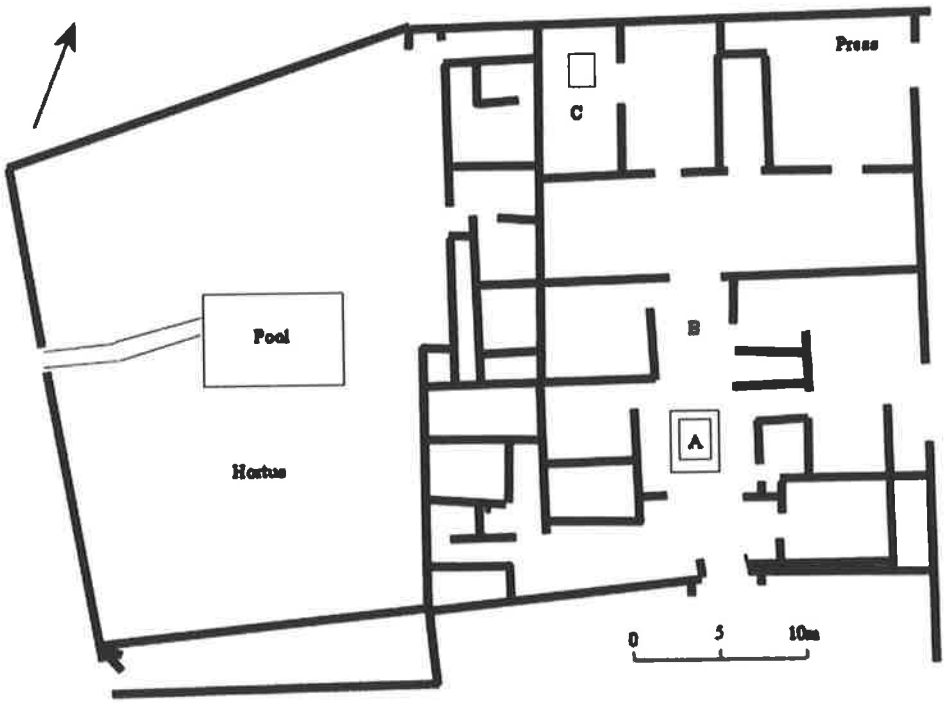


Plate 40
Villa of Cicero (after Jashemski, 1979)

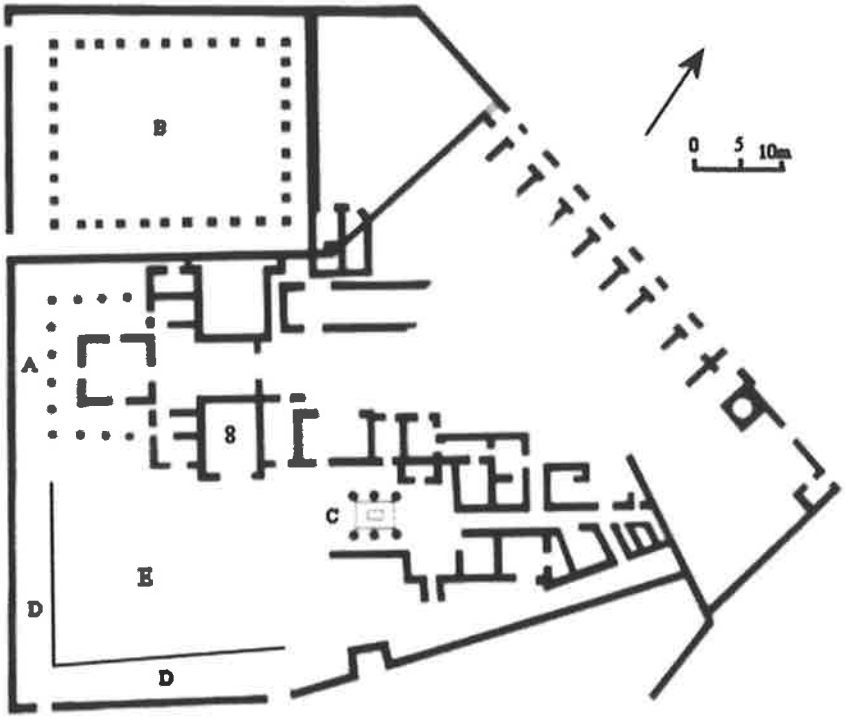


Plate 41
Villa of Mosaic Columns (after Jashemski, 1979)

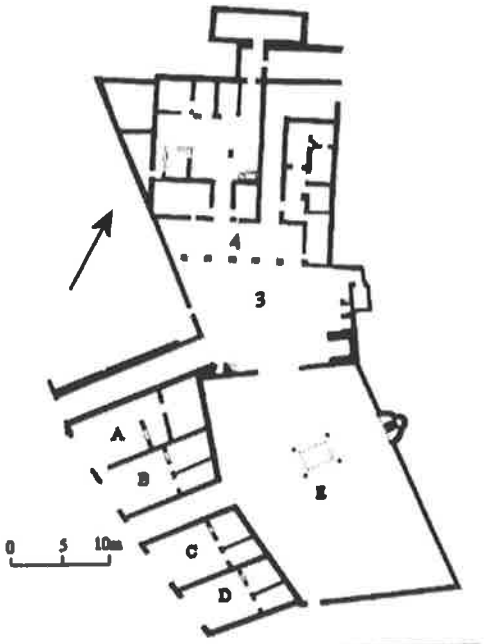


Plate 42
Villa of Diomede (after Jashemski, 1979)

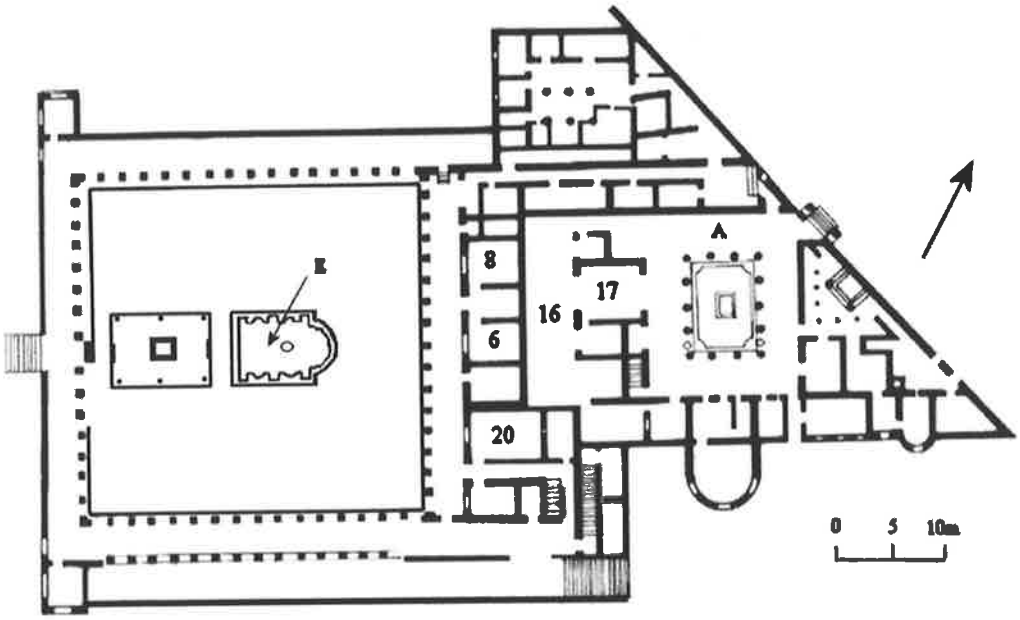


Plate 43
Villa of the Mysteries (Early Phase)
(after Richardson, 1988a)

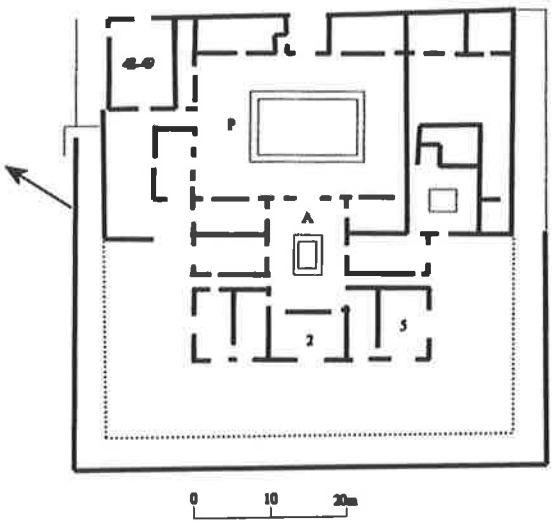


Plate 44
Villa of the Mysteries
(Final Phase) (after Richardson, 1988a)

