Pompeii, Herculaneum, Stabiae, and Oplontis buried in 79 CE. Malandrino 1980: 9–40; discussion in Clarke 2014a: 722–30.

3. Malandrino 1980: 55–61; Fergola 2014.
4. Fergola and Pagano 1998: 11; Marasco 2014: 213–6 and 361–6.
5. Ruggiero 1888: 100–3; Marasco 2014: 217–31 and 389–96.
6. www.oplontisproject.org. Clarke and Muntasser 2014: 42–46.
7. Clarke and Muntasser 2014.
8. Zarmakoupi 2014 and Zarmakoupi in this book (Chapter 5).
9. Clarke 1991: 113–40.
10. Jashemski 1979b: vol. 1: 289–314.
11. Bergmann 2002: 87–120.
12. Sauron 2007: 98–128.
13. Clarke 1987: 267–94; Ehrhardt 1987: 34–40; Tybout 1979: 263–83.
14. Clarke 2014b: 343–7.
15. Drerup 1959: 145–74. In public architecture, the closest similar design is at the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste, where a devotee had to deviate from the axis of the whole to climb the 100 m artificial mountain through one of the two lateral vaulted ramps connecting terraces IV and V.
16. Gleason 2014: 963–67, 997–1008.
17. De Caro 1987: 90–4, cat. nos. 5–9.
18. Jashemski 1979b: vol. 1: 297–306.
19. Clarke 1987: 267–94.
20. Di Maio 2014, 662–721. For the cliffside siting of the Villa of the Papyri, Guidobaldi, Esposito and Formisano 2009: 43–182.
21. *Crater ille delicatus*: Cic., *Fam.* 2.8.2. For the view, Di Maio 2014, 667 and 698.
22. Leach 1997: 50–72; for the Herculaneum houses, Clarke 1991: 242, 247.
23. Fergola 1984: 100–27; Fergola 2014: 169–77.
24. Maiuri posited a similar configuration in the eastern peristyle of the House of the Menander in Pompeii, where the *fastigium* signaled the importance of room 18, a huge reception space, but Wallace-Hadrill (1988, 61–4) cautions on the reconstruction.
25. Clarke and Muntasser (forthcoming).
26. If the floor was removed, evidence of its bedding should have been present, but this was not the case.
27. Gleason 2014: 1009–26.
28. Jashemski 1979b: vol. 1: 293–6.
29. Thomas and Clarke 2009: 358–9.
30. Joshel and Petersen 2014: 169–81.
31. There was probably a twin or matching polygonal room in the area of room 97 (only partially excavated) at the northern extremity of portico 60, which would have made a symmetrical *pendant* to room 78.
32. Clarke 1991: 14–18.
33. MacDonald 1965: 67; Ball 2003: 110–11.
34. Clarke and Thomas 2008: 466–7.
35. The decoration of portico 60 has a close parallel in *oecus* 7 of the House of the Centenary at Pompeii, conclusively dated after the earthquake of 62 CE: Esposito 2009: 114–16.
36. All find spots are recorded in the *Giornali di Scavo*, housed in the *Ufficio degli Scavi* at the site. Bergmann 2002: 92–4, with previous bibliography in note 26.
37. *Giornale di Scavo*, 17–30 April, 1975 (*Ufficio degli Scavi* at Villa A).

5

LANDSCAPE AT THE "VILLA OF POPPAEA" (VILLA A) AT TORRE ANNUNZIATA

MANTHA ZARMAKOUPI

ROMAN VILLAS SHAPED NATURE. THE agricultural landscape of villas connected food production to the money economy and urban centers, in Italy and ultimately throughout the Mediterranean. At the same time, luxury villas framed views of landscapes that inflected mental and visual norms of how nature could be represented, controlled, and accommodated. Roman architects developed an architectural language from the vocabularies of Hellenistic architecture, but they did so in a new, pictorializing way. Owners of luxury villas were eager to make deliberate references to Greek architectural antecedents, but they refreshed them with an original appreciation of landscape and nature. In the new situation of the Mediterranean world after the conquest of the Hellenistic east, Roman designers and owners chose a Greek architectural vocabulary: They appropriated it to ask, and answer, different design questions, thereby creating a new language of architecture and landscape. This chapter outlines this fresh architectural language by which late Republican villas incorporated educated leisure *à la grecque* and the invention of landscape, using the example of Villa A at Torre Annunziata (Oplontis). Certain of its elements are attested at contemporary villas elsewhere, such as the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum and the Villa San Marco at Stabiae.[1]

Luxury Villas and the Bay of Naples

Luxurious villas and their culture were linked to the conquest of the Hellenistic east in the second century BCE and the ensuing influx of resources into Italy. Criticism of luxury country houses began in the period after the defeat of Perseus at Pydna in 168 BCE, one of the traditional dates assigned to the introduction of wealth, booty, slaves, luxury, grand houses, and – not incidentally – fine villas to those members of Roman society who benefitted from the rewards of foreign conquest.[2] Members of the senatorial and equestrian orders who wished to display their new wealth in a private context transformed their plain country houses into sumptuous edifices on the model of monumental Hellenistic architecture, and moralists were provoked to criticism as much political as ethical.[3] Living in a luxurious villa in the countryside in retreat from the political affairs of the City intertwined with an idealized Greek notion of educated leisure (*otium*). The attraction of this lifestyle was a frequent topic of Latin letters – notably those of Cicero – and centered on discussions of Greek philosophy, history, mythology, and the arts while downplaying productive agricultural endeavors of the estates on which the villas stood.[4] Owners and designers enhanced this encounter with an idealized Greek culture, filling villas with Greek

architectural elements and structures, wall paintings, famous statues and sculptural groups featuring Greek mythological themes, busts of philosophers, and Hellenistic kings – some shipped directly from Greece.[5]

