



Studies in Roman Space and Urbanism

POMPEIAN PERISTYLE GARDENS

Samuli Simelius



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Pompeian Peristyle Gardens

This book examines how Pompeian peristyle gardens were utilized to represent the socioeconomic status of Roman homeowners, introducing fresh perspectives on how these spaces were designed, used, and perceived.

Pompeian Peristyle Gardens provides a novel understanding of how the *domus* was planned, utilized, and experienced through a critical examination of *all* Pompeian peristyles – not just by selecting a few well-known examples. This study critiques common scholarly assumptions of ancient domestic space, such as the top-down movement of ideas and the relationship between wealth and socio-political power, though these possibilities are not excluded. In addition, this book provides a welcome contribution to exploring the largely unexamined middle class, an integral part of ancient Roman society.

Pompeian Peristyle Gardens is of interest to students and scholars in art history, classics, archaeology, social history, and other related fields.

Dr Samuli Simelius is a teacher of ancient cultures at the University of Helsinki, Finland, and a post-doctoral researcher in the project Law, Governance and Space: Questioning the Foundations of the Republican Tradition (funded by the European Research Council). He wrote his doctoral dissertation on Pompeian peristyle gardens.

Studies in Roman Space and Urbanism

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Samuli Simelius

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1 Introduction

1.1 Roman house and status display

The social flux in the Roman world around the time of the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE increased both the need and the means to demonstrate status. Any rise in legal status was slow, particularly for groups such as former slaves, but luxury and public consumption offered methods to display success in other areas of life.¹ One possibility was to construct luxurious dwellings, and the Roman house is known to have been a significant means to demonstrate its owner's identity, including wealth and status.² However, this was not reserved only for the upper class and rich, and the archaeological material reveals how the sub-elites also utilized their houses for their identity building.

This book examines how Pompeian peristyle gardens were used to represent the house owner's socioeconomic status. In the Roman world, a peristyle was a colonnaded courtyard, often featuring a garden.³ This is the first examination and comparative analysis of all 252 Pompeian peristyle gardens excavated in Pompeii. The comprehensive approach permits an understanding of the different levels of wealth and social status that were transmitted by these colonnaded spaces throughout the entire city.

Pompeii has always been considered one of the main sources of information about so-called daily life in the Roman world. The city has been interpreted to reflect something ordinary compared to, for instance, the political history of Rome. Research carried out on Pompeii concentrates on the private dwellings, which are, indeed, the resource through which the city contributes most to our knowledge of antiquity. However, such scholarship has primarily focused on the largest and most decorated houses. Additionally, other buildings such as *tabernae*, workshops, and even brothels have been studied to illuminate the world of the poorer strata of society,⁴ but the hundreds of middle-sized and small houses have been studied only occasionally and sporadically. This study clarifies the life and social interactions of the so-called Roman middle class. This group has been overshadowed in the scholarship by the highest socio-political elite. The gap between the rich and the poor was enormous, and the economic group that belonged to this middle ground was the largest in the ancient world. Our understanding of antiquity will always be partial if this mass of people is not studied in detail.

2 Introduction

Over the last 20 years or so, scholarship has questioned the functions of the traditional room types in the Roman house, yet the peristyle curiously remains one of the spaces which is still seen to be used mainly for display purposes.⁵ There are several Pompeian peristyles where this is the case, but the broader picture – examining all the peristyles of the city – reveals a different situation: a vast number of peristyles were not planned or used for display purposes. I will construct a novel view of why the peristyles were built and how they were utilized.

All architecture reflects something about the socioeconomic status of the owner, as has been hypothesized by several theorists from different fields. For instance, Amos Rapoport underlines the character of architecture as a means of communicating status, power, and roles. Rapoport notes that architecture provides information about human behavior, and on the other hand also influences human behavior. He maintains that the architecture of a space was planned with a view towards its proper function, and therefore the aim is to design the space to be as well suited to the intended activity as possible.⁶

Pierre Bourdieu instead sees that cultural practices and preferences are related to a person's social origin and education. This leads to the conclusion that the limits of necessity select for the most economical alternative – which can also mean the most practical alternative – whereas a taste for liberty or luxury favors conventions and tends to ignore practicality. In this view, practical solutions in domestic architecture are favored by the lower classes, particularly by people who work with their hands, as Bourdieu's study demonstrates.⁷

Rapoport's and Bourdieu's views are the basis of my theoretical framework. Even if the function of the space is altered, it must be functionally suited to its new purpose – otherwise it would not have been selected for it – and, therefore, the qualities of a space reveal something about its use in the past. Those qualities reveal the needs of the people who used the space, and on this basis we can interpret the economical level of the inhabitants, as different levels of society had different possibilities and needs.

My ultimate aim is to examine how peristyles reflect the socioeconomic status of their owners. Several other questions must be answered before reaching this goal. First, in Chapter 3, I investigate the role of the peristyle inside the house: what was its purpose and function, and what activities took place there? Then, in Chapter 4, I move on to examine: what tools could be utilized for socioeconomic display? After defining these tools, I answer a set of questions: in what types of peristyle were these different means adopted, and how did they reflect their owner's wealth, and how did they influence each other? Chapters 5 and 6 are built around these questions. Chapter 7 explores the connection between wealth and social status in Pompeii.

Peristyles are a part of several studies of ancient Pompeii and/or the Roman house, but oftentimes the research focus limits their examination to a few selected houses and peristyles – perhaps even choosing those that are best suited to their argument, while those which do not easily fit are ignored.⁸ The Roman house, which is mainly modeled in contemporary research on the basis of the writings of Vitruvius and two excavated Campanian cities, Herculaneum and Pompeii,

had several important functions in Roman social life. One of these was to display acquired wealth and social status. The house provided an opportunity to do this when other areas of life were more socially constricted. For example, the clothing of the upper class male was controlled and regulated, which left little scope to display nuanced socioeconomic status.⁹ The house, on the other hand, opened up many possibilities to do this – although it was not free from the criticism of Roman moralists. Yet, even Cicero, who often championed himself as the supporter of traditional values, was known for the Greek ornaments that decorated his villa – something that could perhaps be considered a dangerous type of Hellenistic *privata luxuria* by some Roman standards.¹⁰

Scholars have examined many of the largest Pompeian houses, trying to connect them to the texts of ancient authors such as Cicero, Pliny the Younger, and – of course – most importantly Vitruvius's *De Architectura*. Conclusions about the functions of the rooms were made on the basis of the architect's descriptions, and archaeological material played a secondary role in the process. These interpreted functions provided a simplified model of the Roman house created by 19th and early 20th century archaeologists and scholars,¹¹ and overlooked most of the domestic material in Pompeii. During the past 20 or 30 years, researchers have questioned these functions, and the ensuing deconstruction of room functions has shaped debate for decades.¹² It has been noted frequently that the municipal city of Pompeii was very different from Rome, the huge capital city of the known world, making it somewhat problematic to use Roman literary sources in the Pompeian context.¹³ The Roman house is now often viewed as a multifunctional space; it seems that the rooms, courtyards, and gardens seldom had one clear function, although models easily give this impression. This means that socioeconomic representation was not separated from other possible functions, as is demonstrated several times in this book. Of course, having the capacity to allocate a space mainly for display purposes was a sign of wealth, but the multifunctional nature of the rooms meant that the display would be seen by several types of audiences.

Penelope Allison's many contributions to this field of study – for example *Pompeian Households: An Analysis of the Material Culture* (2004) – played a significant role in the reinterpretation of the room functions of the Pompeian house. Emphasizing the analysis of the archaeological finds, she questioned the literature-based analysis. This deconstruction of the interpretation of the Pompeian house has considerably changed our view of the Roman house and their daily life, and it has left space for new reconstructions and interpretations. The more than fifteen years that has passed between the publication of the work have resulted in several excellent contributions to the study of Roman urbanism, and in many cases Pompeii has been a key source. Nonetheless, studies covering the entire city and combing through all of the material related to a single type of space have been a rarity, and for instance several important space types, such as the peristyle, have thus far remained unstudied.

Andrew Wallace-Hadrill's *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum* (1994) has been deeply influential in the study of socioeconomic representation in urban and domestic space in the Roman world. In his work, the peristyle

4 Introduction

was defined as one of the most important display spaces in the Roman house.¹⁴ Although the heyday of this explanation of the socioeconomic function of the Roman house is often considered to be the 1990s or early 2000s, it was not a new idea; similar interpretations were made already in the 19th century.¹⁵ However, the conclusion relies heavily on the writings of Vitruvius, and leaves space for an analysis of the archaeological material.

Although the archaeological material of Pompeii mostly corresponds to the year 79 CE and the time immediately associated with the eruption of Vesuvius, it can also be interpreted as reflecting the overall situation of the early Principate – or partly even the ideas and fashions of the late Republican period. The birth of the Imperial government has often been seen as representing a change in the ruling class of Rome: the Emperors nominated the *equites*, *liberti*, or even slaves to important positions in the Empire.¹⁶ These groups, historically situated below the highest senatorial elite, thus gained more status and power, which they then needed to display to society.¹⁷

The Pompeian peristyles primarily reflect something that could be called a Roman middle class, even though in this case it is better to talk about the middle classes – in plural. Although this term can be seen as anachronistic, there was a distinct group of people situated between the richest and poorest inhabitants,¹⁸ and the vast majority of the Pompeian peristyle owners belonged to this group. The Roman middle class is often neglected by scholars due to the fact that the written sources concentrate on the elite, having been mainly written by the elites themselves. Of course, the middle stratum is not entirely neglected by scholars and there are, for example, studies that focus on individual parts of it, such as freedmen.¹⁹ However, the picture is still very incomplete and more work needs to be done, and Pompeii offers a location and body of material well suited to this purpose that should not be disregarded.

The traditional understanding of the movement of ideas in the Roman world has been built according to the top-down model, where the upper levels of society produced new trends and the lower social groups passively adopted these ideas.²⁰ This book will question that approach. Organizing the houses and their peristyles according to their architectural remains – which on a general level reflects the house owner's wealth – demonstrates that not all types of decorations and designs can be found in the houses of the wealthiest Pompeians; rather, some means of display seem to have been developed by the middle or lower echelons of society.

Having now introduced the larger historical context and the interpretations I follow in my study, the controversial concepts of the top-down model and the middle class still require further examination and consideration before moving on.

1.2 Top-down model?

The top-down model suggests that influence in a society moves from the upper social levels to the lower. Justin Walsh compares the social elite to the fashionistas who set the trends because they have the wealth, knowledge, and leisure lifestyle to do so.²¹ Literary sources indicate that the Roman elite thought of itself

as a role model – including in architecture – for the lower social groups, which led to competition where the elite tried to stay ahead of the lower classes and also competed against other members of the elite.²²

Paul Zanker has adopted the top-down model to interpret Roman private dwellings. He believes that the upper classes dictated the trends, which were then copied by the lower echelons. In particular, Zanker interprets the nearby *villae* of Pompeii as major influencers on the architecture of other houses. Although Zanker focuses mainly on the non-urban *villae*, he also interprets large houses as “town *villae*,” and therefore within his context some Pompeian houses can be considered as models for imitation. Among the forms of imitation are garden architecture, fountains, sculpture, and paintings – all of which can be connected to the peristyle gardens. Zanker’s idea has been incredibly popular among scholars.²³ Nonetheless, it has several problems when it is further examined.

Use of the top-down model is not limited to the classical world. It has been developed by several social theorists, such as Thorstein Veblen, whose work has often been inspirational for the study of Pompeian domestic space.²⁴ Veblen suggests that humans display their social rank through their consumption, and he introduces the term *conspicuous consumption* as a means to express a high social position. According to Veblen’s theory, the leisure class – the highest level of society – influences the lower classes, who attempt to achieve the standards of the upper classes.²⁵

As with any theory, Veblen’s ideas have also received some criticism; after all, they are more than a hundred years old. On the general level, Colin Campbell notes Veblen’s shaky evidence, the question of consciousness of conspicuous consumption, and the extent to which the action is driven by intention, instinct, or other motives. Furthermore, he notes the vague definition of the conspicuous consumption, as it has been adopted into everyday language.²⁶ Walsh has connected conspicuous consumption with similar terms, such as *costly signaling*, *wasteful advertising*, and *wasteful display*.²⁷ Signaling, advertising, and consumption are intentional activities, something not fully present in mere display, as having something on display may be unintentional. Consequently, as the level of intention is often a difficult attribute to confirm from archaeological sources, I will mostly use the term *socioeconomic display*, or just *economic display* (as the sources primarily suggest wealth or economic rank). Nevertheless, other terms such as conspicuous consumption are also utilized if they are fitting.

The top-down model has also been criticized in the Roman context. Shelley Hales notes that the efforts of the lower classes to make an impression on other members of society are frequently underestimated as imitative in the scholarship of the Roman house, and she calls for more research on the lower social strata.²⁸ Wallace-Hadrill does not believe that the model proposed by Veblen is a likely explanation for behavior in Roman society, and posits that the motivation behind adopting new fashions was likely an urge to create distance from those who were inferior in the social hierarchy, more than merely mimicking their superiors.²⁹ Emanuel Mayer, instead, considers that Roman art was so standardized that this in itself explains the similarity of the paintings and statues of the elite and the lower

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classes. In addition, he concludes that the middle class house owners may have wanted decorations similar to those of their patrons, but they were also not afraid to alter them according to their own taste.³⁰

Katherine von Stackelberg criticizes Zanker's top-down model in the context of gardens, and proposes that the peristyle was possibly evolved from the *hortus* – and, therefore, the *domus* architecture did not necessarily need a *villa* as a model for the peristyle garden.³¹ Equally, Lauren Petersen has focused on some gardens and garden paintings in Pompeii, noting that they are not necessarily only *villa* imitations. According to her, they were even more ideal representations of nature than the large *villa* gardens, which she has proposed to be their examples.³² In general, the architecture and decoration of *villae* and Pompeian houses share similar features, but the perspective that the lower classes just duplicated the upper strata of society is too simple. It does not take into account the ground up or lateral movement of ideas, and it sees the lower classes as passive imitators without the ability to make their own innovations.

In light of the above, this book carries out a large-scale examination to determine which elements are present in the peristyles of different economic classes, from the wealthiest to the poorest peristyle owners. This comparison will clarify which were copied from the upper classes and which were instead typical of the lower classes but were not commonly found in the peristyles of the wealthy, and were therefore innovations of the lower strata of society meant to demonstrate their economic success.

1.3 Middle class, middling group, middle group, sub-elites?

The subject of inequality in Pompeii has been increasingly studied. Miko Flohr has recently examined the distribution of household wealth in the city, and he comes to the conclusion that the group between the rich and the poor – Flohr calls them middling groups – was a significant economic factor in the city.³³ Many of Pompeian peristyles belong to this group, and perhaps in the wider perspective they represent something that could be defined as the ancient middle classes.

There is debate over whether a concept such as the middle class can be used in classical studies, or if the modern connotations are too strong and direct, leading us to imagine things that did not exist in ancient societies.³⁴ This point of view is demonstrated by the criticism of Mayer's study *The Ancient Middle Classes: Urban Life and Aesthetics in the Roman Empire, 100 BCE–250 CE* (2012). In particular, his definition of the middle class and his assessment of the possibility of recognizing and differentiating the middle class from the elite in the archaeological sources have been challenged.³⁵

In any society – including the Roman – the borders between social groups are rarely clear.³⁶ For instance, an individual can belong to several groups, or persons can appear to be somewhere between two groups, and it is almost impossible to define to which group they belong. Furthermore, the borders between the groups are constantly shifting. To avoid as much as possible setting arbitrary boundaries between groups, I have classified the peristyles according to their common

archaeological features, and therefore the groups are determined by the archaeological remains, instead of a need to identify certain social groups in different houses of Pompeii. Of course, my grouping only reflects the image given by the peristyles, and it may be that other areas of the house might have expressed a different socioeconomic standing, which can be controlled for – at least partly – by comparing the peristyle to the other elements of the house architecture.

As is generally the case when examining antiquity, the source material favors the highest strata of society. It is relatively easy to locate the peristyles of the highest municipal elite – or at least the peristyles with the wealthiest owners. These are large and richly decorated. However, descending in the social ranking makes the interpretation more complex, and the differences between the lower classes are not necessarily so obvious, or the groups are very vague. For instance, some interpretations of the Pompeian houses propose that very different types of dwellings belong to the middle class: from the famous *Casa dei Vettii* (VI,15,1) to the less well-known house I,11,14.³⁷ Indeed, both houses fit in the middle class, if it is defined broadly, but nobody would easily compare them to each other or suggest that they reflect similar owners.³⁸ One possible solution is adding more subgroups to the division; for example, the upper middle class and lower middle class.

Even if drawing a line between the elite and middle class is difficult,³⁹ the fact remains that most of the Pompeian peristyle owners belonged somewhere between the top elite and the lowest stratum of the Roman world. The social status of the wealthiest peristyle owners was perhaps not equal to the highest senatorial or Imperial elite, as persons of this rank are not known inhabitants of Pompeii,⁴⁰ meaning that the top political class of Rome was absent from its social stratigraphy. However, the Pompeian upper class might have been a part of the Roman elite in some other aspects, such as cultural taste or wealth.⁴¹ The wealthiest peristyle owners in Pompeii might have perhaps competed with the wealthiest persons in the era; at least the architecture of some houses has been noted to be equal to – if not more lavish than – the palaces of some Hellenistic royalty.⁴² On the other side of the social spectrum, owning a peristyle required a certain wealth and social status that permitted property ownership, which excludes the lowest levels of society.⁴³

In Pompeii, the peristyles were a feature of the city's economic middle class, but also its upper class. The houses studied in this book cover almost the entire economic elite of Pompeii, excluding only a few of the largest houses, possibly some citizens living outside the city walls, and perhaps a few elite houses that are not yet excavated. The major part of the houses examined, however, can be assigned to a group that could be called the Pompeian middle class – or likely even upper middle class.⁴⁴ Their architecture and decoration indicate that the owners were neither the richest nor the poorest persons in Pompeii.

The term middle class in this book is mainly used to describe wealth, making it a so-called “objective class,” and it resembles a Weberian definition of class, although the house – let alone peristyle – does not always coincide well with the likelihood of the owner's economic success.⁴⁵ If we try to move beyond the economic definition towards a so-called “subjective” class and determine whether

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this middle group formed a culturally distinct group, or perhaps had a common identity, as Mayer has tried to do,⁴⁶ we quickly find a lack of sources from which to draw this type of conclusion. Any connections with social status, ethnicity, or other possible identities are frequently difficult to deduce from the Pompeian archaeological material, as is demonstrated in Chapter 7.⁴⁷ Several different social groups, such as freedmen, *plebs*, or *plebs media*, and perhaps even some *equites*, can be included in this economic group, but besides a very few singular exceptions, we can only speculate on the social standing of the Pompeian house owners.⁴⁸ Consequently, a comprehensive comparison of the house owners can only be carried out using economic standards.

Despite the problems, Mayer's idea of exploring the use of art and architecture that is distinctively different between the elite and the classes below it is good. The evidence of material culture – particularly when it was visible in the city or landscape – tells us about a certain pride of belonging to a group that may not have been at the top of society, but nevertheless had its own achievements. However, the problem that remains with the archaeological evidence is that we cannot know whether this pride of social status meant pride in belonging to the economic middle class, or perhaps belonging to some other group inside this massive classification of people. For instance, there could be a pride in belonging to a specific *collegia* rather than the middle class as a whole. The economic middle class as portrayed in various archaeological sources is often diverse and complex, and likewise in Pompeii it was not a single unit. My purpose is to demonstrate the different nuances and smaller groups of peristyle owners – avoiding the lure of dividing Roman society into elites and others, or rich and poor, or of simply defining a single group as a middle class.

The concept of middle class can be replaced, for example with the word sub-elite(s), which has been used in the scholarship. However, the peristyle owners do not include the poorest or the lowest social levels, such as slaves, making sub-elites too broad of a term to use, as it also includes these groups. Middle class is more precise than sub-elite in this case, and therefore I have decided to use it. My application of the middle class is a working tool used to clarify the context for the reader, not to suggest that ancient society was absolutely divided in a similar way to the modern.

The belief in the usefulness of the concept of middle class seems to follow language barriers. The opposition comes mainly from the Anglophone countries, while the rest of the world does not seem to share this strong concern.⁴⁹ It is possible that there is an English meaning that prevents the use of the middle class in its classical context, and then we who decide to use the language just have to accept it and stop using it. However, this reason is somewhat unclear. The concept is anachronistic, but so are many other terms that scholars keep using, such as, for example, elite, or public and private.⁵⁰ Should one be extremely strict and logical with this argument, one could even question using English as the language of ancient studies at all. Yet, writing in Latin, ancient Greek, or another ancient language would not solve this problem, because our use of the words would still have different meanings than in antiquity. If we were to strictly use the words only

known from ancient sources, it would lead to a situation where we were basically just copying the ancient sources, and this would hardly produce new information, which is the purpose of research.

My example is extreme, but it highlights that using modern concepts as research tools is one acceptable method. They can help us see our sources differently and produce new information about ancient life. Modern phenomena such as feminism or racism are not found as such in the ancient material, yet these terms can still be used as research tools to interpret the ancient world and to explore similar phenomena. Equally, later dwellings, for example from 19th century England and France, have been utilized to interpret the Roman *domus*.⁵¹ This is, of course, anachronistic, but modern examples – as well as terms – can still provide new points of view.

There is always a need in scholarship for a discussion about the uses of modern concepts such as the middle class – their implications and pitfalls. I am using middle class as a term to define a group between the rich and the poor, and therefore it cannot be thought of in strictly Marxist, Weberian, etc. terms. I have identified several smaller groups inside this middle group. These are named according to the decorative and architectural features of the peristyles – opulent, large full, ornamental, large painting, imitation, minor decoration, and architectural peristyles – but additionally they correspond more-or-less to the different economic groups of the peristyle owners: upper class, upper and lower middle class.⁵² It is impossible to say whether the Pompeians themselves noticed that there was a large economic middle group in their city, but they likely perceived some type of similarity inside these smaller groups that I have defined.

Notes

- 1 Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 439–440.
- 2 Mazzoleni 1993, 7, 290, 293. Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 3–4, 147. Zanker 1998, 10–11. Hales 2003, 2–3.
- 3 For a more detailed discussion of the definition of the peristyle garden, see Chapter 2.2. In this book, both *peristyle* and *peristyle garden* are generally used for describing open spaces that had at least one colonnade on one side. The words are used synonymously, which is a scholarly convention. In addition, I sometimes utilize the term *garden with one portico* to make a distinction between them, peristyles, and pseudo-peristyles. Nevertheless, the gardens with one portico are also referred to as peristyles, particularly if they belong to a group that includes gardens that have more than one colonnade. In general, I use the space and room names and numbers that are presented in *Pompei: pitture e mosaici*, except all the *vestibula* are called *fauces*. Although Latin nomenclature is used, the names do not signify room functions (for the problems with Latin names, see Allison 2006, 405), but rather refer to the scholarly tradition.
- 4 E.g. Mustilli 1950, Laurence 1994, McGinn 2002, Peña & McCallum 2009, Monteix 2010; 2017, Flohr 2011; 2013; 2013b; 2021, Ellis 2004, 2011; 2011b; 2018.
- 5 On the display function of the peristyle, see Leach 1997, 52, Sampaolo 1997, 428; 1998 974, Zanker 1998, 12–13, Dickmann 1998, 452, Bragantini 1999, 142, Farrar 1998, 19, Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 193, Ciarallo and Giordano 2012, 389, n. 41, 537 n. 280, 556 n. 306, Trentin 2014, 1. For new interpretations of the Roman house, see Allison 1993;

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- 2004, Berry 1997, Wallace-Hadrill 1997, Nevett 2010, 89–118, Flohr 2011, Tuori 2015, Green 2015, Nissin 2015.
- 6 Rapoport 1990, 11.
- 7 Bourdieu 1979, 1–2, 6, 248 fig. 10. See also Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 148; 2008, 326–327, Walsh 2014, 80–81.
- 8 E.g. Zanker (1998, 247) has 35 houses in his index, and Hales (2003, 7–8, 290–291) has 32 houses in her index. Some scholars have utilized sample areas, such as Wallace-Hadrill (1994, 65–72) using *Insulae* I,6–12 and VI,9–16. Other studies applying sample areas are: Grahame 2000, 38–39, Allison 2004, 6–7, 29–30, Lohmann 2015, 71–71. There are some studies covering several houses around the city, such as Dickmann 1999 (see index pp. 379–381) and Anguissola 2010 (see pp. 1, 513–573). On the peristyle in general, see Richardson 1988, Zaccaria Ruggiu 1995, Jashemski 1993, 15–19, Jones & Bon 1997, 3–5, Meyer 1999, Hodske 2007, 17–22, Poehler, Flohr & Cole 2011, 1–8, Zarmakoupi 2014, 8–13, Tuori 2015, 9–10, Nissin 2016, 14–16. Kawamoto (2015, 111–195) has a very thorough and good overview of the history and scholarship of garden archaeology, particularly for the Bay of Naples.
- 9 On the house, see Mazzoleni 1993, 7, 290, 293, Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 3–4, 147; 2008, 193, Leach 1997, 52, Zanker 1998, 10–13, Farrar 1998, 19, Hales 2003, 2–3. On the clothing, see Edmondson 2008, 23–26, 32–37, Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 41–57, Larsson Lovén 2014, 266–270.
- 10 Cic. Att. 1.6.2. See Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 171–173, 315, 329–338, La Bua 2019, 319.
- 11 See Mau 1908, 250–289. See also Becker 1838, 70–102, Clarke 1991, 2–19, George 1997.
- 12 See Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 7, Nevett 1997, 282–288, 294–298; 2010, 93–97, Berry 1997, 183–185, 193–195; 2016, 125, 141, Allison 2004, 161.
- 13 Ciarallo & Mariotti Lippi 1993, 116. Pesando 1997, 6, 9. Allison 2001, 53; 2004, xv, 14. Petersen 2006, 128, Viitanen & Ynnilä 2014, 142. Speksnijder 2015, 88.
- 14 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 83.
- 15 See e.g. Niccolini & Niccolini 1854, Casa detta del Fauno, 1.
- 16 See e.g. Tuori 2016, 104, 157, 187, 195, 222, 277–278, 289.
- 17 Although the status of these groups are diverse and, for example, *equites* could be defined as an elite group, as Davenport (2019, 5) has done.
- 18 On the middle class in antiquity, see Mayer 2012. Interpreting ancient social and economic structures through modern terms is not a new method, Rostovtzeff (1957, 10, 21, 195) for example uses such terms as *bourgeoisie* and *capitalistic*. For critical views, in particular about the term middle class, see Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 354, Archibald & Davies 2011, 1–2, Newby 2016, 20–24, Ellis 2018, 12.
- 19 See Petersen 2006, 11.
- 20 See Zanker 1998, 16, 19, 20, 192–193, 199–202. For the adaptation of the model, see Bragantini 1991, 34, Sampaolo 1993, 613, Fröhlich 1993, 641; 1996, 116, Inserra 2008, 23, Loccardi 2009, 69. On the top-down model in general and its criticism, see Hales 2003, 8, 250 n. 27, Von Stackelberg 2009, 21–22, Mayer 2012, 166–167.
- 21 Walsh 2014, 83.
- 22 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 4–5, 143, 146–147.
- 23 Zanker 1998, 12–14, 16, 19–20, 142, 145, 160, 168, 192–193, 199–202. Zanker has partly published the same examination of and conclusions on Pompeian houses already in the article: *Die Villa als Vorbild des späten pompejanischen Wohngeschmacks* (1979). I use the English translation (*Pompeii: public and private life*, 1998) of Zanker's study, as it is the most recent version of the book, and although the main text is mostly similar to the previous editions, Zanker (1998, viii) states that the notes are updated. Zanker's view has been extensively quoted and followed, see, e.g., Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 14, 169–174; 2015 186, Jones & Robinson 2005, 696, Dickmann 1999, 159–255, 299–300, 355, Hales 2003, 7–8, 137–138 (also includes critique of Zanker's ideas), Hodske 2007, 22, Zarmakoupi 2014, 9, Tuori 2015, 10,