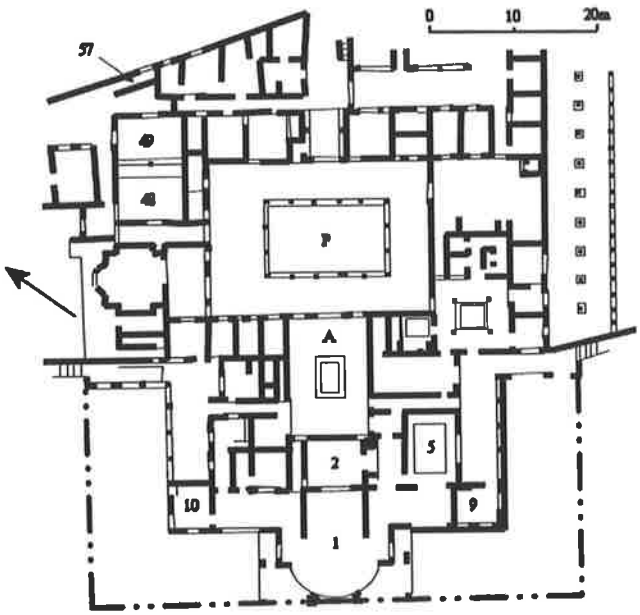


Plate 45
Spatial Data Diagram for the Early Villa of the Mysteries

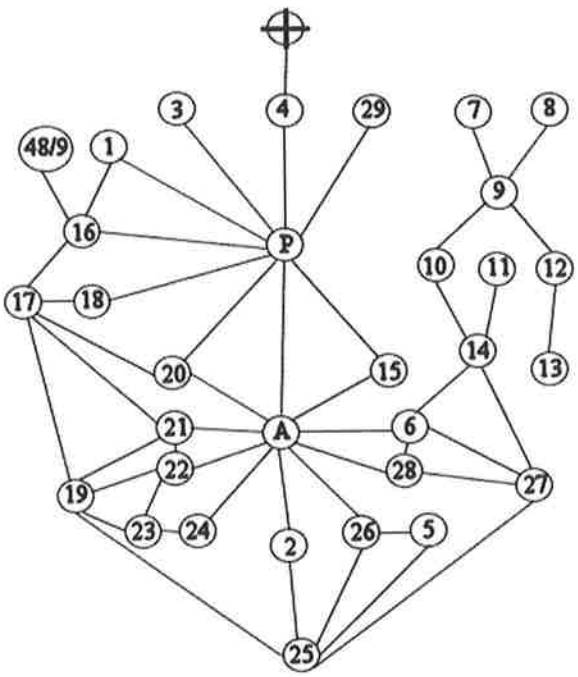


Plate 46
Spatial Data Diagram for the Late Villa of the Mysteries

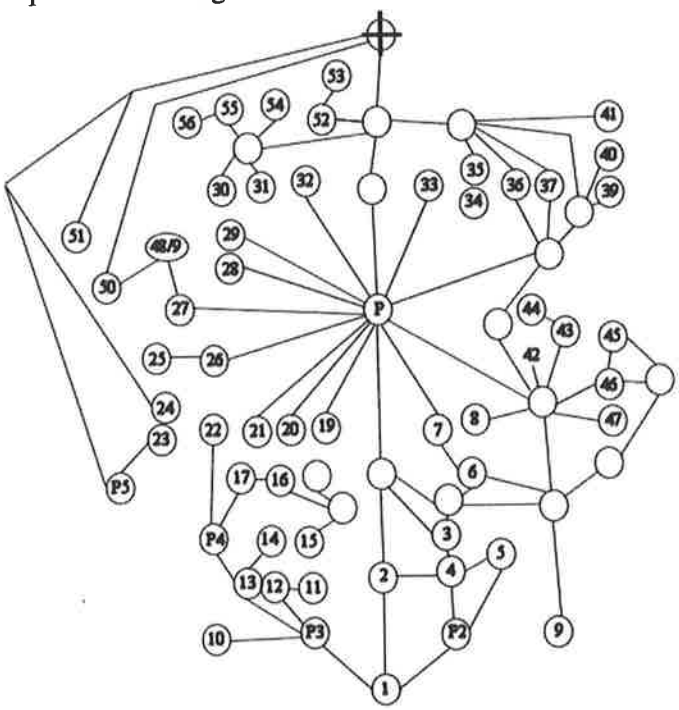


Plate 47
Public/Private Entertainment in the Early Villa of the Mysteries



Plate 48
Public/Private Entertainment in the Later Villa of the Mysteries

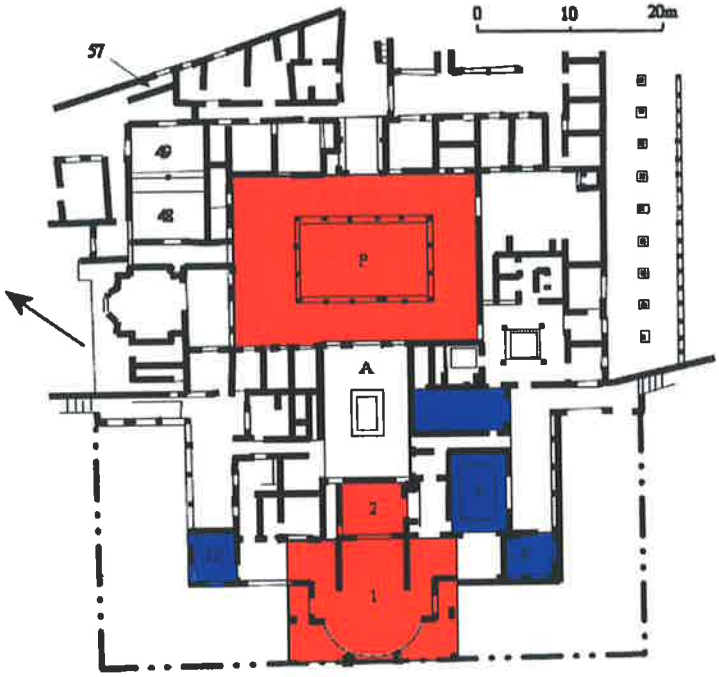


Plate 49
Spatial Data Diagram for the Villa of Diomede

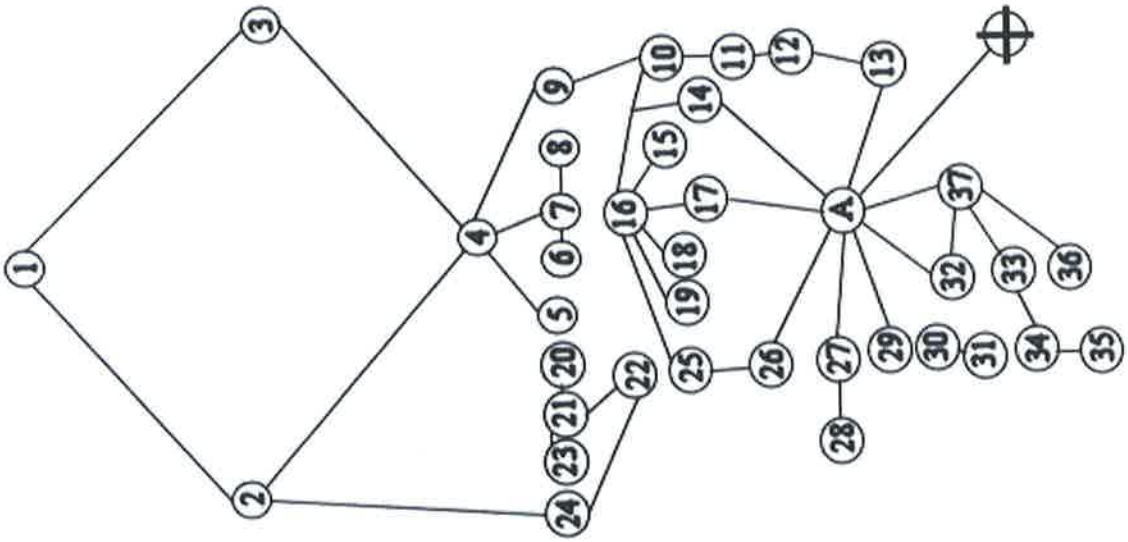


Plate 50
Public/Private Entertainment in the Villa of Diomede

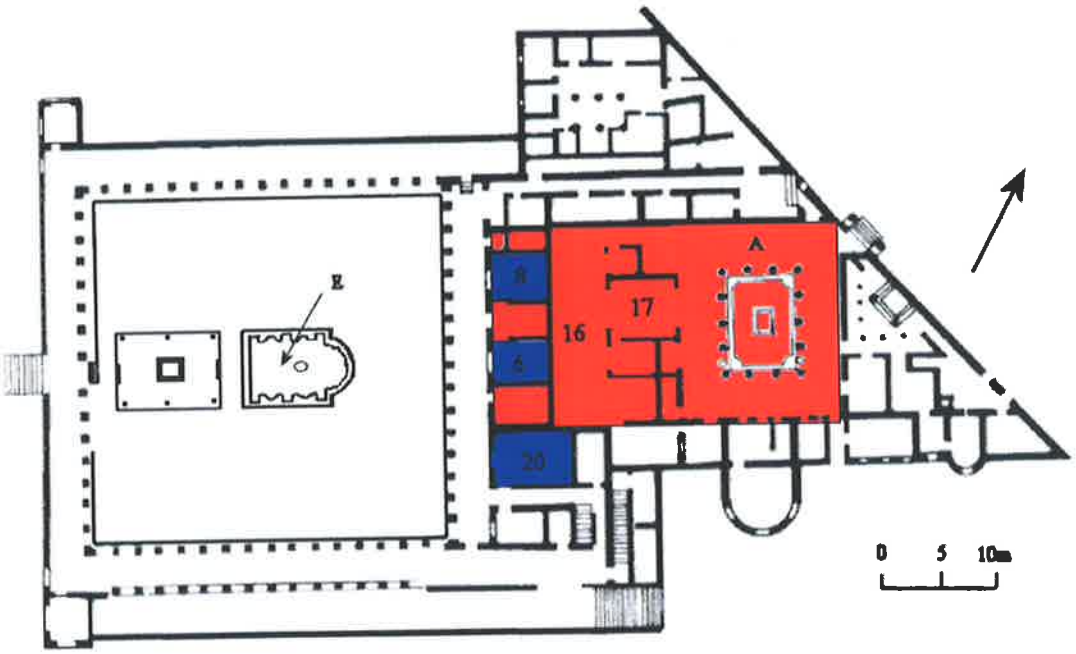


Plate 51
Spatial Data Diagram for the Villa of Cicero

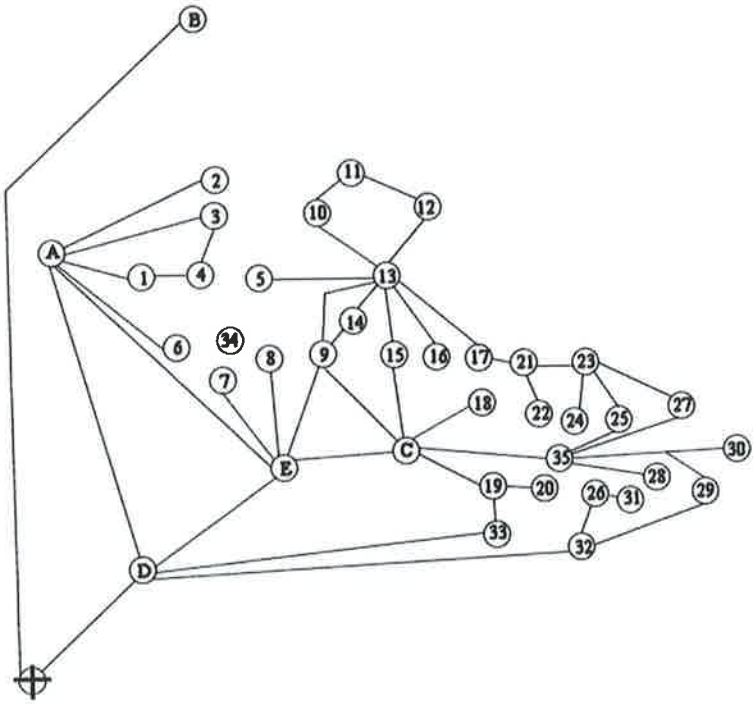


Plate 52
Public/Private Entertainment in the Villa of Cicero

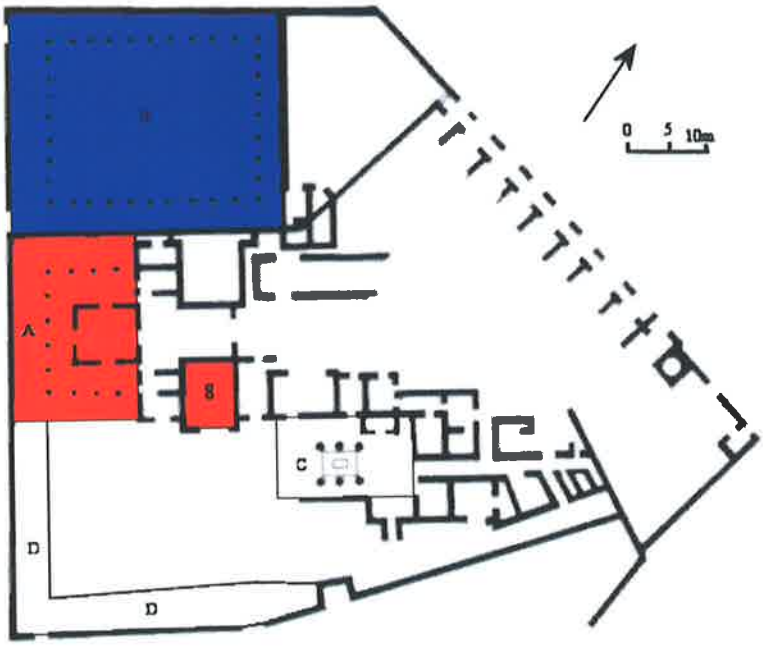


Plate 53
Spatial Data Diagram for the Villa of the Mosaic Columns

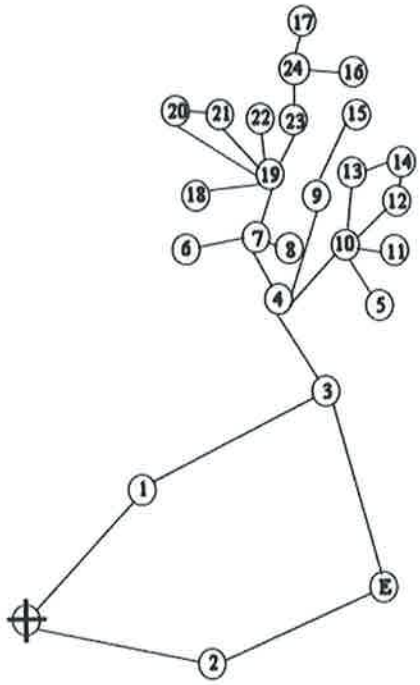


Plate 54
Public/Private Entertainment in the Villa of Mosaic Columns

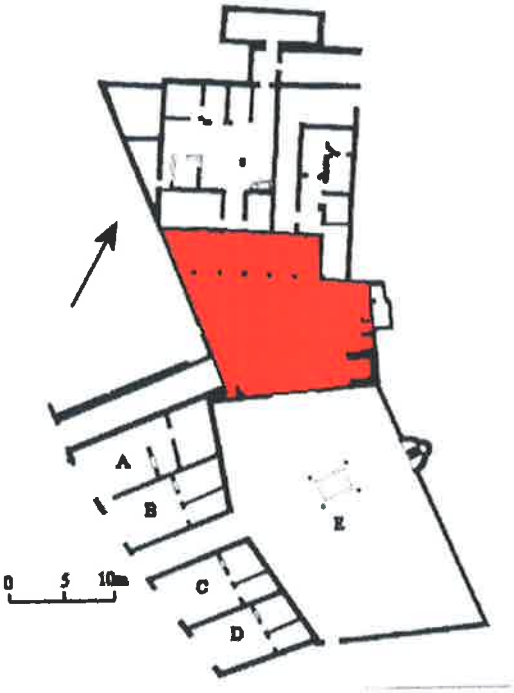


Plate 55
Villa of T. Siminius Stephanus (after Sogliano, 1899b)

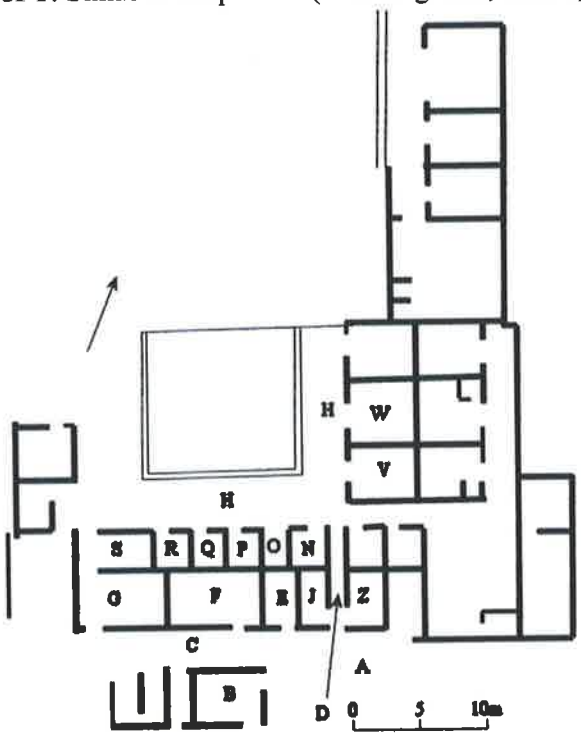


Plate 56
Spatial Data Diagram for the Villa of T. Siminius Stephanus

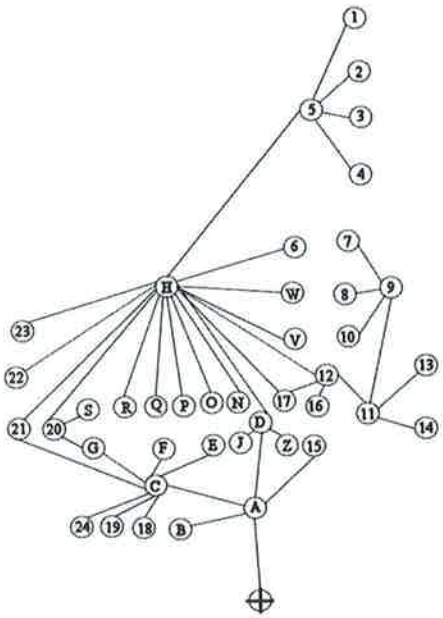


Plate 57
Public/Private Entertainment in the Villa of Siminius Stephanus

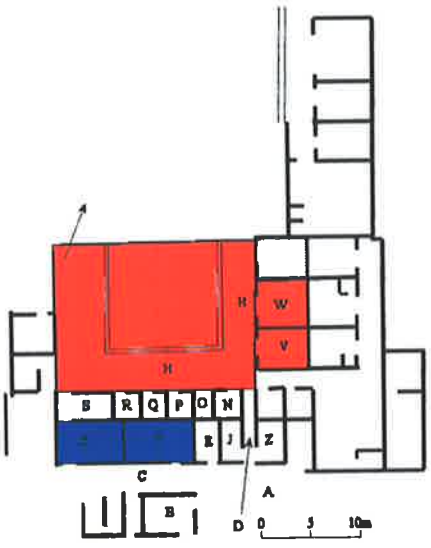


Plate 58
Villa Imperiale (after Jashemski, 1979)

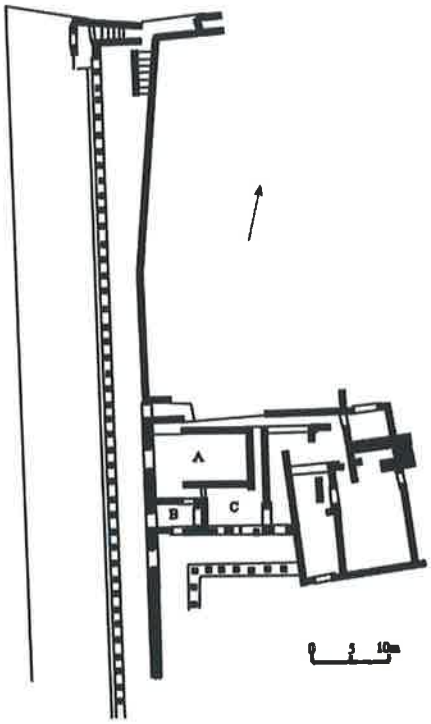


Plate 59
Spatial Data Diagram for the Villa Imperiale

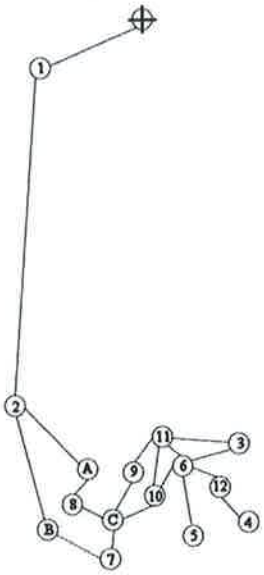


Plate 60
Public/Private Entertainment in the Villa Imperiale

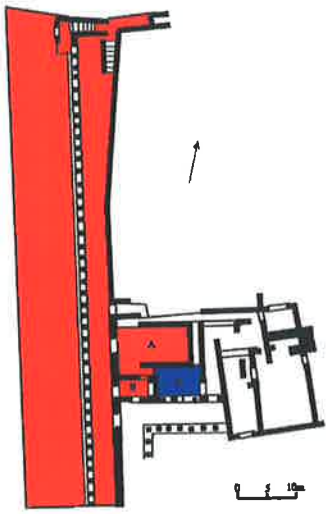


Plate 61
Insula Occidentalis (after Nappo, 1998)

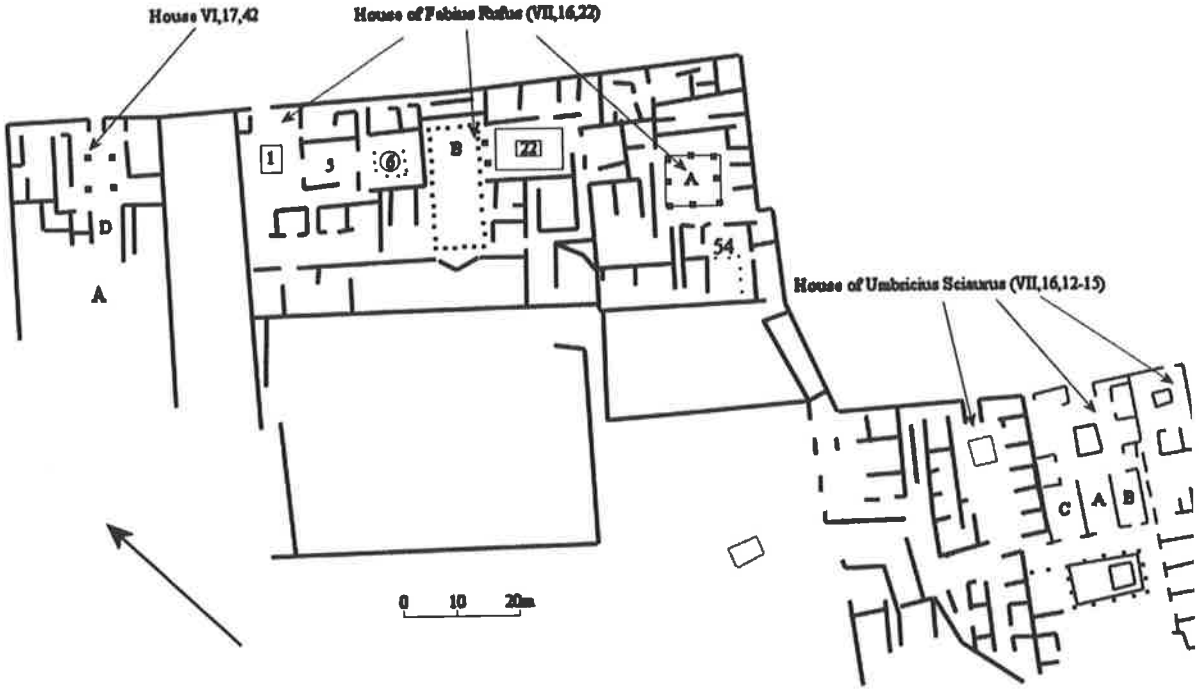


Plate 62
House of the Faun (after Mau, 1908)

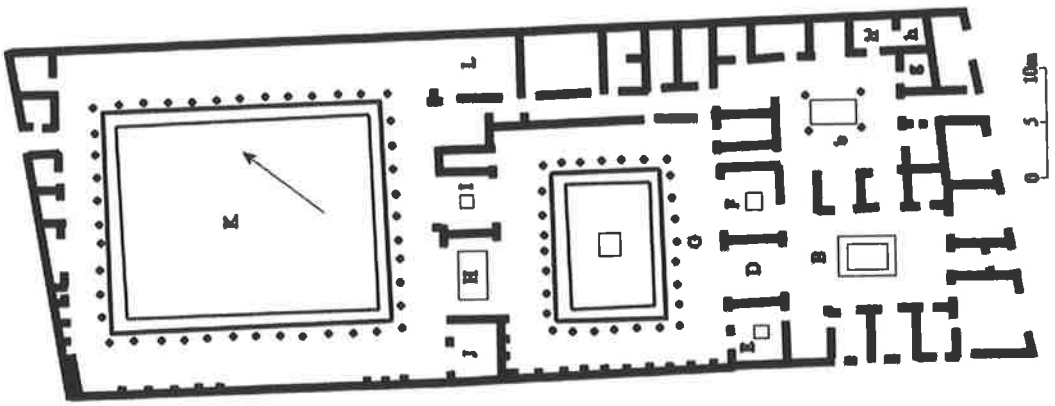


Plate 63
House of Julia Felix (after Van der Poel, 1986)