These Greek imports – actual objects or versions of them – as well as ideas and topics of conversation were widely distributed in the culture of villas. However, one genuinely original – Italian or Roman – element in early villa design was a relation to the landscape setting. Villas came to lead the way in a cultural common language, prominently attested in contemporary literary and visual sources, that was concerned with nature in its pictorial aspect.[6] For the first time in Western culture, landscape was singled out as a theme in its own right. The qualities of landscape were praised in the pastoral poetry of Virgil, and its idealized and symbolic representations permeated public and private spheres: the garden paintings from the underground dining room of the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta and the sculpted reliefs of lush floral and vegetable elements on the altar enclosure of the Ara Pacis Augustae are but two of many examples.[7] This romance of landscape found an architectural expression in Roman luxury villas. In the realm of rural dwellings, landscape could simultaneously be represented in wall painting and framed by architectural design. Interior landscapes were embellished with water and sculptures and surrounded by views of and out to painted, sculpted, and real landscapes; the perforated architectural body of villas opened its spaces to engage both interior and exterior landscapes; the sprawling elements of villas responded to the landforms and dressed them with masonry and marble; the visually potent connecting elements of this fluid architecture marked the position of the villas in their landscape. In designing for luxury, Romans shaped a sophisticated interplay of architecture and landscape, an interplay that Renaissance architects rediscovered and that persists to this day.[8]

Villa A at Torre Annunziata (Oplontis) is a prime example of early imperial luxury villas in the Italian peninsula (Figure 4.1 in Chapter 4). It was built in the mid-first century BCE to a design following other villas with the atrium-centered plan of town houses; it was expanded and constantly refurbished until its destruction in 79 CE. Villa A embodies many of the cultural and visual mannerisms of the early imperial period and its architectural language is a case-study, with others in the Bay, of how patrons and designers could exercise their ideas.[9] The Bay and the Campanian and Sperlonga-Gaeta coastlines were the first concentration-points of *villae maritimae*.[10] The Bay had attracted Romans since the early second century BCE,[11] and while some villas were simple *villae rusticae* like that described by Cato, many were turned by the beginning of the first century BCE into luxurious edifices; for example, the villa under the Aragonese Castle of Baiae, the so-called villa of Caesar.[12] Villa Prato at Sperlonga (second century BCE) is a notable example of an early monumental villa on the Sperlonga-Gaeta coastline that combined the luxury of bathing facilities and the practicalities of pisciculture.[13] Imperial properties on the Bay were numerous, but the social scene was mixed: Illustrious Romans of famous historical families and municipal magistrates of merely local importance, or descendants of ex-imperial or ex-senatorial slaves who had achieved wealth or influence, mingled in a life of leisure and luxury.[14] During the first century BCE, Cumae on the northern coast of the Bay became a center for luxury villas, a "Rome in miniature."[15] By the end of the century, villas presented so dense a front around the Bay that they resembled a single city; others were built along seacoasts and lakesides all over Italy.[16]

Hellenistic Elements in Luxury Villa Architecture

The architecture of luxury villas was informed by the civic, religious, and royal architecture that Romans encountered in their conquest of the Hellenistic east. Roman military expeditions included some cultural study and travel, and it was inevitable that monumental colonnaded architecture would be emulated in country houses and, in miniature, in city houses.[17] The peristyle courtyards of Hellenistic palaces and athletic training grounds (the *palaestrae* of the *gymnasia*), such as those of the palace at Aigai in Macedonia

and the *palaestra* in Olympia, informed the structure of the Roman peristyle garden, and the monumental terracing of colonnaded sanctuaries and royal capitals, such as the sanctuary of Asklepios in Kos and the Acropolis of Pergamon, was emulated in the raised terraced substructures of villas (*basis villae*).[18] These elements had first entered the Roman design vocabulary in the public and religious sphere: The colonnaded Porticus of Metellus in Rome (after 146 BCE) and the terracing of the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste (early second century BCE) are significant examples. Peristyle structures had entered the design vocabulary of urban dwellings by the mid-second century BCE but were not fully integrated for 75 or 100 years, in the first century BCE, when, as in the case of the House of the Faun in Pompeii, they came to be fully incorporated in the actual plan of the house.[19] In villas, they could appear in two-dimensional representations in Second-Style wall paintings (mid-first century BCE),[20] and Villa A has an impressive example of a *painted* monumental colonnade on the east wall of Room 15 dating from the early phase of the villa (Figure 5.1).[21] In the representation, a double-tiered portico of noble size appears behind the columns of a grand *propylon*. In the building phases of the Oplontis villa itself – and many other villas – these porticoed structures entered the design vocabulary at about the same time. In Villa A, porticoes 13, 24, 33, and 34 (Figure 4.1 in Chapter 4) were added, or remodeled, around the end of the first century BCE, and porticoes 40 and 60 were built around the middle of the first century CE (Figures 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4). The porticoed structures migrated from being two-dimensional representations painted *on* walls to be actually built *around* them.

By incorporating these monumental public structures in luxury villa architecture, Roman designers assimilated both the *luxuria* of the Hellenistic east and the relatively new grandiose character of Roman public architecture. Romans, however, did not aspire merely to the public, monumental, and sumptuous character of these structures. The peristyle and portico structures were representative of the architectural forms of the Greek educational institution, the *gymnasium*. Indeed, Cicero

Figure 5.1. Torre Annunziata, Villa A (Oplontis), room 15, view of east wall. (Photo: author).