- Morvillez 2017, 36. See also Petersen 2006, 128–129 for the critique. The interpretations of villa imitation in the Pompeian house: Bragantini 1991, 34, Sampaolo 1993, 613, Fröhlich 1993, 641; 1996, 116, Inserra 2008, 23, Loccardi 2009, 69, Kuivalainen 2019, 68. Zanker (1998, 135) mentions that the idea of villa features in the *domus* is not original, and that scholars before him mention the connection (see, e.g., Bechi 1835, 10).
- 24 See, e.g., Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 5–6, Zanker 1998, 12, Dickmann 1999, 308, 374, Jones & Robinson 2005, 700, Von Stackelberg 2009, 22 (also criticism).
- 25 Veblen 1957, 68–101, 103–105, 126–128.
- 26 Campbell 1995, 37–40, 45–46.
- 27 Walsh 2014, 84, 86.
- 28 Hales 2003, 8, 250 n. 27. For criticism, see Mayer 2012, 166–167.
- 29 Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 436.
- 30 Mayer 2012, 166–212, 214–216, 218.
- 31 Von Stackelberg 2009, 21–22.
- 32 Petersen 2006, 123–162.
- 33 Flohr 2017, 54–55, 75–81. There is also an article by Kohler & al. (2017) about the distribution of household wealth in premodern cities around the globe. Pompeii is among the studied cities. Unfortunately, the data set provided by the study was not transparent enough, and it was impossible to control for which houses were selected to represent Pompeii in this study. Additionally, counting the Gini coefficients on the basis of household size excludes the large portion of people who did not own property, and therefore comparison with income-based Gini calculations – used for modern society – is not possible.
- 34 See Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 172–173; 2008, 354, Newby 2016, 20–24, Ellis 2018, 12.
- 35 See, e.g., Newby 2016, 20–24. There have been several critical reviews of Mayer's book, as Newby mentions in note 97. Mayer (2012, 7–8) himself also admits that the middle classes and the elite might have overlapped in some areas of life.
- 36 Mayer 2012, 8–14.
- 37 See also Section 7.1. I use Italian house names, as this is currently the custom in Pompeian studies. It is possible to translate names using Google Translate or Deep-L. In addition, the English names, as well as alternative Italian names, for several houses can be found in the *Pompeii in Pictures* website. The house names used in this study are adopted from *Pompei: pitture e mosaici*, excepting I,2,24, II,8,2/3, VII,10,5, VII,11,6–8, VII,11,11/14 and IX,1,12, which are simply referred to as houses (not *caupona*, *lavanderia*, or *albergo*). Several houses have two names or additions (*e i suoi annessi*) in *Pompei: pitture e mosaici*, but here only the main part of the name is used: house VI,14,20 is simply *Casa di Vesonius Primus*, VI,14,43 *Casa degli scienziati*, VII,4,59 *Casa della Parete nera*, VII,6,3 *Casa di M. Spurius Saturninus*, VII,14,5 *Casa del Banchiere* and VIII,4,4/49 *Casa dei Postumii*. In *Pompei: pitture e mosaici* house I,6,9 is separated from house I,6,11 which is called as *Casa dei Quadretti teatrali*. As the houses are linked through a door between peristyles (nn. 20, 21, n. or nn. refers to number(s) of the peristyle in the Appendix) and there is no reason to expect that the houses were separate units, I deal with them as one house called *Casa dei Quadretti teatrali*. A similar situation is found with houses VII,7,2 and VII,7,5; therefore they are also considered as the same house, called *Casa di Trittolema*.
- 38 See nn. 42, 134, 135.
- 39 See e.g. Petersen 2006, 83.
- 40 See Camodeca 2008, 25, noting that there are no known senatorial class members in Pompeii. There might have been persons who had contacts with the Imperial family, such as T. Suedius Clemens, but whether they were house owners in Pompeii is unknown. See Chapter 7 about the social status of the peristyle owners.
- 41 E.g. Wallace-Hadrill (2008, 438–439) in the context of absorbing Hellenistic fashions, regards the Pompeian elite to be equal to the Roman political elite.

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- 42 See Castrén 1975, 40, Dickmann 1997, 123, Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 438–439.
- 43 On the economic status of Pompeii compared to the entire Roman Empire, see Ray 2017, 106 and Verboven 2017, 369–370, although the low number of data sets only enables tentative conclusions (Jongman 2017, 421).
- 44 Flohr (2017, 80) situates the houses with peristyles or porticoes in the upper 25–30 percent of Pompeian households, which is a general assessment, but there are some houses with a peristyle or portico that do not belong to this group. All of Flohr’s peristyles and porticoes are included in the houses of the top 40 percent. However, the data does not include the inhabitants that did not own property, meaning that on a larger scale all of the peristyle owners very likely belonged to the upper middle class in wealth. On the missing data of Pompeian houses, see Flohr 2017, 60–62.
- 45 Weber 1978, 302–307; 1978b, 926–939. On the “objective” class, see Hall and Stead 2020, 13.
- 46 Mayer 2012 18–21. On the “subjective” class, see Hall and Stead 2020, 13.
- 47 See also Castrén 1975, 31–33, Mouritsen 1988, 13–27, Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 108, Allison 2001, 57, Painter 2001, 35, Mayer 2012, 33, 53, Viitanen, Nissinen & Korhonen 2012, 67.
- 48 Jongman (2017, 425) suggests that a major part of 500–600 atrium houses was inhabited by freedmen.
- 49 For non-English use, see e.g. Miniero 1990, 598, Peters & Moormann 1993b, 409, Strocka 1994, 648, Seiler 1994, 714, Sampaolo 1998, 1091, Zanier 2009, 229, Mayer 2012, 8.
- 50 On the public and private, see e.g. Russell 2016, 12–16.
- 51 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 9–10, 12–14.
- 52 See Section 6.1.

2 Pompeian peristyle gardens

2.1 Reconstructing the Pompeian peristyles

The sources of this study are primarily archaeological, and the focus is on the private houses inside the city walls of Pompeii. Although study of a physical entity – the peristyle garden in its 79 CE manifestation – is the ultimate goal, the city has been under excavation for a very long time, and therefore several sources need to be utilized to arrive at a reconstruction of the peristyles. The collection of study materials was mainly carried out from 2010 to 2018.¹ This included two years spent in Naples doing field work and study at the *Museo archeologico nazionale di Napoli* (MANN). During this period I visited over 200 peristyle gardens. Additionally, I carried out archival work at the Getty Research Institute and Wilhelmina Jashemski’s archive at the University of Maryland. A very important part of the work was reading thousands of pages of published excavation reports and accounts.

There were numerous publications that helped with the reconstruction work. Some of them cover almost the entire city, such as Wilhelmina Jashemski’s *Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the villas Destroyed by Vesuvius: Volume II: Appendices* (1993), Annamaria Ciarallo’s *Gli spazi verdi dell’antica Pompei* (2012), and the series *Pompei: pitture e mosaici* (1990–2003), in which Mariette De Vos, Irene Bragantini, and Valeria Sampaolo among others have documented several houses. Additionally, several online resources were utilized, such as *Pompeii in Pictures* and the *Pompeii Bibliography and Mapping Project*.

With a little experience of working on an excavation (or in other field work), one realizes that errors occur frequently in documentation. If the errors are noticed, they are corrected in the publication. According to this reasoning the published material should be more accurate, but at times scholars tend to favor sources that can be dated closest to the excavation period. This is demonstrated by Allison’s selection of the words “the most original resource” and “more accurate,” which she uses for describing the handwritten excavation reports made while excavating or shortly thereafter. Despite this, Allison does not always assume that the handwritten reports are the most accurate source, but rather highlights the “comprehensive awareness of the selective process” of the excavation and deposition of the site.²

For my reconstruction of the peristyles, the basic rule is that the information reported closer to the excavation of the peristyle is considered to be more accurate, but the overall assessment is made on the basis of a careful combination of all available sources. For example, in the cases concerning fixed elements such as architecture, masonry structures, and wall paintings, the current state of the site might offer more accurate data than the reports. Yet, even the preserved archaeological remains cannot be accepted as a hundred percent accurate reflection of the past, as each of the houses has undergone many changes after their excavation – some destructive and some restorative. For example, several houses and peristyles suffered bombing damage during the Second World War, or damage from the earthquake of 1980.³

After my field work and the collection of the study material, *The Great Pompeii Project* (Italian *Grande Progetto Pompei*) started new excavations in Insula V.3, which have resulted thus far in the discovery of one new garden with a portico in the so-called *Casa del Giardino*.⁴ This garden was added to the source material of this study. The excavation is not published yet, and the reconstruction has been done on the basis of the available material online, such as the official website of the excavations,⁵ its social media postings, and other sites such as *Pompeii in Pictures*. It is typical of our time that more and more material is available online; however the conventions of refereeing social media posts are still under development. Referring to published pictures can be seen as quite straightforward (yet not without problems, as there is no guarantee that these pictures will remain available to the public). A more challenging problem is the interpretations published online, such as claims made by the official social media accounts of the Pompeii excavations that the eruption occurred on 24 October 79. Obviously, it is positive that new material is quickly provided for the public audience and scholars via online sources, but sometimes social media can push forward a narrative that is far from certain, as is the case with the newly suggested eruption date.⁶

My reconstruction of the garden in the *Casa del Giardino* is not very detailed, as very little material has so far been published, but I have managed to make some general assessments. Nevertheless, my methodology relies on a comprehensive analysis of all the peristyles, and therefore one garden should not change the conclusions in a major way. The newly excavated garden will likely make a substantial contribution to our knowledge of Pompeian plants and planting patterns, when it is finally published. However, even after that our information regarding them is still too inadequate to make a comprehensive analysis, and this part of the field needs much more work before that point is achieved.

The final outcome of the collection of study material is that there are 252 peristyle gardens under examination in this study. Their 79 CE reconstructions are published in the online appendix.⁷ The catalogue entries record the excavation years of the peristyles, their architectural features, the number of colonnades and ground area, the relationship of the peristyles to the other spaces of the house, and the overall ground area of the house. The entries also list fixed structures such as columns, piers, *plutei* (low walls between a garden and a portico), fences, *aediculae* (niches covered by a pediment or entablature), altars, *podia* (a raised platform/

masonry structure), outdoor *triclinia* (Π-shaped group of dining couches), and pergolas. Water installations are also listed: gutters, cisterns, cistern heads, puteals, pools, basins, and fountains. The entries also include descriptions of the floors and walls, describing their decoration, material, building techniques, plaster, niches, beam holes, half-columns⁸ and pilasters, and graffiti. Any information about plantings is added, if available. The listing of movable objects in the catalogue is limited to tables, sundials, and *dolia* (large ceramic storage vessels).⁹ The total number of peristyles, 252, is the result of a specific definition of the Pompeian peristyle garden, which will be explained next.

2.2 What is a peristyle garden?

The term *peristyle* (Greek *peristylos* and Latin *peristylum*)¹⁰ derives from Greek public architecture.¹¹ The word is constructed from two words: *peri* and *stylos*. If they are connected, a free translation is “a portico around.” The word peristyle came into use in Italy and in the Latin language in the last centuries BCE.¹² The Latin writers rarely use the term peristyle. Vitruvius, who does not make a distinction in its use between private and public contexts, mentions it most often. Terms such as *porticus* and *ambulatio* or the Greek-derived words *xystus*, *palaestra*, or even *gymnasium* are frequently preferred instead of *peristylum*.¹³ Vitruvius’s description of a peristyle concentrates on the proportions of the dimensions. The recommendation to make a peristyle one third wider than its length makes Vitruvius’s text unbecoming for the definition of peristyles in Pompeii, as a glance at Pompeian house plans is enough to show that these instructions were not followed.¹⁴ The peristyle or peristyle garden – meaning an open space with a garden surrounded by colonnades – is a convention of modern scholarship,¹⁵ and I will utilize it as such, i.e. as a technical term.

Even after we decide to use *peristyle* only as a modern technical term, finding a good definition that is easily applicable to the archaeological material is difficult, because there are numerous spaces around the Roman world that could be defined as peristyles. In addition, similar colonnaded courtyards appear in many other ancient cultures – not just Roman.¹⁶ The origin of the peristyle as an architectural feature is unclear, and it is questionable whether an origin can be defined, as a colonnaded courtyard is a widespread feature in architecture.

Peristyles were used in the Hellenistic world before its adaptation to the Roman house.¹⁷ The space can be also related to Etruscan architecture, and according to Linda Farrar the peristyle was a mixture of Hellenistic, Persian, and Etruscan ideas.¹⁸ It would not be surprising if the Romans adopted it from several sources, rather than only from a single cultural context. The addition of a garden in the courtyard has been regarded as a particularly Roman element, contrary to the paved courtyards of the Greeks.¹⁹ The earliest known peristyle garden in a domestic context is from Pompeii, in the *Casa del Fauno* (VI,12,2) from the second century BCE. In Pompeian houses, peristyles are considered to have replaced the traditional garden, the *hortus*. After this, the garden space was moved into the peristyle.²⁰ The peristyle garden later became a popular architectural feature in Pompeian houses.

In 79 CE, when Pompeii was buried by the eruption of Vesuvius, the evolution of the Roman house was apparently moving on to its next phase. The peristyle was beginning to replace the atrium, and by the late Imperial period this development was complete.²¹

The presented narrative of the development of the peristyle relies on a very scarce number of examples, and the archaeological evidence should be studied more comprehensively to examine the accuracy of the hypothesis. The diffusion of the peristyle around the Mediterranean also requires a thorough study, as well as the development of garden space in the Pompeian domestic context. These questions are so extensive that they would each require their own book – if not several – and will therefore be mainly left outside of the scope of this study. The growing number of publications dealing with the pre-79 CE situation in Pompeii, such as those made by Fabrizio Pesando and his group,²² might soon enable a better view of the domestic development and history – and simultaneously the garden history – of Pompeii. Additionally, there are several publications of the peristyles outside Pompeii that have created the basis for a wider analysis of the space.²³ However, comparing 79 CE Pompeii with other sites – including the previous phases of Pompeii²⁴ – has a methodological problem: there is hardly any ancient urban area that is so widely excavated as Pompeii, and therefore one can question whether the scarce examples from other sites can be compared with the vast number of Pompeian peristyles, but surely some generalizations can be made.

The long history and large geographical area of the ancient world means that the definition of the peristyle has varied in different contexts, and every scholar has used a definition that best serves their own material. Pompeii provides information that is not usually available from other ancient sites, making it impossible to use the same definition when studying other cities. For instance, the possibility of examining the plantings in Pompeian peristyles allows one to confirm that they were indeed planted, while in most other sites the presence of a garden in a peristyle is mostly an assumption.

Nonetheless, even inside Pompeii the peristyle is not a well-defined architectural feature, and the definition often overlaps with garden plots and atria. We can start with a simple presumption that a peristyle is an open space surrounded by a portico, but it is immediately noticeable that this definition also applies to some atria. A mathematical application of the distinction between atria and peristyles can be derived by examining the cross-sections of the spaces. In this case, the difference could be expressed with two simple formulas: $a > b$ is the atrium (Fig. 2.1) and $a \leq b$ is the peristyle (Fig. 2.2).

In the cross-section of an atrium, the space covered by the roof (a) is larger than the unroofed space (b), while in the cross-section of a peristyle the unroofed space is about equal to or even larger than the roofed space. Nevertheless, the so-called Corinthian atria more-or-less follow the cross-section of a peristyle rather than that of an atrium.²⁵ A Corinthian atrium is usually regarded as an atrium that had more than four columns.²⁶ The concept comes from Vitruvius, and his definition is rather open; for example, the text does not mention the minimum or maximum number of columns required.²⁷ Consequently, the definition of the whole

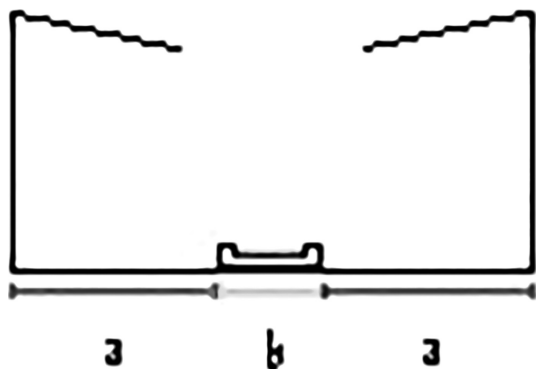


Figure 2.1 Cross-section of an atrium.

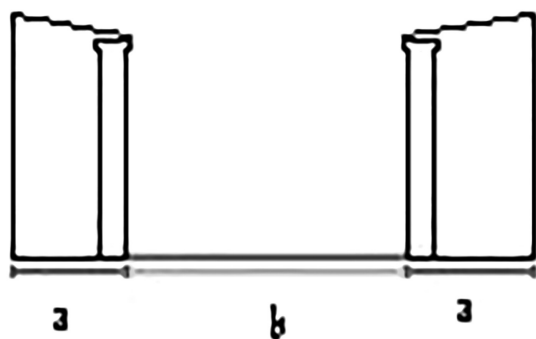


Figure 2.2 Cross-section of a peristyle.

term is problematic, not to mention the process of applying it to the archaeological material. In practice, every space defined as a Corinthian atrium in Pompeii could also be defined as a peristyle.²⁸

Perhaps the difference between a Corinthian atrium and a peristyle is their location in the house? In the traditional house plan the atrium follows after an entrance or a corridor (*fauces* or *vestibulum*), whereas the peristyle is located after an atrium and a *tablinum*. In Pompeii, however, there are numerous houses where the plan is different, and sometimes a peristyle might be in the location of the atrium.²⁹ Altogether, 50 peristyles are situated after an entrance or a *fauces* – in the traditional location of the atrium. On the contrary, 108 of the 252 peristyles were situated after a room defined as a *tablinum* – the traditional place of a peristyle. The traditional location is indeed more popular, but the data also establishes that more than half of the peristyles did not follow that pattern, making the use of location as the definitive criterion inadequate in Pompeii.

There is actually no good criterion to distinguish a peristyle from a Corinthian atrium in Pompeii: they are the same type of space. However, it is possible to differentiate a Corinthian atrium from a peristyle garden, if the garden is thought to be distinctively a feature connected to a peristyle and not to an atrium. Nonetheless, some scholars have also interpreted that some atria had gardens, and therefore even this criterion is not foolproof; ultimately, if these spaces are to be separated from each other the definition must remain somewhat arbitrary.

My focus is on the peristyle gardens, and therefore an open space must have a garden to be included in this examination.³⁰ This garden space can be identified by root cavities or loose soil, but in practice it is mostly done based on the excavation reports, relying on the excavators' interpretation of the nature of the central space.³¹ A colonnade, in contrast, is defined by the existence of free-standing masonry or stone columns or piers. The presence of even one column or pier is enough to signify a colonnade in this study.³² A colonnade does not have to run along the whole side of a space; for example, the peristyle of the *Casa di Obellius Firmus* (IX,14,4) is counted as having four porticoes, although on the south side the colonnade covers only a portion of the whole length of the space when compared to the north colonnade.

I apply a loose definition of peristyle, and therefore the gardens with one, two, three, or four porticoes are all counted as peristyles. A loose definition supports the aim of studying the middle class houses, as the gardens with one portico can be possibly seen as a form of lower status architecture compared to those with several porticoes. The peristyle with four porticoes is called a full peristyle, whereas an open space with three or two colonnades is called a pseudo-peristyle.³³ There are gardens with only one portico, and it can be questioned whether they should be called a peristyle, but they are very similar to some pseudo-peristyles – particularly to gardens that had two porticoes. A good example of this are the neighboring houses *Casa della Fontana grande* (VI,8,22) and *Casa della Fontana piccola* (VI,8,23/24), where the garden areas are relatively similar, except that the first had only one portico and the second two (Fig. 2.3).³⁴ Furthermore, gardens with one portico are occasionally called peristyles in the scholarship, for example in the case of the *Casa della Fontana grande*.³⁵

Some of the Pompeian gardens have been identified as sunken gardens. They have a garden space and portico, making them visually very similar to peristyles. Sunken gardens can be found, for example, in the *Casa dell'ancora* (VI,10,7), *Casa del Marinaio* (VII,15,2), *Casa di D. Octavius Quartio* (II,2,2), and *Casa di Apollo* (VI,7,23). Because of the similar layout, they are often listed as peristyles.³⁶ In contrast with other peristyles, the portico is significantly on a different level than the garden in these houses. One can consider that the garden and the portico are still the same space, at least visually, but the connection with the different parts becomes more questionable if we think about actual movement through the space. The garden in the *Casa di Fabio Rufo* underlines this problem. Jashemski, as well as Ciarallo, together with Chiara Giordano, list this garden as a hanging garden, but neither of the catalogues mentions a portico,³⁷ although there clearly is a portico on the eastern side of the garden in the house plan. Why did the scholars



Figure 2.3 The plans of the *Casa della Fontana grande* (VI,8,22) and *Casa della Fontana piccola* (VI,8,23/24).

studying the space not connect this portico to the garden? Because the portico is two floors above the garden (Fig. 2.4). Nevertheless, there is a visual connection between them: from the portico, one could easily admire the garden, and the colonnade was visible from the garden. Physically, the garden of a sunken garden was entered via stairs, or even through several other rooms, to access it from the colonnade.³⁸ Consequently, in my definition of the peristyle garden, the garden and the portico must be more-or-less on the same level, creating an easy physical connection between the spaces.³⁹ This leaves out the sunken gardens from the material. Even though they are not included in the material, they were certainly luxurious gardens, and as such competed with – if not surpassed – the most well-appointed peristyles of Pompeii as symbols of wealth and status.⁴⁰

The final definition of the Pompeian peristyle garden is this: an open space with a garden that featured a colonnade, at least on one side. A portico is defined by at least one free-standing column or pier. The garden and the portico must be more-or-less on the same level, so that the garden can be accessed immediately from the portico. This definition is mostly a technical working tool made for

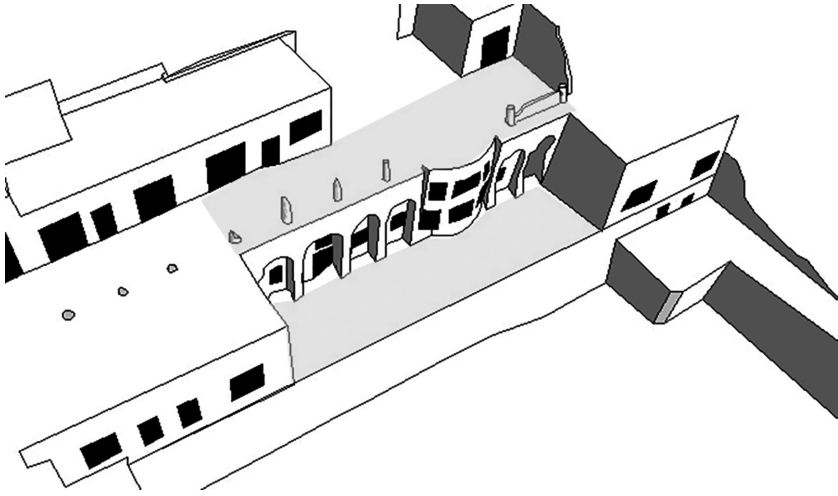


Figure 2.4 The portico and the garden of the *Casa di Fabio Rufo* (VII,16,19).

Pompeii, and it probably requires some reconsideration if it is to be used outside the 79 CE context of the Bay of Naples.

2.3 Creating the basis of the quantitative analysis

To answer the main research question – How did peristyle gardens reflect their owners’ status in society? – the present study builds on a comprehensive comparison and statistical analysis of all the peristyle gardens. This is achieved by means of a critical examination of the entire body of evidence – not just by selecting a few of the best-known houses. In the scholarship to date, this task has been left incomplete.

Pompeii is often imagined as an ideal archaeological site, but the source material is complex and occasionally problematic. It has been constantly noted that Pompeii is not a sealed context that survived untouched from 79 CE to the day when the excavations were started. There are several references to diggings made by ancient Romans and Pompeians already after the eruption. In addition, there have been diggings and disturbances of the context between the Roman period and the beginning of the excavations in the middle of the 18th century. Information was lost during these explorations, and valuable materials and art works were transported away from the site without any documentation.⁴¹

Regardless of whether some items were lost before the official excavations started in 1748, there is plenty of material available from Pompeii – compared to other archaeological sites – but the accuracy and quality of the information varies between the areas of the city, depending on when and by who they were excavated and documented. Consequently, not all the peristyles can be reconstructed

in equal detail, but all of them can be interpreted on a level that allows a comparison of several aspects and features. This enables a city-wide evaluation between all the peristyles gardens of Pompeii.

The selected approach limits this study to the peristyles of 79 CE – my reconstructions correspond to the time just before the eruption. In some cases, the appearance of the peristyle might have been altered due to the exceptional circumstance of the eruption, but in general the reconstructions more-or-less parallel the situation of so-called everyday life in 79 CE. The period before the eruption can be called the *last phase*. In Pompeian studies this is often regarded as beginning from the earthquake of 62 CE, but Allison has demonstrated that building and restoration occurred on several occasions after the earthquake, and thus the last phase in every context is not necessarily the static 62–79 CE.⁴² Seventeen years passed between the earthquake and the eruption, and although life in Pompeii might not have been as hectic as in the modern world, it is hard to believe that a house owner would have gladly allowed repair work to last so long.⁴³ Indeed, the sheer number of houses under restoration makes one doubt that they were all undergoing a 17-year long restoration process.