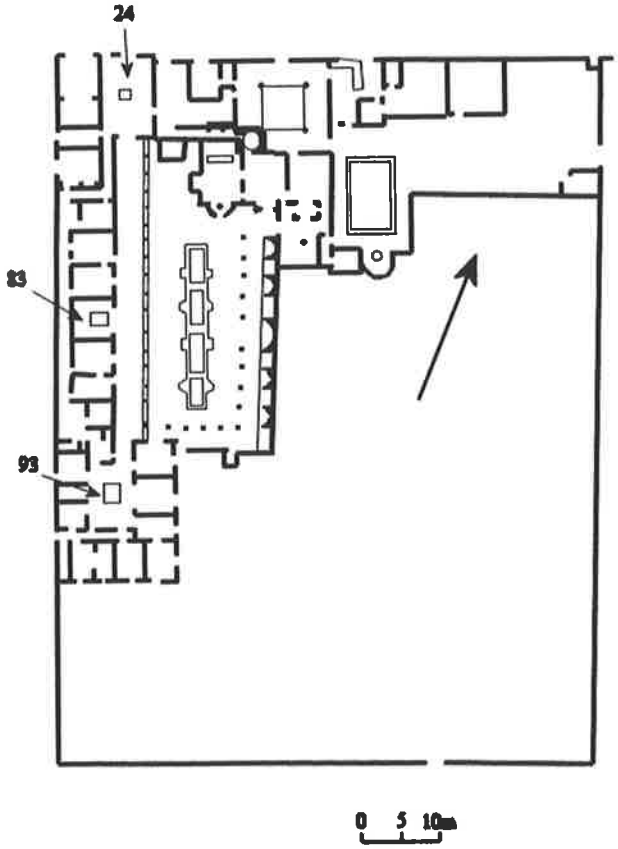


Plate 64
House of Octavius Quartio (after Van der Poel, 1986)

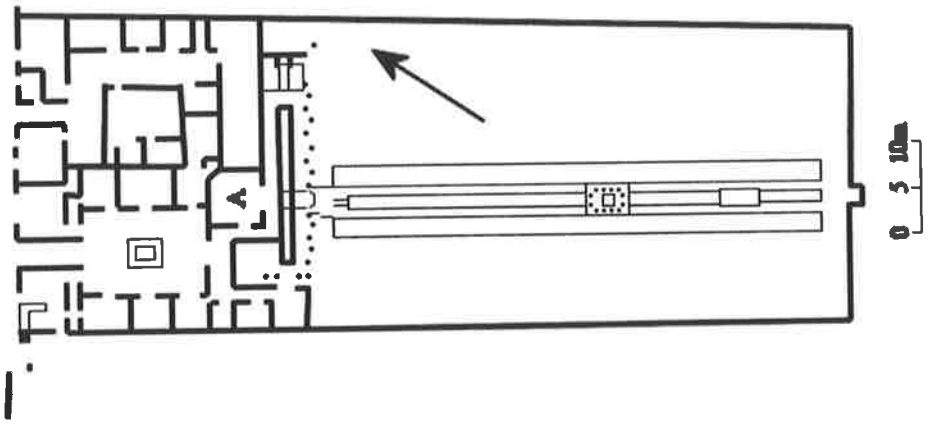


Plate 65
House of the Tragic Poet (after Mau, 1908)

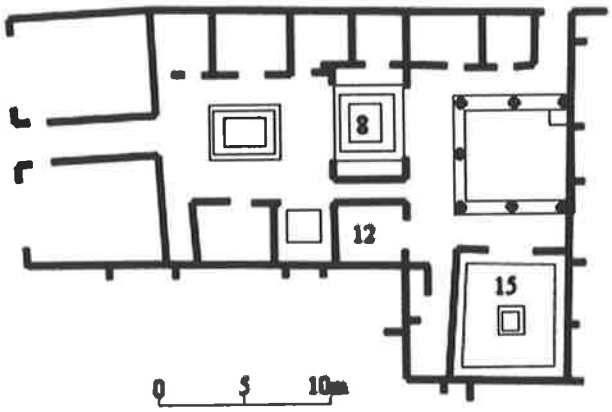


Plate 66
House of M. Lucretius Fronto (after Clarke, 1994)

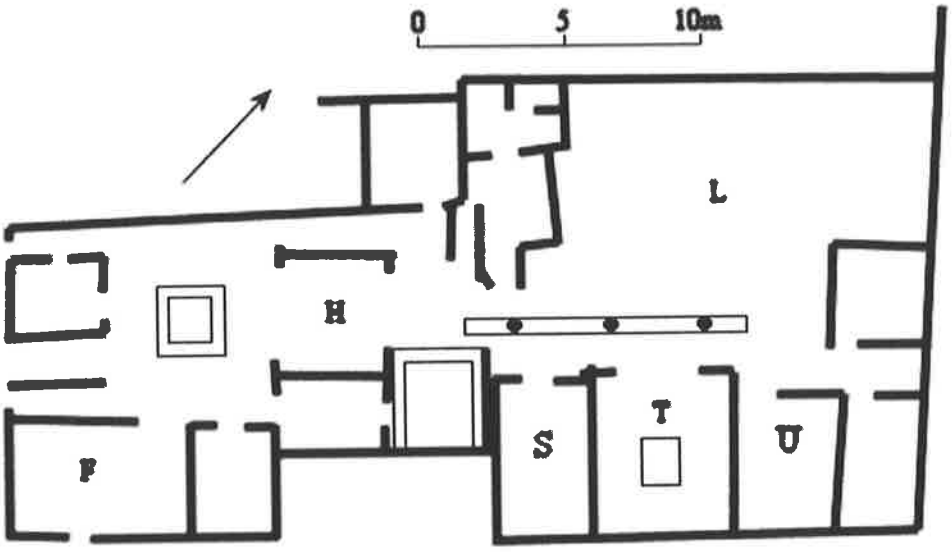


Plate 67
House of the Surgeon (after Mau, 1908)

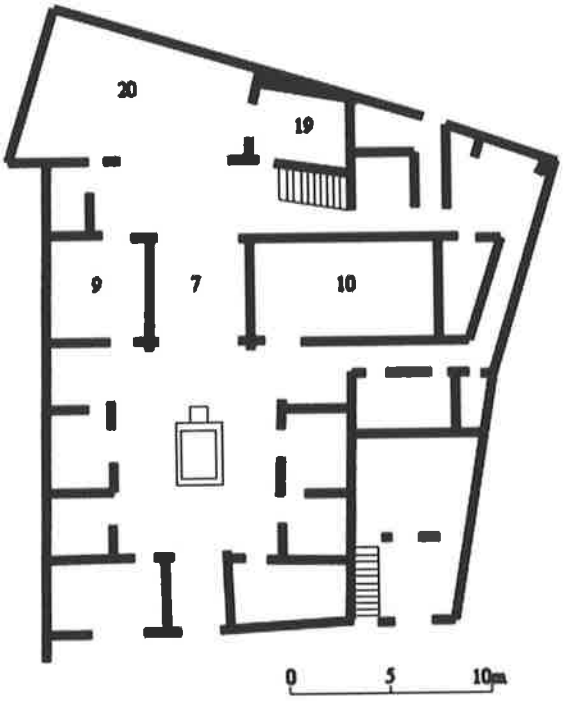


Plate 68
House of the Vettii (after Clarke, 1994)

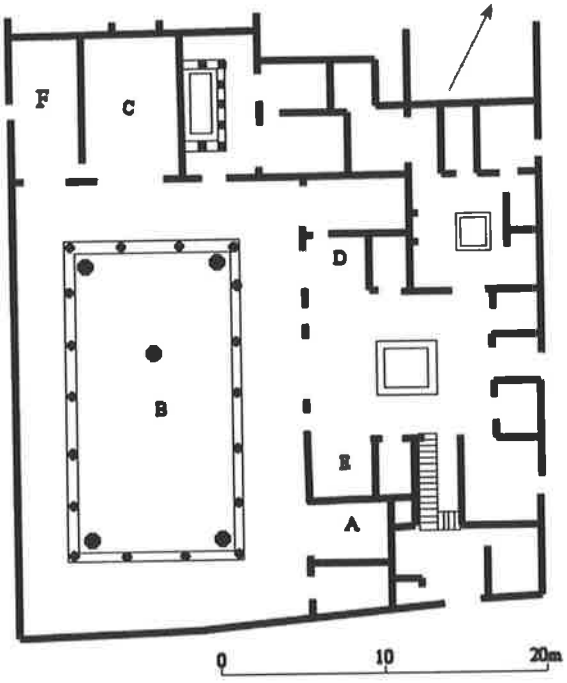


Plate 69
House of Pansa (after Mau, 1908)

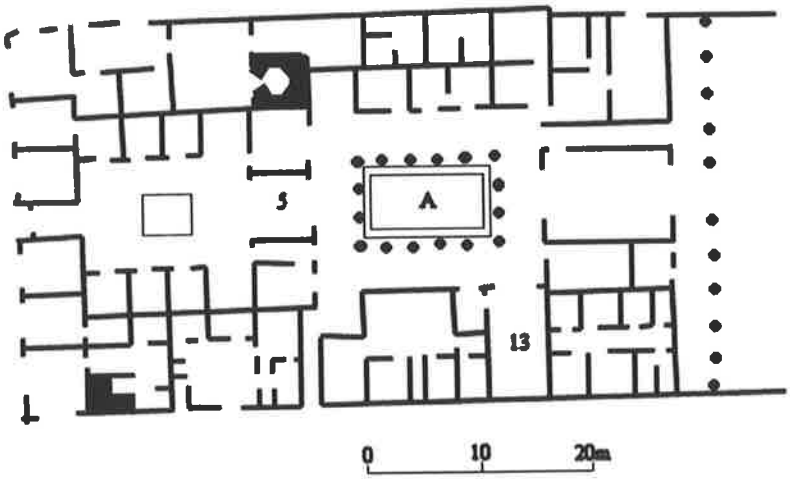


Plate 70
House of the Labyrinth (after Wallace-Hadrill, 1991)

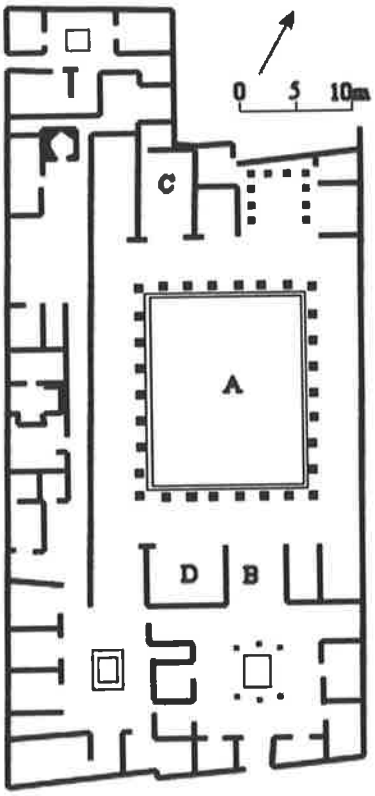


Plate 71
House of the Centenary (after Wallace-Hadrill, 1991)

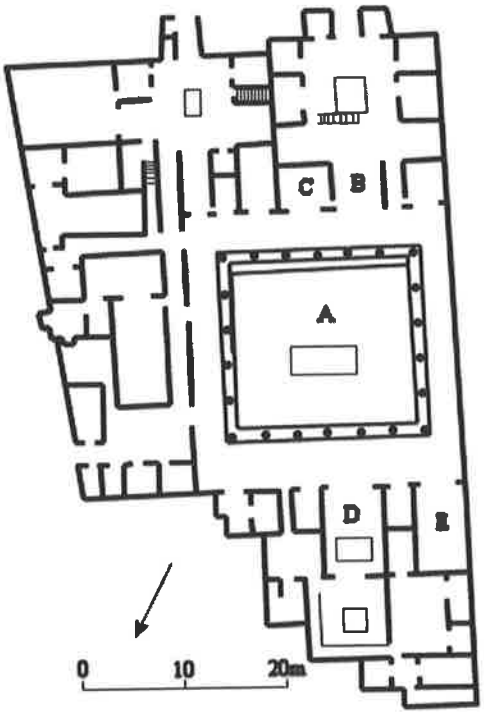


Plate 72
Villa of Iucundus at Pisanella (Villa 17) (after Mau, 1908)

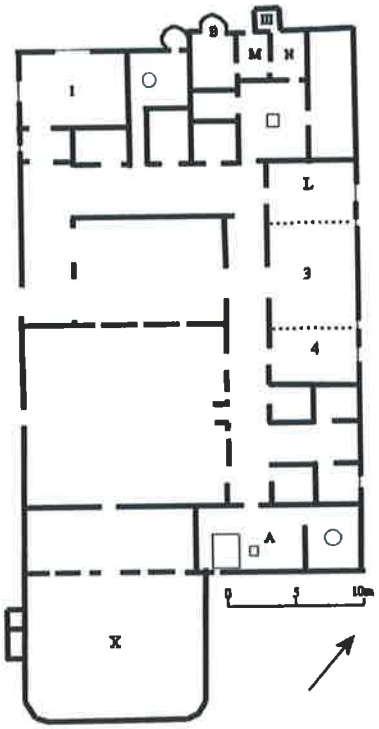


Plate 73
Spatial Data Diagram for the Villa of Iucundus

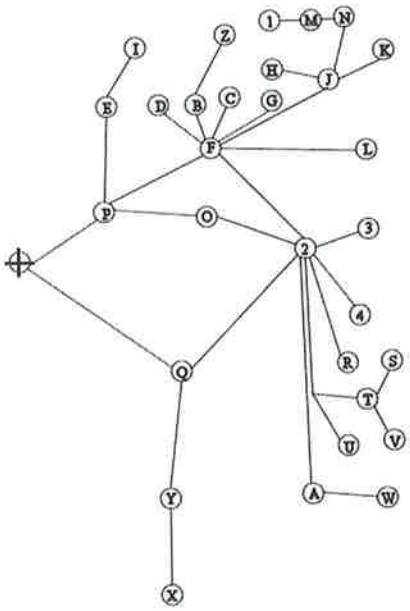


Plate 74
Public/Private Entertainment in the Villa of Iucundus

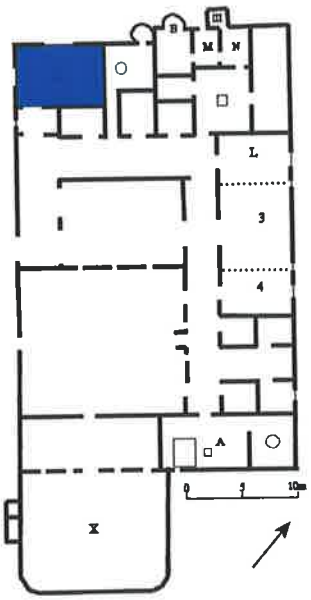


Plate 75
Villa of Popidius Florus (Villa 18) (after Della Corte, 1921)

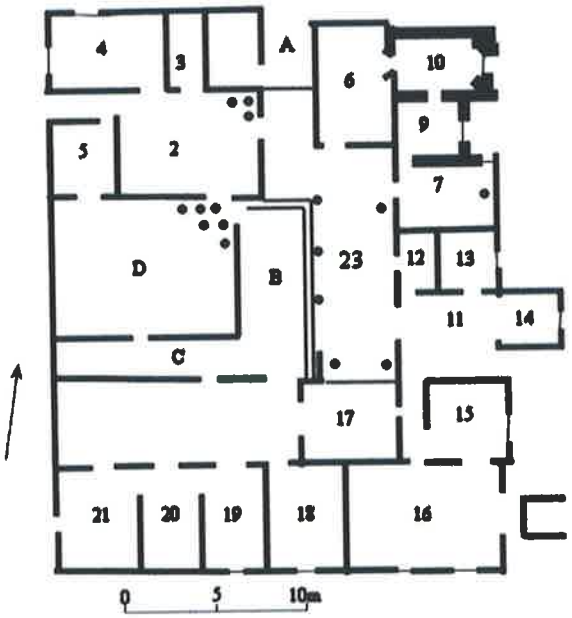


Plate 76
Spatial Data Diagram for the Villa of Popidius Florus

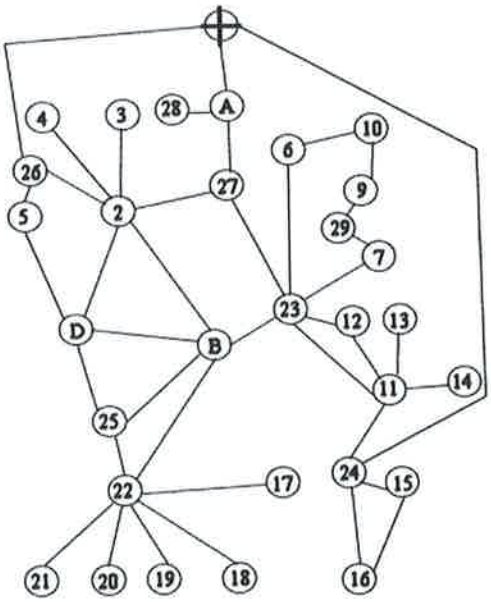


Plate 77
Public/Private Entertainment in the Villa of Popidius Florus

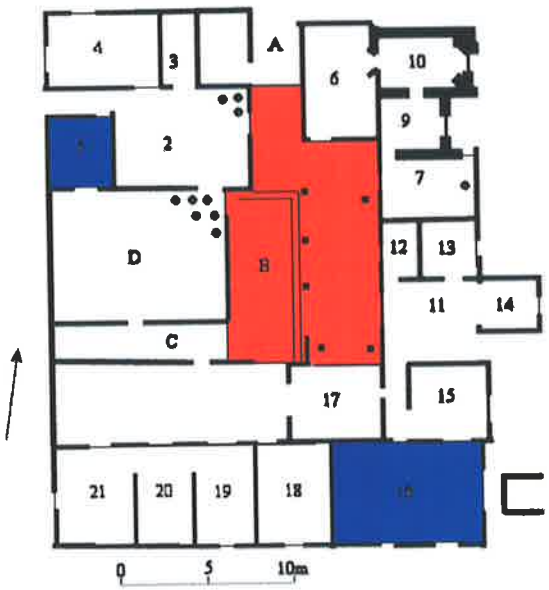


Plate 78
Villa at Boscoreale (Villa 19) (after Della Corte, 1921)