Figure 5.2. Torre Annunziata, Villa A (Oplontis), peristyle-garden 40-59, view from south end of west portico. (Photo: author).

Figure 5.3. Torre Annunziata, Villa A (Oplontis), view of portico 60 from room 69 toward the south end 92 of east garden 96–98. The stairs leading down into pool 96 are seen to the far left. (Photo: author).

used the words *gymnasium* and *palaestra* interchangeably to describe the porticoed structures in his villas, although the former signified the institution and the latter the architectural structure of the peristyle training ground. Whatever the name used, the peristyle structure bore, for members of the Roman elite, associations with the places in which, in fact, they had studied and not merely visited.[22] In a discussion held at one of Crassus' grand villas in the second quarter of the first century BCE, one of the participants asked a question of Greek culture which was answered in a Roman architectural way:

> . . . surely you do not think this is an inappropriate place (sc. for discussion)? Here, where this portico, in which we are now walking, and this *palaestra*, and sittings at so many places, awaken somehow the memory of the *gymnasia* and the philosophical disputes of the Greeks?[23]

Figure 5.4. Torre Annunziata, Villa A (Oplontis), view from room 69 through portico 60 over pool 96 toward area 98. (Photo: author).

However, in Roman luxury villas, porticoes did not surround paved courtyards as they had in Hellenistic palaces and training grounds. Rather, they framed and enclosed lavish gardens. In villas, the contained space was a carefully constructed landscape that complemented the architecture: In Villa A, vines were planted in portico 40 and trained to climb the columns (Figure 5.2), and plantings shaped the design of the villas' gardens, such as the contoured beds that lined the paths of the north garden.[24] Gardens of villas were often lavishly furnished with waterworks: at Villa A, the pool 96 to the east of portico 60 supplied movement and reflection of architecture, vegetation, the sky, and sculpture (Figures 5.3 and 5.4). In such internal landscapes, certain themes could be evoked in copies of Hellenistic sculptures: *nature tamed and untamed* in the sculptural group of satyr and hermaphrodite that was placed to the south of pool 96; *athletic prowess as divine and human* in the two Herakles herms and the Ephebe statue in area 98 on the east side of the pool (Figures 5.3 and 5.4).[25]

Pleasure gardens were laid out in the royal parks of the successors of Alexander, such as those at the palace of the Seleucids in Antioch situated on an island in the river Orontes; these in turn emulated

Persian "paradises" or heaven-like parks (*paradeisoi*) around the palace complexes at Pasargadae and Susa.[26] A direct reference to Hellenistic and Persian architecture may not have been intended, but the gardens of Roman luxury villas with their waterworks and ornamental plantings alluded to the luxury and pleasure with which the East was associated.[27] Roman gardens were not independent designs in which, as in a *paradeisos*, the garden itself dominated. Rather, gardens were subordinated to the architecture of the villas by being enclosed in peristyles framed by porticoes. In this way, and no matter how luxurious, such gardens alluded to the homely Roman *domestic* garden (*hortus*, which included herbs and green staples for the table) within the architecture of the house.[28] This homeliness could be readily played down: Exotic trees, ornamental shrubberies, moving water, and statues could accentuate a new glamour.

For villas in Italy, the pleasure garden and the colonnaded peristyle with free-standing colonnades had been distinct concepts with contrasting associations: the pleasure garden denoted the luxury of the East, while the architecture of peristyle and portico evoked the strenuous discipline of Greek educational institutions and venues. By incorporating the pleasure garden inside the structure of the peristyle, Roman designers "tamed" the unruly nature of the corrupting "Eastern" influence, constructing spaces in which pleasure was made acceptable to owners who wished for luxury without imputation of decadence. As Foucault has shown, the experience of pleasure is constituted, negotiated, and organized through certain forms of discipline.[29] In the framed gardens of the peristyle, the foreign pleasures of the East were under Roman moral control.

Villa Designs: Architecture and Landscape

The peristyle garden entered the design vocabulary of luxury villas in the first century BCE as a simple square or rectangular structure: At the Villa dei Papiri, there were two such gardens, and the Villa San Marco had one in its first phase. A little later, the formula of the square or rectangular peristyle centered on a garden was given some variations: designers retained the colonnaded structures but started using them in more open arrangements. We see this at Villa A when it was enlarged in the early first century CE and then again after 45. Although the form of the rectangular porticoed enclosure was retained (for example, peristyle-garden 40–59; Figure 5.2), it was more freely interpreted. The porticoes and gardens now followed the sprawling architectural body of the villa (portico 60 and garden 96–98) and created views to the surrounding landscapes as well as to the villa's architectural elements (Figures 5.3, 5.4, and 5.5). Porticoes as screening and liminal spaces between the closed rooms of the villa and its gardens were kept, but the result was that the architectural form of the closed peristyle was deconstructed, losing its character as a porticoed enclosure but retaining its other elements. The peristyle, portico, and garden were articulated in new ways.