The Pompeian houses with a peristyle are quite large compared to most modern houses. In such a large house, it would be normal that a part of the house was under restoration almost continuously. This could partly explain why many houses are reported to be under some kind of restoration.⁴⁴ In addition, the peristyle – due to its open roof – was more vulnerable to the elements than the other spaces of the house, and may have required restoration work more often.⁴⁵ Consequently, the phase between the last restoration of a house and the eruption is not always 62–79 CE, and the last phase of a peristyle could have been shorter – or even longer – than the traditionally defined last period.⁴⁶

Despite the fact that Pompeii offers one of the most extensive collections of source material on domestic space in the ancient world, it is rarely studied as a whole.⁴⁷ Examinations often focus on a few well-known cases, usually the most decorated and largest houses.⁴⁸ Zanker, for instance, explains his approach as selecting “significant individual examples,” which are chosen for their relationship with the “context under investigation.”⁴⁹ This is a very selective process, and begs for a review of his hypothesis of top-down influence incorporating more extensive evidence.⁵⁰ The houses with less decoration and a smaller overall area – those that perhaps could be thought to belong to the middle class or sub-elites – are even more sporadically analyzed, and not even the studies focusing on the lower levels of society cover all the material of the city.⁵¹

One possible way to address this situation is to utilize a sample area. Wallace-Hadrill has chosen the *Insulae* I,6–12 and VI,9–16 as his sample.⁵² Although together these two fairly different areas seem to represent Pompeii relatively well, they are not entirely unproblematic. If we compare the numerical data of the peristyles in the sample with the entire city, it provides an error percentage of 13 (Table 2.1). Whether this is acceptable depends on the questions addressed to the material. It does not likely affect Wallace-Hadrill’s general conclusions, but studying the entire city would probably have altered the numerical values of the

Table 2.1 The difference between the numerical values for the peristyles for all of Pompeii and Wallace-Hadrill's sample (Herculaneum is excluded). The first row presents the average values for Pompeii, while the last row shows the average values of the sample. The relative error value of each measured item is calculated as follows: (whole Pompeii value – sample area value) / whole Pompeii value. The final relative error value is the average of all of the error values measured in the table.

	<i>House m²</i>	<i>Peristyle m²</i>	<i>Garden m²</i>	<i>Porticoes</i>	<i>Columns</i>	<i>Piers</i>	<i>Half-columns</i>	<i>Rooms opening</i>	<i>Average relative error</i>
Pompeii	723,12	168	84	2,50	5,95	1,01	1,90	7,89	
Sample	693,31	171	83	2,42	6,88	0,63	2,46	7,71	12%

four quartiles that he uses as a working tool for some of his conclusions.⁵³ An error percentage of one can be achieved when combining the *Regiones* I, V, VI, VII, and VIII. These *Regiones* have in total 215 peristyles – meaning that a large sample is needed to achieve maximum accuracy. It is also good to remember that the samples from Pompeii are samples of a sample, as the entire city has not yet been excavated.

Because of their garden space, peristyles are often studied along with ancient gardens. Scholarship on ancient gardens was truly born after the Second World War. Pierre Grimal wrote a large seminal study of Roman garden history, *Les jardins romains* (1969), relying on evidence from literary sources and a selection of Pompeian houses.⁵⁴ Wilhelmina Jashemski was a pioneer of Pompeian garden archaeology, and published *Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the villas destroyed by Vesuvius* (1979). Jashemski introduced an enormous mass of new archaeological material to the study of Roman gardens, connecting them to almost every aspect of Pompeian life. A similar study, *Gli spazi verdi dell'antica Pompei*, was published by Annamaria Ciarallo in 2012. Jashemski's and Ciarallo's works list every possible garden that was excavated before their publication, but their discussions and descriptions are unsystematic, and they often neglect the context – the house itself – around the garden.

Methodologically, I take a different approach than most of the previous scholarly works, and examine all of the peristyle gardens of Pompeii. Pompeii is the largest example of preserved domestic space in Graeco-Roman culture, and it provides material in a geographically and temporally limited context that is suitable for comparative analysis. This type of analysis reveals the differences and similarities of the means of socioeconomic display used in Pompeii. Based on this material, it is possible to draw conclusions regarding what was considered normal and, contra-wise, what was considered unusual or ostentatious; individuals who sought to show off or impress others were likely to employ unusual or extraordinary means.⁵⁵

Defining the usual and unusual requires quantitative and statistical analysis. Yet, there can never be a quantitative analysis without a preliminary qualitative analysis: one must first decide what is to be counted.⁵⁶ Consequently, the methodology of this study is based on a two-pronged approach, utilizing both qualitative and quantitative analysis. After the decision was made about what should be calculated, it was time for the numerical analysis, but then again the quantitative results require qualitative interpretation, and so on. The development of this methodology is described in all of the chapters, but Chapter 4 and Section 7.1 in particular can be considered to be the key methodology chapters, in addition to the current overview.

The unexcavated parts of the city create a problem for the development of a methodology of comprehensive comparison. My aim is not to predict what type of peristyles will be found in the unexcavated sections, but it is very likely that they mostly follow the style and size of the peristyles that have already been unearthed. For example, the excavated area inside the city walls is now about 74 percent of the total. Taking a sample of *Regiones* I, V, VI, VII, and VIII, which

is about 72 percent of the thus far excavated area, and calculating the difference between the numerical values for its peristyles compared to the entire city, results in an expected error rate of one percent.⁵⁷ Since the proportion of the sample is about equal to the proportion of the excavated area compared to the entire area of Pompeii, the error rate between the entire city of Pompeii and the excavated portion of Pompeii is probably not very far away from one percent. Consequently, the yet unexcavated peristyles – which will have much the same deviation rate – will most likely be quite similar to those already excavated.

The *insulae* in the southeast corner contain comparatively more garden areas than the other parts of the city.⁵⁸ Consequently, it is very possible that the eastern part of *Regio* III and the southern *insulae* of the unexcavated part of *Regio* I contain this type of garden-dominated *insulae*. This would mean that they did not have many peristyles, and the unexcavated data would not significantly affect the statistics for the peristyles. Nevertheless, if in the future the entire city of Pompeii is excavated, it might slightly change some of the calculated values of this study.

Further elaboration on the tools used will follow in subsequent chapters. For now, we can define some of the quantifiable basic features of the peristyles that create the basis of the analysis, starting with calculating an average peristyle of all the peristyles in Pompeii. Figure 2.5 demonstrates the ground plan of the average peristyle. It offers a good point of comparison regarding the wealth of the

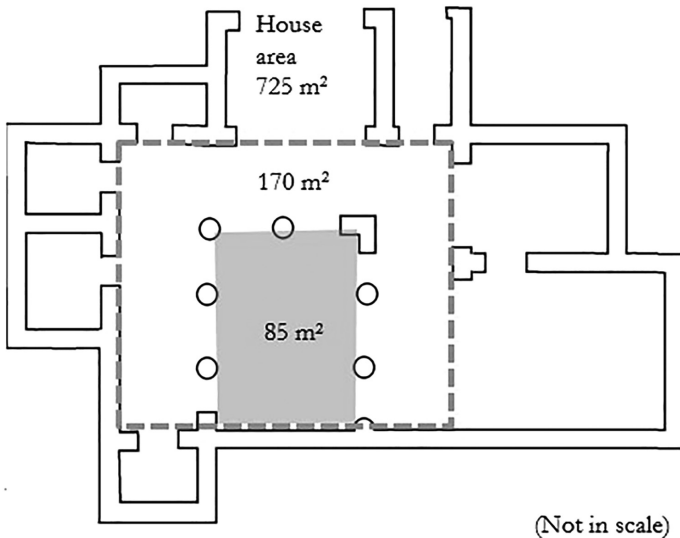


Figure 2.5 The average Pompeian peristyle. The number of columns, piers, half-columns or pilasters, and rooms opening onto the peristyle corresponds to the actual average. The pilasters and half-columns are considered to be the same feature – meaning that the average peristyle might have two half-columns, two pilasters, or one of both as illustrated. The rest of the reconstructed elements (such as the room sizes) are an artistic expression.

household: above-average signify that the owner had invested more in the peristyle than normally.

However, we cannot definitely say that a peristyle owner whose peristyle does not meet the values of the average peristyle had invested less than a usual peristyle owner. The extreme ends can affect the outcome of averages to a considerable degree. For example, some exceptionally large peristyles have made the average higher, which might not necessarily correspond well with what can be thought of as normal. Consequently, sometimes a median works better. Figure 2.6 depicts the median peristyle of Pompeii. The median can be expected to be closer to the daily life perception of most Pompeians, and perhaps represents what they imagined a typical peristyle to be in their city. Although Pompeians did not know these numbers explicitly, their experience of the peristyles in the city would have guided them to understand what was normal and what was not. A Pompeian who had visited several houses could probably roughly estimate where a peristyle would be situated in the continuum of all the peristyle gardens of the city.

It cannot be assumed that Pompeians' perception of space would have been so precise that they could easily distinguish an exact line of average or median. In their minds, the limits were probably rather more vague and elastic. For example, when visiting one house with a peristyle where the ground area was 472 m² and another house with an area of 538 m², the visitor probably could not easily notice the difference, even though one was smaller than the median and the other larger (Fig. 2.6). Consequently, dividing the material by other factors than simply the

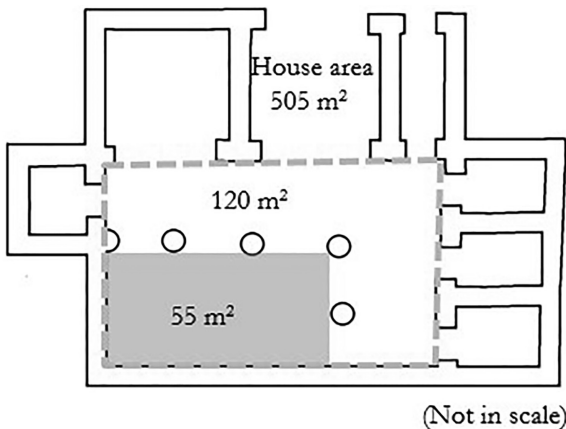


Figure 2.6 The median Pompeian peristyle. The number of columns, piers, half-columns or pilasters, and rooms opening onto the peristyle corresponds to the actual average. The pilasters and half-columns are considered to be the same feature – meaning that the median peristyle might have a half-column or a pilaster. The rest of the reconstructed elements (such as the room sizes) are an artistic expression.

average or the median is required in order to make the classification more finely graduated.

Figure 2.7 illustrates all of the Pompeian houses that had at least one peristyle and where the entire area of the house is known. These houses are arranged according to the size of the house area, creating a graph that illustrates the increase in house area, which is visualized by a red line drawn on the graph. If we follow the general lines of the figure – ignoring the smaller changes in the data – the increase in house area seems to be more-or-less linear to about 750 m² (dashed line), and after that the line starts to curve up (dotted line) and looks like an exponential increase. At about 1,100–1,200 m² the exponential growth becomes even steeper (solid line).

Using Figure 2.7 and the average and median values, we can create a classification of the size of the houses with a peristyle. For this purpose, the change in the rate of increase somewhere between 1,100 and 1,200 m² in Figure 2.7 becomes useful. It can be considered as the first limit of the house size classification. The second limit can be set somewhere around 725 and 750 m², because both the average area and the change between linear and exponential growth in Figure 2.7 occur approximately at this point. The other end of the graph does not offer such well-defined points for possible classifications, but at the extreme left end of Figure 2.7 there are a few houses below the red line. This limit can be roughly estimated at 250 m². Using these limits and adding the median value, the houses can be divided into the following size groups: under 250 m² (small), 250–505 m² (lower medium), 505–725 m² (upper medium), 725–1,200 m² (large), and over 1,200 m² (vast).

The small, large, and vast houses in the above classification stand out by their size, and it is likely that a visiting Pompeian would have noticed or intuitively estimated which houses were considerably larger or smaller than a normal house with a peristyle in Pompeii. In contrast, there are so many houses in the medium size groups that it must have been difficult to notice the difference between them. Although there are significant absolute changes among the medium size houses, there were also so many houses in these groups that there are several more-or-less similar in size, making it more difficult to single them out from the mass.

The peristyles consisted of more than just their architecture. Some other features can help to interpret the use of the peristyle, such as gutters (drainage), *triclinia* (dining), and *lararia* (religious activity). Some instead cannot be connected to any clear practical function, and these features are usually considered art. The art (sculpture and wall paintings) and some other features (pools and fountains) are attempts to make the space more pleasant, but they are also meant to be observed and placed on display. The display function and the practical function are not strictly separated, and some features can contain both.⁵⁹ Sundials are one such item. They are very rare in peristyles – only eight peristyles with sundials are known.⁶⁰ Sharon Gibbs notes that the latitude of several sundials in Pompeii vary from the latitude of the city, which she interprets as a result of a large demand for personal timekeeping, leading to imprecise workmanship when making the sundials. She has listed 24 sundials from Pompeii – including some in public spaces.⁶¹

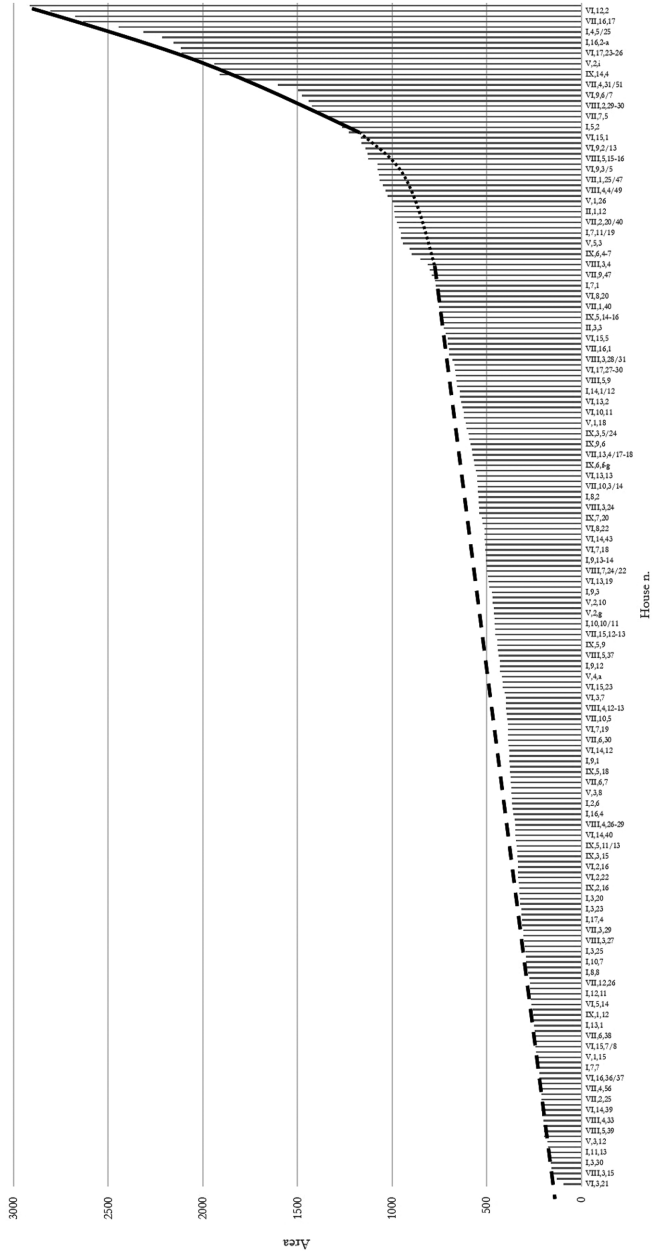


Figure 2.7 The size distribution of the houses with peristyle, with a red line illustrating how I see the data behavior. (Total number: 224)

The number is respectable, but does not necessarily confirm a large demand, and it does not seem a very plausible explanation for the differences in the latitudes. The accuracy of the sundial does not seem to be a key element for Pompeian buyers, meaning that other motives guided their decisions when acquiring a sundial. Perhaps a sundial was a luxury item, and displaying it was more important than how well it actually worked. Some high-tech gadgets might in this case be interpreted as a modern analogy, as their possession and presentation are more important than their actual use, which might be limited to a few occasions. Nevertheless, in cases such as sundials the display function is only an additional characteristic of these items – not the primary – and the motivation for a person to have acquired a sundial remains unclear; it cannot be assumed that they were simply intended for display, as they equally well could have been needed for actual time keeping.

Considering the items that were primarily meant to be on display, such as art, their quality probably played an important role. However, it is almost impossible to estimate what the standards of the Pompeians actually were. We know what type of art Pompeians had in their peristyles, but we hardly know what was appreciated as “good.” For example, the Venus in the large painting in the peristyle of the *Casa della Venere in conchiglie* (II,3,3), or house VII,6,7, might be interpreted as a bad execution – at least somewhat – by a modern viewer (Fig. 2.8),⁶² but there



Figure 2.8 A part of the large garden painting of the peristyle of house VII,6,7 (now in the MANN). The left leg of Venus might appear to be in an unnatural posture to the eyes of a modern viewer. (Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli)

Table 2.2 The houses with at least one peristyle and luxury architecture (several atria or peristyles, or private baths).

<i>House n.</i>	<i>House name</i>	<i>Several atria</i>	<i>Several peristyles</i>	<i>Private baths</i>
I,4,5/25	<i>Casa del Citarista</i>	x	x	x
I,6,2	<i>Casa del Criptoportico</i>			x
I,6,11	<i>Casa dei Quadretti teatrali</i>	x	x	
I,7,11/19	<i>Casa dell'Efebo</i>	x	x	x
I,10,4/14-17	<i>Casa del Menandro</i>	x		x
III,2,1	<i>Casa detta di Trebius Valens</i>			x
V,1,7	<i>Casa del Toro</i>	x		x
V,1,26	<i>Casa di L. Caecilius Iucundus</i>	x		
V,2,15			x	
V,2,i	<i>Casa delle nozze d'argento</i>			x
V,3,4	<i>Casa della soffitta</i>		x	
VI,2,4	<i>Casa di Sallustio</i>		x	
VI,5,4			x	
VI,6,1	<i>Casa di Pansa</i>		x	
VI,7,20/22	<i>Casa dell'Argenteria</i>	x		
VI,8,23/24	<i>Casa della Fontana piccola</i>	x		
VI,9,3/5	<i>Casa del Centauro</i>		x	
VI,9,6/7	<i>Casa dei Dioscuri</i>	x	x	
VI,10,2	<i>Casa dei cinque scheletri</i>			x
VI,11,8-10	<i>Casa del Labirinto</i>	x		x
VI,12,2	<i>Casa del Fauno</i>	x	x	x
VI,15,1	<i>Casa dei Vettii</i>		x	
VI,17,23-26			x	
VI,17,32-36		x		
VII,1,25/47	<i>Casa di Sirico</i>	x	x	
VII,1,40	<i>Casa di M. Caesius Blandus</i>			x
VII,2,3	<i>Panificio di Terentius Neo</i>		x	
VII,2,25	<i>Casa delle Quadrighe</i>		x	
VII,4,31/51	<i>Casa dei Capitelli colorati</i>		x	
VII,7,5	<i>Casa di Trittolema</i>	x	x	
VII,9,47	<i>Casa delle Nozze di Ercole</i>			x
VII,14,9				x
VII,16,12-15	<i>Casa di A. Umbricius Scaurus</i>	x		x
VII,16,17	<i>Casa di Ma. Castricius</i>			x
VIII,2,14-16		x	x	
VIII,2,29-30		x	x	
IX,1,22/29	<i>Casa di M. Epidius Sabinus</i>	x	x	
IX,3,5/24	<i>Casa di Marcus Lucretius</i>	x		
IX,5,14-16		x		
IX,6,4-7		x		
IX,8,3/7	<i>Casa del Centenario</i>	x		x
IX,13,1-3	<i>Casa di Polibio</i>	x		
IX,14,4	<i>Casa di Obellius Firmus</i>	x		

we have no information about what Pompeians thought about this painting, and for example Zanker states that for them important characteristics were size and quantity.⁶³ In this case, the large painting in the peristyle might have had more value than a smaller but better executed one. The problematic issue of quality has led me to a methodological focus on numerical values, such as size and number, when I analyze the decoration of the peristyles.

The peristyle garden does not automatically transmit a correct picture of the house owner's wealth. Other parts of the house could have equally been used to display socioeconomic status. Consequently, I have created a control tool to test how the peristyle corresponds to the remainder of the house architecture. It consists of two architectural features. (1) The area of the house, which roughly indicates wealth as consummated city space. The scale for the tool is already defined in this chapter. As Flohr has demonstrated that house area is a somewhat problematic figure, another parameter will help with the controls,⁶⁴ namely: (2) the so-called luxury architecture. Luxury architecture in this case means those architectural features that do not seem to be entirely necessary for the house, and thus they reflect that the house owner had considerable extra resources to build and execute this type of architecture. Luxury architecture is defined as having more than one atrium or peristyle, or private baths (Table 2.2).⁶⁵ Atria and peristyles have partly deviated from one of the main functions of domestic space, namely providing shelter, and reflect the house owner's ability to consume property resources beyond the necessary levels. Atria, peristyles, and baths might have had some very practical purposes, but the number of houses without these features attests that they were by no means absolutely necessary for a Pompeian house. Comparing the amount of luxury architecture and the area of the house with the peristyles reveals how they were situated in the economic continuum of Pompeii.

Notes

- 1 See Simelius 2018.
- 2 Allison 2004, 31, 34. See also Monteix (2017, 213) and Berg's (2019) excellent descriptions of the relationship between different finds, and their documentation and publications.
- 3 Bon 1997, 8–9. Coarelli & Pesando 2006, 18. Foss 2007, 34. Dobbins 2007, 116. The following houses with a peristyle are reported to have been bombed during the Second World War: *Casa del Criptoportico* (I,6,2, Spinazzola 1953, XXVIII), *Fullonica di Stephanus* (I,6,7, Spinazzola 1953, XXVIII), *Casa del Pomarius Felix* (I,8,2, Jashemski 1993, 42 n. 45), *Casa di D. Octavius Quartio* (II,2,2, Spinazzola 1953, XXVIII), *Casa della Venere in conchiglie* (II,3,3, Pappalardo 2004, 301), *Casa detta di Trebius Valens* (III,2,1, Spinazzola 1953, XXIII), *Casa di Pinarius Cerialis* (III,4,4 Spinazzola 1953, XXVII), house V,1,15 (Boman & Nilsson 2014: <http://www.pompejiprojektet.se/house.php?hid=2&hidnummer=8359643&hrubrik=V%201,14-16%20Bakery>, [http://www.pompejiprojektet.se/room.php?hid=2&hidnummer=8359643&hrubrik=V%201,14-16%20Bakery&rid=17&ridnummer=2150539&rrubrik=Room%20h%20\(peristyle-viridarium\)](http://www.pompejiprojektet.se/room.php?hid=2&hidnummer=8359643&hrubrik=V%201,14-16%20Bakery&rid=17&ridnummer=2150539&rrubrik=Room%20h%20(peristyle-viridarium)), last visited 25.7.2014), *Casa di Sallustio* (VI,2,4, Laidlaw & Collins-Clinton 2014, 83, 94), *Casa del Centauro* (VI,9,3/5, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 525–526 n. 260), *Casa dei cinque scheletri* (VI,10,2, Rossi 2006, 29, 47), *Casa del*

Fauno (VI,12,2, Jashemski 1993, 145 n. 276, Hoffmann 1994, 82), *Casa del Gruppo dei vasi di vetro* (VI,13,2, Jashemski 1993, 147 n. 278, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 540 n. 282), *Casa del Forno di ferro* (VI,13,6, Jashemski 1993, 147 n. 279, Sampaolo 1994, 159, Lipizer & Loccardi 2009, 108, 119, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 540–541 n. 283), house VI,14,38 (Bragantini 1994, 376, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 545–546 n. 293), house VI,14,39 (Bragantini 1994, 384, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 546 n. 294), house VI,14,39 (Bragantini 1994, 390), *Casa della Parete nera* (VII,4,59, Staub Gierow 1997, 93; 2000, 16), *Casa delle Forme di Creta* (VII,4,62, Staub Gierow 1997, 140; 2000, 85), *Casa di M. Spurius Saturninus* (VII,6,3, Jashemski 1993, 184 n. 358, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 589–590 n. 363), house VII,6,7 (Jashemski 1993, 362 n. 359), house VII,6,28 (Jashemski 1993, 185 n. 360, 362–363 n. 77, Sampaolo 1997, 182, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 590–591 n. 365), house VII,6,30 (Sampaolo 1997, 197), *Casa di A. Umbricius Scaurus* (VII,16,12–15, Curtis 1984, 558, Bragantini 1997, 845), *Casa di M. Epidius Rufus* (IX,1,20, Sampaolo 1998, 917), house IX,6,4–7 (Sampaolo 1999, 747), house IX,6,f–g (Sampaolo 1999, 747), *Casa di Polibio* (IX,13,1–3, De Franciscis 2001, 215, Pappalardo 2004, 62). Additionally, the peristyle of the *Casa del Naviglio* (VI,10,11) was damaged by the 1980 earthquake (Sampaolo 1993, 1073). The *Casa degli Epigrammi* (V,1,18) was damaged by the bombings and the earthquake (Staub Gierow & Staub 2015: <http://www.pompeiprojektet.se/house.php?hid=7&hidnummer=9374584&hrubrik=V%201,18%20Casa%20degli%20Epigrammi%20greci>, last visited 26.7.2016).

4 The entrance number of the house is not yet available.

5 <http://pompeisites.org/> Last visited 27.5.2021.

6 See e.g. Twitter and Facebook posts of the official account of the *Parco archeologico di Pompeii* (https://twitter.com/pompeii_sites/status/1319984710181920768. Last visited 12.7.2021, <https://www.facebook.com/pompeisoprintendenza/posts/2406073143033223>. Last visited 12.7.2021) claiming that most scholars agree that the eruption date was likely 24 October. It is possible that the eruption occurred later than the traditional date in August. However, there is no single source that provides the exact date 24 October, meaning that it is hardly a better option than 24 August. Massimo Osanna and Chiara Comegne (2021, 397, 401) conclude on the basis of the new evidence found in the recent excavations that it is plausible that the eruption occurred in autumn, but a more exact date remains open. On the debate about the date see e.g. Zehnacker 2012 and Monteix 2017, 212.