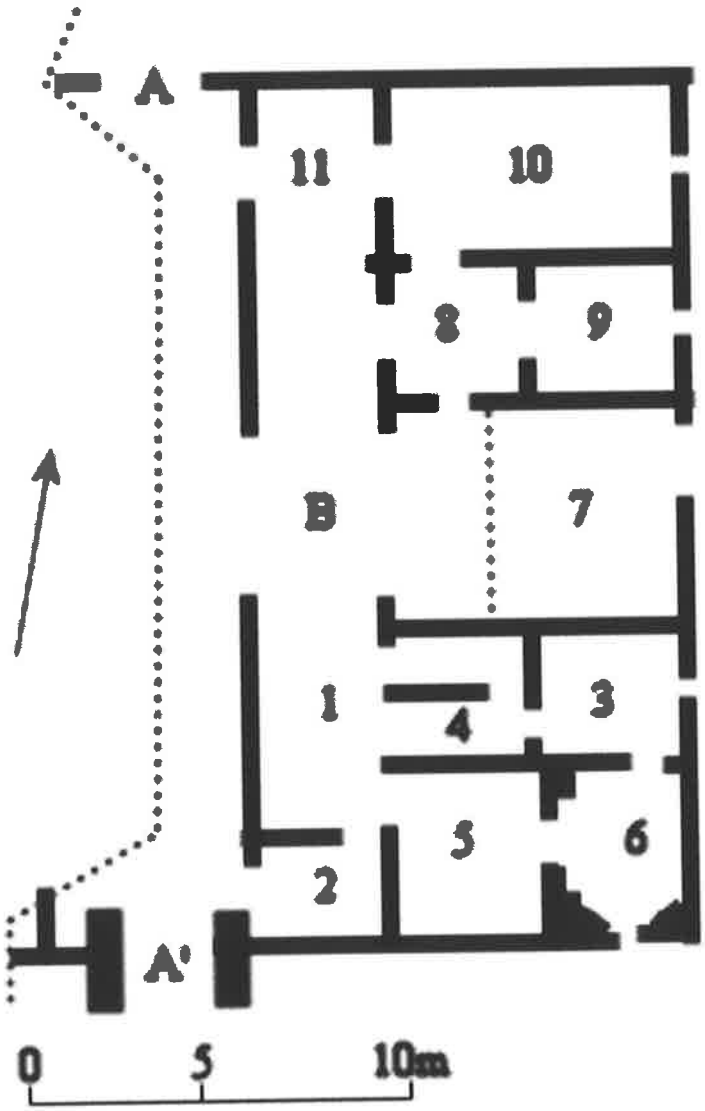


Plate 79
Villa of Fannius Synistor (Villa 20) (after Richardson, 1988a)

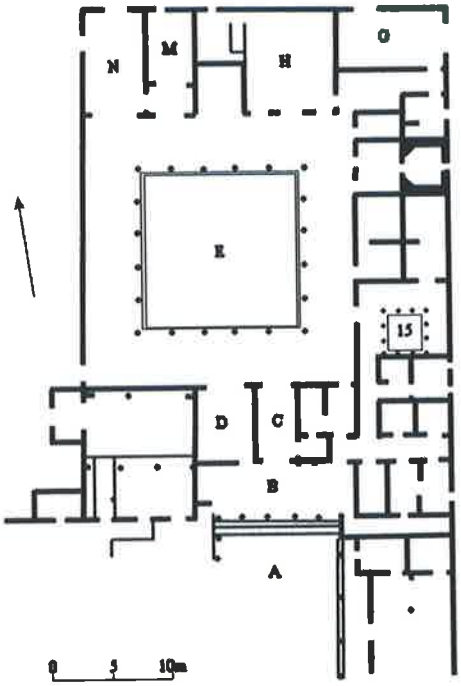


Plate 80
Spatial Data Diagram for the Villa of Fannius Synistor

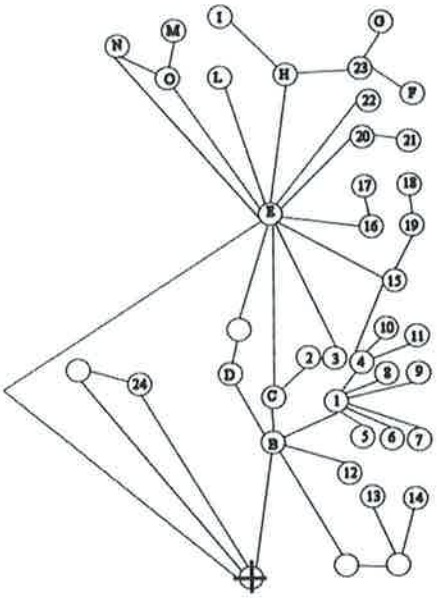


Plate 81
Public/Private Entertainment in the Villa of Fannius Synistor

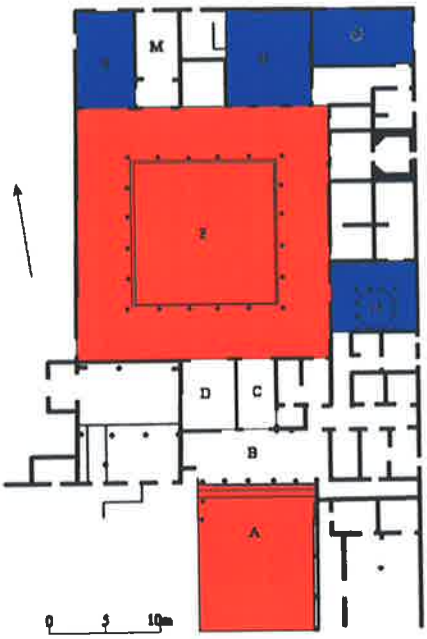


Plate 82
Villa of Poppaea (Villa 21) (after Richardson, 1988a)

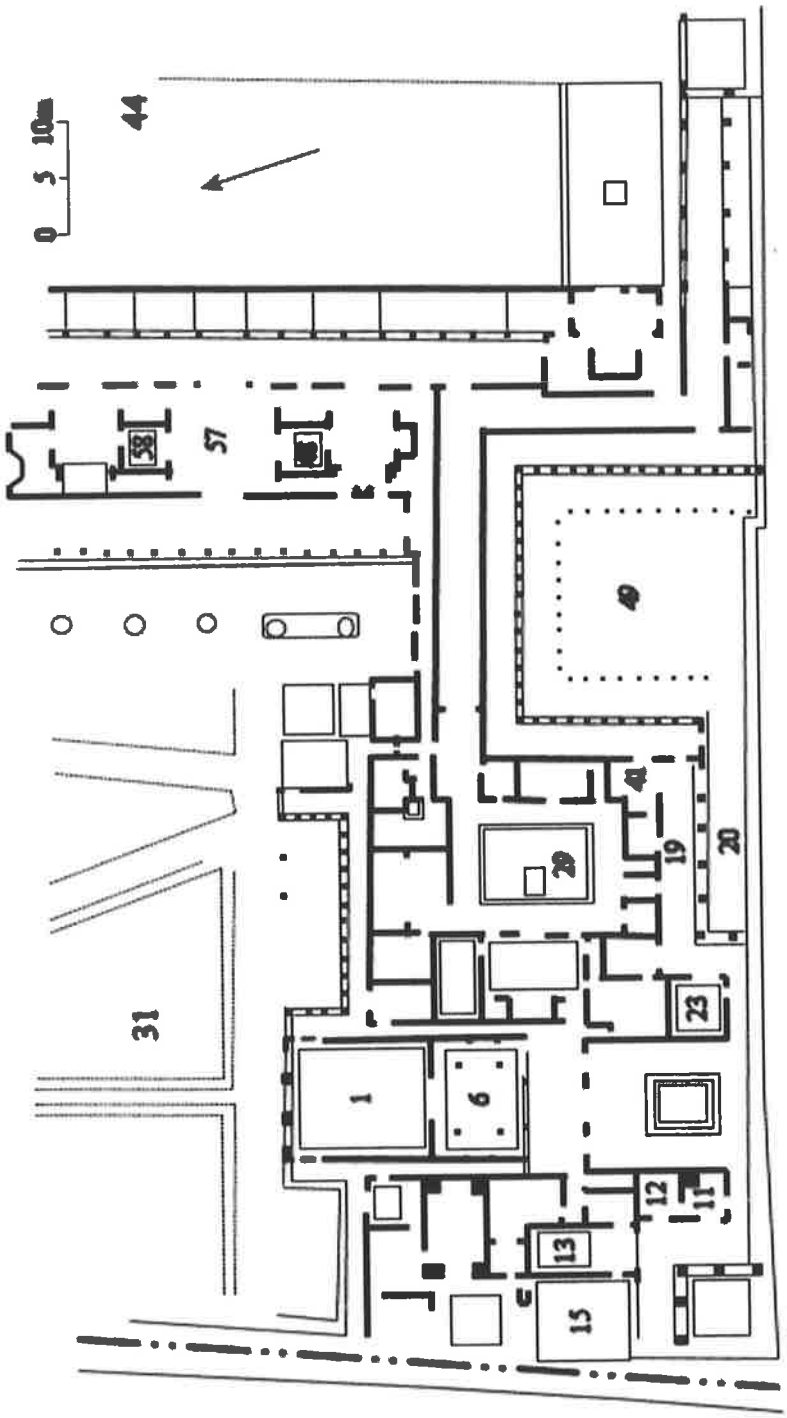


Plate 83
Villa of Agrippa Postumus (Villa 22) (after Blanckenhagen, 1990)

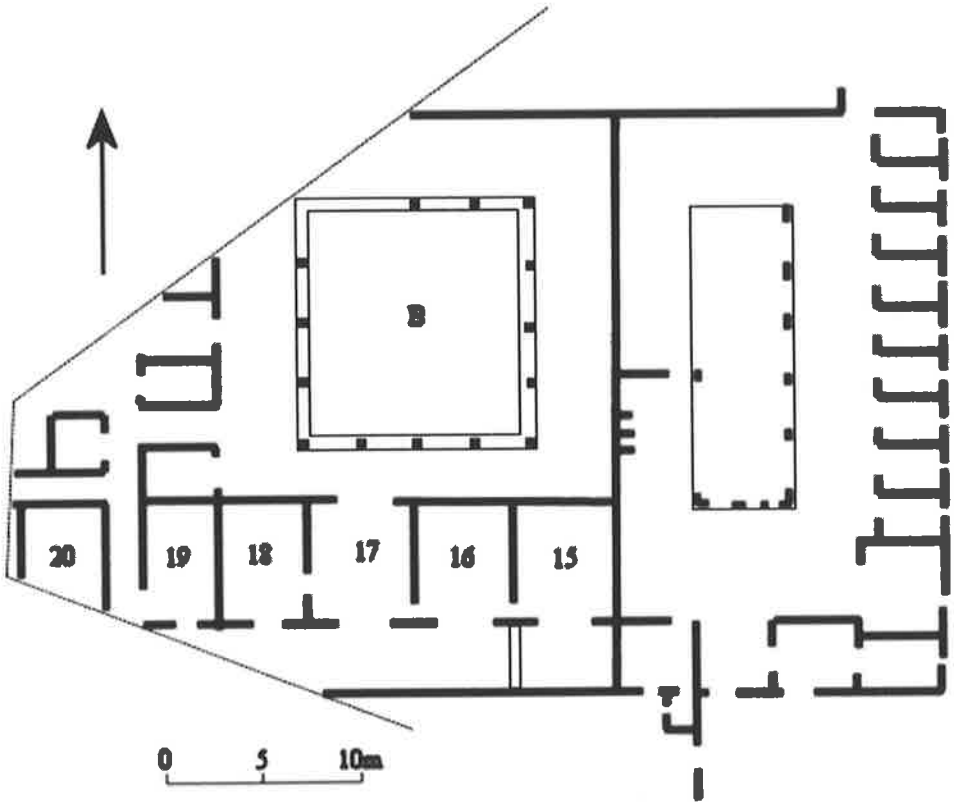


Plate 84
Villa of Asellius (Villa 23) (after Della Corte, 1921)

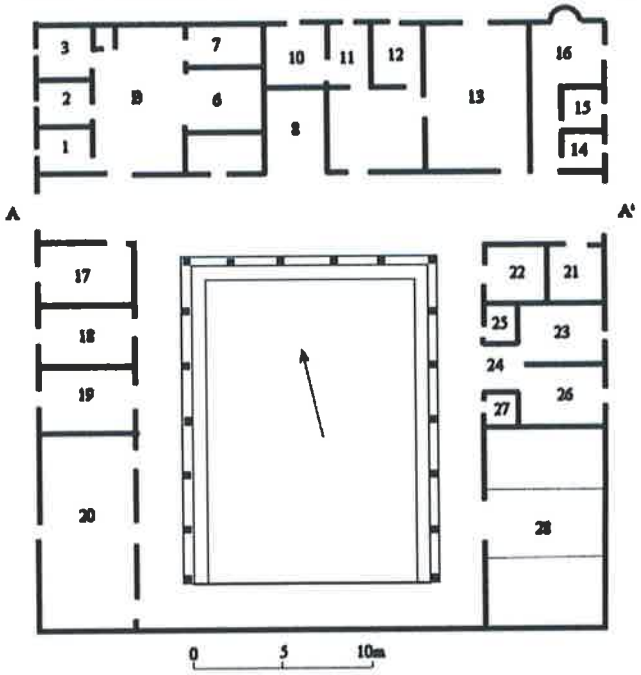


Plate 85
Spatial Data Diagram for the Villa of Asellius

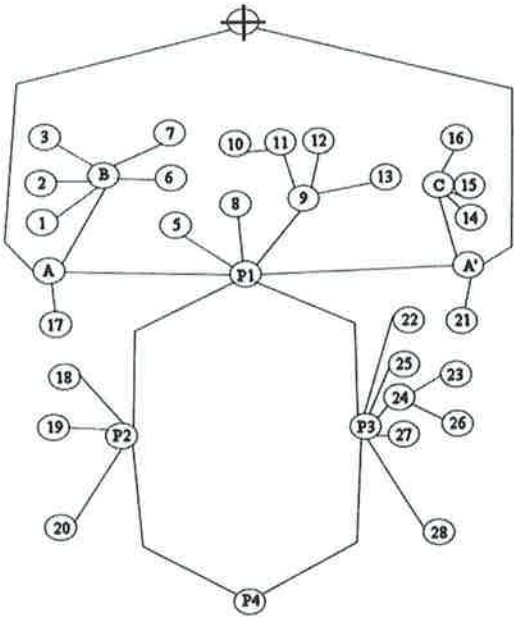


Plate 86
Public/Private Entertainment in the Villa of Asellius

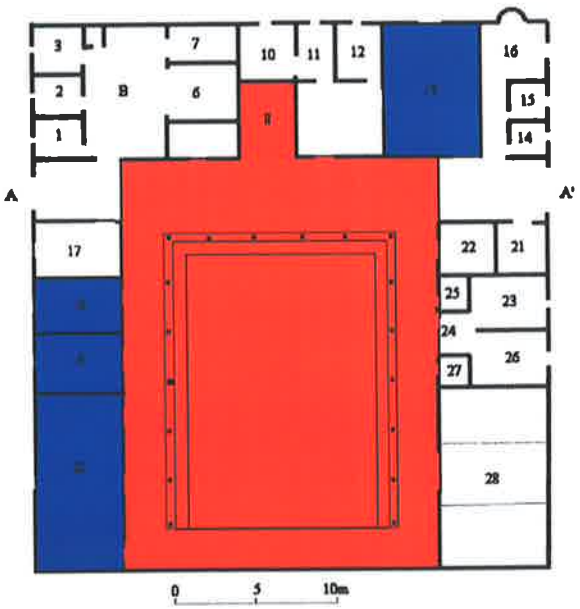


Plate 87
Villa of L. Crassius Tertius (Villa 24) (after Morelli, 2000)

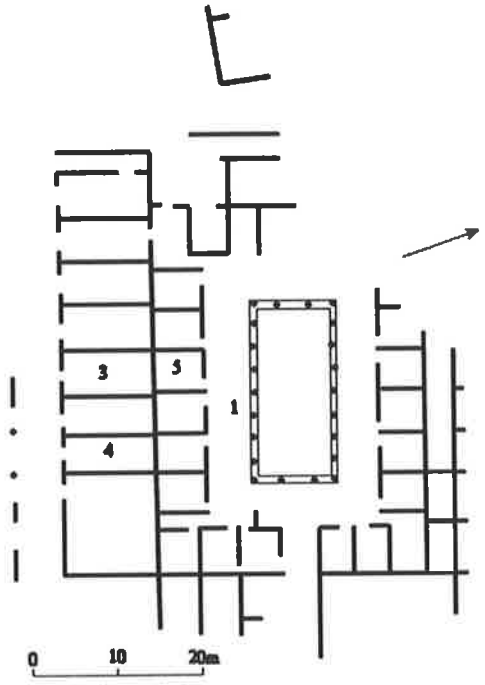


Plate 88
Villa at Boscoreale (Villa 25) (after Della Corte, 1921)