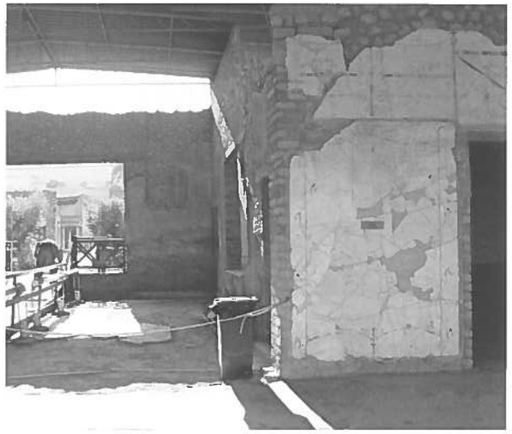

Figure 5.5. Torre Annunziata, Villa A (Oplontis), view of room 69 from portico 60 toward the north garden. The propylon in front of room 21 is seen in the far distance. (Photo: author).

This reordering of portico and garden opened up the architectural composition of villas and created a more immediate relationship to, and mastering the view of, the landscape around them. The change took place at a time when appreciation of landscape

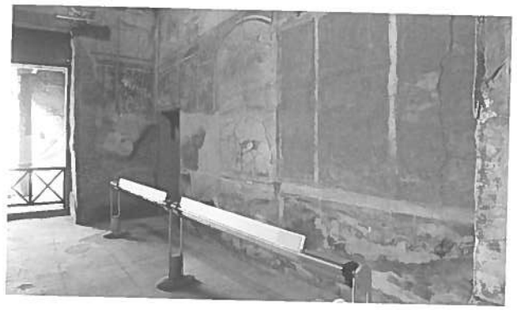

Figure 5.6. Torre Annunziata, Villa A (Oplontis), *caldarium* 8, view of north wall from the east side of the room. (Photo: author).

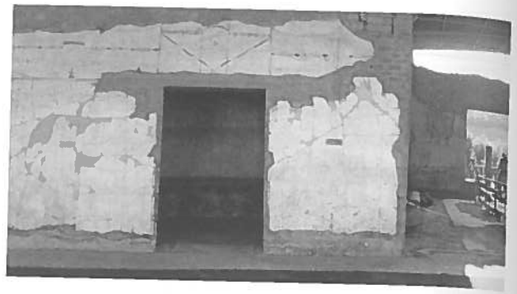

Figure 5.7. Torre Annunziata, Villa A (Oplontis), view of west wall of portico 60; to the left, view of the north garden through room 69. (Photo: author).

Figure 5.8. Torre Annunziata, Villa A (Oplontis), view of portico 60 toward the south from the entrance to room 69. (Photo: author).

was manifested in both literary and visual media. In Villa A, three groups of landscape paintings, one from the first phase of the villa (c. 50 BCE), a second from the refurbishment and enlargement of the villa around 1–10 CE and a third belonging to transformations after 45 CE, give us an insight into changes in the visual and architectural values of landscape and how it was manifested.[30]

From the earlier phases of the villa, the painted walls of the Second Style (c. 50 BCE) are "minor players" in the decoration. The small *pinakes* (painted framed pictures) on the east wall of room 15 are tiny (14 x 44 cm) in relation to the size of the wall (8.80 m wide and some 5.80 m high); they are small decorative accents compared to the grand representation of the two-storied colonnade that occupies the major part of the wall (Figure 5.1).[31] By contrast, fifty years or so later, the Third-Style landscapes (1–10 CE) are large and have become the central subject of the decoration. For example, the landscape panel on the north wall of *caldarium* 8 (Figure 5.6) is large and prominently placed, vivid within its fragile linear architectural framework, which itself contrasts with the earlier, heavier Second-Style compositions. Landscape has become a central subject in its own right.[32]

In turn, and again about 45–50 years later, the landscapes in the Fourth Style, in Villa A's third phase after 45 CE, became small once again, but with this important difference: no longer high up on the walls as mere decorative adjuncts to larger architectural perspectives, they become, despite their small size, the principal subject of now sparsely decorated walls. The walls of portico 60 in the east wing had landscapes in the small *pinakes* format (24 x 7 cm; Figures 5.5, 5.7; 5.8, cf. Figure 5.6). These miniature landscapes alternated with *xenia*, food still-lives – not

an accidental subject, as we will see.[33] The paratactic representation of landscapes alternating with still-lives had appeared about 20 BCE (late Second Style) in the corridor F-G of the Villa "Farnesina" in Rome, where – besides *xenia* – landscapes alternated with theater masks from tragedy and comedy: there too, the scenes are painted in clear colors on white backdrops.[34]

Thirty or so years later, and unlike the Villa "Farnesina" landscapes, which are placed as a frieze rather high on the wall, the Villa A landscape *pinakes* of portico 60 were placed at eye-level in the median zone of the wall. Painted with frames, they stand out robustly against the white-ground walls, delicately outlined with metallic filigrees and thin tendrils inhabited by tiny insects and birds; with compositions such as these, the landscapes have become an essential subject of the decoration.

These Fourth-Style landscapes of portico 60 retained both the central placement of the landscape of the Villa A's Third-Style decoration in *caldarium* 8 (Figure 5.6) and the miniature size of the Second-Style *pinakes* of room 15 (Figure 5.1). The almost bare walls of portico 60 with its small landscapes and *xenia* have now become the backdrop of the real – and very robust – actual columns of the colonnade of portico 60 and the *propylon* in front of room 69 that interrupts it. A viewer standing on the east side of pool 96 looking toward portico 60 would see that the view recalls, in solid form, the Second-Style painting on the east wall of room 15 executed about a century before (Figure 5.2). Both are variations on the same theme: monumental architecture (painted or real) in combination with garden views, but now much more loosely conceived.[35] Portico 60 does not enclose the east garden as a peristyle would (as in the view on the east wall of room 15 where a colonnade surrounds a garden) but is an intermediate space between the closed rooms of the east wing and the east garden and pool. This open composition enabled designers to create views of *real* monumental colonnades: the view from portico 60 through room 69 frames the *propylon* in front of room 21 (Figure 5.5), an arrangement that repeats certain landscapes in portico 60 showing villas with prominent *propyla*.[36]