7 Link to the Online Appendix: <https://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/s3-euw1-ap-pe-ws4-cws-documents.ri-prod/9780367649951/OnlineAppendix.pdf>. I refer to the peristyles by their Appendix number in this book. There are peristyles in Pompeii that are excluded from this study: in the northern part of the *Casa della soffitta* (V,3,4, see Sampaolo 1991, 876.) and in house IX,11,7 (<http://pompeiiinpictures.com/pompeiiinpictures/R9/9%2011%2007.htm> Last visited 3.4.2017). They are only partly excavated, and the unfinished excavation does not allow an analysis of the peristyle as an entire space, and therefore comparison with other peristyles could possibly misrepresent the situation in these peristyles. The peristyle of house VIII,6,3 is reported to have been destroyed in 79 CE (Mau 1884, 135–136). There are also several peristyle gardens that cannot be defined as domestic: in the Great Palaestra (Jashemski 1993, 92 n. 148), possibly in the Temple of Isis, in the Triangular Forum, and in the Forum baths (Jashemski 1993, 183 n. 357, 222–223 n. 459–460, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 588–589 n. 362, 635–636 n. 460–461). The pseudo-peristyle in house VIII,6,2/7 does not have any rooms opening onto it, and it was likely not in domestic use. The status of the *Villa di Giulia Felice* (II,4,3) is problematic because of the painted text that was found on the north side of the *Insula* II,4 (CIL IV 1136, MANN inv. 4713). The text is often interpreted as Julia Felix owned the insula and was renting it (Sampaolo 1991, 184–185, see also, Nappo 2007, 358–361). However, the text has offered several possible interpretations, and it does not state that the entire building was necessarily

rented (see Solin 2017, 254). Nonetheless, it indicates that the baths were rented, and their spatial relationship with the garden and its portico makes it difficult to separate them from each other. It is possible that they were not considered as the same unit, and perhaps the peristyle was a part of a private dwelling (e.g. the complex around the atrium at the southern side of the peristyle), or that the text does not accurately describe the situation of the complex during the period before the eruption; however, this is very speculative, and I have decided to leave the peristyle out of this investigation, as it is difficult to interpret its role and function. The peristyle is quite particular: for example, it has marble piers, and that material does not feature in any other private peristyle of Pompeii. The water feature and the shape of the garden are relatively similar as the large garden of the *Casa di D. Octavius Quartio* (II,2,2). The space in house V,3,10 is reported to have a narrow planting bed and a portico supported by a column (Jashemski 1993, 114 n. 188, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 489 n. 192). There are, however, two problems with this space. First, the space seems to have been covered by a floor with a masonry planting bed built on top. The space is better defined as a paved courtyard with a possible planting bed, rather than a garden. Second, the connection between the column and the planting bed is quite distant, as the column is not on the edge of the planting bed. The distance between them is about 1.5 m, which is relatively long, as the planting bed is only 0.5 m wide (Jashemski 1993, 144 n. 188). One of Warsher's pictures (collection n. 690) shows a possible threshold that would exclude the column from the space that had the garden. Peristyles, in general, rarely had thresholds, and therefore it might signify that the space with the garden was considered to be a separate space.

- 8 I also use the term *half-column* for the columns that were later integrated into the wall, as they appear as half-columns of the peristyle if they extend out of the flat wall surface. The columns that are between a peristyle and another room are also treated as half-columns, because half of them can be thought to be in the peristyle.
- 9 For further information on the information contained in the catalogue, see the Online Appendix.
- 10 Sulze 1940, 951–952.
- 11 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 20–21. Von Stackelberg 2009, 21. Trentin 2014, 14–15. Simelius 2015, 121. Kawamoto 2015, 92, 196–198.
- 12 Sulze 1940, 959. Carucci 2007, 18.
- 13 Leach 1997, 59. Carucci 2007, 18. Zarmakoupi 2014, 85–87, 104, 107. Kawamoto 2015, 25–26, 58, 196; 2020, 19. On the terminology see also, Carandini 1985, 120. For *gymnasium* see, e.g. Cic. Att. 1.6.2.
- 14 Vitr. 6.3.7. On Vitruvius's instructions and their applications in the *Casa della Caccia antica* (VII,4,49), see Sear 2002, 61.
- 15 Carucci 2007, 18. Zarmakoupi 2014, 86, 104.
- 16 Carucci 2007, 18.
- 17 Graham 1966, 3–31. Grimal 1984, 206–207. Dickmann 1997, 123–127, Nevet 2010, 8–9. Zarmakoupi 2014, 103, 105–106. Morvillez 2017, 19–20, Hartswick 2017, 81–82. Macaulay-Lewis 2017, 92. The Hellenistic peristyle is often seen as a model for the Roman peristyle (see, e.g. Dickmann 1999, 158), but Kawamoto (2015, 24, 92–93, 196–197) has criticized this view because in the Greek texts which predate Latin texts, *peristyle* refers mostly to non-domestic architecture. Therefore, the use of peristyle in the domestic context might be due to Roman influence on Greek architecture. Additionally, see the discussion of Wallace-Hadrill (2008, 17–28, 190–196; 2015) on the complexity of the terms *Hellenization* and *Romanization* in relation to the identity and influences of ideas, as well as the concepts of “Greek and Roman houses.”
- 18 Farrar 1998, 17.
- 19 Spinazzola 1953, 396. Grimal 1984, 207. Zarmakoupi 2014, 106, 114. Trentin 2014, 5–7. Kawamoto 2015, 93–94. Morvillez 2017, 20. Hartswick 2017, 81–83. Macaulay-Lewis 2017, 92.

- 20 Grimal 1984, 223. Jashemski 1993, 145–146 n. 277. Hoffmann 1994, 80–81, 126. Farrar 1998, 12–13, 17. Zarmakoupi 2014, 111, 114.
- 21 Farrar 1998, 17, 19. Carucci 2007, 18–19. Trentin 2014, 6–9. Morvillez 2017, 25–29.
- 22 E.g. the latest publications: Giglio 2017 and D’Auria 2020. See also Pesando 1997.
- 23 See e.g. Carucci 2007, Bonini 2006, Morvillez 2017.
- 24 For the development history of Pompeii, see Giglio 2017, 21–28 and Poehler 2017, 22–52.
- 25 For Corinthian atria, see Mazois 1824, 49 and Breton 1870, 496 (*Casa della Regina Carolina* VIII,3,14, cfr. peristyle n. 202), Breton 1870, 499 (*Casa di Apollo e Coronide* VIII,3,24, cfr. peristyle n. 205), Viola 1879, 34 and Jashemski 1993, 237 n. 493 (*Casa di Giasone* IX,5,18, cfr. Sampaolo 1999, 670, Niccolini & Niccolini 1896, Nuovi scavi dal 1874 a tutto il 1882, 16, peristyle n. 241).
- 26 Richardson 1955, 5–8. Pesando 1997, 257–261. Zaccaria Ruggiu (1995, 377–381) determines the difference between an atrium and a peristyle by the number of the columns. According to her, a peristyle has more than four columns, whereas an atrium has four or fewer columns. This definition would include several spaces that are identified as Corinthian atria as peristyles – e.g. those in the *Casa dei Dioscuri* (VI,9,6/7) and *Casa di M. Epidius Rufus* (IX,1,20).
- 27 Vitr. 6.3.1. Wallace-Hadrill (2008, 194) proposes that Vitruvius might refer to the “orders” of architecture which the Roman architect later defines (Vitr. 6.4.1–7).
- 28 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 84, fig. 4.13; 1997, 220. George 1998, 95, n. 52.
- 29 See Dickmann 1999, 49, 127 & Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 220.
- 30 E.g. the following spaces are excluded from this study, as they did not have a garden: the southern peristyle of the *Casa del Menandro* (I,10,4/14–17), the house I,11,16 (Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 411 n. 78), house I,12,3 (Jashemski 1993, 54 n. 81), house I,20,4 (Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 432–433 n. 119), the eastern courtyard of the *Casa del Moralista* (III,4,2, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 471 n. 162, cfr. Jashemski 1993, 102 n. 158), house VI,2,18, the *Casa della Colonna etrusca* (VI,5,17–18, Jashemski 1993, 126 n. 232), the northern peristyle of the *Casa dell’Argenteria* (VI,7,20/22, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 514–515 n. 249), the peristyle of the *Fullonica di Vesontius Primus* (VI,14,21/22, Jashemski 1993, 150 n. 285), the *Casa di P. Crusius Faustus* (VI,15,2, Mau 1898, 7, Sampaolo 1994, 573, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 552 n. 300), house VI,16,31 (Sogliano 1908, 285. Jashemski 1993, 164 n. 307), the northern courtyard of house VII,3,11–12, the western peristyle in the *Casa di Ma. Castricius* (VII,16,17, Jashemski 1993, 203 n. 403, Bragantini 1997, 901, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 608 n. 403), house VIII,2,36–37 (Jashemski 1993, 209 n. 416. Sampaolo 1998, 259. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 615 n. 417), house VIII,4,9 (Fiorelli 1861, 103; 1873, 4; 1875, 339, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 622 n. 431), house VIII,6,1 (Mau 1884, 182–183, Jashemski 1993, 219 n. 450, Sampaolo 1998, 664–665, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 631 n. 451), house IX,9,c (Mau 1889, 102, Sogliano 1889, 126–127, Jashemski 1993, 248 n. 516, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 666 n. 517). House I,2,22 might have had a garden, but it cannot be verified (Jashemski 1993, 24–25 n. 9. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 369 n. 9). Fiorelli (1875, 432) states that the *atrium tetrastylum* in house VI,17,9–10 had a *viridarium*, but Mazois (1824, II, pl. 28), who wrote about 50 years before Fiorelli, does not mention any garden in this space, and, therefore, Fiorelli’s identification cannot be trusted. House VII,3,11–12 had a portico (Sampaolo 1996, 860) or a peristyle (Breton 1870, 382 and Heydemann 1868, 19–20), but a garden in the space is identified for the first time by Jashemski (1993, 177 n. 337, cfr. Niccolini & Niccolini 1862, *Descrizione generale* 46. Fiorelli 1873, 40–41; 1875, 202). Heydemann, instead, mentions a *cocciopesto* floor on this space. It is unclear if Heydemann means that the whole space was covered by *cocciopesto* or was it only in the portico. In 2012, the central part of the space was excavated and no clear remains of the *cocciopesto* were visible. Some remains of the *cocciopesto* floor were visible only near the walls. It is doubtful if the space had a garden. House VI,2,18 had a peristyle and the *Casa del*

Menandro had a peristyle in the southeast part of the house. These both are stated to have functioned as stables (Niccolini & Niccolini 1862, *Descrizione generale*, 26, Fiorelli 1875, 88–89, Jashemski 1993, 122 n. 209, Ling & Ling 2005, 254, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 501 n. 214), and therefore, they very likely did not have a garden. Allison (2006, 333–334) questions if the stable in the *Casa del Menandro* was functioning efficiently, but her interpretation of the space as an amphora storage does not hint that the space had a garden. The northern peristyle of the *Casa dell'Argenteria* is reported to have been covered by a roof and did not have a garden (Niccolini & Niccolini 1862, *Descrizione generale* 31–32, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 514–515 n. 249). Fiorelli (1875, 115) and Jashemski (1993, 130 n. 244) state that the space was only partly covered. The beam holes for the roof, however, run the whole distance of the wall and the roof likely covered the entire space, as stated by Ciarallo and Giordano. The *Casa di Championnet I* (VIII,2,1) is excluded from this study due to a conversation with Dr. Marco Giglio on 22 and 24 September 2016. He had excavated in the house while working with *The Great Pompeii Project*, and stated that the peristyle did not have a garden during the eruption. It is always possible that there was a plan to plant a garden in the space later.

- 31 On the problems of identifying gardens, see Jashemski 1993, 8. Not all open spaces were necessarily gardens. Jashemski also mentioned that before Spano in 1910 the reports of root cavities are rare. Interpretations of soil contours are even more uncertain than for root cavities.
- 32 On the problematic situation of identifying a peristyle based on one column, see Avellino 1846, 1. Still, Avellino labels a space a peristyle even if it only had one column. See also Heydemann 1868, 43. Heydemann identifies a space in house VII,3,8 as a “peristyle without columns.” For the lack of free-standing columns or piers, the following gardens are excluded from this study: in house I,6,13, in the *Casa dei Ceii* (I,6,15), the eastern garden in house I,9,12 (cfr. Robinson 2002, 94 calling the space as a peristyle garden), in house I,13,16, in the north-western and north-eastern garden in the *Casa del Moralista* (III,4,2), in house VI,7,1, in house VI,9,1, in the *Casa dell'Imperatrice di Russia* (VI,14,42), in house VI,13,16–17 (see, Zanier 2009, 415–417), in the *Casa di D. Caprasius Primus* (VII,2,48), in the southern garden of house VII,3,11–12, in house VIII,3,21, in house VIII,7,12, in house IX,1,7. Ciarallo and Giordano (2012, 384–385 n. 36) state that there were colonnades on the south and east sides of the garden in house I,6,13. They mention two brick bases for piers on the south side of the garden. It seems, however, that the *pluteus* had several different building techniques, among them two *opus testaceum* parts (0.55 x 0.52 m). These might have been the lower parts of brick piers (see, e.g. Maiuri 1929, 432 Fig. 44), but the existence of such piers cannot be confirmed. Ciarallo and Giordano (2012, 385 n. 37) think that there was a portico in the *Casa dei Ceii*, but there are no columns or piers. Jashemski (1993, 59 n. 99) states that the garden in house I,13,16 had a portico, and she continues that the area on the south side of the triclinium was uncovered. Therefore, it seems that the pier was supporting a roof above the triclinium as suggested by Ciarallo and Giordano (2012, 420–421 n. 101). In this case, the space with a triclinium is rather a separate room than a portico. A similar case is the north-eastern garden of the *Casa del Moralista* (III,4,2, see Jashemski 1993, 102 n. 159) and house IX,1,7 where a pier-like construction is a door frame. Jashemski (1993, 175 n. 331) and Ciarallo and Giordano (2012, 575 n. 336) state that the *Casa di D. Caprasius Primus* had a garden with a portico supported by a column. The column, however, is not free standing, but incorporated into the east wall (Bragantini 1996, 801–802). Fiorelli (1875, 328) reports a column in the peristyle garden of house VIII,3,21, but the existence of this column cannot be verified from any other source. Niccolini and Niccolini (1862, *Descrizione generale* 66), Ciarallo and Giordano (2012, 618 n. 425) do not mention it. Jashemski (1993, 211 n. 424) only mentions that Fiorelli reports a column in the space. The garden in house

- VIII,7,12 might have had a column (Fiorelli 1875, 350, Jashemski 1993, 222 n. 455), but in Viola's plan (1879, pl. 1) the column seems to mark a border between two spaces rather than support a portico. House V,2,h possibly had a portico-like structure supported by wooden beams that functioned as columns (Niccolini & Niccolini 1896, Nuovi Scavi 71. Sogliano 1896, 423). The wooden columns are rare, or rarely reported, and they are not included in this study.
- 33 The use of the term pseudo-peristyle is widespread in scholarship; see e.g. Allison 1997, 6–7, 34–35, Staub Gierow 1997, 94, and Serpe 2008, 123. See also Zanker 1998, 166. He uses the term “truncated peristyle.”
- 34 Nn. 106, 107.
- 35 The garden with one portico in the *Casa della Fontana grande* (VI,8,22) is labeled a peristyle or pseudo-peristyle by Richardson 1955, 40, Hales 2003, 116, Costantino 2006, 309, Nevett 2010, 99. Ciarallo and Giordano (2012, 520–521 nn. 254, 255) list the garden as a *xystus*, which is the same word they use to list the garden of the *Casa della Fontana piccola* (VI,8,23/24), indicating that they consider them to be similar architectural spaces. Avellino (1846, 1) labels the garden with one portico in the *Casa delle Quadrighe* (VII,2,25) a peristyle, but he mentions that the identification is challenging, as there is only one column.
- 36 For the different identifications of these gardens, see Zanker 1979, 483, Jashemski 1993, 78–83 nn. 135 & 136, 132 n. 247 141 n. 266, Pesando 2006, 163–164, Pesando & al. 2006, 213–220, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 444–450, nn. 137 & 138, 515–517 nn. 251, Morvillez 2017, 57–58.
- 37 Jashemski 1993, 203 n. 404, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 609–610 n. 406.
- 38 Jashemski 1993, 78 pl. 25, 129 pl. 45, 202.
- 39 There are some peristyles where the garden is visibly at a lower level than the portico, e.g. in the southern peristyle of house VIII,2,14–16. Although this peristyle is in a ruined state and it is unclear from where the garden was entered, stairs are not needed to access the remaining garden from the colonnade. My definition thus differs from Morvillez (2017, 57); according to him only a foot is enough to define a sunken garden. As a definition this is problematic in Pompeii, as we rarely have the 79 CE garden level clearly visible, and it is impossible in most cases to measure such a small difference.
- 40 E.g. Pesando (2006, 163–164) thinks that the owner of the *Casa dell'ancora* (VI,10,7) wanted an extraordinary house, and that the sunken garden suggests the image of villa for the house.
- 41 Jashemski 1993, 16. Allison 2004, 21–25. Nevett 2010, 96. Monteix 2017, 210–216. Berg 2019b, 58–59. The problems of preservation, documentation, and the reliability of the materials and sources are discussed several times in this study, see e.g. Chapter 4.
- 42 Allison 2004, 8, 17–19, 25; 2006, 14, 404. See also Bragantini 1998, 611, Descoedres 2007, 18.
- 43 On the problems related to the earthquake, see Monteix 2017, 210–212. Cfr. Descoedres 2007, 18.
- 44 The houses with a peristyle that are reported with signs of restoration are: *Casa del Citarista* (I,4,5/25, Inerra 2008, 34), *Casa del Criptoportico* (I,6,2, Spinazzola 1953, 446–447), *Casa del Menandro* (I,10,4/14–17, Nevett 2010, 100), *Casa degli amanti* (I,10,10/11, Ling & Ling 2005, 119–120), *Casa di Cerere* (I,9,13–14, De Vos 1976, 37), *Casa della Venere in conchiglie* (II,3,3, Pappalardo 2004, 301), *Casa detta di Trebiius Valens* (III,2,1, Spinazzola 1953, 283), *Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto* (V,4,a, Moormann 1993, 403, 409), *Casa dei Gladiatori* (V,5,3, Sogliano 1899, 351, Mau 1901, 292), *Casa di Sallustio* (VI,2,4, Laidlaw & Burge 2014, 264), *Casa del Labirinto* (VI,11,8–10, Schulz 1838, 151), house VI,13,13 (Viola 1879, 20), *Casa di Sextus Pompeius Axiochus* (VI,13,19, Zanier 2009, 300–301), *Casa degli Amorini dorati* (VI,16,7, Seiler 1994, 715), house VI,16,26 (Sampaolo 1994, 890), *Casa di C. Vibius Italus* (VII,2,18, Sampaolo 1996, 586), house VII,6,30 (Sampaolo 1997, 197), house VII,14,9 (Sampaolo 1997, 686, 696), *Casa di A. Umbricius Scaurus* (VII,16,12–15, Curtis 1984,

- 558), house VIII,5,15–16 (Sampaolo 1998, 572), *Casa di M. Epidius Rufus* (IX,1,20, Gallo 2013, 61, 130), *Casa di Marcus Lucretius* (IX,3,5/24, Berg 2019b, 59) house IX,5,14–16 (Bragantini 1999, 601), *Casa di Giasone* (IX,5,18, Sampaolo 1999, 670), *Casa di Polibio* (IX,13,1–3, De Franciscis 2001, 224, Bragantini 2003, 184, Pappalardo 2004, 62), *Casa di Obellius Firmus* (IX,14,4, Spinazzola 1953, 337, Sampaolo 2003, 361). Building materials were found in the *Casa di M. Spurius Saturninus* (VII,6,3) which was damaged in an earthquake (Spano 1910, 442, Sampaolo 1997, 174), indicating that the house was under restoration. The *Casa del Banchiere* (VII,14,5) is reported to have had a *dolium* filled with lime (Fiorelli 1875, 301), which might indicate a restoration process in the house. House I,2,17, *Casa di Trittolemo* (VII,7,5), house VIII,2,14–16, the *Casa del Cinghiale I* (VIII,3,8–9), and house IX,6,4–7 are reported to have been restored during the last phase (Sogliano 1899, 143, Bragantini 1997, 232, Sampaolo 1999, 747, Inserra 2008, 22). House VI,16,26 contained a pile of roof tiles, which might indicate a rebuilding process (Nevett 2010, 100).
- 45 Trentin 2014, 9–10. The peristyles reported with signs of restoration: n. 11 (Jashemski 1993, 28, Sampaolo 1990, 86), n. 20 (Jashemski 1993, 35 n. 34), n. 21 (Jashemski 1993, 36 n. 35), n. 123 (Loccardi 2009, 31, 85 cfr. Mau 1875, 183), n. 115 (Richardson 1955, 77), n. 121 (Jashemski 1993, 145 n. 276, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 537 n. 280), n. 122 (Niccolini & Niccolini 1854, *Casa detta del Fauno*, 8, Fiorelli 1862, 253; 1875, 157), n. 136 (Mau 1898, 14, Sampaolo 1994, 581, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 552–553 n. 301), n. 137 (Strocka 1994, 656), n. 154 (Sampaolo 1996, 615, 648–651, 645–646, Serpe 2008, 115), n. 177 (Minervini 1859, 66), n. 213 (Sogliano 1881, 320, Mau 1883, 172, Jashemski 1993, 216 n. 436, Sampaolo 1998, 547, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 625 n. 437), n. 217 (Sogliano 1882, 324, Mau 1883, 230–231, Bragantini 1998, 611). The peristyles nn. 51, 108, 164, 216, 224, 247, and 249 are reported to contain storage for lime or building materials, which indicates a restoration process (Bonucci 1829, 195, Bechi 1831, *Relazione degli Scavi di Pompei*, 10, Avellino 1843, 376, Fiorelli 1862, 131–132; 1875, 131, Breton 1870, 486, Mau 1883, 228, Sogliano 1888, 515, Mau 1889, 7, De Simone 1990, 963, Jashemski 1993, 138 n. 254, 217 n. 442, Staub Gierow 1994, 42, 1997, 53, Varone 2007, 140, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 524 n. 258), but it is possible that they were meant to be used in some other space in the house.
- 46 E.g. Sear (2002, 60) proposes 71–79 CE for the last period of the *Casa della Caccia antica* (VII,4,48).
- 47 See Monteix 2017, 230–231 about the scholarship in Pompeii in general. There are some studies where a wider – almost covering the entire city – approach is taken, such as Dickmann 1999, Anguissola 2010, and Spinelli 2019.
- 48 E.g. Zanker (1998, 247) has 35 houses in his index. Hales (2003, 7–8, 290–291) has 32 houses in her index, but she notes the limits of her study with the vast material at hand, and that she concentrates on the elite.
- 49 Zanker 1998, 136.
- 50 Zanker 1998, 16, 19, 20, 192–193, 199–202, and 247 for his index of 35 houses.
- 51 E.g. a part of Mayer's (2012, 293) source material for studying the Roman middle class comes from Pompeii, but he only focuses on 16 houses.
- 52 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 65–72. Other studies applying sample areas: Grahame 2000, 38–39, Allison 2004, 6–7, 29–30, Lohmann 2015, 71–71. Allison's sample – 30 houses all around Pompeii – was dictated by the availability of sufficient documentation of finds, and she notes that all of her houses had an atrium and tend to be large compared to other houses in Pompeii. Also, Lohmann justifies her sample – Regio I – by stating that the graffiti in the Regio are better documented than graffiti elsewhere. Therefore, the sources define the selection of these sample areas, and their aim is not to reflect all of Pompeii.
- 53 See Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 81 table 4.2.
- 54 Grimal 1984, 500–501, has a little under 70 houses in his study.

- 55 For a similar approach to discovering luxury elements in Pompeian houses, see Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 145.
- 56 The decision will almost evidently remain somewhat arbitrary, see e.g. Flohr's (2017, 58–60) discussion of drawing borders in the Pompeian house, which points out that separating rooms or even houses from each other is always difficult in Pompeii, and thus for example calculating the house areas and room numbers are based on our decisions about where we think the borders were.
- 57 Areas are measured on the PBMP map (http://digitalhumanities.umass.edu/pbmp/?page_id=1258, Last visited 23.2.2107). The area of Pompeii is about 619,329 m², the excavated area is 456,665 m², and the sample area is 328,001 m².
- 58 Jashemski 1993, 8. Flohr 2017, 57, 60–62.
- 59 E.g. Allison (2006, 400) discusses the utilitarian purpose of cupboards and chests, but states that they could be used, in addition, for display.
- 60 Nn. 38, 68, 80, 139, 165, 168, 245, 251.
- 61 Gibbs 1976, 78, 91–92, 401–402.
- 62 N. 59.
- 63 Zanker 1998, 189.
- 64 See Flohr 2017, 56–58. Flohr suggests that the number of rooms could be an alternative figure to measure Pompeian houses. He mentions that one advantage of using the number of rooms is that it is more flexible than size, as the room layout can be altered without buying more land. This argument, however, is particularly problematic because of our inadequate information on the upper levels of the houses, as one could assume that they were also easily modifiable.
- 65 In this case, an atrium must have a connection to an entrance, directly or via *fauces*. For example, the second atrium of the *Casa della Fortuna* (see Giglio 2017b, 90, 104) is not counted.

3 Why were peristyles built in Pompeian houses?

3.1 The courtyard architecture of a Mediterranean house

Prior research has clearly indicated that peristyles played an important role in the social life of the house, and that they can be listed among the most important spaces for socioeconomic display.¹ However, the entire premise needs to be re-examined, in particular from the point of view of more extensive assemblages of archaeological evidence, not just on the basis of a few selected examples as has been done previously. The peristyle cannot be an important display space if its functions – whether relating to the architecture of the house or to the human life in the space – do not provide good prospects for display. Consequently, the functions of the Pompeian peristyles will now be examined, starting with the architectural functions, which we will see actually reinforce the peristyle’s potential to function as a display space.

In any geographical region with a similar climate and geographical resources throughout, the architecture will tend to have similar features. In the Mediterranean, houses are often organized around a central courtyard.² This courtyard serves several important architectural functions that are vital for the daily life of the house. They bring air and light into the house, and the courtyard controls movement inside the house. In the Roman house there were several types of courtyards, but the most commonly known are the atrium and the peristyle. Consequently, Pompeian peristyles served very important architectural purposes. Without these courtyards there would be minimal air or light inside the houses, and the movement inside the house would be elementally different. Although these aspects are vital to the function of a house, not every Pompeian house had a peristyle. There were other ways of arranging these functions, and this chapter ends with a discussion of what the choice of building a peristyle in a Pompeian house tells us about the owner’s socioeconomic ranking in Pompeii, and also in the Roman world in general.

Compared with the majority of the rooms, the peristyle garden somewhat breaks with the basic function of a building: it does not provide shelter.³ The ceiling is open, making the peristyle a liminal space between the inside and outside, but its liminality is very controlled. The colonnades, which represent built interior space and the human world, embrace the open-air space, which epitomizes the

outside and nature. In the end, the entire peristyle is situated safely inside the architectural structure and is within human control.