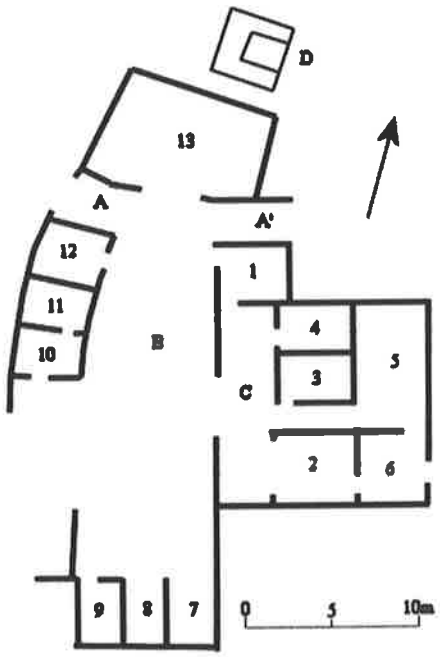


Plate 89
Villa at Boscoreale (Villa 26) (after Della Corte, 1921)

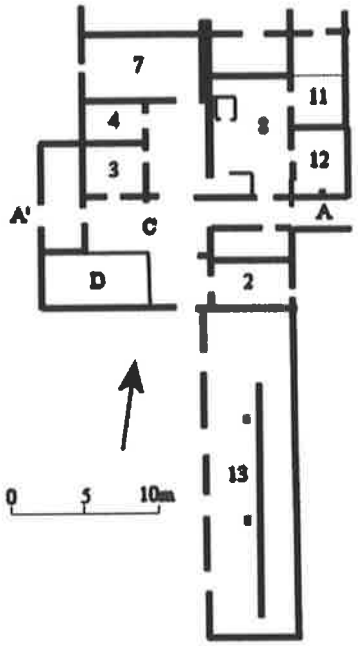


Plate 90
Villa outside Pompeii (Villa 27) (after Paribeni, 1903)

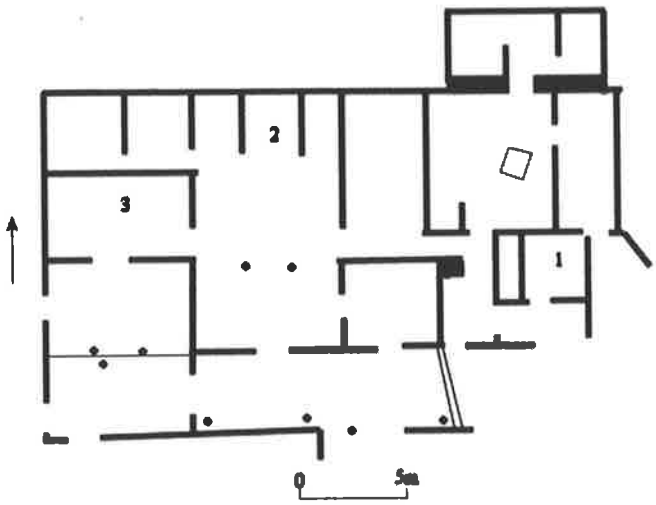


Plate 91
Villa of L. Aurelius Successus (Villa 28) (after Sogliano, 1899)

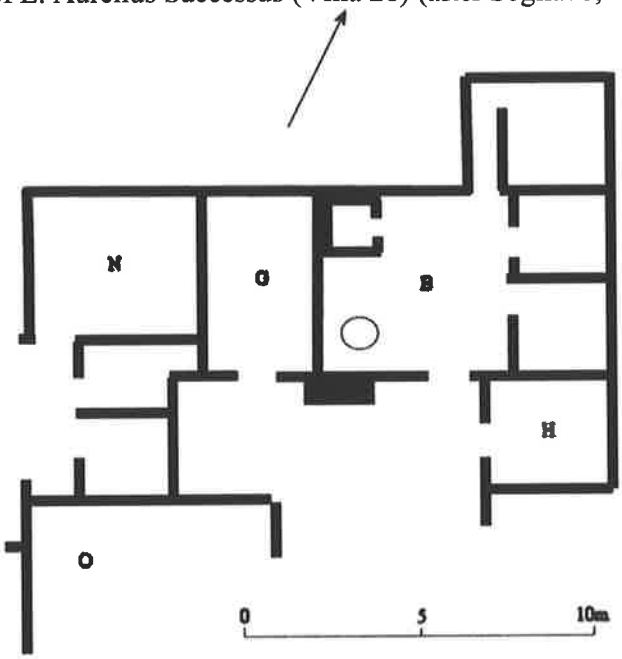


Plate 92
Villa Regina at Boscoreale (Villa 29) (after Jasemski, 1979)

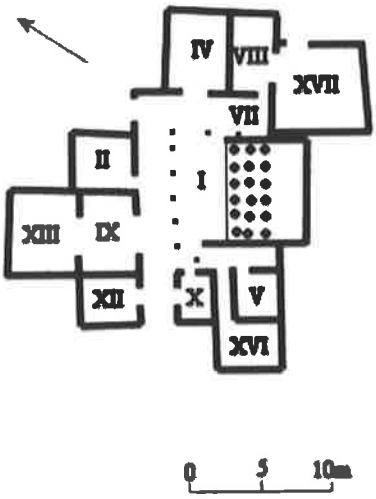


Plate 93
Villa at Scafati (Villa 30) (after Della Corte, 1923a

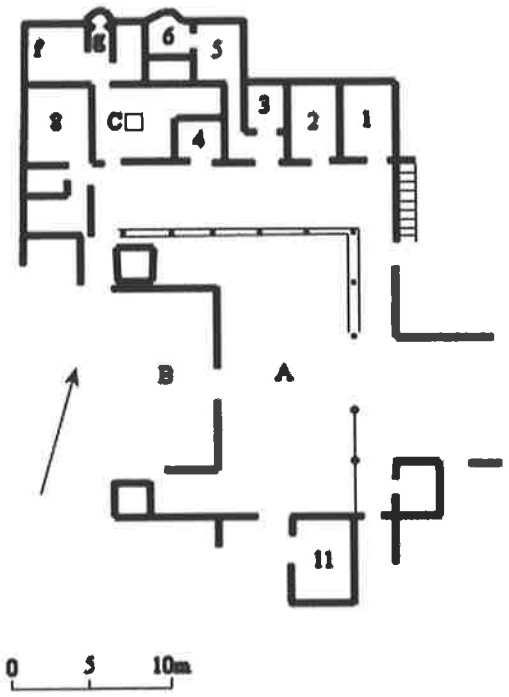


Plate 94
Villa of M. Livius Marcellus (Villa 31) (after Della Corte, 1929)

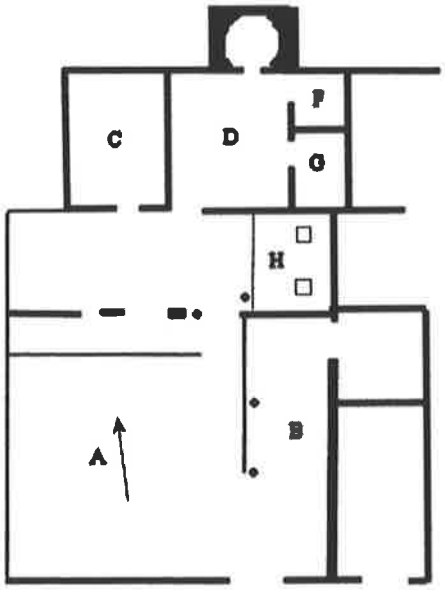


Plate 95
Villa at Boscoreale (Villa 32) (after Della Corte, 1921)

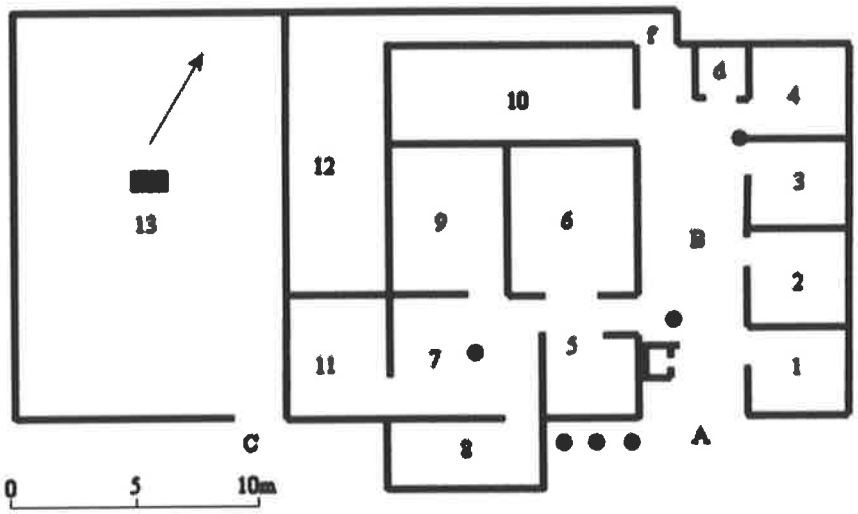


Plate 96
Villa at Boscoreale (Villa 33) (after Sogliano, 1897b)

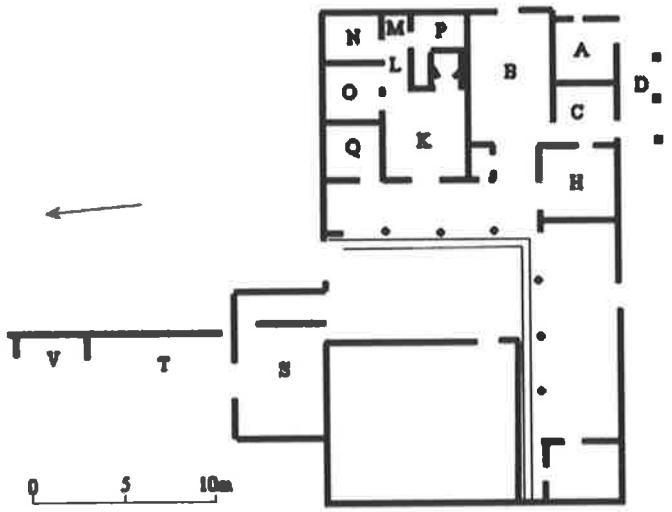


Plate 97
Villa of Domitius Auctus (Villa 34) (after Sogliano, 1899d)

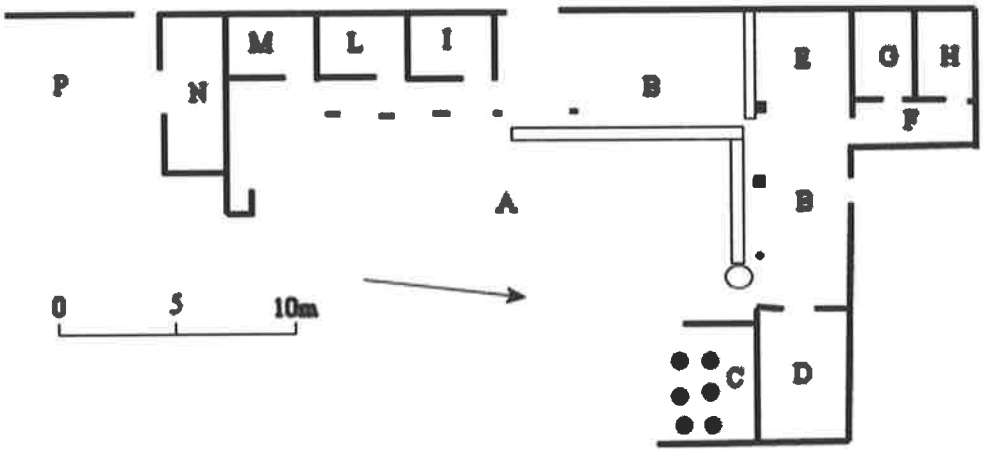


Plate 98
Villa of Crapolla at Scafati (Villa 35) (after Della Corte, 1923)

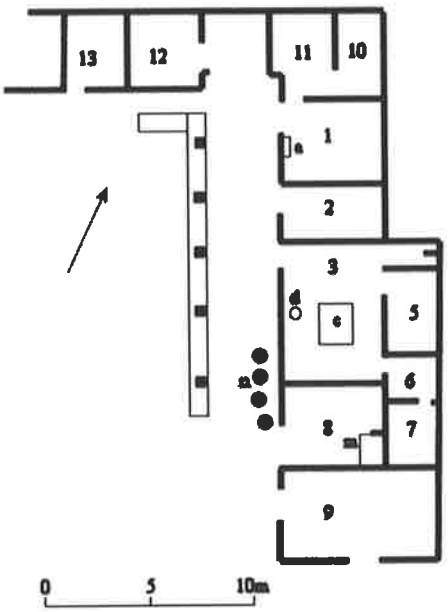


Plate 99
Villa at Boscoreale (Villa 36) (after Sogliano, 1898a)

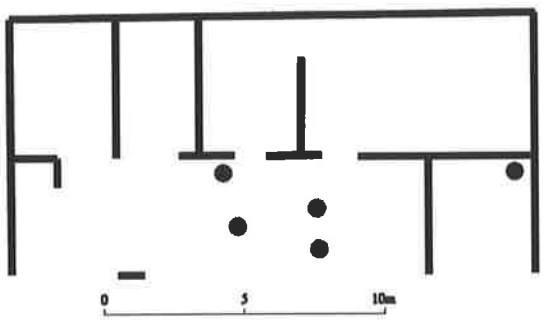


Plate 100
Villa of the Papyri (Villa 39) (after Parslow, 1978)

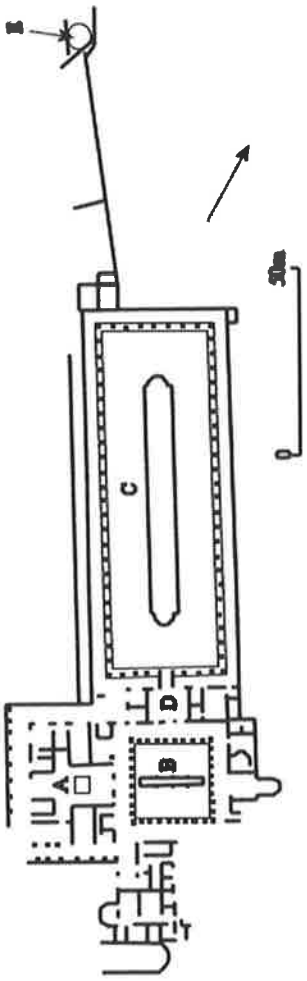


Plate 101
Spatial Data Diagram for the Villa of the Papyri

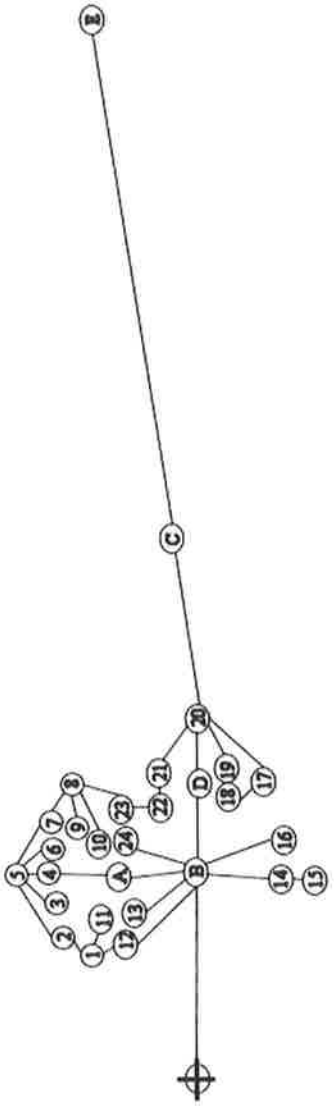


Plate 102
Public/Private Entertainment in the Villa of the Papyri

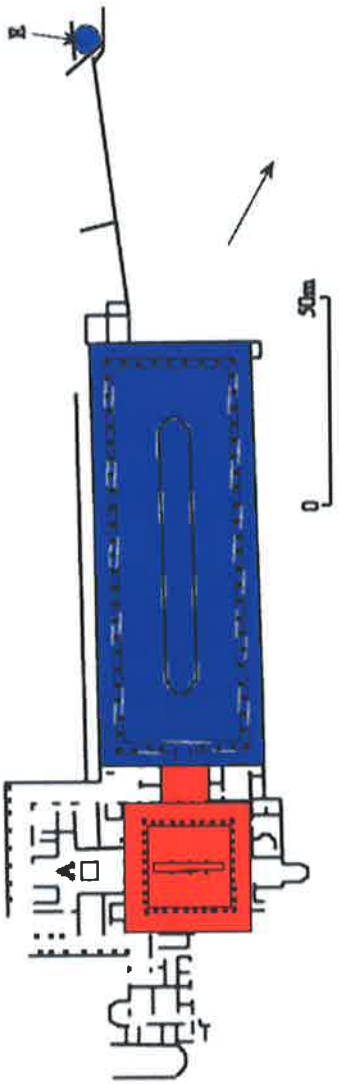


Plate 103
Villa Sora (Villa 40) (after Pagano, 1990)