The architectural and decorative developments at Villa A over the course of about 100 years mark a changing appreciation for the landscape that Romans developed from the late Republic onward. From a marginal decorative accent in the Second-Style representations of monumental Hellenistic architecture, landscape became a bold protagonist in the decorative schemes of the Third Style and acquired a more refined and balanced role in the compositions of the Fourth. Two aspects of architecture and decoration were at play: the first was the transformation of the enclosed peristyle to open arrangements of portico structures adjacent to gardens, the architectural response to the growing appreciation for the qualities of the landscape around the villas. The second was painting the back walls of porticoes in the new Fourth Style as the decorative solution for big spaces facing the landscape. Designers departed from the norms of Hellenistic architecture to create an architecture that responded to the specific landforms and took advantage of the views to the surrounding landscape, while wall painters moved away from the solemn perspectives of the Second Style to create the sophisticated, almost-flat schemes of the Fourth.

Landscape and Luxury

The transformation of the peristyle enclosing a garden to more open articulations between colonnades and gardens was also associated with the needs of new, spatially demanding dining practices. In the early imperial period, hospitality became increasingly important in the social and political strategies of villa owners and, as a result, dining became more elaborate.[37] Literary sources mention entertainment for the diners that could include performances of music, dance, and pantomime, and Varro gave a spectacle for a feast at his villa in which a musician acted the part of Orpheus in a park with wild animals.[38] Plutarch mentions mimes acting in private dining parties in his "Table Talks."[39] The result of these augmented entertainments made the traditional dining room, the *triclinium*, insufficient: *Triclinia* had accommodated three oblong couches (about

2.20/2.40 x 1.20 m) for reclining diners arranged in a square U, with food and drink placed on small tables alongside.[40] The traditional arrangement had fostered conversation while dining, and as such did not accommodate the new performances developed in elite circles in the first century BCE. New spaces were needed for new pleasures.

In Villa A, the big rooms and clusters of rooms that appeared toward the end of the first century BCE and the beginning of the next accommodated those needs: rooms 21, 64/65, 69 and 73/74, and the cluster of rooms 66, 78, 79 (Figure 4.1). These rooms were designed as stages for movement and views (Figures 4.6; 4.7).[41] Rooms 64/65, 69 and 73/74 could hold a single dinner party, while light-wells 68 and 70 between them enlivened the atmosphere with painted and real vegetation.[42] The light-wells allowed visual contacts among the three principal rooms (rooms 64/65, 69, and 73/74), but their raised sills did not allow direct passage into them (Figure 4.6). Instead, a suggestively sinuous and indirect series of sight-lines was provided through rooms 71 and 67 to the west, and through rooms 72 and 75 and portico 60 to the east. The visual contacts combined with the physical constraints between these spaces would have intensified the experience of a performance: Actors could move through these passages to entertain the diners, who could watch and hear them directly or, tantalizingly, see and sense them obliquely, with enrichment of movement and variety of sight-lines.[43]

The small *pinakes* on the west wall of portico 60 enhanced the diners' experience (and appetites) by the representation of landscapes and *xenia* (Figures 5.5; 5.7). Gifts of food, fresh and often simple, were thought to have been what Greek hosts offered to their guests.[44] The artful depiction of these gifts celebrated the richness of the private banquet and the acts of hospitality, while literary *ekphraseis* of such gifts – Martial's poems, for instance – that accompanied them whetted the appetites of the diners.[45] Landscapes in pictures and views as well as depictions of food were combined in strolling and dining, and area 98 (the area east of pool 96) could have worked as a backdrop, or *scaenae frons* with its statues and trees (Figures 5.3, 5.4, and 5.8), while the pool worked as a reflective surface for actors entertaining the diners – reminiscent of the pictorial intertwinement of dining, theatrical performance, and landscape staging in corridor F-G of the Villa "Farnesina."

The dining arrangements at Villa A represent a significant departure from habits of dining and hospitality that had been current in late Republican villas, namely the traditional *triclinia*. For a time, these were retained, but the old square U of couches plus the T for the central service area and the little tables were replaced, by the early imperial period, with a greater variety of shapes and sizes.[46] Villa A furnishes an example: *Triclinium* 14 (c. 50 BCE) is in the old square-U shape (though without a "U+T" floor pattern), whereas the three new dining rooms (64/65, 69, and 73/74; after 45 CE) ranged along portico 60 are quite different in design conception. It may also be that the use of the rooms depended on the time of day and the season: Roman rooms could be converted for convenience and circumstance.[47] Such changeable uses were doubtless available in Villa A; the landscape views and the weather would also have suggested the best use of a specific room.[48]

Besides being new and quite untraditional, the adaptation of VIlla A's new dining facilities to spectacle during the feast was precocious: In the late empire, entertainment while dining in luxury villas led to designs in a triconch arrangement in which three adjacent spaces (often apsidal) were set around a central space. This disposition provided a venue for the entertainment (dance, music, theatre, even gymnastic shows) that could be viewed equally from the three apses.[49] All such triconch arrangements are variations on the architectural theme of *feasting while viewing*. Villa A did not have a triconch, but the design of its facilities from which viewers could look *out* to open vistas or *through* a colonnade onto spaces for spectacles is an early instance of what would become a norm of hospitable reception later on.