The exterior walls of Roman houses did not have many windows,⁴ highlighting the importance of the courtyards. In the model of the traditional Roman atrium house, the atrium has been seen as the most vital space for bringing air and light into the house, but when the house was enlarged, other spaces were built to serve the same functions, the peristyle being one of these.⁵ Besides the atrium and the peristyle, light wells and gardens could also be utilized for the same purpose.⁶

The importance of air conditioning is demonstrated in the *Casa di Polibio*. Its peristyle garden was the space where most of the interaction between outside air and the microclimate of the house occurred. The trees and the gutter functioned as a sort of air conditioner, and during winters the peristyle garden admitted most of the sunshine into the house. Conversely, the luminosity inside the house was generally poor.⁷ Consequently, this peristyle – like any other peristyle – must have been the focal point of daily life because of its illumination.⁸

Donatella Mazzoleni notes that the north-south orientation of the peristyle of the *Casa dei Vettii* is optimal for capturing the midday sun and sunset.⁹ This could mean that the peristyle was planned particularly for daylight or early evening activities. However, the arrangement where the rooms are at the north and east sides of the peristyle is not a very common composition in Pompeii. There are only 21 similar peristyles.¹⁰ Altogether, about 37 percent (94) of the peristyles featured rooms only on the north or east sides, or both. Rooms on the opposite sides – south, west, or both – can be found in 25 percent (63) of the peristyles. These peristyles indicate that catching the day and evening sun was not the most important aspect when planning a peristyle, but it was probably taken into consideration, as most peristyles – about 75 percent – had rooms at least on the north or east side, if not on both sides.

A courtyard dominates the movement of the house because the rooms are organized around it, and oftentimes even the rooms that do not immediately open onto the courtyard are inaccessible without first passing through the courtyard. The focus of the design on movement is particularly underlined by the architectural features of the space, namely the division between the portico and the garden. The colonnades are built precisely for movement, but the role of a garden is more nuanced. It was perhaps made for visual display, or may have functioned as a kitchen garden. The garden can be a place of movement, but perhaps for a different type of movement – the pleasure stroll.¹¹ Nevertheless, some peristyles entirely isolate the portico from the garden with a pluteus without openings, such as the small peristyle of the *Casa di D. Octavius Quartio*.

There are 55 peristyles where rooms can be found on all four sides, which indicates the importance of the role of the peristyle as a space for movement. The high average (8) and median (7) numbers of spaces opening onto a peristyle also highlight this role (Figs. 2.5 and 2.6). Although the peristyle area was adjacent to a significant number of the rooms in a Pompeian house, it also had a vital role in controlling movement throughout the entire house. The majority – 70 percent (176) – of peristyles were connected to a corridor, *fauces*, and 73 peristyles had at

least two *fauces* leading into the peristyle, indicating that the peristyle was linked to the other parts of the house, not just the rooms around it.

Movement was not only horizontal – 59 peristyles had stairs opening onto the space, and in 24 peristyles the stairs were in the peristyle itself. Therefore, the peristyle was often the space where the upper or lower floors were accessed. These features – such as corridors and stairs – were designed for movement, and they underline the importance of movement through the peristyle.

The role of the peristyle in facilitating movement in Pompeian houses is demonstrated by studies that utilize Space Syntax analysis.¹² The peristyle as a space, however, is problematic for that type of analysis. It presents difficulties when choosing whether the entire peristyle garden should be counted as one space, or whether the colonnade(s) should be counted separately from the garden area. Also, it is problematic whether every colonnade should be treated as an independent unit, or whether all of the porticoes should be thought of as one whole unit.¹³ The methods that enable a detailed computerized use of Space Syntax analysis allow us to bypass the artificial separation of the rooms and spaces, and Michael Anderson has carried out such an analysis on five houses with a peristyle. In all of them, the peristyle – in addition to the atrium – seems to be the most significant space for movement.¹⁴ Although the method still has problems concerning, for example, the missing information on the upper floors,¹⁵ it indicates that the peristyle – at least on the ground floor – was one of the most important spaces for movement in the house.

Even though the peristyle was vital for the architecture of the house, it was not a mandatory feature of the Pompeian house. Most Pompeian houses did not have a peristyle.¹⁶ There were plenty of other architectural options to provide air and light inside the house and control its movement, and if the house size was relatively small it may not have needed a courtyard. Consequently owning a peristyle already placed a person among the wealthier Pompeians. It indicated at least middle class status in the city, likely even upper middle class.

3.2 The multifunctionality of the Roman house and peristyle

Emphasizing the multifunctional nature of built space in the Roman world has recently become very popular.¹⁷ The widespread application of this interpretation has, however, caused its meaning to become almost insignificant. Hypothetically, every space is multifunctional, and therefore this type of broad interpretation does not reveal much about Pompeian or Roman life without a definition of what multifunctionality means in each particular instance. This chapter critically re-evaluates the concept of multifunctionality, and then discusses whether Pompeian peristyles can be seen as multifunctional spaces.

Studies of archaeological finds in Pompeian houses have shaped our opinion of house functions during the last two decades. The schematic view where one room had one function has been displaced, and now the house represents itself as a much more flexible unit of daily life. In particular, Penelope Allison, Lisa Nevett, and Joanne Berry have advocated this type of flexibility and multifunctionality

of the house and its rooms.¹⁸ When considering the realities of lived life, this is likely a correct interpretation. However, multifunctionality has become such a popular interpretation that the word itself has possibly lost its meaning, and offers very little new information to us; Laura Nissin, for instance, has questioned some interpretations of multifunctionality in her work on sleeping spaces.¹⁹

I now aim to define what multifunctionality means, and when it can be a practical tool for interpreting the Pompeian house, in particular its peristyle. In contrast to multifunctionality, the concept of a single purpose space is also raised in this chapter. It is merely a hypothetical construction, as no space involving human activity can ever be only for a single purpose, but it can be designed for a single main purpose, which in this case is the opposite of multifunctionality.

After a theoretical discussion, the chapter moves on to investigate what type of activities can be located in the Pompeian peristyles, excluding the architectural functions already discussed, and some activities that can be linked to the social activity and visitors in the peristyle, which will instead be discussed in the next chapter. Here, the focus is mainly on the water supply, on cult activity, and on business activity, as these seem to be the largest groupings of the several activities that can be located in these peristyles. In the end, I return to the topic of multifunctionality by investigating what types of activities occurred simultaneously in the peristyles, and whether the peristyle can therefore be actually defined as a multifunctional space.

Without a more precise definition, multifunctionality becomes a concept that can cover every single space. This is the case with Nevet's analysis. She has looked for spaces where two or more activities take place, or instances of the same activity occurring in several spaces.²⁰ This barely leaves any space without multifunctionality, which also can be demonstrated with the modern western house, where there is hardly any space that cannot be defined as multifunctional. When considering an even broader span of time, multifunctionality is even more dominant. Pompeii itself is an example of this: its rooms had their domestic or public function in antiquity, but now their main purpose is as a tourist or scholarly attraction. The timeframe is therefore another problem: taking a long enough time span makes all spaces multifunctional, as the functions in a space will inevitably change at some point in history. Therefore, what is a reasonable time period when examining Pompeian house functions? Is it possible to define a space as multifunctional only if several activities take place there simultaneously, or perhaps during the same day, or over the course of a week, or a year, or a generation?

Contrary to multifunctionality, a room could be defined as a single purpose space, but this is only a hypothetical possibility. The storage room perhaps comes closest to this type of space. A stereotypical storage space is very badly suited to other domestic functions. The same scholars who have interpreted Pompeian rooms as multifunctional also often see the spaces in Pompeian houses as storage spaces.²¹ Yet, the same problem emerges again; it is not very clearly defined what a storage space is. If we define it very loosely, a room becomes a storage space as soon as the first item is placed in it. Using this type of loose definition, a space could also be defined as a sort of a living room when a person spends some time

in it, and according to these loose definitions every room is multifunctional, which underlines the need for a better definition of multifunctionality.

Given the nature of the archaeological evidence, it might be difficult to determine the exact room functions of the Pompeian house, but occasionally we might be able to figure out what the planned function of the space was. Examining the built structures – and possibly the decoration and small finds if available – can shed light on what functions were planned to take place in the different parts of the house. This helps to form a more rigid definition of multifunctionality: if several planned activities are found in the same space, it is possible to define the space as multifunctional.

Despite the possible anachronism of interpreting Roman house functions emphasizing a single or primary function, it is a possibility that still needs to be considered, even if the current trend in scholarship does not support this model. The rooms might be multifunctional in practice, but this does not mean that they were automatically thought of as such. The modern kitchen or bedroom are examples of this. They often involve plenty of other activities, and in the same way sleeping or cooking can also take place in other rooms. Nonetheless, the dominant function of these spaces transmits an immense amount of information about how we shape our daily lives. In order to define a space as multifunctional, it is therefore not only important to study what occurred in the space but also what was thought should happen in the space: was there a single dominant purpose for the room, or was it planned as a multifunctional space?

Several activities have been suggested to have occurred in peristyles: cooking, dining, loitering or spending (leisure) time, fulling, spinning, tanning, washing, drying, strolling, baking, education, readings, juridical activity, theater plays, etc. However, these are often speculative conclusions, as will be demonstrated in this and the following chapters.

There is no general rule that could be applied to the archaeological evidence to determine the function of a room, but rather every case must be considered individually, in this case one peristyle at a time. The most obvious group of sources to suggest a function are the different types of structures found in the peristyles. On the other hand, occasionally graffiti or small find assemblages can reveal what was going on in the space. However, the documentation of this type of data was not carried out with equal care for every peristyle, and evidence for some activities may well have escaped the modern investigator.

The following detailed discussion focuses on three different areas. First is the role of the peristyle as the water reservoir for a house, concentrating principally on human activity relating to the water supply – the everyday routine of collecting water from the water reservoir. Second is cult activity, again focusing on humans performing these activities. However, the general aspect of the peristyle as a type of sacred space is additionally discussed, as this characteristic has often been associated with peristyles and gardens. Third are commercial activities, covering the peristyle as a space relating to retail and/or small-scale industry. This last area includes several (sub)activities, but can be related to business activities in general.

3.2.1 Water supply as the function of the peristyle

A water supply is and was crucial for the daily life of any house. The open roof of the peristyle permitted the collection of rainwater, a function that is also related to the atrium with its *compluvium* and *impluvium*. In a Pompeian house, rainwater was often guided from the roof to a gutter, which then gathered it into a cistern.²² Hypothetically, counting all the cisterns in all of the Pompeian peristyles could reveal if the peristyle in general was primarily planned as a water reservoir for the house. This exercise results in 88 peristyles with a cistern (Table 3.1), but the number is problematic, as the cistern is an underground structure, and the existence or functionality of cisterns can be often verified only if the excavation was continued under the floor level, which is quite rarely the case.

Wilhelmina Jashemski reports that in the *Casa del Gruppo dei vasi di vetro* (VI,13,2) the bombings during the Second World War exposed a puteal and made it possible to measure the cistern of the peristyle. Her text does not reveal whether the cistern was visible before the bombings; however, if the puteal was not visible, it would seem safe to assume that the cistern was not visible either.²³ This event suggests that there are unidentified cisterns under other peristyles.

As the case of the *Casa del Gruppo dei vasi di vetro* reveals, the number of reported cisterns is not reliable enough to estimate the role of the peristyle as a water supply. Additionally, thinking of household members using a peristyle for activities relating to the water supply, the most central feature is the cistern head, as it identifies the spot where the cistern can be accessed.²⁴ A cistern head is often the only visible remains of a cistern, due to the previously mentioned fact that the excavation rarely extends under the floor level. A puteal could also mark the presence of a cistern,²⁵ but it is movable, and the connection between the puteals, cisterns, and peristyle can be ambiguous. There are 116 peristyles with a reported cistern head in Pompeii (Table 3.1). All of the peristyles with a cistern head most likely had a cistern, at least at some point in their history, but it is uncertain whether the cistern was functioning during the last phase.

There are several cases indicating that some peristyles might have lost their function as a water supply over time. The availability of aqueduct water reduced the need to collect rainwater. Gemma Jansen states that compared to Ostia, Pompeii only had a few reservoirs and water storage areas, which indicates that there was enough piped water to satisfy the needs of the populace.²⁶ However, piped water was probably dominantly used for fountains and other decorative purposes, as the pipes rarely lead to kitchens and toilets.²⁷ This conclusion is made on the basis of the *Casa del Granduca* (VII,4,56) and a few other houses, which raises the question of whether this reflects the overall picture of Pompeii.²⁸

Nevertheless, it seems that collecting water in the peristyle was not always a necessity, and in many cases the water from the gutter was directed out into the street.²⁹ August Mau, for instance, states that the water was not collected in the southern peristyle of the *Casa dei Vettii* during the last phase, because there is no hole connecting the cistern and the gutter. Instead, the water channel ran into the street.³⁰ The cistern might have been filled without water from the roof, or

Table 3.1 Pompeian peristyles that can be connected to water supply, cult activity, or commercial/industrial activity.

N.	Name	Address	Cistern head	Lararium painting	Lararium statue	Commercial	Industrial	Specific	Multiactivity
1		1,2,6	1						
5	<i>Casa della Grata metallica</i>	1,2,28	1						
6		1,3,3	1						
7		1,3,8	1						
8		1,3,20				1			
9	<i>Casa della Rissa nell' Anfiteatro</i>	1,3,23	1	1	1				1
10		1,3,24		1					
11		1,3,25	1						
12		1,3,30		1					
13		1,4,2	1						
14	<i>Casa del Citarista</i>	1,4,5/25	1						
17	<i>Conceria</i>	1,5,2						Tannery	
18	<i>Casa del Criptoportico</i>	1,6,2		1			1		
19	<i>Fullonica di Stepahus</i>	1,6,7						Fullonica	
20		1,6,9				1			
21	<i>Casa dei Quadretti teatrali</i>	1,6,11	1						
22	<i>Casa di Paquius Proculus</i>	1,7,1	1	2					
23	<i>Casa del Sacerdos Amandus</i>	1,7,7	1	2					
24	<i>Casa dell' Efebo</i>	1,7,11/19		1					
25	<i>Casa dell' Efebo</i>	1,7,11/19	1	1	1				1
26	<i>Casa del Pomarius Felix</i>	1,8,2	1	1					
27	<i>Casa della statuetta indiana</i>	1,8,5	2	1	1				1
29	<i>Taberna vasaria</i>	1,8,10		1	1				
30		1,8,13	1						
33	<i>Casa di Successus</i>	1,9,3	1	2					

34	<i>Casa dei Cubicoli floreali</i>	I,9,5	1	1		
37	<i>Casa di Cerere</i>	I,9,13-14	1	1		
38	<i>Casa del Menandro</i>	I,10,4/14-17	1	2		
39	<i>Casa del fabbro</i>	I,10,7	1	1		1
42		I,11,14	1			
43	<i>Casa del Primo Piano</i>	I,11,15/9	1	1		1
44	<i>Panificio di Sotericus</i>	I,12,1/2	1	1		
46		I,12,8	1	1		Garum shop
49	<i>Casa di Suotoria Primigenia</i>	I,13,2	1	1		
50		I,14,11/15	1	1		
52	<i>Casa delle colonne cilindriche</i>	I,16,2-a	1	1		
55	<i>Casa degli archi</i>	I,17,4	1	1		1
56	<i>Complesso dei Riti magici</i>	II,1,12	1	1		1
59	<i>Casa della Venere in conchiglia</i>	II,3,3	1	1		1
60	<i>Caupona con abitazione</i>	II,8,2-3	1	1		
62	<i>Casa detta di Trebius Valens</i>	III,2,1	1	1		
63	<i>Casa di Pinarius Cerialis</i>	III,4,4	1	1		
64	<i>Casa del Toro</i>	V,1,7	1	1		
65		V,1,15	1	1		1
68	<i>Casa del Triclinio</i>	V,2,4	1	1		Bakery
70		V,2,15	1	1		
71		V,2,15	1	1		
73	<i>Casa delle nozze d'argento</i>	V,2,i	1	1		
78	<i>Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto</i>	V,4,a	1	1		1
79		V,4,b	1	1		
80	<i>Caserna dei Gladiatori</i>	V,5,3	1	1		1
81		VI,1,1	1	1		1

(Continued)

Table 3.1 (Continued)

N.	Name	Address	Cistern	Cistern head	Lararium painting	Lararium Altar statue	Commercial	Industrial	Specific	Multiactivity
83	<i>Casa del Chirurgo</i>	VI,1,10		1						
84	<i>Casa di Sallustio</i>	VI,2,4	2	2		1				1
85	<i>Casa di Sallustio</i>	VI,2,4	1	1						
86		VI,2,16		1						
87	<i>Casa delle Danzatrici</i>	VI,2,22	1	3						
88		VI,2,25		1						
89	<i>Accademia di Musica</i>	VI,3,7			1					
94	<i>Casa del Granduca Michele</i>	VI,5,5		1						
95		VI,5,10	1	2						
96		VI,5,14		1						
97	<i>Casa di Pansa</i>	VI,6,1		2						
99	<i>Casa d'Ercole</i>	VI,7,6			1					
100		VI,7,7		1						
101	<i>Casa di Adone ferrito</i>	VI,7,18		2						
102	<i>Casa di Inaco e Io</i>	VI,7,19		1						
104	<i>Casa del Poeta tragico</i>	VI,8,3/5	1	2						
105	<i>Fullonica</i>	VI,8,20		1					Fullonica	1
106	<i>Casa della Fontana grande</i>	VI,8,22		2						
107	<i>Casa della Fontana piccola</i>	VI,8,23/24	1							
108	<i>Casa di Meleagro</i>	VI,9,2/13		2						
109	<i>Casa del Centauro</i>	VI,9,3/5		1						
112	<i>Casa del Centauro</i>	VI,9,3/5	1							
113	<i>Casa dei Dioscuri</i>	VI,9,6/7	2	1						1
115	<i>Casa dei Dioscuri</i>	VI,9,6/7	1							
117		VI,10,6		1						
118	<i>Casa del Naviglio</i>	VI,10,11		1						
120	<i>Casa del Labirinto</i>	VI,11,8-10		4						
121	<i>Casa del Fauno</i>	VI,12,2	1	2						

122	<i>Casa del Fauno</i>	VI,12,2	1	4	1	1
123	<i>Casa del Gruppo dei vasi di vetro</i>	VI,13,2	1		1	
124	<i>Casa del Forno di ferro</i>	VI,13,6				1
125		VI,13,13	1	2		
126	<i>Casa di Sextus Pompeius Axiochus</i>	VI,13,19	1			
127		VI,14,12		1		
130		VI,14,38	1	2		
133	<i>Casa degli scienziati or Gran Lupanare</i>	VI,14,43	1	1	1	1
134	<i>Casa dei Vettii</i>	VI,15,1	1	1		
135	<i>Casa dei Vettii</i>	VI,15,1	1	1		
137	<i>Casa del Principe di Napoli</i>	VI,15,7/8	1			
138		VI,15,23				
139	<i>Casa degli Amorini dorati</i>	VI,16,7	1	3	1	1
141		VI,16,26		1		1
142		VI,16,36/37	1		1	1
147	<i>Casa di Sirico</i>	VII,1,25/47	1	1	1	1
148	<i>Casa di Sirico</i>	VII,1,25/47	1	1	1	1
149	<i>Casa di M. Caesius Blandus</i>	VII,1,40	1	2		
150	<i>Panificio di Terentius Neo</i>	VII,2,3				Bakery
151	<i>Tintoria</i>	VII,2,11-12	1	1		Dye shop
152	<i>Casa di M. Gavius Rufus</i>	VII,2,16-17	1	3		
153	<i>Casa di C. Vibius Italus</i>	VII,2,18	1	1		
156	<i>Casa delle Quadrighe</i>	VII,2,25			1	
157		VII,2,51		1		
158	<i>Casa del Larario doppio</i>	VII,3,13		1	1	1
159	<i>Casa di M. Spurius Mesor</i>	VII,3,29		1	1	
161	<i>Casa dei Capitelli colorati</i>	VII,4,31/51	1	2		

(Continued)

Table 3.1 (Continued)

N.	Name	Address	Cistern head	Lararium painting	Lararium Altar	Commercial	Industrial Specific	Multiactivity
162	<i>Casa dei Capitelli colorati</i>	VII,4,31/51	1					
163	<i>Casa della Caccia antica</i>	VII,4,48	1					
164	<i>Casa del Granduca</i>	VII,4,56	1	2				
165	<i>Casa dei Capitelli figurati</i>	VII,4,57	1	2		1		1
166	<i>Casa della Parete nera or Casa dei Bronzi</i>	VII,5,59	1					
168	<i>Casa di M. Spurius Saturninus e di D. Volcius Modestus</i>	VII,6,3			1			
169		VII,6,7						
170		VII,6,28	1		1			1
171		VII,6,30	1	1				
173		VII,7,2			1			
174	<i>Casa di Trittolemo</i>	VII,7,5	1					
175	<i>Casa di Romolo e Remo</i>	VII,7,10	1					
177		VII,7,23	1		1			1
178	<i>Casa delle Nozze di Ercole</i>	VII,9,47	2					
179	<i>Casa della Pescatrice</i>	VII,9,63	1					
181	<i>Casa e lavanderia</i>	VII,10,5	1			1	Washing?	1
182	<i>Albergo e Caupona</i>	VII,11,6-8	1					
183		VII,11,9-10	1					
188	<i>Casa di Ganimede</i>	VII,13,4/17-18	1					
189	<i>Casa del Banchiere or Casa della Regina d'Inghilterra</i>	VII,14,5				1	Dye shop?	
190		VII,14,9	1					
191	<i>Casa di A. Octavius Primus</i>	VII,15,12-13	1					
194	<i>Casa di Ma. Castricius</i>	VII,16,17	1					

195	<i>Casa di Championnet II</i>	VIII,2,3--5	1	1	
196		VIII,2,13	1	2	
197		VIII,2,14-16	1		
201	<i>Casa del Cinghiale I</i>	VIII,3,8-9	1	3	
205	<i>Casa di Apollo e Coronide</i>	VIII,3,24	1	1	
206		VIII,3,27	1	1	
207	<i>Casa di Pane</i>	VIII,3,28/31	3	3	
208	<i>Casa dei Postumii</i>	VIII,4,4/49	1	1	
209		VIII,4,12-13			1
210	<i>Casa di Cornelius Rufus</i>	VIII,4,15/30	1	2	
213	<i>Casa del Gallo</i>	VIII,5,2/5	1	1	
214		VIII,5,9	1	1	
216	<i>Casa del Medico</i>	VIII,5,24	1		
217	<i>Casa della Calce</i>	VIII,5,28	1		
219	<i>Casa di Accepius e Euhodia</i>	VIII,5,39	1		
220		VIII,7,6	1	1	
221	<i>Casa dello scultore</i>	VIII,7,24/22	1	2	
222		VIII,7,26-27	1	1	
223	<i>Abitazione e botteghe 10, 11 e 13</i>	IX,1,12	1		
224	<i>Casa di M. Epidius Rufus</i>	IX,1,20	1	3	
225	<i>Casa di M. Epidius Sabinus</i>	IX,1,22/29	1	1	
226	<i>Casa di M. Epidius Sabinus</i>	IX,1,22/29	2	2	
227		IX,2,10	1	1	
228	<i>Casa di T. Dentatius Panthera</i>	IX,2,16		1	
229		IX,2,17	1	1	
230		IX,2,18		1	
231		IX,2,19-21		1	

(Continued)

Table 3.1 (Continued)

N.	Name	Address	Cistern head	Lararium painting	Lararium statue	Altar	Commercial	Industrial	Specific	Multiactivity
232		IX,2,26	1	1						1
233	<i>Casa del Granduca di Toscana</i>	IX,2,27	1			1				1
234	<i>Fabbrica di prodotti chimici</i>	IX,3,2	1	1						1
235	<i>Casa di Marcus Lucretius</i>	IX,3,5/24	1							
237	<i>Casa di Achille</i>	IX,5,1-3	1							
238	<i>Casa dei Pigmei</i>	IX,5,9	1							
240		IX,5,14-16	1							
241	<i>Casa di Giasone</i>	IX,5,18	1							
242		IX,6,4-7	1							
243		IX,6,f-g	1							
244	<i>Casa della Fortuna</i>	IX,7,20	1							
245	<i>Casa del Centenario</i>	IX,8,3/7	3							
247		IX,9,1	1	1						1
248	<i>Casa di vinajo</i>	IX,9,6	1		1			1		1
249	<i>Casa dei pittori al lavoro</i>	IX,12,9	1							
250	<i>Casa di Polibio</i>	IX,13,1-3	1							
251	<i>Casa di Obellius Firmus</i>	IX,14,4	2							

the northern peristyle of the house may have collected the water into a cistern, as Jashemski suggests.³¹

Many assumptions about water use in Pompeian peristyle gardens remain speculative, as the central systems relating to water supply are often under the 79 CE level and therefore mainly unexcavated. Therefore, conclusions are made on the basis of only a few examples, and it seems that there are cases supporting both assumptions: sometimes rainwater was collected in a cistern, but occasionally it was directed into the street and was not intended for household use.

If we count the number of peristyles with a cistern head and the number of peristyles with a reported cistern (but missing a reported cistern head), the total is 147 peristyles. This could be considered to be the current maximum number of peristyles known to be related to the water supply of the house, and it is more than half of all the peristyles, making collecting water one of the most common human activity in the peristyles. Yet, there are more than 100 peristyles that cannot be connected to this function, and it does not seem possible to define water supply as the dominant activity in Pompeian peristyles.

3.2.2 *Cult activity in the peristyles*

The Pompeian domestic context distinguishes structures related to cult activity: *lararia* and altars. A *lararium* – household shrine – was a sacred place in the Roman house where the household divinities were worshiped.³² There are 29 peristyles with *lararium* paintings or reliefs in Pompeii. In addition, there are five peristyles with a niche and one peristyle with an *aedicule*, which were reported to contain *lararium* statues. Seven peristyles without *lararia* had a masonry or stone altar. Altogether, cult activity can be linked to 41 peristyles (Table 3.1).

In three peristyles, excavations under the garden surface have revealed burned organic materials that have been interpreted as offerings.³³ However, dating these actions to the last phase is uncertain, and it is also difficult to interpret how temporary these activities were in the peristyles,³⁴ whereas a built *lararium* suggests a continuity of activity. Marble, terracotta, or bronze altars have been found in a few peristyles, but as they are movable it does not necessarily imply that they were used in the peristyles.³⁵ Several niches, *aediculae*, or pavilions, without *lararium* paintings or reported *lararium* statues, are identified as locations of cult activity. For example, there are 41 peristyles with a niche, *aedicula*, or pavilion listed as *lararium* without any other evidence for this purpose, and as these features could have other functions, the connection with cult activity is debatable.³⁶

In addition to the *lararia* and altars, peristyle gardens in general have been connected to religion. In 1832, William Gell interpreted the garden of the peristyle of the *Casa del Poeta tragico* (VI,8,3/5) as a sort of sanctuary.³⁷ More than a century later, Grimal proposed that in the Roman world a garden was a shrine to Dionysus, and he among others refers to the peristyle of the *Casa degli Amorini dorati* (VI,16,7/38) to support this theory.³⁸ His theory of the Pompeian garden as a sanctuary to a deity is still maintained in much scholarly literature: Eugene Dwyer has stated that the peristyle was connected to the idea of a sacro-idyllic grove. In

his interpretation, the garden with porticoes was associated with the worship of Venus, Apollo, and Diana, and more commonly included theatrical and Dionysiac themes.³⁹ Florian Seiler has also studied the *Casa degli Amorini dorati*, and suggested that the Rhodian peristyle was an imitation of a temple. Seiler sees a sacred connection between the space and its Dionysiac decoration – however, he also notes the possible decorative function of the sculpture.⁴⁰

Although the sanctity of a garden has been a popular theme in scholarship, it has not been accepted without criticism. Jashemski thinks that Grimal's assumption is too bold, and in the Pompeian context it is difficult to believe that an ordinary Pompeian viewed the distinction between sacred and secular so clearly. Additionally, Jashemski observed the popularity of Dionysus and his followers as subjects in garden decorations, and noted the broader importance of the god of wine in Campania – a wine producing area – but she continued that the only garden that has unequivocal evidence for the worship of Dionysus is the temple garden of the deity outside the city walls of Pompeii.⁴¹

The dominance of Dionysus-themed sculpture decoration in the Pompeian peristyles is evident. There are 23 peristyles where the sculptural decoration can be associated with the deity.⁴² In terms of popularity, Venus comes second after Dionysus. The goddess can be related to the sculptural decoration of 13 peristyles.⁴³ Hercules, Apollo, and Jupiter are each present in the sculptural decoration of four peristyles.⁴⁴ Several other gods are represented in the peristyle sculpture; however, these gods can only be found in one or two peristyles.⁴⁵ Yet, the major problem of the interpretation lies in the question of whether these statues were considered to be decoration or religious symbols. The presence of a sculpture depicting a divinity does not necessarily make the space a sanctuary.