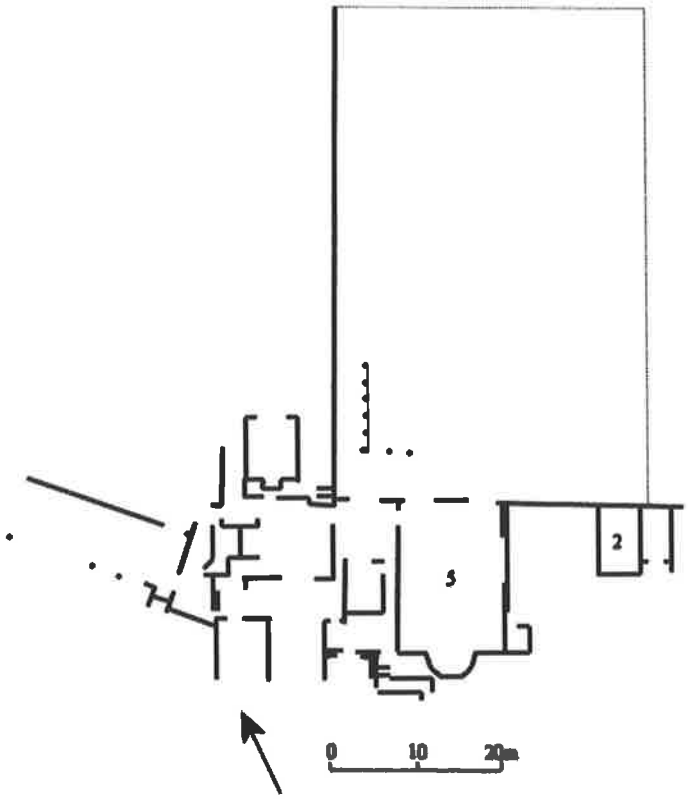


Plate 104
Villa Ambulatio (Villa 48)

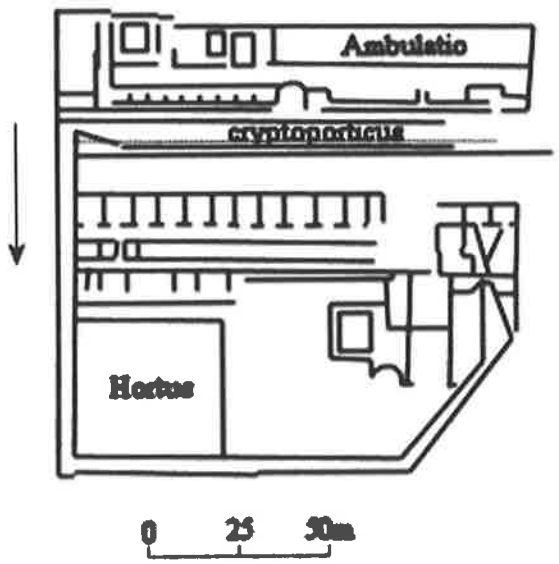


Plate 105
Villa of Piso in the Baiae Lake (after Lafon, 2001)

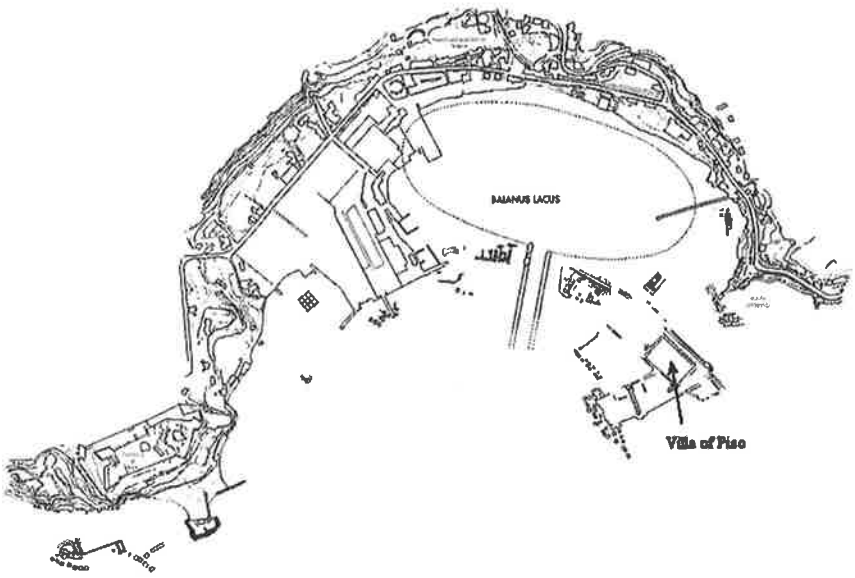


Plate 106
Villa of Piso (Villa 49) (after Lafon, 2001)

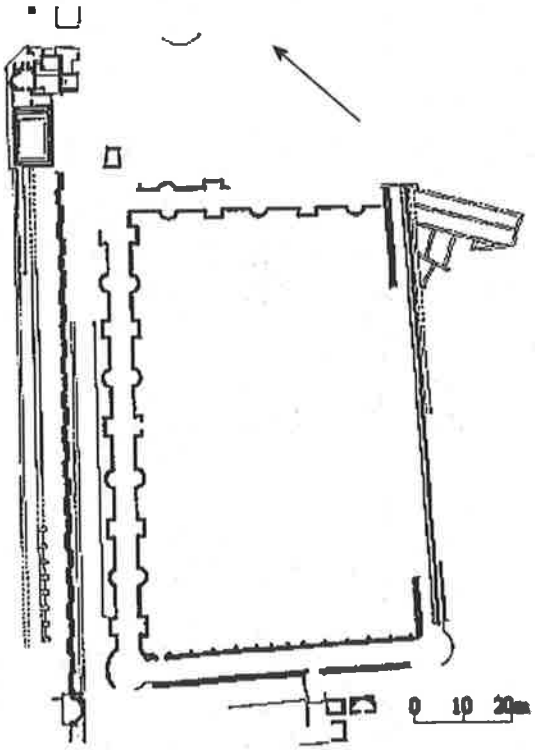


Plate 107
House of Aristide (after Maiuri, 1958)

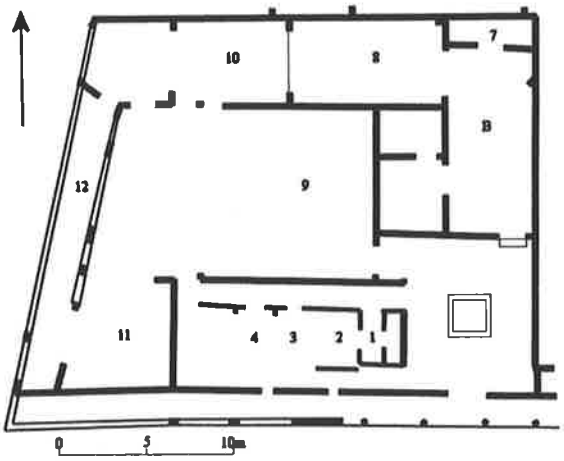


Plate 108
House of Argo (after Maiuri, 1958)

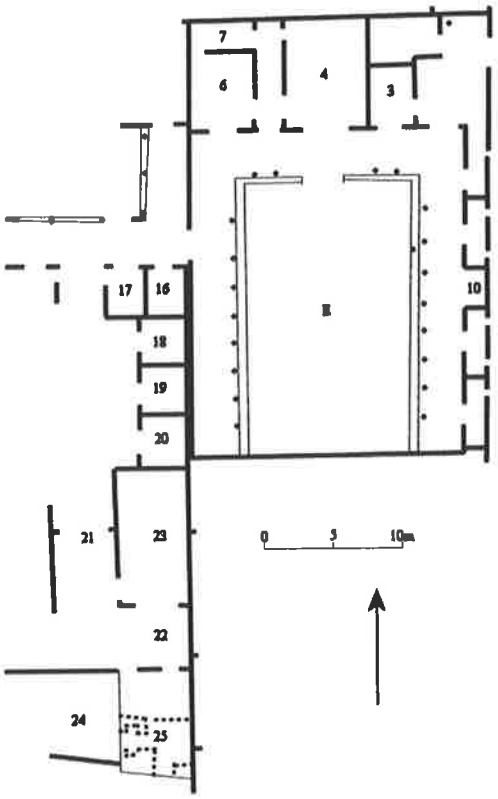


Plate 109
House of the Albergo (after Maiuri, 1958)

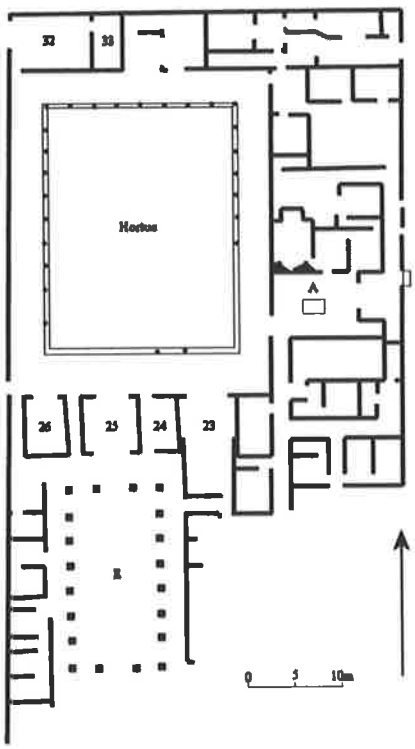


Plate 110

House of the Mosaic Atrium (after Maiuri, 1958)

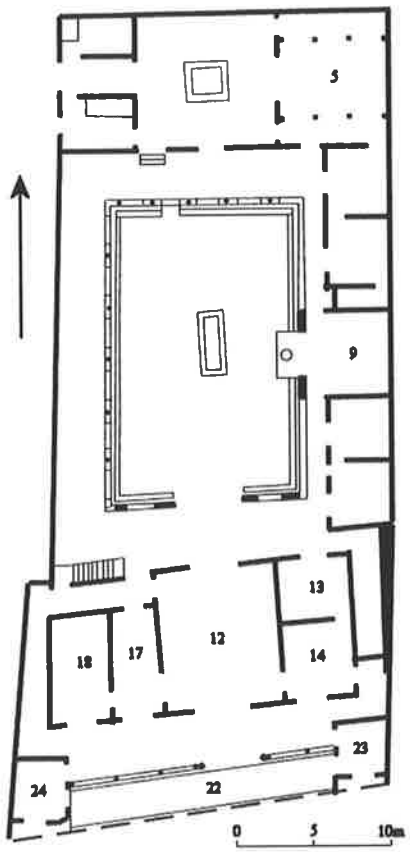


Plate 111

House of the Stags (after Maiuri, 1958)

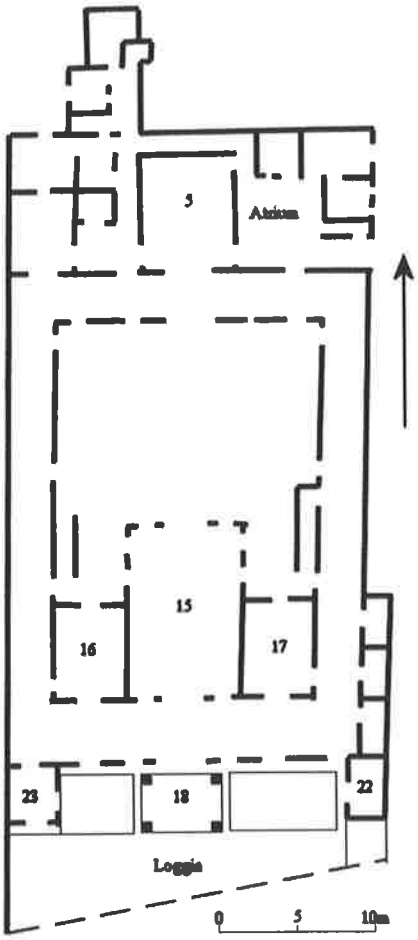


Plate 112
House of the Relief of Telphus (after Maiuri, 1958)

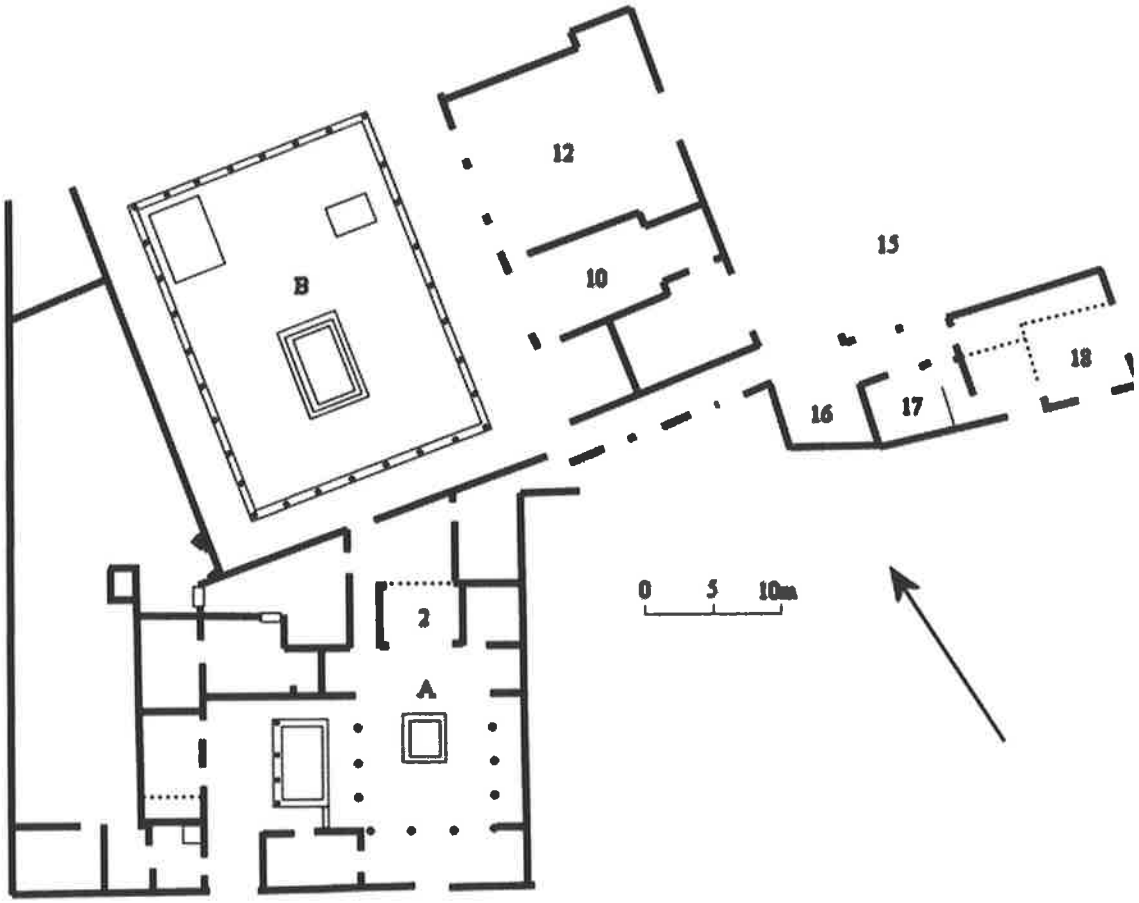


Plate 113
Map of Villas Located in the *Ager Stabianus*

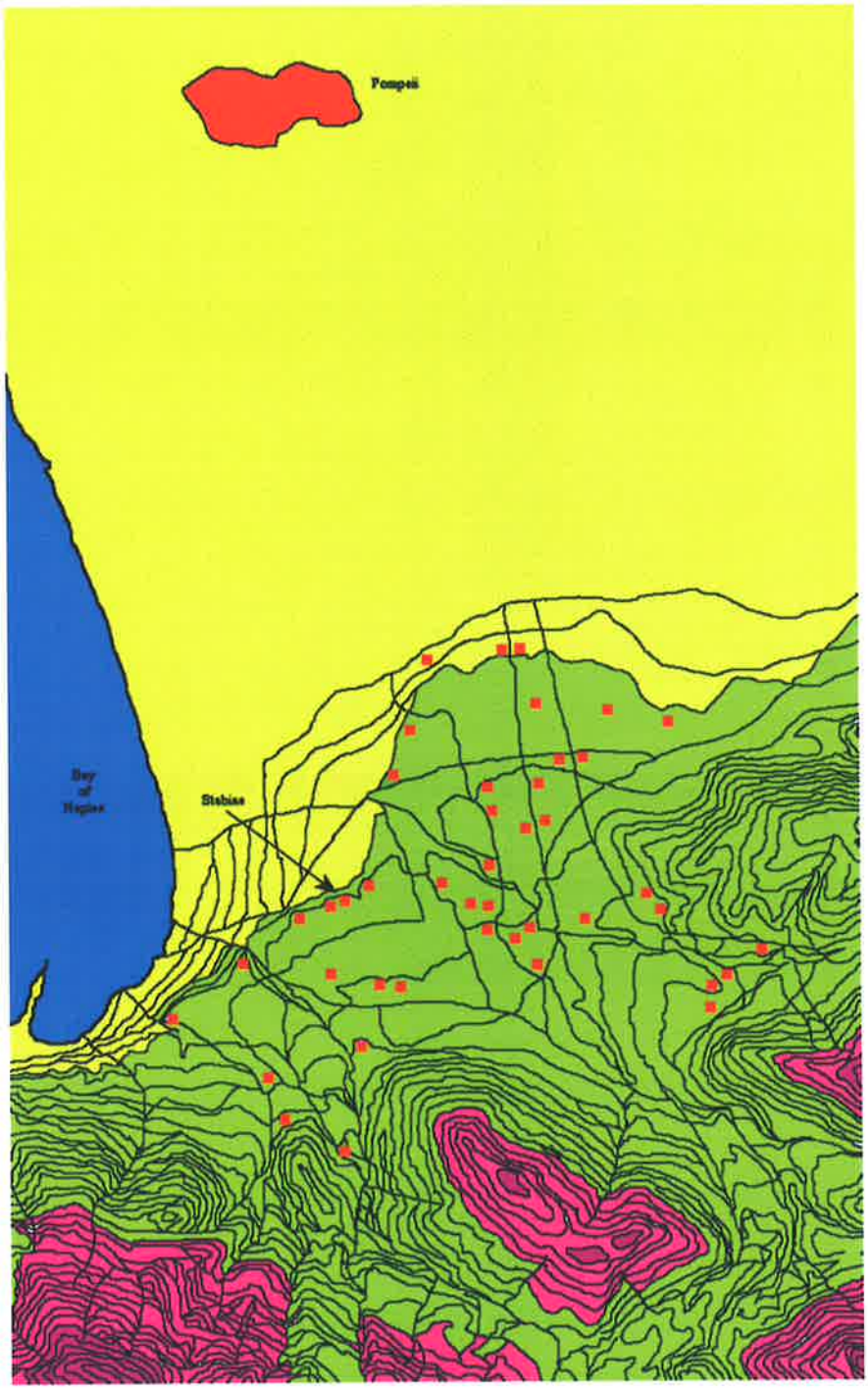


Plate 114
Villa San Marco (Villa 50) (after Camardo and Ferrara, 1989)