Porticoes: The Connective Tissue

Columnar porticoes in the new late Republican designs of villas took on a new aspect: they masked

Figure 5.9. Torre Annunziata, Villa A (Oplontis), view from the north. The large propylon to the right marks room 21. (Photo: author). (A black and white version of this figure will appear in some formats. For the color version, please refer to the plate section)

as well as opened up the villa's façade, and expanded its presence in the landscape. The strong sun of the Mediterranean accentuates the volumes and features of an architectural object with cast shadows, giving focus and rhythm as seen from afar. Such effects are clear at the north façade of Villa A: Colonnades 33 and 34 retreat in relation to the *propylon* of room 21, and the shading accentuates the forward-breaking volume of the *propylon* (Figure 5.9). Pliny the Younger, in describing his own Tuscan villa, remarks on precisely these effects:

> A big part faces mainly south, and so from midday onwards in summer, a little earlier in winter, it seems to invite the sun into the wide and protruding colonnade. Many chambers open in this colonnade, as well as an entrance hall of the old-fashioned type.[50]

As the rooms of villas spread onto the landscape, their columnar porticoes operated as connective tissue, providing access and direction, protecting them from the elements and unifying the disparately disposed rooms behind them. Porticoes took on a new function in villas: They set the stage for the villa in the landscape and set the owners' social staging within the villa itself.[51]

Another type of portico came to be used in late Republican villas: the *cryptoporticus*, a form that had various manifestations but that, when above ground, was characterized by tracts of wall alternated with doors or windows to provide more protection from the elements than rows of columns.[52] Villa A had two L-shaped above-ground *cryptoporticus*, corridors 13 and 24 (Figure 4.1), on its south façade, framing the forward-breaking block of the atrium (room 5) and surrounding rooms. Pliny describes the environmental advantages of *cryptoporticus* in some detail for his seaside villa at Laurentum, explaining how the windows on both sides allowed for air circulation while maintaining a stable temperature; the corridors broke the north and southwest winds, thus protecting adjacent gardens and walkways (xystus).[53] The *cryptoporticus* at Villa A may have functioned in the same way.

Conclusion

In designing for modern luxury, Romans used the existing vocabularies of Hellenistic and Roman architecture to create a new language of architecture in landscape. The appropriation of Greek columnar porticoes in public and athletic venues, when combined with a reinvention of the traditional and

homely peristyle garden, ingeniously located Greek intellectual culture in the private sphere of villas without the corruption of its *luxuria*. In turn, porticoes were adapted to open, rather than enclosed, compositions to make a dialogue between architecture and landscape, and in doing so embodied a sense of nature as garden, nature as landscape and view, and nature as strong poetic theme and appropriate subject of painting. Villa architecture thus both led and followed new ideas particular to late Republican cultural developments.