Several problems relating to the interpretation of the cultic role of the Dionysiac sculptures can be presented. Firstly, the imagery of the Dionysiac garden sculptures is problematic: the god himself is rarely represented, and the stage is rather occupied by his companions. As the divinity was usually regarded as being present through an image – especially through a cult statue – the presence of Dionysus in the peristyle gardens is not directly evident. Dionysus is frequently represented as a herm, either with a double face or with one face.⁴⁶ Although herms had a connection with cult activity, especially in a Greek context, in the Roman world they could be equally associated with education, philosophy, and the gymnasia, as Caitlín Barret has noted.⁴⁷ In Pompeii, herms are rarely found in the *lararium* context: there is one Dionysiac marble herm which was found among the *lararium* statues, and one other marble herm – which cannot be identified – from another *lararium* context.⁴⁸ This rarity, with only two known examples, suggests that these few cases are exceptions, and based only on these examples it is risky to assign a religious role to all herms.

In addition, the traditional place for a cult image in a temple would be on the central axis, and probably near the rear, while herms were placed on the borders of gardens, almost as if they were defining the borders of the space. A good example of this is the *Casa di Marcus Lucretius* (IX,3,5/24).⁴⁹ In this particular peristyle the traditional place of the cult image in the rear niche is taken by a statue of

Silenus – not Dionysus. In the gardens, the god of wine is also represented in reliefs, and Dwyer notes: “The images of Bacchus himself which have been found in Pompeii relate more to the two-dimensional representations of the god in the *thiasos* than to known cult images.”⁵⁰

Secondly, the *lararia* contained miniature statues representing the gods that were worshipped there.⁵¹ The difference between the *lararium* statues and the garden statues in the Pompeian *domus* creates yet another problem when speculating on the sacred aspect of the garden sculpture: their size – or the scale as formulated by Dwyer – is different.⁵² *Lararium* statuary has a median height of 0.14 m, while the median height of the human-like garden statues in the peristyles is 0.60 m.⁵³ This represents a significant difference.

Thirdly, the garden sculptures and the *lararium* statues have a different emphasis in their materials. Most (97) of the *lararium* statues in the peristyles are made of bronze. There are 14 terracotta statues and nine of marble.⁵⁴ Terracotta is seen as the traditional material for Roman cult statues.⁵⁵ This is also mentioned in the literary evidence. Pliny the Elder notes that terracotta and wood were only replaced as the material for the statues of gods after the conquest of Asia, which introduced more luxurious items and materials.⁵⁶ Tibullus’s grandfather also had a wooden *lararium* statue, but apparently it had a bronze part – its spear.⁵⁷ The preference for bronze in Pompeii might have a connection with Samnite tradition, as the Samnites used small bronze *idoletti* which were about 0.15 m high and usually represented a warrior. Edward Salmon regards the massive production of these small bronze statues as a consequence of the adoption of cult images among the Samnites.⁵⁸ The material and size of the *idoletti* is similar to the Pompeian *lararium* statues. In addition, there was perhaps a workshop of bronze and terracotta figurines near Pompeii,⁵⁹ which also could explain the preference for these materials for cult statues.

The garden statuary, in contrast, is dominated by marble, whereas terracotta and bronze are rarer.⁶⁰ It seems that marble was regularly used for the garden sculpture, but was very sporadic in the domestic religious context; and if it was used, there is even a difference between the type of marble: four of the nine marble *lararium* statues are made of alabaster,⁶¹ which is not reported as the material of any garden sculpture. The marble *lararium* statues almost always depict female goddesses.⁶² Therefore, marble in this cult context might relate to female deities – although, it is not the only material used for representing goddesses.⁶³ This particularity further disconnects the male-dominated Dionysiac sculpture groups – nearly always made of marble – from their sacred character.⁶⁴

The use of marble as a material for statues of female divinities might instead indicate the cult use of some *aediculae*, for example in the peristyle of house I,2,17.⁶⁵ There are three other similar cases where the statues in the *aediculae* are made of marble and depict female deities.⁶⁶ These *aediculae* did not have paintings or other statues to link them with cultic activity, and they are similar to the structures of the fountain niches, which were also decorated with sculpture and are usually seen as decorative features.⁶⁷ Therefore it is not certain that the *aediculae* had a religious role, yet in the cases of marble female statues the association

with cultic activity is more likely than in the others – as the material forms a link with the female *lararium* statues. Nevertheless, their scale is larger than the normal statues used in domestic cults, and it remains ambiguous to what extent these sculptures had much religious meaning.

Certainly there is a connection between divinities and garden statuary – at least, they often represent deities and their companions – or the visual connection between the peristyle and temple architecture.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, interpreting a peristyle as the shrine of a god that is represented in the decoration is an overextended conclusion – particularly for Dionysus. The sculptures – either on account of their material, size, or location – cannot be connected to cult statues. Nevertheless, linking the peristyle to the cult of Venus and Diana – as is done by Dwyer – might be a little more plausible in gardens where the female goddesses are found in the *aediculae*; however, the *lararium* paintings or statuary that would verify the cultic activity in these structures are missing.⁶⁹

The question of differentiating between decorative and religious entities is complicated, and our modern views may well influence the situation. Barret has stated that the ancient audience might not have separated the items and themes so strictly into religious and decorative categories. Rather, these themes were complimentary, not contradictory.⁷⁰

Our possibly anachronistic view is also visible when we compare Dionysiac-themed wall paintings and sculpture. Even if the first mentioned also depicts the god, the rooms with these paintings are not generally considered cult spaces.⁷¹ Indeed, if every mythological picture was a sign of cult activity, there would hardly be any space for other activities in the Pompeian house. This does not mean that these paintings – or sculpture – did not have religious value, but merely that they do not indicate cult activity in the space. Consequently, the number of peristyles that can be connected to cult activity is significantly lower than the number connected to, for example, the water supply, and cult activity cannot be considered to be the main function of the peristyle.

3.2.3 *Business activity in the peristyles*

Some of the Pompeian peristyles were used for small-scale industrial production or business activity. Even though these peristyles have attracted scholarly attention, there is no clear definition of when a peristyle can be identified as a commercial space, as these types of activities are not always very evident in the archaeological record. There are some structures that clearly indicate this type of function, but oftentimes any conclusion that can be made remains at best speculative. Particularly problematic are the peristyles in houses where these types of activities occurred in other rooms and there is no direct evidence that the activity extended to the peristyle.⁷²

There are several examples of speculative identification of peristyles as utilitarian spaces. For instance, Jashemski thinks that the garden with one portico in house V,3,8 was a produce garden,⁷³ but there are no archaeological remains to support this assumption. Ciarallo and Giordano report that the garden with one

portico in the *Casa di A. Octavius Primus* (VII,15,12–13) was utilitarian,⁷⁴ but they do not specify what type of utilitarian garden it may have been, or provide any support for their interpretation. Colomba Serpe even thinks that the complete western part of the house was given over to some utilitarian purpose, but again no evidence is offered to support the speculation.⁷⁵ Mau goes even further and supposes that the whole house was used as a workshop. All of these interpretations might be based on the several graffiti found inside the house, but Mau does not clarify how the graffiti indicate that the apartment was used for working.⁷⁶ In the peristyle of house IX,6,4–7, the simple decoration, easy accessibility through entrance 7, and the traces of folding screens have tempted some to speculate that the peristyle was used for industrial or commercial purposes during the last period.⁷⁷ This use, however, remains hypothetical, and no other sources – such as archaeological finds or architectural structures – are cited to support the assumption. In general, the speculated utilitarian purposes of the above-mentioned peristyles might be due to their plain decoration, or complete lack of decoration. It is possible that an undecorated garden had a production purpose; however, there is no actual evidence to suggest how these gardens were used.

Structures such as ovens, counters, undecorated masonry basins, and a large number of *dolia* or amphorae in the peristyle are indicators of using peristyles for business purposes.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, not even these can be thought to be clear data of commercial activity. For example, the pools in the peristyle of the *Casa del Banchiere* (VII,14,5) are assumed to have been used for collecting water for the dyeing process; however, they have also been interpreted to be fish pools.⁷⁹ Consequently, whether this peristyle was used for industrial purposes remains speculative, although it probably was, as the vicinity of the tannery spaces in the house indicates.⁸⁰ Another example of the complexity of sources is the presence of *dolia* and amphorae. They obviously suggest a storage purpose, but how many *dolia* and amphorae are needed for us to conclude that the space had an important commercial role?

As a large open space, the peristyle has excited speculations that its garden section was utilized for the industrial activities of the house. For example, fulling and tanning require drying, and it has led to speculation that the open space in the peristyle was used for these purposes.⁸¹ This is a possibility, but direct evidence of this type of activity has not been reported. Furthermore, it has been proposed that drying might also have occurred in other parts of the house. Vittorio Spinazzolo and Sampaolo, for instance, suggest the upper floors for this purpose.⁸²

Table 3.1 lists the peristyles where commercial activity is very likely. Altogether, there are 17. Nonetheless, even in some of these cases the commercial activities can be questioned. Margareta Staub Gierow notes the possibility of the domestic use of the three looms in the peristyle of the *Casa dei Capitelli figurati* (VII,4,31/51).⁸³ This is one option, but if they were only used for household needs, it would be likely that this type of arrangement would also appear in other houses, and the case is unique in Pompeii.⁸⁴ Additionally, graffiti indicate the places of the persons working in the peristyle, and if the looms were only for household needs, why was there a need for this level of organization, and why did this house require

three looms? Small-scale industrial use seems a more plausible explanation in this peristyle than merely domestic use.

The question of differentiating between domestic and commercial use is also complex when we consider food preparation and its possible retail use. Some peristyles are identified as restaurants or inns, for example houses II,8,2/3 and IX,9,1.⁸⁵ They both had features that are associated with dining, but it is challenging to understand whether the dining was business-related. Following Allison's notion that it is often impossible to distinguish whether the work was done for consumption outside the household or only for domestic use,⁸⁶ it is also imaginable that these two peristyles had a domestic character.

Scholarship has seen a dichotomy between display and industrial use in the Roman house; it has been difficult to see these two types of activities taking place in the same space. This interpretation rests on the tradition of Moses Finley, who constructed it mainly on the basis of the writings of Cicero. The Roman writer was without a doubt very influential, for example Seneca and Pliny the Elder repeat similarly negative ideas towards trade and commerce – but do these reflect the entirety of Roman society? At best, the writers represent the views of the highest social elite males, but not even this elite group can be thought of as homogeneous. This separation of display and commerce in the Roman house has been questioned several times, and the lack of this type of behavior in Pompeii is demonstrated by Wallace-Hadrill.⁸⁷

This idea of the separation of the commercial and the domestic can be seen to lurk behind some interpretations of Pompeian peristyle gardens. It probably relates to the modern scholar's quest to define single functions for the rooms of Roman houses. Although this reading has been questioned lately, there are cases where some functions might have been spatial-visually separated in the peristyle. For example, Flohr suggests that in the *Fullonica* VI,8,20, the fullery part of the peristyle was separated from the other parts of the peristyle by raising the fullery to a higher level and building a wall between it and the garden.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, the wall in its current condition is not high enough to visibly separate these spaces. A similar case occurs in the *Fullonica di Stepahus* (I,6,7), where the fullery seems to be separated in an area that could be loosely defined as the south portico of the peristyle, yet it is on a higher level. In the *Fullonica di Stepahus* there are some cuts in the floor that suggest that there might have been a door or a partition wall between the other parts of the peristyle and the fullery part.

Occasionally, the presence of commercial activity in the peristyle has been seen as a downgrading of the space.⁸⁹ This interpretation – again – has echoes of the Finleyan tradition, where leisure is seen as an elite function of the Roman house, and commerce is left to the lower classes. In the Pompeian context, the question is almost impossible to answer.⁹⁰ The data does not clearly indicate whether Pompeians better appreciated the commercial or the decorative use of the peristyle. On the one hand, commercial investments might, at least occasionally, have required more funds than the building of a pleasure garden, but equally the use of domestic space mainly for decorative purposes can be interpreted as a symbol of wealth. The relatively low number of peristyles used for commercial

purposes might indicate that Pompeians tried to avoid using the space for commercial purposes, but it can also mean that not many Pompeians could afford these types of arrangements in their houses.

However, to return to the question of the multifunctionality of the peristyle, it has been demonstrated here that there is no single dominant function for the peristyle. Water supply is closest to this, but cult activity and commercial use are clearly rarer in the peristyle when examining all of the peristyles of the city. Additionally, when considering these three categories, they almost never require the entire space of the peristyle. Cult activity concentrates around the *lararia* and altars, and the water supply near the cistern head. Equally, these two activities are temporary. Even if they meant that a large crowd would have occasionally gathered in the peristyle, this still left plenty of time for other usages. Some industrial activities might have required the majority of the space, as well as daylight time. Nevertheless, even in these cases there seems to be room for different purposes, as the example of the *Fullonica* VI,8,20 demonstrates. There, fulling occurred in the western part of the peristyle and the eastern part was left for other functions – domestic, display, business, retail, or even all of these.

A quick glance at Table 3.1 might give the impression that the Pompeian peristyles were not designed for multiple activities: there are only 32 peristyle gardens with indications of at least two of the three examined activities: water supply, cult activity, or commercial. However, it is worth considering what is *not* demonstrated in this table. For example, every peristyle served to guide movement in the house, as established in the previous chapter. Of course, how important a peristyle was for household movement can be occasionally debated, such as for house V,3,8, where only two rooms opened onto the peristyle. However, this is the only occasion where the number of opening rooms is less than three, making it rather the exception than the rule.

Taking into consideration that Table 3.1 includes 174 peristyles, this means that in addition to guiding movement almost 70 percent of the peristyles were planned for some additional activity. Furthermore, this investigation has not considered the peristyle as a display space, which will be discussed in the following chapters. Moreover, several activities – domestic, commercial, or other – are invisible due to the shortcomings of the source documentation, or have not left an archaeological record. The peristyle was the center of light and air in the house, and this undoubtedly meant that daily activities occurred around this area. All of these activities place several different people – household members or guests – in the peristyle at some point during the day, meaning that the peristyle was not meant for any specific group of people, such as men or women, or freemen or slaves, but was used by everybody. It is safe to assume that every Pompeian peristyle was multifunctional, meaning that they were planned for several purposes, and there was no one main human activity planned for the space. Peristyles involved movement, and seemed to have a connecting function in the house, but the several indicators of activities that required time to be spent in the peristyle demonstrate that it was not only planned as a passage space.

3.3 The audience of the socioeconomic display

The display function of the Roman house has been connected to the separation of the public and private segments of the house. Display requires an audience, and naturally the public part of a house offers a better opportunity to reach people than the more restricted private section. However, the terms public and private have turned out to be challenging in the context of Roman and Pompeian houses. This chapter introduces some old interpretations of public and private, relating them to the peristyle, but also presents some criticism of them. In the light of new readings, it is impossible to base the interpretation of the Pompeian peristyle as a display space on the literary sources or routines, such as the *salutatio*, that have previously formed the center of the debate.⁹¹ Consequently, the later part of the chapter focuses on identifying the location of the audience in the Pompeian house, in particular reflecting on the peristyle as the visitor center of the house.

Over the last few decades, the concepts of public and private in the ancient world have been a frequent topic of research, and the house has had a central role in this discussion.⁹² If we consider the two concepts only through their legal definition of ownership, the strong role of the house in this debate seems strange. Should not every space in a domestic context be private? Nevertheless, these concepts are not merely juridical, as holistic life can rarely be strictly separated into these theoretical divisions. Public and private can also be defined through accessibility, which perhaps could be a possible substitute for these words.⁹³ However, in this case – when discussing public and private in a house – accessibility might be seen only as physical accessibility; but the axis of public and private additionally takes into account visual and other types of perceptible accessibility, which do not always require physical movement. Consequently, despite the problems, the terms public and private are better tools than simple accessibility, at least in this case.

Hypothetically, the Roman house was constantly under observing eyes and open to visitors. Scholars have stated that houses were open to the public, and the *salutatio* brought in a constant flow of visitors.⁹⁴ The house had an important role in public life, and it was in continuous communication with the surrounding world: for example, it could display its owner's *dignitas*, social status, or politics.⁹⁵ Vitruvius's famous passage is often cited as a source for placing public functions inside the Roman house. It describes how an important man needed spaces in his house where he could receive people, and among these requirements the architect listed *peristylia amplissima*.⁹⁶ According to these, the peristyle is often interpreted as a place for socializing and display, tilting it towards the public end in the sliding scale of public and private. However, there is no clear consensus on this topic, and several scholars have seen the peristyle as either private or accessed only by invitation.⁹⁷

Be that as it may, these views are mainly based on the literary sources, and are additionally problematic in that they are based on the social life of the city of Rome, and as has been stated several times there is a difference between the huge capital of an enormous empire and a small Campanian city.⁹⁸ A house of high

social standing in Rome could have been repeatedly visited due to the practice of the *salutatio*, although whether these visits extended into the peristyle is doubtful. Some scholars leave the peristyle out of the context of the *salutatio*, limiting it to the *vestibulum*, atrium, alae, and *tablinum*.⁹⁹ One can still propose that in many houses the *clientes* caught – at least – a glimpse of the peristyle, even if they did not enter it. However, in the Pompeian context, it can be questioned whether such customs and habits were the same as in the capital. Was a Pompeian house also equally open, or was this openness only required by the politics of Rome?¹⁰⁰ Did a relatively small town need a ritual morning meeting, such as the *salutatio* known from Roman literary sources, to organize its social and political life?

Indeed, the practice of *salutatio* in Pompeii has been questioned. Jens-Arne Dickmann notes that during the Imperial era the *salutatio* lost its political significance.¹⁰¹ Also, the *salutationes* were mainly held by the senatorial class, and consequently they might have been restricted to Rome.¹⁰² Although Simon Speksnijder notes that the practice can also be connected to a few rich men, he emphasizes that the examples are very few. He thinks that it is hypothetically possible that freedmen held *salutationes*, but there are no clear sources for this type of activity.¹⁰³ There are no known men of senatorial rank from Pompeii,¹⁰⁴ and this forces us to question whether there were *salutationes* in Pompeii, as there were no people representing the class who usually organized this practice. Perhaps the richest house owners in Pompeii held *salutationes*? However, as Speksnijder notes, in general examples of *salutationes* held by individuals not of the senatorial class are rare.

Consequently, even if it is perhaps possible that Pompeian peristyles were visited daily due to *salutatio*, the uncertainty of it does not create a very sound basis for further interpretations. Against this background, stating that *salutationes* provided an audience for socioeconomic display in Pompeian houses is not very convincing – although hypothetically possible. The practice of the *salutatio* in Pompeii remains a dilemma, and the interpretation of the use of the peristyle cannot be built on the basis of this concept. It has been suggested that practices similar to the *salutatio* took place in Pompeii,¹⁰⁵ but it remains for future research to confirm or deny if this occurred, and therefore our understanding of the public nature of the peristyles cannot be built only on the basis of these interpretations. In fact, the idea of the openness of the Roman house might be simple political rhetoric, as Hales suggests,¹⁰⁶ and in a small town such as Pompeii the house owner might have had even stricter control over his or her house and its visitors. The possible audience for display thus has to be searched for from another direction, meaning that we now turn to investigate the houses of Pompeii.

Who used the peristyles of Pompeii, and how public or private they may have been, have been difficult questions to address. Several peristyles have stimulated different type of speculations on these topics. The southern peristyle of the *Casa di Sallustio* (VI,2,4) is an excellent example of how a peristyle can create several interpretations. It has been suggested that the house was a *hospitium*, particularly the area around the southern peristyle.¹⁰⁷ In this case, the peristyle would be very public compared to private houses, but there is no data to support this function.

There would be a flow of visitors – perhaps paying customers. Anne Laidlaw and John Burge, on the other hand, think that the peristyle had a more private character during the last phase, when a small closet and a mezzanine were added to room 30, which they think was a space for a doorkeeper.¹⁰⁸ The function of room 30 is unclear, making the private nature of the peristyle speculative.¹⁰⁹ However, the peristyle was located south of the atrium, not opposite the house entrance, and thus it was visible only after entering the house, and at least its location made it more private – offering a little support to Laidlaw and Burge’s interpretation – but there is nothing to support its interpretation as a *hospitium*.

In addition, the southern peristyle of the *Casa di Sallustio* has been interpreted by many 19th century scholars as a women’s quarter.¹¹⁰ Similarly, the southern peristyle of the *Casa del Citarista* (I,4,5/25) and the northern peristyle of the *Casa dei Vettii* have been seen as used mainly by women.¹¹¹ However, Polly Lohmann has demonstrated that these interpretations – along with some other attempts to identify women’s quarters – have little support in the sources, and that there are no architectural or decorative features to distinguish any women’s quarters in Pompeian houses as such. Lohmann studied the find context of objects relating to women’s life, and concluded that they are found in small rooms and atria, but more rarely in the peristyles. In the atria and the peristyles, the finds were in contexts that suggest they were stored in these spaces.¹¹²

Women and guests are not the only groups that have been identified as users of specific peristyles. It has been suggested that the peristyles of the *Casa di Ma. Castricius* (VII,16,12–15) and the southern peristyle of the *Casa dei Dioscuri* (VI,9,6/7) were service quarters, but again there is little to support these interpretations.¹¹³ In general, there is no clear evidence to suggest that the Pompeian peristyles were utilized as women’s or slaves’ quarters, or that the use of the peristyle was restricted to a certain social or gender group. It is a possibility in some cases, but none of the Pompeian peristyles clearly indicates this type of use, and as the several activities in the previous chapter suggested, they were likely used by the entire household as well as by visitors. The interpretations of the peristyle as public or private are not built on very convincing ground, and therefore we must take a new approach to the question. The following section will take a look at the archaeological evidence, aiming to identify groups of visitors to Pompeian houses and their peristyles.

Because of the absence of an office culture in the Roman world, business and public matters were conducted inside the house.¹¹⁴ Allison notes that trade and business were not hidden activities within the Pompeian house, and that they could have been conducted in any area of the house.¹¹⁵ In addition, banquets, dinners, and other types of social gatherings were held inside the house. Eating and drinking were related to *amici*, friends, visiting the house.¹¹⁶ Pompeian houses were thus frequently observed by visitors, and were an integral part of the social life of inhabitants.

The next step is to connect these visitors to Pompeian houses to their peristyles. First, dining with guests occasionally occurred in the peristyles. Allison’s study maps the finds in Pompeian houses and links dining and the entertainment of guests to the gardens, and cooking to the colonnades.¹¹⁷ There are also permanent

features that suggest that dining and cooking occurred in the peristyles. Six peristyles had a masonry cooking bench, and one is reported to have had a kitchen, but no remains of this kitchen are visible today.¹¹⁸

There are 23 Pompeian peristyles with a couch group – an outdoor *triclinium*, *biclinium*, or *stibadium*.¹¹⁹ The *triclinia* and other couch groups suggest that the space was used for dining, and possibly entertaining guests.¹²⁰ Drinking and eating are significant aspects of social display, as the items used for these purposes can be used for display and are associated with luxury and leisure.¹²¹

The architecture of the peristyles that had a dining group is not particularly luxurious compared to the other peristyles of Pompeii: the average size is about 170 m² and the median is 115 m². More than half had only one portico. The average area of the house with a peristyle and *triclinium* is about 540 m², placing it clearly below the Pompeian average for a house with a peristyle. However, the median size is equal to that of all the houses with a peristyle in the entire city (Figs. 2.5 and 2.6).¹²² It does not seem that an outdoor dining group was a feature of the peristyles in the houses of the wealthiest owners, and it does not seem to be a particularly luxurious element.

The evidence, however, consists mostly of peristyles with a masonry *triclinium* – a wooden dining group is reported in only three of the peristyles.¹²³ Among these are the two largest peristyles with outdoor *triclinia*: the *Casa del Menandro* (I,10,4/14–17) and the *Casa di Paquius Proculus* (I,7,1). Both had four porticoes and extensive decoration, such as fountains, pools, and wall paintings.¹²⁴ It is likely that other large or luxurious peristyles had wooden dining groups, but that they have not been documented.¹²⁵ In addition, the wooden *triclinium* seems to be smaller (1.74 x 2.69 m) than the masonry *triclinia* (ranging from 2.50 x 3.00 m to almost 5.00 x 5.00 m).¹²⁶ Zanker states that pieces of furniture, including dining couches, were light and portable.¹²⁷ It is possible that a dining group could have been relocated in the peristyle when required, and thus as a movable item it was not necessarily in the peristyle when the eruption occurred.

The peristyle area – the rooms around the peristyle – was also considered suitable for dining and the entertainment of guests.¹²⁸ Based on finds, Allison particularly connects her room Type 7 – traditionally called *tablina* – and Type 11 with dining, although this was not necessarily their only function. Both of these room types are open to the garden and/or the peristyle area.¹²⁹ In 107 peristyles the so-called *tablinum* opens onto the portico. Without a careful investigation of the finds, such as those made by Allison, there can be no certainty that in all the cases the rooms were actually used for dining and entertaining guests, but according to Allison's results many of the *tablina* were used thusly. Her results were confirmed by Ambra Spinelli with a much larger sample, in particular when examining the floor decoration.¹³⁰ Yet if these activities cannot be as certainly connected to every single *tablinum*, it is very likely that at least one room opening onto the peristyle was used for dining and entertaining guests. This room likely had a fine view – through a large door or window or several windows – to the peristyle.