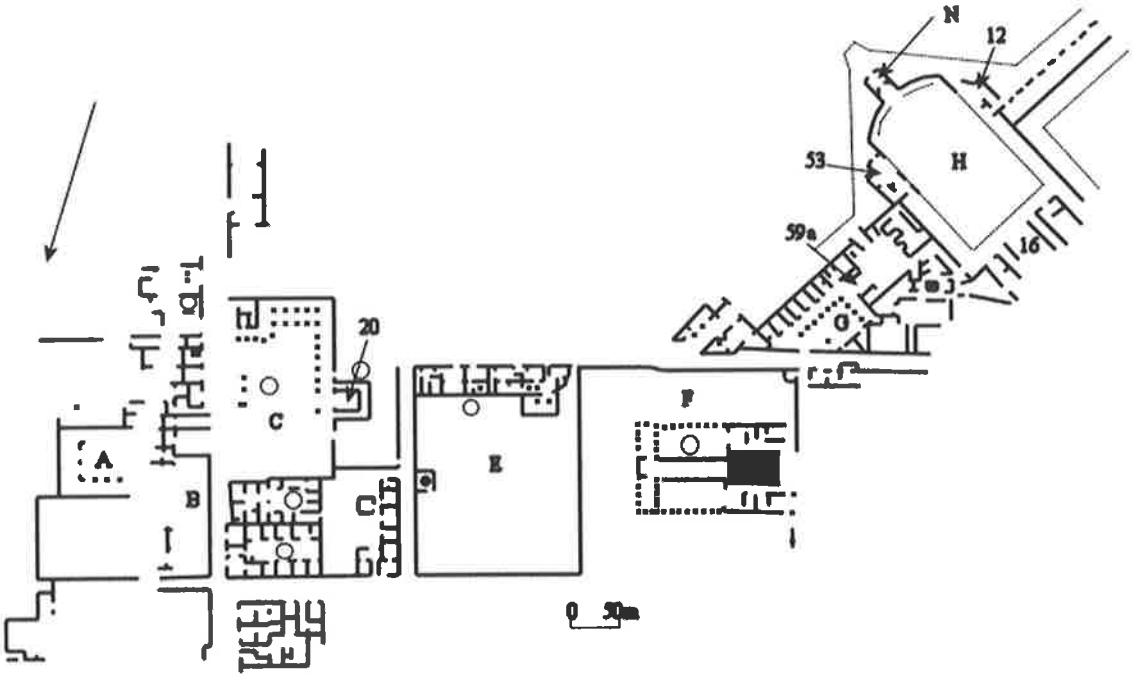


Plate 115
Excavated Regions of the Villa San Marco

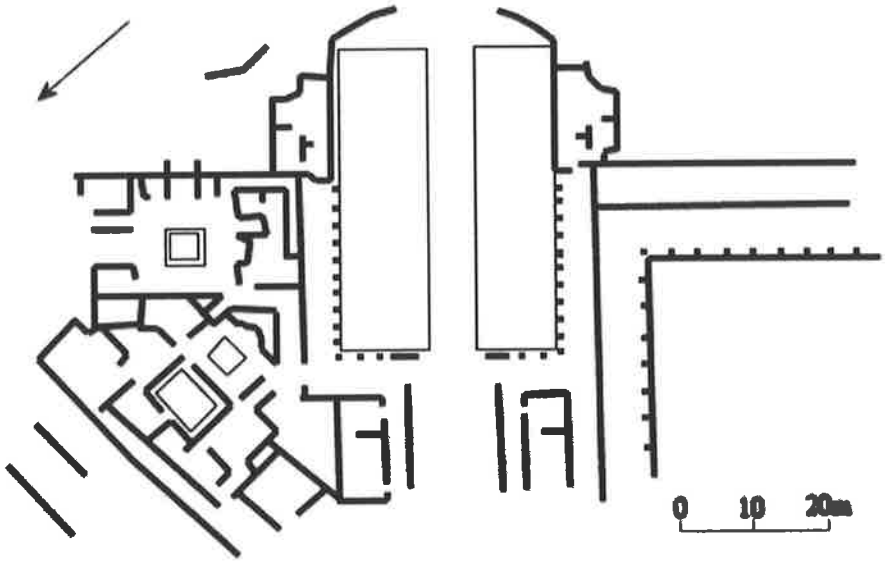


Plate 116
Spatial Data Diagram for the Villa San Marco

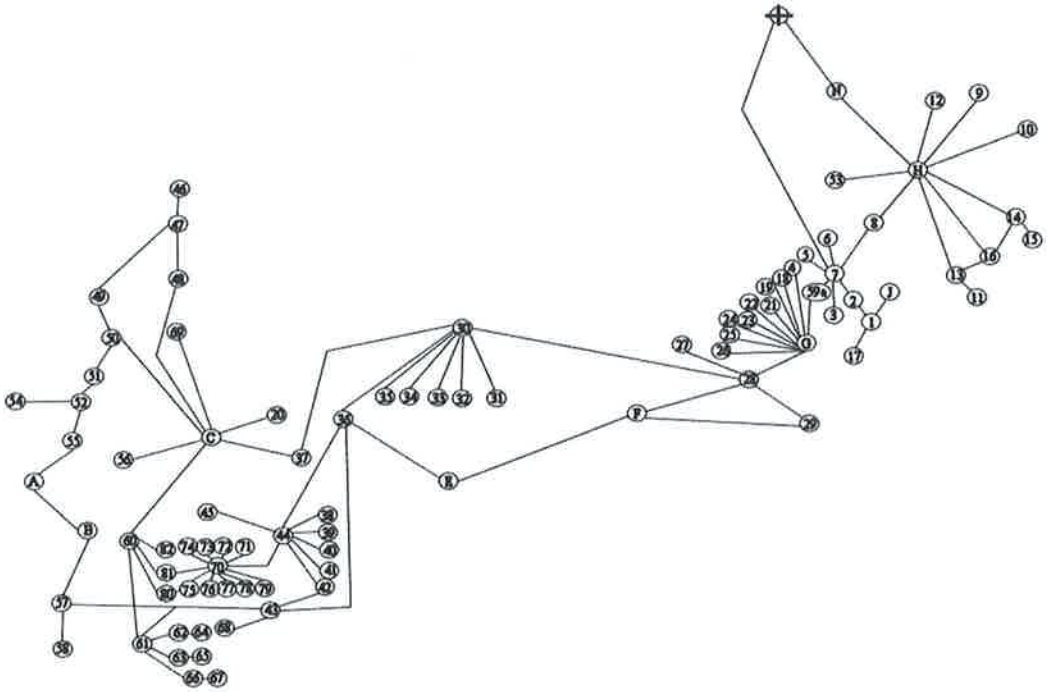


Plate 117
Public/Private Entertainment in the Villa San Marco

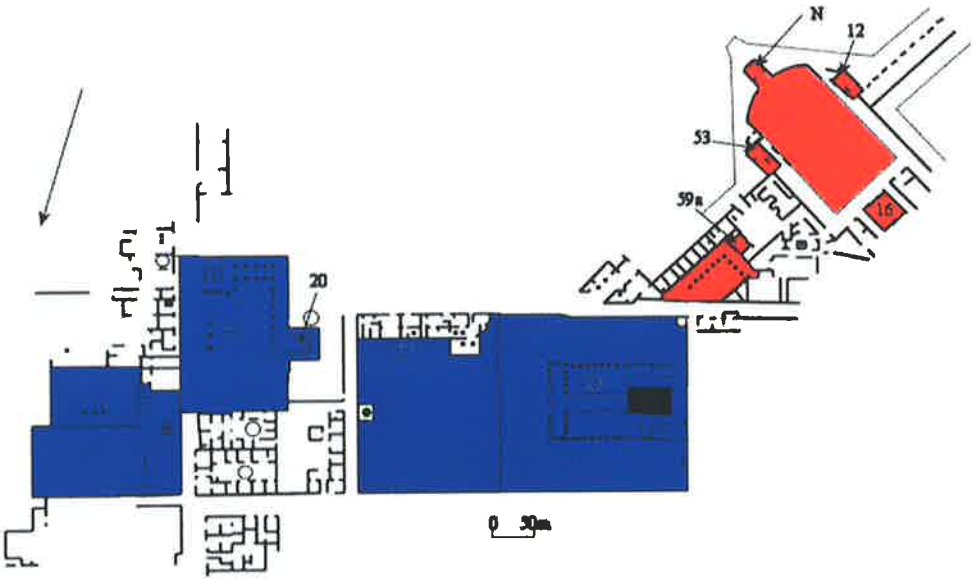


Plate 118

Villa Arianna (Villa 51) (after Camardo and Ferrara, 1989)

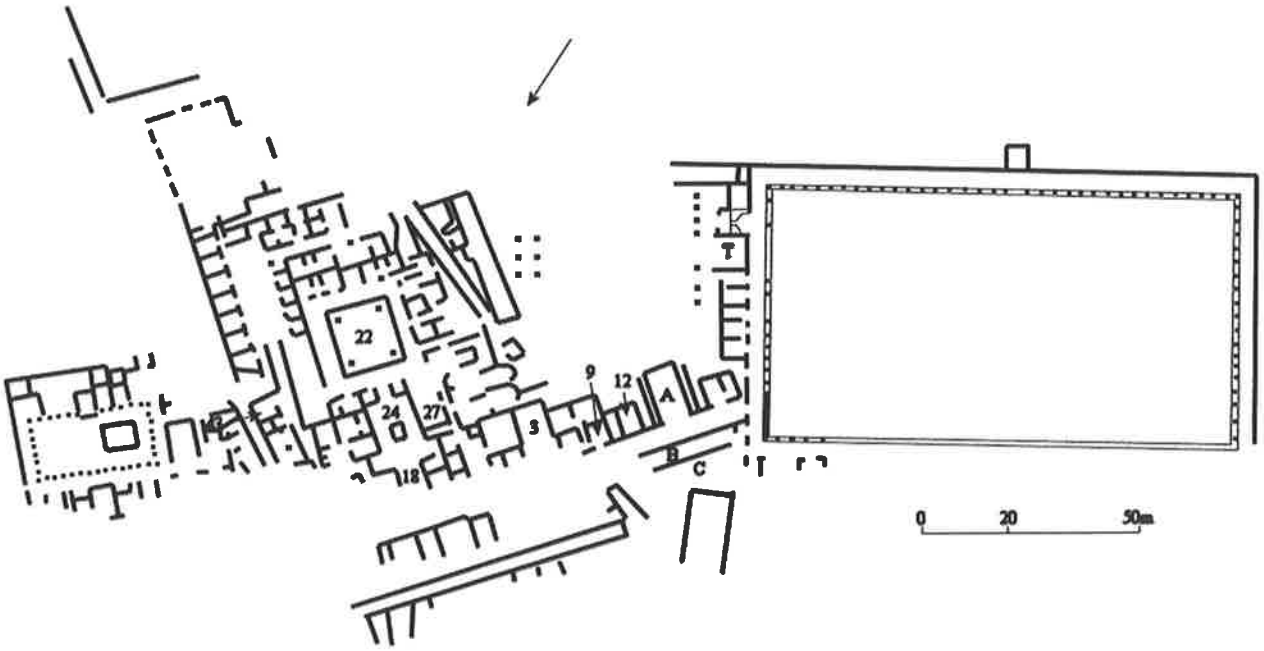


Plate 119
Public/Private Entertainment in the Villa Arianna

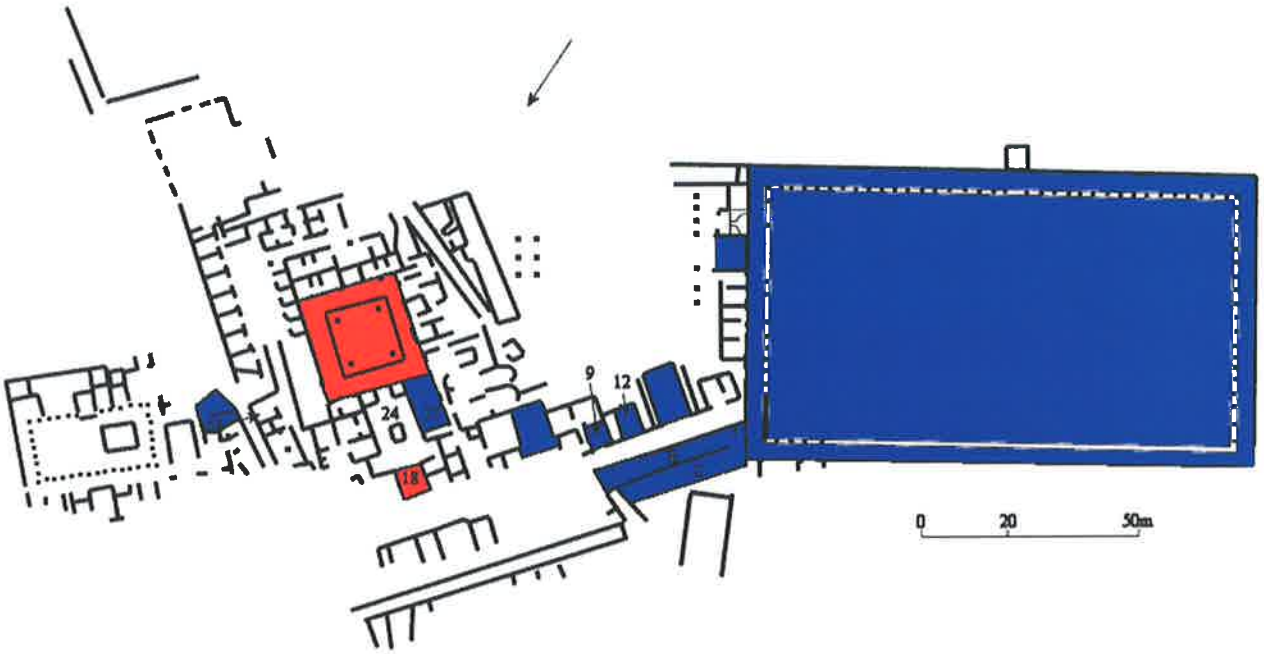


Plate 120
Spatial Data Diagram for the Villa Arianna

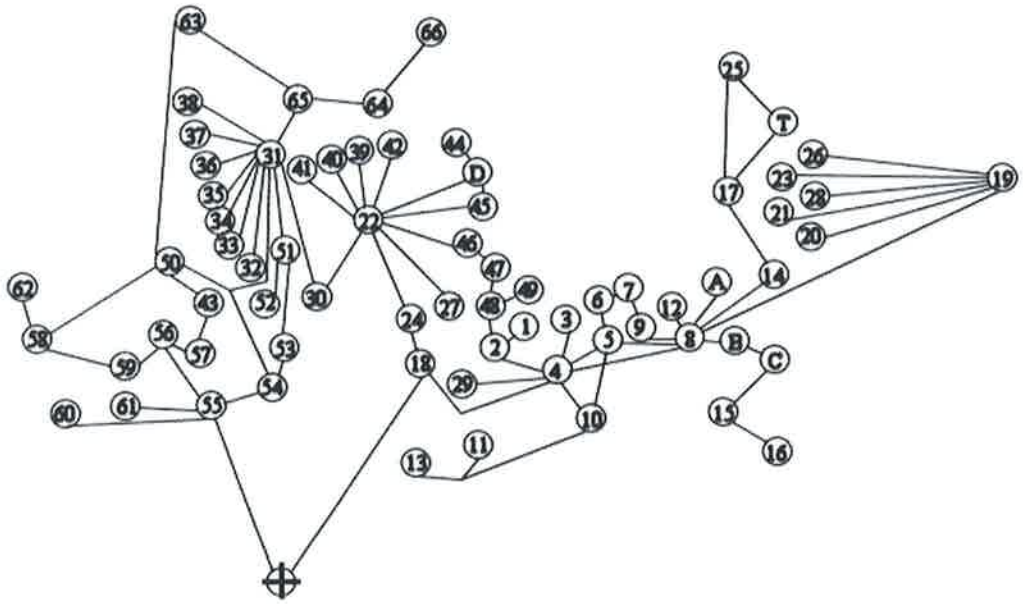


Plate 121

Villa Pastore (Villa 52) (after Camardo and Ferrara, 1989)