NOTES

1. See also Zarmakoupi 2008, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c, 2011 and 2014.
2. Polyb. 31.25.6–7; Livy 39.6.7–9; D'Arms 1970, 15–31; Frank 1933, 208–14, 295–9. Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 315–55.
3. D'Arms 1970, 161–3; Lafon 2001, 58.
4. Cicero on villas: *De or.* 2.19–20; on the cultural speech of villas: Mielsch 1987; on the estates and their place in the cultural discussion: D'Arms 1981, 72–96; Marzano 2007 and Marzano in this volume.
5. On the input of owners in the design of their villas see Anderson 1997, 35–39. On wall painting, Fittschen 1976; Tybout 1989, 5–13, 46; Ehrhardt 1991; Kuttner 1998. On sculpture in villas, Neudecker 1988; Dillon 2000; Newby 2005, 88–140. The Mahdia shipwreck (c. 80–60 BCE) found off the coast of Tunisia in 1907 with a cargo of marble and bronze sculptures, high-quality furniture fittings, and architectural elements: Fuchs 1963; Hellenkemper Salies (ed.) 1994; Mattusch 1995; 1996, 171–90. On the relation of Roman copies to Greek originals, Marvin 1993; 2008. On the demand for copies of Greek sculpture around the Bay of Naples attested by discarded casts from the Baiae sculptor's workshop (Hadrianic or Antonine): Landwehr 1985; Métraux 2006, 136–7 and n. 10.
6. Literature: Leach 1988. Gardens: Grimal 1943; Jashemski 1979b (vol. 1) and 1993 (vol. 2); Jashemski and Meyer 2002. Wall paintings: Dawson 1944; Peters 1963; Bergmann 1991; 1992; 2002; La Rocca 2008. Art and politics: Sauron 2000.
7. On the garden paintings of the Villa of Livia: Settis and Donati 2002; Kellum 1994. On the Ara Pacis: Zanker 1990, 179–83; Sauron 2000; Förtsch 1989.
8. MacDonald and Pinto 1995, 266–85 and 306–30; Ackerman 1993.
9. De Franciscis 1975; Fergola and Guzzo 2000. For the more recent work conducted at the Villa see Thomas and Clarke 2007 and 2008, as well as Clarke in this book (Chapter 4) and Clarke and Muntasser 2014.
10. D'Arms 1970; Lafon 2001, 41–62.
11. Cornelia, the daughter of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior, wife of Ti. Sempronius Gracchus and mother of the Gracchi, owned the first attested seaside villa at Misenum. Plut., *C. Gracch.* 19.1–2. Val Max. 4.4.1. D'Arms 1970, 8–9.
12. Cato's agricultural treatise (mid-second century BCE; *Agr.* 1.1–7) defined the villa as a farmstead producing agricultural goods and providing only minimal comfort. Discussion in Terrenato 2001; Becker 2006. The first luxurious villa mentioned in the literary sources is of C. Marius, a *novus homo*, at Misenum on the northwest corner of the bay of Naples, built before 88 BCE (Plut., *Mar.* 34.2; Sen., *Ep.* 51.11). In general, D'Arms 1970, 10–15. On the villa under the Baiae Castle: Miniero 2007.
13. Broise and Lafon 2001.
14. D'Arms 1970; D'Arms 1981, ch. 4.
15. D'Arms 1970, Catalogue I, 171–201; Lafon 2001, 89–95; Cicero's remark: *Att.* 5.2.2.
16. Lafon 2001, 95–112; the "single city": Strabo 5.4.8.
17. Rakob 1976; Fittschen 1976, 549–56; Mielsch 1987, 120–25. On the miniature villa phenomenon in Pompeii: Zanker 1979.
18. Förtsch 1993, 28, n. 224, 92–93; Gros 1996, 296–99. On the palace at Aigai: Nielsen 1999, 81–94. On the palaestra in Olympia: Delorme 1960, 102–114 fig. 21; Wacker 1996, 13–19 fig. 4; 121–131. On the sanctuary of Asklepios in Kos and the Acropolis of Pergamon: Lauter 1986, 106–109, 122, 290–301. See also discussion in Zarmakoupi 2014, 104–109.
19. Dickmann 1997.
20. Schefold 1975, 53, 56; Borbein 1975, 61; Rakob 1976, 374; Tybout 1989, 5–13, 46; Ehrhardt 1991; Kuttner 1998. See also Zarmakoupi 2011 and 2014, 75–88.
21. c. 50 BCE; phase 2B of the Second Style.
22. Cicero on the *gymnasium: De or.* 1.98; on the *palaestra: QFr.* 3.1.3. An inscription from Attica attests the presence of young Romans studying in a *gymnasium* as early as 119–8 BCE: *IG* II.2, 1008. Cicero and his son studied in Athens (Cic., *Att.* 12.32.2, Cic., *Fam.* 7,16). See also: Marrou 1965; Crowther 2004, 375–422. On the institution of the Hellenistic *gymnasion*: Delorme 1960; Kah and Scholz 2004. See also discussion in Zarmakoupi 2010c.
23. Cic., *Orat.* 2.19–20 (trans. O'Sullivan 2003).
24. Jashemski 1979, 297–306; 1993, 295–297; most recently Gleason 2014 and Zarmakoupi 2014, 114–122.
25. On the sculptural group of satyr and hermaphrodite: De Caro 1987, 98–100, no.12. Cicero asked a friend in Greece to buy some statues of athletes for his private *gymnasium: Fam.* 7.23.2; De Caro 1987, 103–107, nos. 13–15.
26. On the Seleucid palace in Antioch: Nielsen 1999, 35–51; 2001, 167. On the palace complex at Pasargadae and that of Dareius at Susa: Nielsen 2001, 169–172; Stronach 1978. The Greek word p*aradeisos* was used to describe the gardens of Babylon in the late fifth or early fourth century BCE. It most likely derived from Median *paridaiza* and the Old Persian *paridaida*, referring to an enclosed pleasure garden: Tuplin 1996, 80–131; Bremmer 2008, 35–55.
27. Grimal 1943, 86–90.
28. Purcell 1996. For the economy of domestic gardens: Jashemski 1979b, 183–99; for their religious significance: Grimal 1943, 44–67; Jashemski 1979b, 115–40.
29. Foucault 1975; 1984.
30. See also discussion in Zarmakoupi 2014, 122–39. See Clarke 1996 for the comprehensive publication of all the landscape paintings in this villa. For the representation of landscape in wall paintings: Ling 1977; Peters 1963; Bergmann 1991; La Rocca 2008.
31. Clarke 1996, 87 and 94. Cf. the *pinakes* featuring landscapes on the upper register of the walls of the royal box above the cavea of the theater complex at Herodium (c. 15 BCE): Netzer 2011, 36–48.
32. Vitruvius criticized the decoration of the Second Style but did not remark on its landscape paintings: Vitr., *De arch.* 7.5; Yerkes 2000.
33. *Xenia*: Vitr., *De arch.* 6.7.4
34. Spencer 2011, 142–54b for a discussion of the experience of walking and looking at the landscape representations on the walls of corridor F-G in the Villa "Farnesina."
35. For how real and painted landscape and architecture merged in this villa: Bergmann 2002.
36. For the monumental architecture represented in late Third and Fourth Styles: Peters 1963, 110–18; 155–66.
37. Business allegiances were promoted through the choice of guests and the seating arrangements at banquets. D'Arms 1990; Dunbabin 1998, 89; Dickmann 1999, 291–6; Stein-Hölkeskamp 2005, 101–11.
38. Griffin 1976, 94. Sen., *QNat.* 7.32.3) complains that the noise of pantomimes on private stages filled the whole city; Jones 1991; Slater 1994, 131; 1993, 205–11. Varro, *Rust.* 3.13.2–3. Orpheus among the wild animals was represented in the House of Orpheus in Pompeii: Michel 1980, 396–7.
39. Plut., *Mor. Qaest. conv.* 7.8.3, 711 E.
40. Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6.3.8) says that the ideal proportions for a *triclinium* are twice as long as wide. For a definition of the word *triclinium*: Dunbabin 2003, 38, n.6.
41. Bek 1980, 164–203; 1983; Stewart 1977. See also discussion in Zarmakoupi 2014, 203–11.
42. See Michel 1980, 391–3; Jashemski 1979b, 289–314.
43. See Hall and Wyles 2008, 1–40. Diners could use portico 60, passages 72 and 75 to go from one room to another (Figure 5.8). Servants would have used the narrow passages 71 and 6,7 defined by zebra-stripe paintings for their movement: Goulet 2001; Laken 2003. See also Joshel and Hackworth Petersen 2014, 178–81.
44. Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6.7.4) describes *xenia*; Hanoune 1990; for the Campanian region: Beyen 1928; Eckstein 1957; Croisille 1965 and 2015. Live animals ultimately destined for the table could also be represented.
45. Darmon 1990; Wesenberg 1993; Junker 1996; 2003. On Martial's *xenia* see: Shackleton Bailey's translation with comments in the Loeb edition 2003, 173–225; Leary 2001.
46. Dunbabin 1996, 67–70; 1998, 89. *Triclinia* appear in other parts of the empire including the east: Dunbabin 1998, 92–5. From the end of the first century CE onward, the size and form of dining rooms changed and by the fourth century, the semicircular sigma-couch or *stibadium* prevailed; see Dunbabin 1991. See also discussion in Zarmakoupi 2014, 189–98; Chapter 1 (Marzano and Métraux) and Chapter 22 (Ripoll) in this book.
47. For example, the word *diaetae* designated a nucleus of two or three rooms for daytime activities of which one could be a dining room: Leach 1997, 67. See also discussion in Zarmakoupi 2010b, 164.
48. Dunbabin 1996, 66. For the dining rooms in Pliny's villas: Förtsch 1993, 100–16. Latin authors on