Even though there is no certainty about how most of the rooms around the peristyle were used, their large number indicates that plenty of human activity

occurred around the peristyle area. It was literally impossible to enter many of the rooms without walking through the peristyle. This movement in and through the peristyle guaranteed an audience for display.¹³¹ A large part of the movement might be persons living in the house, but there must have been visitors too – even if entering the peristyle required an invitation. When guests arrived in these rooms, they had to pass through the peristyle, and in addition the peristyle created a pleasant background for these rooms.¹³² It has been said that peristyles were planned so that visitors could see the grandeur of the house when they were going through the peristyle to arrive at the reception rooms that opened off the colonnade.¹³³

The architectural shape of the peristyle is reminiscent of public architecture, particularly *gymnasia* and *palaestra*.¹³⁴ Although the public colonnades can be connected with educational activity, there seem to be only a few Pompeian peristyles – and only one where the activity can be confirmed by several graffiti – where this type of activity occurred.¹³⁵ Other activities relating to public architecture have been linked to peristyles, such as theater performances, public readings, or even trials, but the Pompeian evidence does not offer any certainty about these activities.¹³⁶ It has been suggested that the *Casa del Criptoportico* (I,6,2) was a public gathering area, and Alessandro Gallo speculates that the *Casa di M. Epidius Rufus* (IX,1,20) was a place of cult meetings of Dionysus, which would also mean a large number of visitors. Nevertheless, he also mentions that there is no definitive proof – such as graffiti – of this function.¹³⁷ If these houses had a public or a semi-public role, it would probably involve their peristyles, but there are no indications to support this type of function for these houses.

The graffiti in Pompeian houses are connected with guests and clients, and may even have been made by them.¹³⁸ Identifying the scribblers, however, is difficult if not impossible.¹³⁹ Graffiti are reported from 94 peristyles. It should be noted that the recording of the graffiti has not been carried out evenly throughout the city,¹⁴⁰ which probably means that more peristyles had graffiti than is documented. Lohmann states that peristyles and gardens seem to be the most popular location to write graffiti – and in particular columns were popular for graffiti. The texts in the peristyles mostly featured names and announcements. According to Lohmann, these were not personal messages – such as greetings, which are rare in peristyles – but a kind of secret confirmation of the presence of different persons, and they were probably not even meant to be read.¹⁴¹ Although the significance of graffiti often remains unknown to us, and they rarely reveal what type of activity occurred in a space,¹⁴² they at least demonstrate that someone spent time in the peristyle – enough to scribble something.¹⁴³ As Allison notes, the graffiti of the *Casa del Menandro* indicate that a number of people came and went quite freely in the house,¹⁴⁴ and one may conclude from this that other peristyles with graffiti were also used quite freely.

Another type of text found more rarely in the peristyles is electoral notices – only four peristyles have been reported with such.¹⁴⁵ In general, the role of electoral notices was highly public. They likely suggest that these peristyles were at least on some level open to the public. Yet, as the electoral notices are rarely

found inside houses, their function in a domestic context is not clear, and we must be careful with this interpretation.¹⁴⁶

There are several activities that took place in the peristyles – meaning that many people also visited the space. The peristyle area – including the rooms opening onto the peristyle – was considered to be the living center of the house.¹⁴⁷ Allison also connects utilitarian household activities with the peristyle.¹⁴⁸ In these cases the display function had a lesser role, as the household members were probably already familiar with the peristyle, but the display features were also constant reminders of the social hierarchy of the house. Working and busy household members were also a part of the display of wealth for outsiders, as a large household was an indication of economic success and high social status.¹⁴⁹

The act of display does not necessarily require that people entered the peristyle. The space can be seen from other parts of the house, or even from outside the house. The peristyle is frequently compared to the atrium, which is understood as being more public, mainly because of its location.¹⁵⁰ Sometimes one peristyle in a house with several courtyards and atria is interpreted as more private than others.¹⁵¹ The difference between the interpretations is often caused by the different definitions of public and private, but the physical location of the peristyle also plays an important role in these assessments. In the traditional model of the Roman/Pompeian house, the peristyle is farther away from the door than, for example, an atrium. This obviously makes it more suitable as a private space: it is not so easily visible from outside the walls of the house. Therefore, the location and visibility of the peristyle in the house plan is important, if we consider the audience.

However, Anderson has conducted a GIS-based computer analysis of visibility inside six Pompeian houses. Five of the houses had at least one peristyle. In all cases the peristyle – or a part of it – is the most visible area in the house.¹⁵² Although Anderson's sample is small, it implies that the best location for display was in the peristyle. There are no houses where the peristyle took the traditional place of the atrium in his sample, but in all cases the atria were the second most visible location in the house – after the peristyles. Consequently, eliminating an atrium from the house or replacing it with a peristyle would highlight the role of the peristyle in terms of visibility.

There are two houses with two peristyles – the *Casa dell'Efebo* (I,7,11/19) and the *Casa di Sirico* (VII,1,25/47) – in Anderson's sample. In both cases, one peristyle is more visible compared to the other: in the *Casa dell'Efebo* it is the northern, and in the *Casa di Sirico* the southern.¹⁵³ The increased visibility could indicate that the other peristyle was more public, but there are also other factors, such as household activities, which could have influenced the public/private nature of the peristyles, and assumptions cannot be made solely on the basis of visibility.

Anderson's main purpose was to study the storage locations of the construction materials needed for the rebuilding of Pompeian houses. The location of the materials suggests that the visual axis from the main entrance was important for Pompeians, as the materials are not visible when looking from the main entrance. Anderson concludes that this means that the house doors were open to

the public.¹⁵⁴ The nature of this undisturbed view from the main door, however, has been questioned. It could have been blocked, for example, by doors, furniture, partition walls, curtains, or individuals living in or visiting the house.¹⁵⁵ However, doors and curtains can be opened, and furniture and people can be moved, and therefore it is at least theoretically possible that Pompeian houses offered a visual axis from the street into the house.

A vast majority of the peristyles (210) are on the main entrance axis. Most of these (113) are located after a room that is located after an atrium – frequently this room is called a *tablinum*. This type of room arrangement is usually considered typical of Roman and Pompeian houses.¹⁵⁶ The peristyle is visible from the entrance, but it is viewed through three spaces – the *fauces*, the atrium, and the *tablinum* (or some other room). Consequently, only a small part of the peristyle is visible from the entrance, and the number of possible visual obstacles is also higher, since there are several rooms between the viewer and the peristyle.

Thirty-two peristyles are located after two rooms – most often *fauces* and an atrium. The peristyle is closer to the entrance in these than in the houses with a *tablinum*, but the view is still restricted. Slightly more often, in 37 houses, the peristyle is in the traditional place of an atrium – after the *fauces*.¹⁵⁷ In these houses, hypothetically the entire rear side of the peristyle and most of the middle part would have been visible from the street.

There were 13 peristyles that were entered directly after the main entrance. Essentially, merely opening the door exposed a major part of the peristyle to the eyes of passers-by. The main entrance was not the only way to connect the peristyle to the public sphere. For example, the *Casa di Cornelius Rufus* (VIII,4,15/30) had four columns on the south side of the peristyle, and the intercolumniations were likely open, providing direct visual access into the *Via del Tempio d'Iside* and vice versa.

The architecture and archaeological material places several persons, of different statuses, genders, and ages, in the peristyle. They might have been there to work, to complete their everyday tasks relating to the life of the household, or simply to loiter; or perhaps they were guests spending time in the space. A relatively large number of people walked through the peristyle, and an even larger number gazed at the space everyday – provided that the owner did not have any particular reason to keep the space hidden from visitors and an outsider's gaze. The multifunctionality of the space strengthens the likelihood of socioeconomic display in the peristyles, as many functions guaranteed a number of people using the space and would provide a large and versatile audience for the display.

If there was an audience for display anywhere in a Pompeian house, it was in the peristyle, making it an excellent space to demonstrate the house owner's social and economic status. Consequently, locating artwork in the peristyle – which is discussed in more detail in the following chapters – was not a bad idea if it was meant to be marveled at. Furthermore, the size of peristyles supports their role as one of the principal display areas of the house. Besides some large gardens area, peristyles seem to be the largest spaces inside Pompeian houses (compare with the atria, see Table 3.2).¹⁵⁸ Also, the larger the size of the space was, the larger the group of visitors it could host.¹⁵⁹ In conclusion, peristyles played a crucial role in

Table 3.2 Selected ground area sizes for atria in Pompeii, and all the atria area sizes in Herculaneum.¹⁶⁰ The atria of Pompeii are concentrated at the larger end of the continuum, which is highlighted by the comparison with all the atria of Herculaneum. It is likely that if all the atria of Pompeii were examined, the average and median would be lower. The Pompeian sizes without a cited reference were measured from the PBMP map, and the calculations of the Herculaneum atria were made on the basis of plans published by Maiuri (1958) and Jashemski (1993), and on the measurements of De Kind (1998, 234–235, 245, 271, 273, 288 293, 299, 305, 307, Plan VI) and Maiuri (1958, 227, 277, 305, 337).

<i>House number</i>	<i>House name</i>	<i>Atrium area m²</i>
I,2,6		70
I,2,24		41
I,4,5/25	<i>Casa del Citarista</i>	90
I,5,2	<i>Conceria</i>	31
I,9,13–14	<i>Casa di Cerere</i>	70 ¹⁶¹
I,10,4/14–17	<i>Casa del Menandro</i>	36 ¹⁶²
I,11,14		28
I,12,11	<i>Casa dei Pittori</i>	35
I,16,5		34
II,2,2	<i>Casa di D. Octavius Quartio</i>	112
II,3,3	<i>Casa della Venere in conchiglie</i>	88
V,2,i	<i>Casa delle nozze d'argento</i>	198 ¹⁶³
V,4,b		21
VI,2,4	<i>Casa di Sallustio</i>	135
VI,5,5	<i>Casa del Granduca Michele</i>	72
VI,6,1	<i>Casa di Pansa</i>	135
VI,7,6	<i>Casa d'Ercole</i>	77
VI,8,23/24	<i>Casa della Fontana piccola</i>	99 ¹⁶⁴
VI,9,2/13	<i>Casa di Meleagro</i>	87
VI,9,3/5	<i>Casa del Centauro</i>	85
VI,9,6/7	<i>Casa dei Dioscuri</i>	84 ¹⁶⁵
VI,10,2	<i>Casa dei cinque scheletri</i>	60 ¹⁶⁶
VI,12,2	<i>Casa del Fauno</i>	170
VI,14,12		78
VI,14,38		75 ¹⁶⁷
VI,14,40		76 ¹⁶⁸
VI,15,1	<i>Casa dei Vettii</i>	92 ¹⁶⁹
VI,15,7/8	<i>Casa del Principe di Napoli</i>	39 ¹⁷⁰
VI,16,7	<i>Casa degli Amorini dorati</i>	48 ¹⁷¹
VI,17,32–36		55
VI,17,32–36		80
VII,1,25/47	<i>Casa di Sirico</i>	42
VII,2,16–17	<i>Casa di M. Gavius Rufus</i>	43
VII,4,31/51	<i>Casa dei Capitelli colorati</i>	135
VII,4,48	<i>Casa della Caccia antica</i>	70 ¹⁷²
VII,4,56	<i>Casa del Granduca</i>	53 ¹⁷³
VII,4,57	<i>Casa dei Capitelli figurati</i>	128 ¹⁷⁴
VII,4,59	<i>Casa della Parete nera</i>	81 ¹⁷⁵
VII,4,62	<i>Casa delle Forme di Creta</i>	78 ¹⁷⁶
VII,7,5	<i>Casa di Trittolemo</i>	76

(Continued)

Table 3.2 (Continued)

<i>House number</i>	<i>House name</i>	<i>Atrium area m²</i>
VII,7,23		68
VII,10,5		40
VII,11,9–10		31
VII,12,1–4		99
VII,13,4/17–18	<i>Casa di Ganimede</i>	72
VII,14,5	<i>Casa del Banchiere</i>	98
VIII,2,14–16		135 ¹⁷⁷
VIII,2,26		125
VIII,5,2/5	<i>Casa del Gallo</i>	170
VIII,5,24	<i>Casa del Medico</i>	37
VIII,5,28	<i>Casa della Calce</i>	93
VIII,7,26–27		74
IX,1,12		55 ¹⁷⁸
IX,1,20	<i>Casa di M. Epidius Rufus</i>	205
IX,1,22/29	<i>Casa di M. Epidius Sabinus</i>	54
IX,2,16	<i>Casa di T. Dentatius Panthera</i>	65 ¹⁷⁹
IX,3,2	<i>Fabbrica di prodotti chimici</i>	36 ¹⁸⁰
IX,5,9	<i>Casa dei Pigmei</i>	51
IX,5,14–16		91
IX,7,20	<i>Casa della Fortuna</i>	42
IX,8,3/7	<i>Casa del Centenario</i>	34
IX,9,1		49 ¹⁸¹
IX,14,4	<i>Casa di Obellius Firmus</i>	238 ¹⁸²
<i>Average</i>		80
<i>Median</i>		74
<i>Herculaneum</i>		
II,1	<i>Casa di Aristide</i>	60
III,3	<i>Casa dello Scheletro</i>	55
III,11	<i>Casa del Tramezzo di legno</i>	80
III,16	<i>Casa dell'Erma di Bronzo</i>	40
III,17	<i>Casa dell'Ara Laterizia</i>	25
III,19–18/1–2	<i>Casa detta dell'albergo</i>	55
IV,1–2	<i>Casa dell'atrio a mosaico</i>	75
IV,3–4	<i>Casa dell'alcova</i>	30
IV,5–7	<i>Casa della Fullonica</i>	35
IV,5–7	<i>Casa della Fullonica</i>	45
IV,12–13&15–16	<i>Grande Taberna</i>	40
IV,17–18	<i>Taberna</i>	40
IV,19–20	<i>Casa della Stoffa</i>	25
IV,21	<i>Casa dei Cervi</i>	25
V,1	<i>Casa Sannitica</i>	65
V,5	<i>Casa del Mobilio carbonizzato</i>	45
V,6/7	<i>Casa del Mosaico di Nettuno e di Anfirite</i>	60
V,11	<i>Casa dell'Apollo Citaredo</i>	60
V,15–16	<i>Casa del Bicentenario</i>	95
V,31	<i>Casa del Sacello di legno</i>	60

(Continued)

Table 3.2 (Continued)

House number	House name	Atrium area m ²
VI,13/11	<i>Casa del Salone nero</i>	80
VI,17/26	<i>Casa del Colonnato tuscanico</i>	70
VI,29	<i>Casa dei Due atrii</i>	55
VI,29	<i>Casa dei Due atrii</i>	35
Ins. Occ. I,1	<i>Casa della Gemma</i>	85

the social interactions that took place inside Pompeian houses, and were one of the most favorable places for display in the house. But this does not necessarily mean that peristyles were always used in this manner. The next chapter will examine the different forms of socioeconomic display found in peristyles.

Notes

- 1 See Leach 1997, 52, Sampaolo 1997, 428; 1998 974, Zanker 1998, 12–13, Dickmann 1998, 452, Bragantini 1999, 142, Farrar 1998, 19, Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 193, Ciarallo and Giordano 2012, 389, n. 41, 537 n. 280, 556 n. 306, Trentin 2014, 1.
- 2 Mazzoleni 2004, 31. Carucci 2007, 18.
- 3 On this basic function of a house, see Mazzoleni 2004, 7.
- 4 Jashemski 1993, 10. Farrar 1998, 17. On windows, see Spinazzola 1953, 65–80.
- 5 Farrar 1998, 16–17. See also Boman 2011, 90.
- 6 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 84.
- 7 Longobardi 2001, 67, 69.
- 8 Bechi (1825, vol. II, tav. 55, 2) mentions that the portico of the peristyle of the *Casa del Poeta tragico* (VI,8,3/5) was the best illuminated space of the house. The importance of sunlight is also evident in legal texts, which forbid blocking sunshine for domestic spaces with trees (Liberati 2007, 111).
- 9 Mazzoleni 2004, 21.
- 10 Nn. 2, 10, 20, 21, 25, 30, 35, 49, 63, 102, 103, 107, 126, 145, 163, 185, 198, 215, 220, 229, 248.
- 11 See O’Sullivan 2011, 5–7, 17–18, Gleason & Palmer 2017, 371–374, 395–396, Tally-Schumacher & Niemeier 2016, 59, 64–69.
- 12 Grahame 2000, 73, 172–196. Von Stackelberg 2009, 120, 147–149. Anderson 2011, 81–86 figs. 5.2, 5.3, 5.5–5.7. See also Grahame 1997, 146–163. On the use of Space Syntax analysis in ancient studies, see Laurence 2011, 397–399. On the houses of Volubilis, see Hilder 2015, 175. Von Stackelberg states that the peristyle of the *Casa di D. Octavius Quarto* (II,2,2) was relatively inaccessible, but this claim is mainly based on Von Stackelberg’s problematic division of the porticoes. See also the following note 130.
- 13 Grahame (2000, 41) and Hilder (2015, 163) count the peristyle as a single unit. Grahame (2000, 101, 103, 105) thinks that when there is a garden with one portico, then the portico should be counted as its own unit and the garden as another, but he (see Grahame 2000, 130) is not very consistent with this, as in the *Casa della Fontana grande* (VI,8,22) he instead counts the garden with one portico as a single unit. Von Stackelberg (2009, 114–116) separates the garden space and the portico, and she also counts every colonnade as its own unit (north portico, west portico, etc.). This creates

several problems. First, the corners of the peristyle belong to two porticoes. E.g. the northwest corner is part of the north and the west colonnade. Von Stackelberg has resolved this by simply arbitrarily choosing which portico the corner belongs to. E.g. in the *Casa del Menandro* (I,10,4/14–17) the northwest corner belongs to the west portico (as room 11 is marked as opening onto the west portico), when in the *Casa di D. Octavius Quartio* (II,2,2) the northwest corner belongs to the north portico (as room 9 is marked as opening onto the north portico). Second, the atriums should be counted in a similar way as the peristyles, as movement in an atrium also occurs in a similar pattern as in a peristyle, and an atrium can be seen to form four passageways, although they do not often contain columns (see Grahame 2000, 40–41 on the problem of the atrium and the *impluvium* in the Space Syntax analysis). Von Stackelberg has counted the atrium as one unit, which creates a bias that the atrium was much more important for movement than the peristyle. E.g. counting the peristyle of the *Casa di D. Octavius Quartio* as one unit provides a control value of 4.56, which is much closer to the control value of the atrium – 5.63 – given by Von Stackelberg (2009, 147), than the separate control values of the porticoes. Nevertheless, separating the porticoes offers a more accurate idea of how the movement in the peristyle probably worked. In addition, in the *Casa del Menandro* and the *Casa di D. Octavius Quartio* the peristyle had a pluteus or fence. In the peristyles where the garden is separated with this type of physical obstacle, it is justifiable to count the garden as its own unit. If every portico is counted as its own unit, the line between the porticoes should probably be made to run between the garden corner and the peristyle corner, and therefore all of the rooms that open on the north wall should be counted to be open to the north portico, and all the rooms on the west wall to the west portico, and so on. This does not model the movement perfectly, but as there is rarely information on how the portico borders should be divided, it would be the best method. In addition, the movement in the garden spaces is problematic, as their layout is unknown. E.g., the connection between the northern entrance and the eastern entrance of the peristyle garden area in the *Casa del Menandro* is assumed, but there is no certainty that there was no barrier (trees, bushes etc.) between the entrances that prevented movement between the two.

- 14 Anderson 2011, 77, 81–82 figs. 5.2, 5.3, 84–86 figs. 5.5–5.7. On the development of computer assisted methods, see e.g. Landeschi & al. 2016.
- 15 Grahame 2000, 41–42. See also Von Stackelberg 2009, 59.
- 16 See the list of different type of houses in Schoonhoven 2006 and Flohr 2017. Additionally, Wallace-Hadrill's (1994, 80–82) house typology differentiates several types of houses that do not include a peristyle.
- 17 See Petersen 2006, 123, Nevett 2010, 97–99, Bablitz 2015, 76, Simelius 2015, 131, Criboire 2015, 156, Ellis 2018, 9–10, Berg 2010, 304–305; 2019b, 60–61.
- 18 Berry 1997, 183–185, 193–195. Allison 2004, 89–90. Nevett 2010, 97–99.
- 19 Nissin 2016, 27–28, 57–59.
- 20 Nevett 2010, 101.
- 21 Berry 1997, 193–195. Allison 2004, 70, 84–90, 99–103; 2006, 303–305, 360–362, 388–389. Nevett 2010, 97–110, 114–118.
- 22 On the functioning of water collection in the Roman house, see Farrar 1998, 15, 17, Richardson 1955, 42, Sear 2004, 164–165, De Haan 2010, 75.
- 23 Jashemski 1993, 147–148 n. 280.
- 24 See Allison 2004, 85–86, 90. Allison (2006, 303) states that the main water collection location of the *Casa del Menandro* (I,10,4/14–17) was the cistern head covered by a puteal in the north portico of the peristyle.
- 25 The difference between a cistern head and a puteal is not very clear, particularly when a masonry structure surrounds the cistern opening. In this study, a cistern head is a structure that is supposed to be sunk into the ground, at least partly – although sometimes it is above the ground level – whereas a puteal is above the ground level.

- 26 Jansen 2011, 71.
- 27 Jansen 2017, 414. See also Sear 2004, 165–166 and Leander Touati 2010, 122.
- 28 On the problems of investigating the water distribution in Pompeii, see Olsson 2015, 71–74.
- 29 The *Casa di L. Caecilius Iucundus* (V,1,26): Karivieri & Forsell 2015: [http://www.pompejiprojektet.se/room.php?hid=13&hidnummer=6388183&hrubrik=V%201,26%20Casa%20di%20Caecilius%20Iucundus%20-%20South%20House&rid=83&ridnummer=5741683&rrubrik=Room%201%20\(peristyle\)](http://www.pompejiprojektet.se/room.php?hid=13&hidnummer=6388183&hrubrik=V%201,26%20Casa%20di%20Caecilius%20Iucundus%20-%20South%20House&rid=83&ridnummer=5741683&rrubrik=Room%201%20(peristyle))". Last visited 26.7.2016. The *Casa dei Gladiatori* (V,5,3): Mau 1901, 290. House VIII,5,15–16: Mau 1883, 198, Jashemski 1993, 216–217 n. 438. The *Casa di Acceptus e Euhodia* (VIII,5,39): Mau 1884, 128. House IX,6,f–g: Mau 1881, 22. The *Casa della Fortuna* (IX,7,20): Mau 1882, 220. Jashemski 1993, 240 n. 501. In house IX,9,1, the connection between the cistern and the gutter was blocked, but it is not stated where the water was directed (Mau 1889, 6). In the *Casa di vinaio* (IX,9,6), the water collected from the peristyle was directed into the cistern, but the channel continued from the cistern into the street (Mau 1889, 15). This indicates that the water was collected and, when the cistern was full, the surplus water flowed into the street.
- 30 Mau 1896, 31–32.
- 31 Jashemski 1993, 155 n. 295.
- 32 Brandt 2010, 57. Biliias & Grigolo 2019, 82–86.
- 33 Robinson 2002, 94–95, 98; 2007, 155; 2009, 295. Zanier 2009, 230, 282. The houses are I,9,12, *Casa degli Epigrammi* (V,1,18) and *Casa di Sextus Pompeius Axiochus* (VI,13,19).
- 34 E.g. Robinson (2002, 94) dates the offerings in the peristyle of house I,9,12 to the middle of the first century CE. Therefore, they probably cannot be connected to the last phase of the peristyle.
- 35 E.g. nn. 2, 8, 16, 136, 178, 189, 235.
- 36 Niche: nn. 2, 23, 33, 36, 41, 60, 61, 62, 64, 86, 128, 130, 148, 157, 169, 171, 176, 188, 211, 243. The niche without *lararium* paintings is Brandt's (2010, 61) Type 30. *Aediculae* and pavilion: 3, 4, 24, 30, 50, 61, 69, 74, 87, 96, 99, 103, 104, 113, 123, 125, 137, 142, 165, 233, 236. The *aediculae* and pavilions without *lararium* paintings are Brandt's (2010, 60–61) Types 10 and 20. On the several functions of niches, see Allison 2004, 84; 2006, 20, 31. On the decorative function of the niches in the *Casa di Sextus Pompeius Axiochus* (VI,13,19), see Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 542 n. 286. Boyce (1937, 71 n. 323) indicates that the niche in the peristyle of the *Casa di Ganimede* (VII,13,4/17–18) originally had an *aedicule* shape, but he also states that nothing of the shape is visible, which makes the information doubtful. Boyce (1937, 32 n. 72) reports possible evidence on the bottom of the niche in the peristyle of the *Casa del Toro* (V,1,7). If the niche had statues, the nature of these statues is unknown, and therefore the cult function is doubtful.
- 37 Gell 1832, I, 159.
- 38 Grimal 1984, 324–326.
- 39 Dwyer 1982, 137.
- 40 Seiler 1992, 133. See also Loccardi 2009, 69.
- 41 Jashemski 1979, 123–124.
- 42 Nn. 14, 24, 67, 94, 97, 104, 122, 123, 125, 134, 136, 137, 139, 147, 149, 164, 166, 178, 218, 129, 235, 244, 245. In the peristyle n. 7, the theater mask can possibly be connected to Dionysus (for the link between Dionysus and masks in general, see Hales 2007, 338).
- 43 Nn. 3, 25, 33, 37, 62, 103, 107, 123, 126, 136, 139, 235, 244. There are sculptures that are identified as Paris in two peristyles (nn. 122, 134). They can perhaps be linked to Venus.
- 44 Hercules: nn. 39, 94, 139, 166. Apollo: nn. 16, 38, 87, 112. Jupiter: nn. 24, 123, 139, 187.