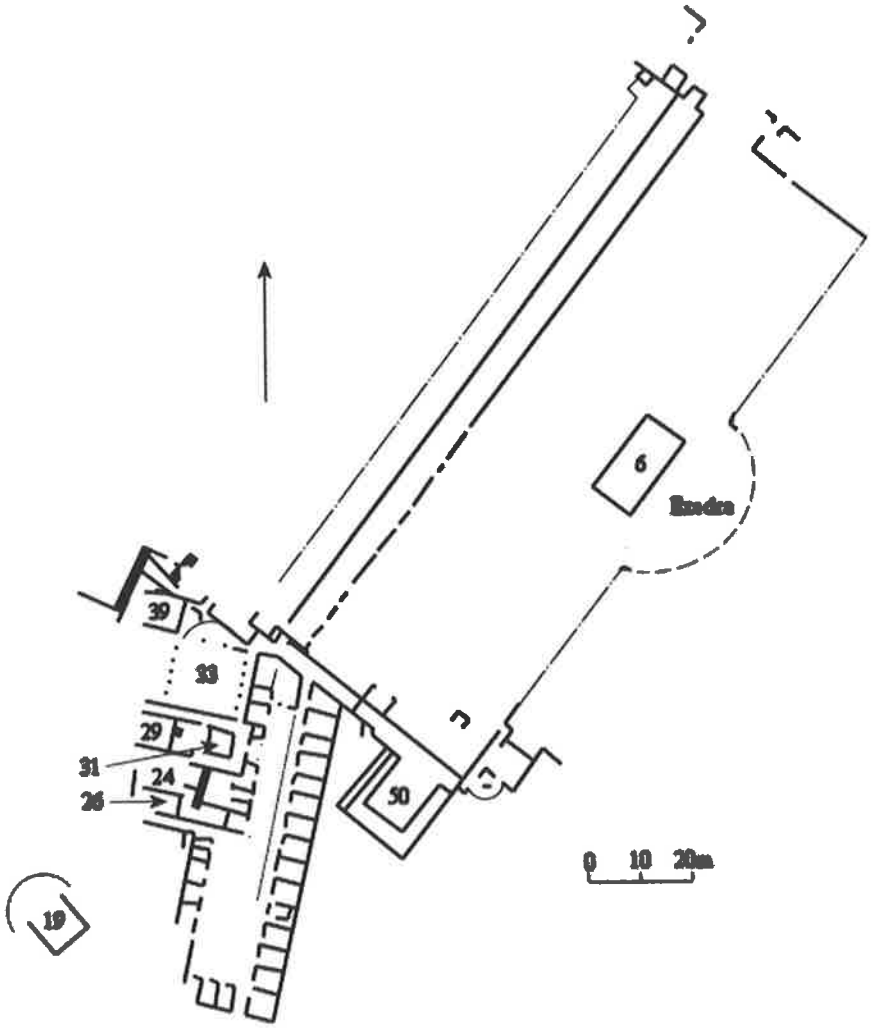


Plate 122
Public/Private Entertainment in the Villa Pastore

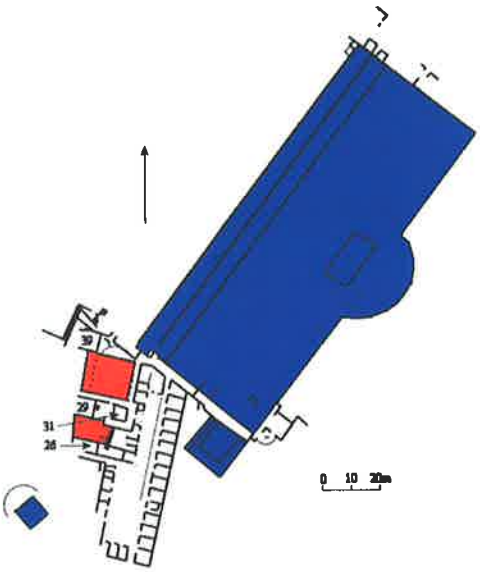


Plate 123
Spatial Data Diagram for the Villa Pastore

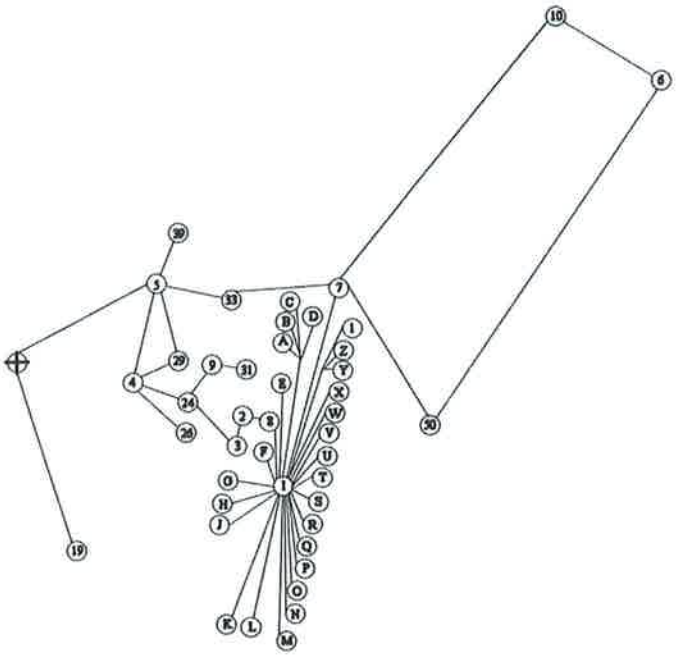


Plate 124
Villa Filosofo (Villa 53) (after Camardo and Ferrara, 1989)

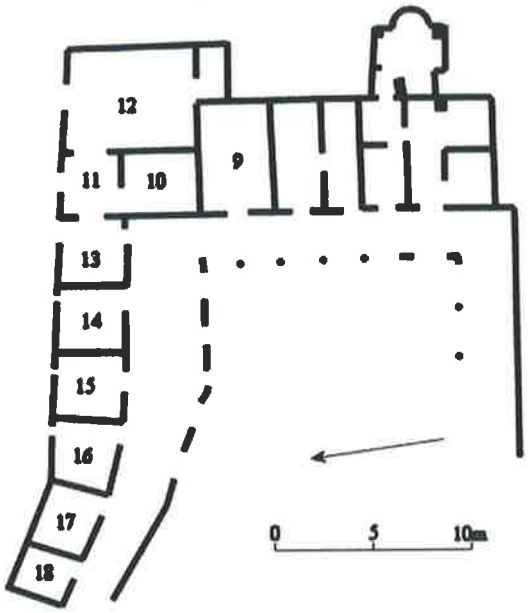


Plate 125
Spatial Data Diagram for the Villa Filosofo

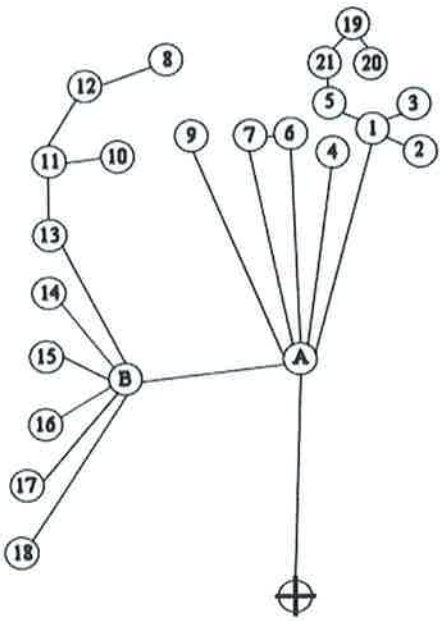


Plate 126
Public/Private Entertainment in the Villa Filosofo

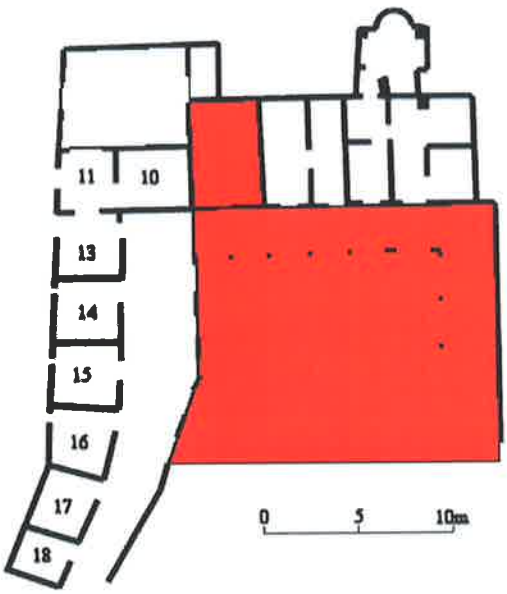


Plate 127
Villa of Anteros and Hercules (Villa 54)(after Camardo and Ferrara, 1989)

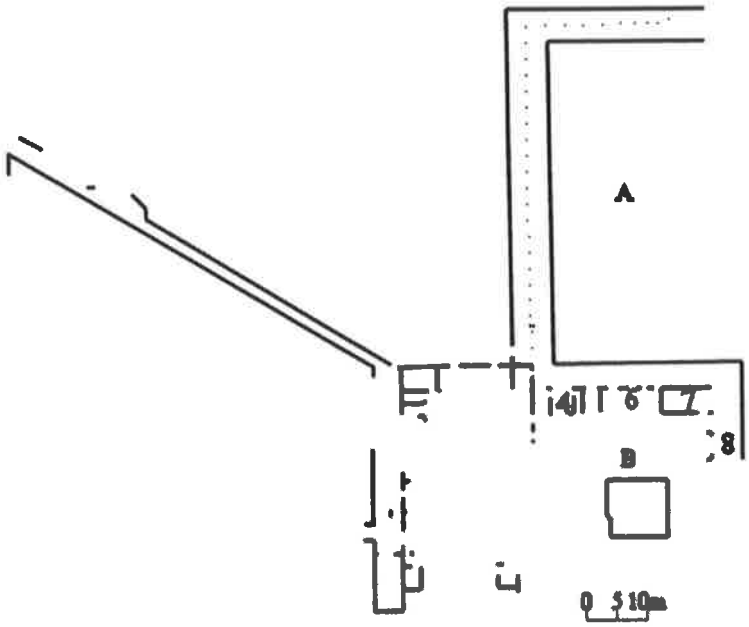


Plate 128
Villa at Capella San Marco (Villa 55) (after Jashemski, 1979)

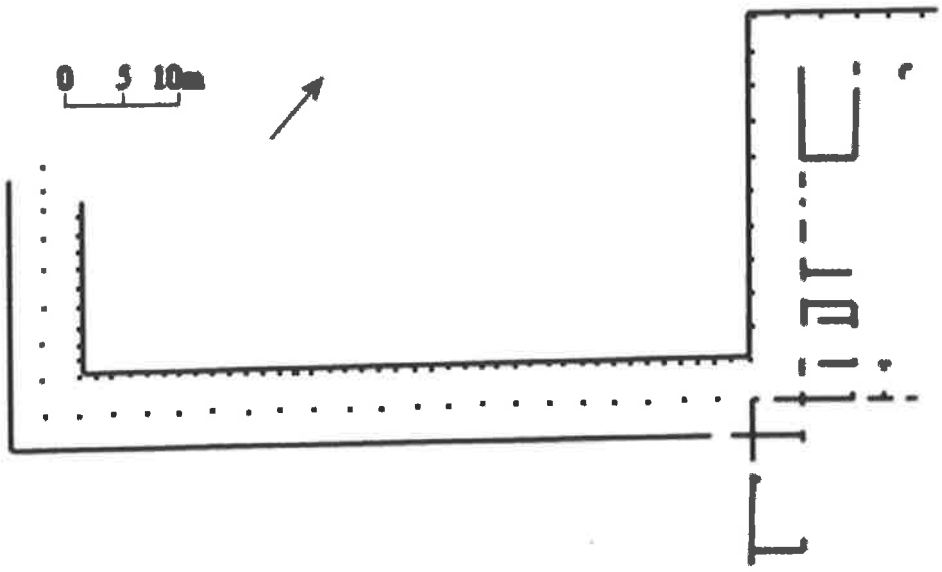


Plate 129
Villa Petraro (Villa 56) (after Camardo and Ferrara, 1989)

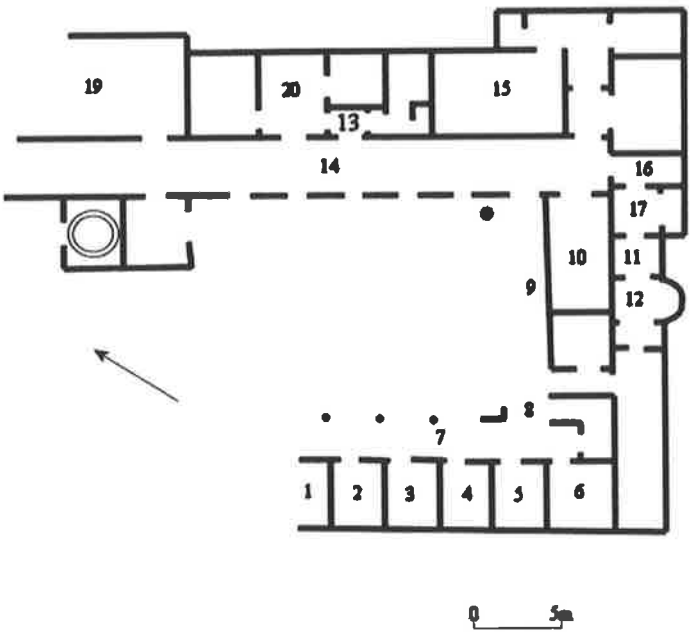


Plate 130
Villa A at Carmiano (Villa 57) (after Camardo and Ferrara, 1989)

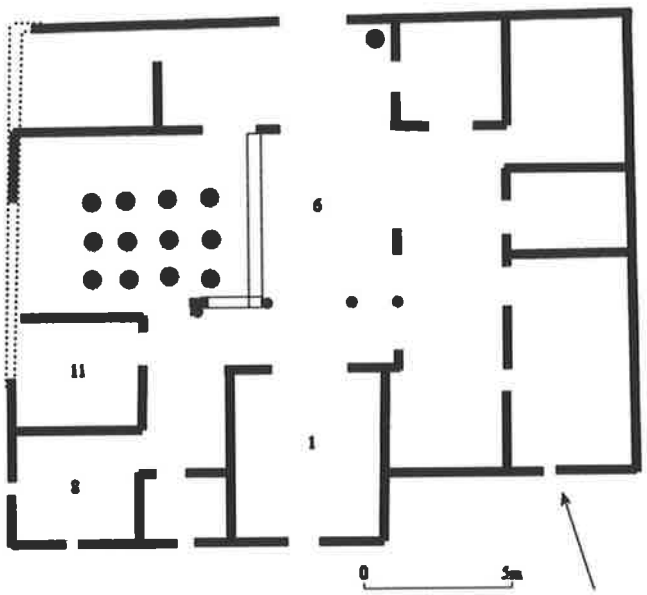


Plate 131
Villa at Casa dei Miri (Villa 58) (after Jashemski, 1979)

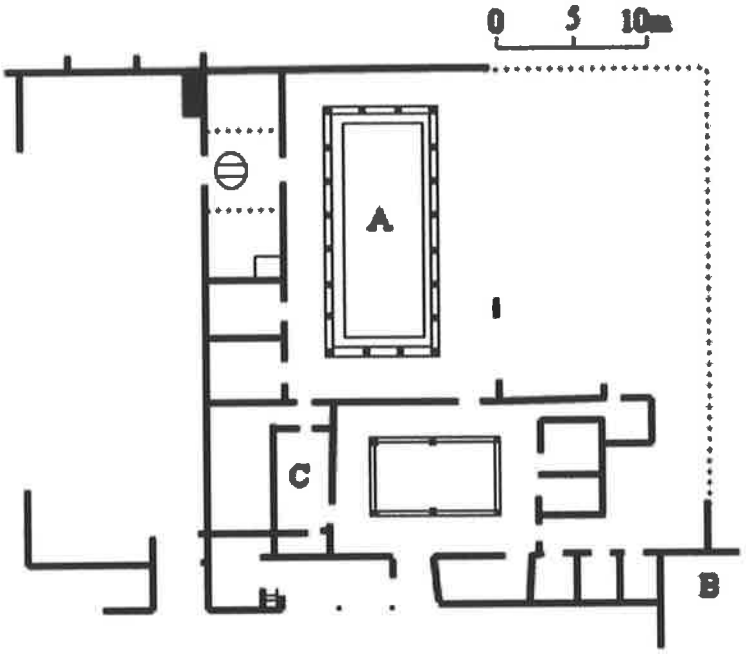


Plate 132
Villa at Capella degli Impisi (Villa 59) (after Jashemski, 1979)