seasonal and spatial qualities of *triclinia*: Vitr., *De arch.* 6.4.1–2; Varro, *Ling.* 8.29. On the view toward the landscape from *triclinia*: Plin., *Ep.* 2.17.13; 5.6.19; 5.6.29–30. Analysis for seasonal room use at Villa A: Zarmakoupi 2008 and 2010b, 164–9.

49. The triconch of the villa at Desenzano on Lake Garda is one example of many: Dunbabin 1991; 1996; Rossiter 1991; see Brogiolo and Chavarría (Chapter 11), Teichner (Chapter 14), and Ripoll (Chapter 22) in this book.
50. Plin., *Ep.* 5.6.15.
51. Zarmakoupi 2014, 235–40.
52. The term *cryptoporticus* could also be applied to partially below-grade corridors without perforations (doors or windows) at floor level, or to completely underground corridors with openings to the outside at roof level. On the form of the *cryptoporticus* in Roman villas: Luschin 2002, 15–23; Förtsch 1993, 41–2; Zarmakoupi 2011, and 2014, 75–102.
53. Plin., *Ep.* 2.17.16–19; Zarmakoupi 2010b, 167–9, and 2011.

6

THE SOCIAL STATUS OF THE VILLAS OF STABIAE

THOMAS NOBLE HOWE

Introduction: The Site of Stabiae

Ancient Stabiae lay only 4 km from Pompeii, but it was very different from that small bustling port city: It was almost nothing but villas, a dense cluster of a half dozen enormous seaside villas built next to the site of Stabiae, a *pagus* (village) without municipal status (Map 2). These are among the largest known Roman villas, up to 22,000 m^2, built directly next to one another over a distance of c. 1.8 km along the edge of a sea-cliff, c. 50 m high, facing the Bay of Naples. The ensemble constitutes the largest concentration of well-preserved large seaside villas (*villae maritimae*) in the Mediterranean (Figure 6.1).[1]

Campania and the Bay of Naples were one of the richest and most beautiful parts of Roman Italy, and the villas were built there in part for the same reason that Madame de Staël noted early in the nineteenth century: "Nothing . . . gives a more voluptuous idea of life than this climate which intimately unites man to nature." In the first century BCE, shortly after the Social War of 91–89 and the granting of citizenship to all allied Italians (the *socii*) including Campanians, the area became one of the favorite resorts of the Roman elite. So many villas sprang up around the Bay that the geographer Strabo described the area about 9 CE as:

> . . . strewn, in part with these cities . . . and in part with residences and plantations which, following in unbroken succession, present the *aspect of a single city*.[2]

The first villas at Stabiae were built in the last decades of the Roman Republic (c. 80–49 BCE), a time of accelerating political competition within senatorial social circles that climaxed in the civil wars of Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus and, later, between Mark Antony and Octavian (33–31 BCE). It was during this period that the Roman elites sponsored, among other things, a new type of architecture: the panoramic luxury villa, designed to unite the arts of urban culture and the appreciation of nature.[3]

Villas on the Bay of Naples were not merely resorts of the rich and famous: They were a major center of political power. In the spring and fall months of the first century BCE, the capital virtually moved from Rome to the Bay.[4] Augustus, the first emperor, often vacationed in his villas on the island of Capreae (mod. Capri), so proximity to his person may have been desirable. In 27 CE, the capital literally moved, when Augustus' successor Tiberius (emperor 14–37 CE) withdrew to his villas on Capreae for the rest of his reign, never returning to Rome. Tiberius' decision might well have been based as much on the Bay's long history as a political center as on a desire to shirk his duties for what the ancient sources record as dalliance and debauchery.

Several events of the late Republic and early Empire occurred not in Rome but in the villas of the Bay. To secure political support from Cicero, Julius Caesar visited him at his villa near Puteoli (mod. Pozzuoli) in December 45 BCE (accompanied