70 *Why were peristyles built?*

- 45 Diana in nn. 24, 168. Peristyles with a sculpture of other divinities: nn. 24, 94, 113, 133, 139, 166, 235. A terracotta sculpture in peristyle n. 7 might be Vulcan.
- 46 Hales 2007, 338.
- 47 Barret 2019, 172–173.
- 48 Boyce 1937, 23 n. 13, 30–31 n. 67. Also, according to Boyce (1937, 62 n. 251), one bronze bust is a herm. He (1937, 37 n. 108) additionally reports a terracotta head of a Bacchante, but thinks it is a votive. The busts of bronze, terracotta, and unknown perishable material are represented in the *lararia* (Boyce 1937, 23 n. 13, 28 n. 49, 31 n. 67, 37 n. 108, 41 n. 123, 62 n. 251, 83 n. 408). The herms might have a link with the busts; however, Brandt (2010, 63) does not think that the heads were cultic.
- 49 Hales 2007, 338. Herms are usually near the borders of gardens, see e.g. the *Casa di Marcus Lucretius* (Jashemski 1993, 231–232 n. 479, Kuivalainen 2019, 72–78) and the *Casa degli Amorini dorati* (Jashemski 1993, 159–163 n. 302). The liminal role is suitable for Dionysus as noted by Aston (2011, 127–132), who identifies Dionysus as the divinity of borders.
- 50 Dwyer 1982, 123.
- 51 Boyce 1937, 17–18. Dwyer 1982, 121.
- 52 Boyce 1937, 49 n. 168. Dwyer 1982, 121–123, 135.
- 53 The *lararium* statue heights can be found in Boyce 1937, 21–94, 108–198. Seven statues are taller than 0.30 (see Boyce’s *lararium* numbers: 202, 220, 221, 439, 445, 467). The average height is 0.16 m, which is close to the median, meaning that the large statues are rare exceptions. I have not included the statues in Boyce’s numbers 10 and 259, as their cult function is doubtful. The garden statue heights are from nn. 2, 3, 16, 24, 33, 37, 38, 39, 62, 87, 94, 97, 104, 107, 122, 126, 133, 134, 136, 139, 164, 187, 218, 219, 235, 244, 245. The average is 0.59 m. If all the characters (children, satyrs, fauns, Pan, nymphs, cupids) that are not identified among the *lararium* statues (Boyce 1937, 106–107) are eliminated from the count, the median rises to 0.67 m and the average to 0.68 m. Boyce (1937, 72 n. 329) reports bronze figurines of a faun and a cupid in a *lararium*; however, he states that they were decorative in character. He does not provide any explanation for his interpretation, and therefore their nature and role remain uncertain. The incomplete information on these sculpture – e.g., the measurements are missing – limits the possibilities of making further conclusions about them. Boyce (1937, 37 n. 108) also reports a terracotta head of a Bacchante, but he thinks it was a votive.
- 54 The materials can be found in Boyce 1937, 21–94, 108–109. I have not included the statues in Boyce’s nn. 10 and 259, as their cult function is doubtful. Also, in Boyce’s *lararium* n. 176 the statue was probably not from a *lararium*, as Richardson (1955, 46) has demonstrated. Dwyer (1982, 121) notes the dominance of bronze as a material for *lararium* statues, but he does not offer any statistics for his notion.
- 55 McDonnell 2006, 73.
- 56 Plin. HN 34.34.
- 57 Tib. 10.15–25.
- 58 Salmon 1967, 131–132, 181. Salmon speculates that the *idoletti* might come from Etruria, or are local productions.
- 59 See Pietilä-Castrén 2019, 117.
- 60 See Section 4.3.3.
- 61 Boyce 1937, 41 n. 123, 57 n. 220, 84 n. 416. In addition, a *lararium* statue reported by Boyce (1937, 30 n. 61) is included, although it is reported to be pseudo-alabaster.
- 62 Boyce 1937, 26 n. 42, 30 n. 61, 41 n. 123, 53 n. 202, 57 n. 220, 75 n. 350, 109 n. 9. The only male character reported is Horus (Boyce 1937, 57 n. 220). The subject of one marble *lararium* statue is unknown (Boyce 1937, 84 n. 416). In addition, in Trimalchio’s house there was a marble statue of Venus in the house shrine, besides the silver *Lares* (Pet. Sat. 29).

- 63 Dwyer (1982, 121) notes the connection of the use of marble and Venus, but also states that Venus was among the patron deities that were made of bronze. For the female goddesses – Venus, Diana, and Isis – represented in other materials than marble, see e.g. Boyce 1937, 23 n. 13, 32 n. 75, 82 n. 406, 83 n. 408, 198 nn. 2, 5, 7, 9.
- 64 There are only two peristyles where Dionysiac themes are represented as bronze statues (nn. 97 and 245), and possibly one (n. 244) where a cupid might be connected to the *thiasos* of Dionysus. There is only one known *lararium* sculpture of Dionysus, and it is a terracotta statue (Boyce 1937, 89 n. 446). In the *lararium* context, the god is more often present in paintings (Boyce 1937, 104–150).
- 65 Boyce 1937, 22 n. 3. See also A. De Vos 1990, 38, Ciarallo and Giordano 2012, 367–368 n. 7.
- 66 Boyce 1937, 22 n. 10, 63 n. 259, 75 n. 350. The measurements of the statue in n. 350 are not provided. Jashemski (1993, 211 n. 421) states that she was unable to locate the statue, and speculates that it might have been given to the Princess of Saxony. There is also an *aedicula* in the peristyle of the *Casa del Poeta tragico* (VI,8,3/5), but it did not have a statue inside, and was interpreted as a decorative structure (Boyce 1937, 48–49 n. 168). Dwyer (1982, 118) thinks that there was most likely a marble statue of a satyr inside this *aedicula*, but it seems that the statue was actually found in the nearby *tablinum* (Jashemski 1993, 133 n. 248, Carrella 2008, 84). The *aedicula* in the peristyle of the *Casa del Poeta tragico* is often identified as a *lararium* (Type 20) or shrine, see Bechi 1824, vol. II, tav. 55, 8, Bonucci 1827, 118–119, Gell 1832, I, 170, Fiorelli 1862, 126, Parise Badoni 1993, 528, Narciso 1993, 548, Brandt 2010, 102 n. 151 and Ciarallo and Giordano 2012, 517–518 n. 252. The bronze Apollo of the peristyle of the *Casa delle Danzatrici* (VI,2,22) is speculated to have been in the *aedicula* (Bonucci 1827, 97–98, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 301–302 n. 215), but its finding place is reported to be only the peristyle in general (Fiorelli 1860, III, 54–55), and hence there is no certainty that it was in the *aedicula*.
- 67 Fountain niches with statues: n. 24, 164, 235. See Chapters 4.3.2 and 4.3.3.
- 68 Grimal (1984, 326) connects Dionysiac sculpture with the term “diffuse religion.”
- 69 See Dwyer 1982, 137.
- 70 Barret 2019, 31.
- 71 For example, *Casa di Polibio* (IX,13,1–3, see Bragantini 2003, 211). On the other functions of mythological representations in general, see e.g. Hakanen 2020, 124.
- 72 For examples of houses connected to wine production, but it is uncertain whether the peristyle was used for this purpose, see house II,9,6 (Jashemski 1993, 97–98 nn. 154–155, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 463–464 n. 157), house VIII,5,15–16: (Sogliano 1882, 279–280, Sampaolo 1998, 572. House VIII,4,12–13: Lugebil 1861, 237).
- 73 Jashemski 1993, 114 n. 186.
- 74 Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 606–607 n. 399.
- 75 Serpe 2008, 141.
- 76 Mau 1874, 96–97.
- 77 Sampaolo 1999, 748.
- 78 Flohr and Wilson (2017, 14) mention dyeworks, fullonicae, tanneries, and perfume and pottery workshops as business locations that can be identified as the basis of the built infrastructure. On the methods for identifying workshops on the basis of the masonry structures, see Monteix 2017, 216–221 and Flohr 2013, 20–26. On the pottery workshops (only one is identified inside the city walls, and the building does not have a peristyle), see McCallum 2011, 106–108.
- 79 See Breton 1870, 455, Fiorelli 1875, 301, Jashemski 1993, 198 n. 389, Sampaolo 1997, 676, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 602–603 n. 390.
- 80 On the house and its tannery, see Fiorelli 1875, 301, Jashemski 1993, 198 n. 389, Sampaolo 1997, 676, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 602–603 n. 390.
- 81 Fiorelli 1873, 30; 1875, 185. Jashemski 1993, 35 n. 33, 172 n. 320.

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- 82 Sampaolo 1996, 496. Spinazzola 1953b, 773.
- 83 Staub Gierow 1994, 81.
- 84 There are other locations identified according to graffiti as places where large-scale spinning and weaving may have taken place, but many of these have been questioned. See Flohr 2013b, 66 and Jongman 1988, 161–165.
- 85 Mau 1889, 5–6. A. De Vos 1991, 316. Sampaolo 2003, 115. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 458–459 n. 150.
- 86 Allison 2006, 14.
- 87 Cic. *Off.* 1.150–151. Finley 1973, 41–43. On the criticism, see Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 140–141, Flohr 2013, 2–3, 7–11, Jongman 2017, 418–419, Ellis 2018, 97–101, 184–185. On Roman attitudes towards trade, for example in the works of Seneca and Pliny the Elder, see Tchernia 2016, 3–6.
- 88 Flohr 2011, 94–98. See also Flohr 2013, 253, 255.
- 89 Allison 2006, 343–345, 348. On the regression of the *Casa del fabbro* (I,10,7) during the last period, see Ling & Ling 2005, 144–145, 169.
- 90 On criticism of the interpretation of downgrading, see Berry 1997, 185, 193–194, Nevett 2010, 112.
- 91 See Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 5, 12. Grahame 2000, 90. Hales, 2003, 2, 42. Anderson 2011, 87. Cfr. Hales 2003, 36–39, Speksnijder 2015, 88, 96–98.
- 92 Russell 2016, 13–16.
- 93 On the complexity of the concepts of public and private, see Bartz 2019.
- 94 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 5, 12. Grahame 2000, 90. Hales, 2003, 2, 42. Anderson 2011, 87. Cfr. Hales 2003, 36–39, Speksnijder 2015, 88, 96–98. On the importance of openness and visibility for large Pompeian houses, see Viitanen, Nissinen & Korhonen 2012, 75.
- 95 Carandini 1985, 119. Wiseman 1987, 393. Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 12. Zanker 1998, 10–12. Hales 2003, 38–39. Pesando 1997, 9. Zanker 1998, 10. Nevett 2010, 5, 7–8. Bablitz 2015, 75.
- 96 *Vitr.* 6.5.2.
- 97 On the public and private in the Roman house and the situation of the peristyle in this dichotomy, see Allison 1993, 1; 2004, 154, Pesando 1997, 263, Leach 1997, 59, George 1997, 310–311, Zanker 1998, 10–12, Petersen (2006, 125–126, 175, Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 195–196, Brandt 2010, 80, 93, Goldbeck 2010, 24, Karivieri 2014, 109. Bablitz 2015, 71–76, Speksnijder 2015, 97–98. Dwyer (1982, 120) states that the peristyle is among the areas that were the most accessible to the public. On the public and private scale, it is also important to note that some people consider some actions more private or public than others (e.g. Brandt 2010, 93). See also, the interpretations of peristyles as a location to display status and wealth: Farrar 1998, 19, Trentin 2014, 1, Sampaolo 1997, 428; 1998, 974, Dickmann 1998, 452, Bragantini 1999, 142. On the southern peristyle of the *Casa di M. Epidius Sabinus* (IX,1,22/29), see Sampaolo 1998, 974, Ciarallo and Giordano 2012, 389, n. 41, 537 n. 280, 556 n. 306.
- 98 Ciarallo & Mariotti Lippi 1993, 116, Pesando 1997, 6, 9, Allison 2001, 53; 2004, xv, 14, Viitanen & Ynnilä 2014, 142, Speksnijder 2015, 88.
- 99 Clarke 1991, 12–13. Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 12. Laurence 1997, 13. Leach 1997, 52.
- 100 On the openness of the Roman house, see Hales 2003, 36–39. Viitanen, Nissinen and Korhonen (2012, 76) state that according to the mapping of the active streets, visibility and openness were important for large houses.
- 101 Dickmann 1999, 371–372. See also Berry 2016, 141.
- 102 Goldbeck 2010, 22–23. Viitanen & Ynnilä 2014, 142, 148–149. Viitanen, Nissinen & Korhonen 2012, 75. Speksnijder 2015, 88.
- 103 Speksnijder 2015, 88–89.
- 104 Camodeca 2008, 25.

- 105 Viitanen and Ynnilä (2014, 148–149) and Viitanen, Nissinen and Korhonen (2012, 75, 76) propose, based on graffiti locations, that there were probably similar social practices.
- 106 Hales 2003, 36–39.
- 107 Della Corte 1954, 29–30. Sampaolo 1993, 87, 125. Jashemski 1993, 121 n. 203.
- 108 Laidlaw & Burge 2014, 264.
- 109 Sampaolo (1993, 124) identifies the room as a closet or storage room.
- 110 Bonucci 1827, 102. Niccolini & Niccolini 1862, *Descrizione general*, 23. Fiorelli 1875, 84–85.
- 111 M. De Vos 1990, 140. Sampaolo 1994, 565. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 551 n. 299. On the *Casa dei Vettii* cfr. Niccolini & Niccolini 1896, Nuovi Scavi, 75.
- 112 Lohmann 2015b, 91–94, 100, 104. See also Berg 2010, 304–305.
- 113 Bechi 1829, *Relazione degli scavi di Pompei*, 24–25. Bragantini 1997, 889.
- 114 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 12. Hales 2003, 2. Tuori 2010, 55, 64–65.
- 115 Allison 2004, 155.
- 116 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 12. Pesando 1997, 249. Zanker 1998, 13, 163. Hales 2003, 2. Feasting was regulated by laws that dictated that the maximum number of guests, which was set to three in 182 BCE; however, the limits were constantly raised by subsequent laws (Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 327–328).
- 117 Allison 2004, 89–90, 126, 131–132, 139; 2006, 303, 305, 388–389. In addition, house IX,9,1: Mau 1889, 6, Sampaolo 2003, 115.
- 118 The peristyles with a kitchen bench: nn. 51, 60, 159, 191, 242, 247. I have counted the masonry table in the peristyle of the *Casa della nave Europa* (I,15,3) as a cooking bench, as interpreted by Jashemski (1993, 61 n. 106). Ciarallo and Giordano (2012, 425–426 n. 108) state instead that it is a kitchen table. Also, remains that have been interpreted as a kitchen bench were found in peristyle n. 7 of house I,3,8, but the terracotta sculpture head is said to have been found inside the construction, which makes the link with cooking doubtful. Also, peristyle n. 17 is reported to have had a kitchen.
- 119 Nn. 4, 5, 8, 17, 22, 24, 28, 38, 39, 49, 50, 60, 62, 70, 72, 79, 81, 84, 118, 203, 219, 220, 239. There are, in addition, five peristyles with a pergola without an outdoor *triclinium*: nn. 94, 136, 148, 165, 245. These peristyles might have had a wooden dining group under the pergola, as it and an outdoor *triclinia* are often together in the gardens (Zanker 1998, 175, see also the peristyles: nn. 24, 28, 39, 60, 62, 70, 79, 81, 84, 219). E.g. Soprano (1950, 308), Jashemski (1993, 169, 171 n. 316), Ciarallo and Giordano (2012, 565–567 n. 321) speculate that under the pergola of the southern peristyle of the *Casa di Sirico* (VII,1,25/47) was a wooden *triclinium*.
- 120 On the connection of outdoor *triclinia* with dining, see Painter 2001, 40.
- 121 On the connection of drinking and eating vessels with luxury and display, see Allison 2004, 139.
- 122 Zanker (1998, 174–175) links the outdoor *triclinia* to the “smaller houses” and small gardens, but he particularly mentions houses without peristyles. He probably does not count the gardens with one portico as peristyles. However, Cassetta and Costantino (2006, 295) state that outdoor *triclinia* are often found in medium-large houses. In both cases, the ambiguous definitions of small and medium-large make it difficult to know which other houses are considered to be in the same group. In the houses with a peristyle, outdoor *triclinia* can be considered to be in the houses that are more-or-less of medium size, but the tendency is more towards the lower medium size than the upper medium size. However, when considering all of the houses of Pompeii, they likely belong to the group of medium-large houses.
- 123 Nn. 22, 38, 39. Allison (2006, 73 n. 263) is skeptical about the existence of a wooden *triclinium* in n. 38.
- 124 Nn. 22, 38.
- 125 On the problems of the documentation of organic finds, see Allison 2004, 127. Mau (1877, 168) thinks that there was a *triclinium* around the decorative emblem on the

- portico floor in house VI,13,13. Bragantini (1994, 449) and Carrella (2008, 97) speculate about the possibility that there was an outdoor *triclinium* around the pool in the peristyle of the *Casa degli scienziati* (VI,14,43). This remains a possibility for both houses, but there is no archaeological evidence to support these speculations.
- 126 Nn. 4, 5, 17, 24, 28, 38, 49, 60, 62, 70, 79, 81, 84, 118, 203, 219, 220, 239.
- 127 Zanker 1998, 11.
- 128 Leach 1982, 153. Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 47. Zanker 1998, 13, 165. Brandt 2010, 80. Bablitz 2015, 74.
- 129 Allison 2004, 82, 92, 94, 131–132, 168. Type 7: “Open rooms leading to garden or open-sided rooms opposite main entranceways” and Type 11: “Medium/large open fronted rooms off gardens/terraces with window or wide entranceway giving view of garden or lower floor.”
- 130 Spinelli 2019, 154–162.
- 131 On movement in the peristyle, see Section 3.1.
- 132 See Zanker 1998, 165, 168.
- 133 Zanker 1998, 13.
- 134 Hoffmann 1994, 122. Dickmann 1997, 126–127; 1999, 36–37, 158. Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 173, 175. Simelius 2015, 121. See also Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 21, 28, Leach 1997, 59, Mayer 2012, 187.
- 135 Simelius 2015, 130. On the educational role of public porticoes, see Garcia & Garcia 2004, 57. On public porticoes and education in general, see Frakes 2009, 34–37. On education in the peristyles, see Zaccaria Ruggiu 1995, 343. For house I,2,16, see Pesando 1997, 215–216, Inserra 2008, 20.
- 136 Simelius 2015, 127–131. On theatrical and musical performances or readings, see Jashemski 1979, 101; 1993, 146 n. 277. On legal performances, see Bablitz 2015, 67–71, 75–76.
- 137 Spinazzola 1953, 442, 444. Jashemski 1993, 34. Gallo 2013, 175–192.
- 138 Viitanen, Nissinen & Korhonen 2012, 74–75. Lohmann 2015, 73.
- 139 Milnor 2014, 137–138, 148.
- 140 Viitanen, Nissinen & Korhonen 2012, 69. Milnor 2014, 5, 12–20 (also on the difficulty of dating the graffiti). Lohmann 2015, 71.
- 141 Lohmann 2015, 73, 75.
- 142 E.g. Milnor (2014, 160–171) links graffiti to displaying names, salutations, confirming the presence of the writer in the space, and practicing writing. See also Lohmann 2015, 74–75. Lohmann proposes several scenarios for why the graffiti in the peristyles were made. Lohmann links the vertical strokes to industrial, commercial, and domestic activities, but states that these graffiti were usually more common in the atria.
- 143 Viitanen, Nissinen & Korhonen 2012, 68.
- 144 Allison 2006, 334.
- 145 Nn. 77, 178, 250, 251. On the east wall of the garden of house VI,13,16 there was an electoral notice (CIL IV 3463, Tiussi 2009, 502–504). The garden did not have columns or piers, and is not counted as a peristyle in this study. In addition, there are texts written in red paint in three peristyles (nn. 153, 168, 242), but these writings are not necessarily electoral notices, and their function remains unclear for this analysis. On the connection between the use of paint and electoral notices, and the color red and display, see Milnor 2014, 5, 235.
- 146 On the electoral notices inside the *Casa di Polibio* (IX,13,1–3), see Milnor 2014, 131. Milnor suggests that the house was, at least partly, transformed into a more public role such as business.
- 147 Allison 2004, 154. *Casa dei Postumii* (VIII,4,4/49): Dickmann 1998, 452. *Casa dei Pigmei* (IX,5,9): Bragantini 1999, 486. *Casa di Polibio* (IX,13,1–3): Bragantini 2003, 183. *Casa dei pittori al lavoro* (IX,12,9): Varone 2007, 140.
- 148 Allison 2004, 89–90, 126.
- 149 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 72. Speksnijder 2015, 90.

- 150 See Grahame 2000, 90, Allison 2004, 154, De Haan 2010, 120, Milnor 2014, 111. Falkener (1853, 68–69) thinks that the peristyle of the *Casa di Marcus Lucretius* (IX,3,5/24) was more private than the atrium.
- 151 Mazois (1824, II, 72, 82) thinks that the northern peristyle of house VI,17,23–26 was private, and that the peristyle of the *Casa di Pansa* (VI,6,1) was in the private section of the house.
- 152 Anderson 2011, 77–78, 81–82, 84–86. The visibility of the peristyles has been noted earlier. E.g., Niccolini and Niccolini (1854, *Casa di M. Lucrezio*, 17) state that the peristyle of the *Casa di Marcus Lucretius* (IX,3,5/24) was visible from everywhere in the house. This is not the case, but the peristyle was visible from several spaces in the house, and it is on an elevated level compared to the *tablinum* and the atrium (Jashemski 1993, 239 n. 479), which probably made it even more visible. Sampaolo (1999, 670) states that the piers and columns of the peristyle of the *Casa di Giasone* (IX,5,18) were arranged so that the view from the street was not blocked. On the peristyle of the *Casa di Sextus Pompeius Axiochus* (VI,13,19), see Zanier 2009, 247.
- 153 Anderson 2011, 84–85.
- 154 Anderson 2011, 81, 86–87. On the visual axis from the main entrance in Roman and Pompeian houses, see Zanker 1998, 181, Mazzoleni 2004, 31, Von Stackelberg 2009, 112–113, Brandt 2010, 76–77, Berry 2016, 125. On the *Casa della Fontana grande* (VI,8,22), see Sampaolo 1993, 613.
- 155 Speksnijder 2015, 88, 97–98. E.g. in the *tablinum* of the *Casa di Obellius Firmus* (IX,14,4), an attachment for curtains has been reported (Sampaolo 2003, 362). Allison (2006, 303–304) reports folding doors in the west portico of the *Casa del Menandro* (I,10,4/14–17). According to her, the doors were probably salvaged from somewhere else, because there was no need for such doors in this portico. It is, however, possible that they were connected to the private baths, and increased the privacy of the bathers. Bechi (1831, *Relazione degli Scavi di Pompei*, 8) and Gell (1832, I, 160) report that in Herculaneum evidence has been found of curtains between columns. It is not specified whether the evidence is an actual piece of cloth, or nails in the columns that might have held curtains. In the southern peristyle of house VIII,2,14–16 there is a marble slab (0.18 x 0.25 m) in the northeast corner of the open space. It has a 0.10 x 0.14 m cut. Visually, it appears to be a closing or framing apparatus that is typically found nearby doors. There might have been some sort of closing mechanism between this garden and the portico. On the *Casa del Tramezzo di Legno* in Herculaneum, see Tuori & al. 2017, 45–46, 61, 68.
- 156 Bechi 1831, *Relazione degli Scavi di Pompei*, 15. On the *Casa del Toro* (V,1,7), see Sampaolo 1991, 481. On the *Casa del Forno di ferro* (VI,13,6), see Lipizer & Loccardi 2009, 105. On the *Casa di Sextus Pompeius Axiochus* (VI,13,19), see Zanier 2009, 229. Sampaolo (1999, 41) states that house IX,2,17 follows the canonical order of rooms. However, there is a room between the so-called *tablinum* and the peristyle.
- 157 Wallace-Hadrill (1994, 84) states that a peristyle after the *fauces* might have been called an atrium.
- 158 On the gardens, see Jashemski 1993, 61–98. The atrium seems to be the most important space that competes with the peristyle in size. There are no comprehensive statistics on the atria area size in Pompeii. Speksnijder (2015, 89) states that the atria sizes range between 100–450 m², but he refers to the entire Empire. His sample contains only four atria, and the largest is the *Domus of Scaurus* in Rome, but its measurements are based on a reconstruction. The only atrium in the sample from Pompeii is the atrium of the *Casa del Fauno* (VI,12,2), which is about 170 m².
- 159 De Haan (2010, 122–123) uses this logic with the private baths: as a small bath can host only a few people, and a large several, this means that the first mentioned was more private than the second.
- 160 See Tuori & al. 2017, 76 Appendix 3.
- 161 De Vos 1976, 37.

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- 162 See n. 38.
- 163 Ehrhardt 2004, 35.
- 164 Fröhlich 1996, 18.
- 165 Richardson 1955, 69–70.
- 166 Rossi 2006, 39.
- 167 Mau 1878, 110.
- 168 Mau 1877, 209.
- 169 Mau 1896, 11. Sogliano 1898, 269.
- 170 Strocka 1984, 19–20.
- 171 Seiler 1992, 22–25.
- 172 Sear 2002, 17.
- 173 Staub Gierow 1994, 22.
- 174 Staub Gierow 1994, 50.
- 175 Staub Gierow 2000, 23.
- 176 Staub Gierow 2000, 89.
- 177 Mau 1892, 8. Sampaolo 1998, 74.
- 178 Gallo 2001, 25–26, 49–50.
- 179 Trendelenburg 1871, 201.
- 180 See n. 34.
- 181 Mau 1889, 4.
- 182 Spinazzola 1953, 337. Sampaolo 2003, 361.

4 The parameters of socioeconomic display

4.1 Sources of socioeconomic display: What can and cannot be analyzed?

All of the features of a peristyle can be interpreted as signs of wealth or social status if scrutinized enough. However, with archaeological sources this is seldom possible. We cannot ask the Pompeians themselves what they thought about a person's wealth and position if they had a terracotta puteal in their peristyle garden. Was it a sign that the owner was poorer than an owner who had a marble puteal? Or did it tell something about their values? Perhaps a stoic person preferred terracotta over marble? Or, perhaps it was just a matter of personal preference? These types of questions seldom – if ever – can be answered, meaning that there is plenty of material that tells us very little about its owner.

Certain features were likely simply practical, and did not signal anything particular about the house owner's status. For example, a gutter was mainly for directing water out of the garden, and reading something about its owner's status on the basis of it seems risky. Consequently, almost all of the features that had primary purposes other than display can be disregarded from this investigation, as it is often impossible to determine whether they were meant for display purposes – or were more likely acquired for their primary, practical purpose.¹

Additionally, there are some elements that, at first glance, could be thought of as a means of socioeconomic display, but further analysis reveals that this was not the case. An example of this is the quality of building. There are also features that most certainly signaled something about the socioeconomic status of the owner, but sources and documentation do not allow a deeper analysis of them. An example of these are plants and plantings. Both of these aspects – quality of building and plants and plantings – are explored in detail later in order to demonstrate this.

This basically leaves us with the following aspects of the peristyle that can be comprehensively compared between all of the peristyles of Pompeii, in order to determine how they were used for socioeconomic display: peristyle area, garden area, the number of columns, piers, half-columns, pilasters, porticoes, and rooms opening onto the peristyle, building materials and techniques, plasters, wall paintings, portico floors and their decoration, fountains, pools, decorative basins, and sculpture. A closer scrutiny of these features reveals that the architectural features

are dependent on each other: the peristyle size and the number of porticoes profoundly influence the garden area, number of columns, piers, half-columns, and rooms opening onto the peristyle. Consequently, the study of the architectural means of socioeconomic display can be limited to two factors: the ground area of the peristyle and the number of porticoes, as will be demonstrated in Sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2. In addition to these architectural features, pools and basins, fountains, sculpture, wall paintings, and floor decoration were the main means of socioeconomic display in Pompeii.

The means of display are discussed in descending order, beginning with the most reliable source material, in Sections 4.2 and 4.3. The architectural features – the size and the number of porticoes – are at the top of this list, as the current situation at the site can be relied on to reflect the ancient situation in almost all cases. Next are the pools and decorative basins, which are usually still visible in the peristyle. They are followed by fountains, where the situation changes and the information become more dependent on the excavation reports, although larger structures are still visible *in situ*. For sculpture and wall paintings the reports are more important, as they were occasionally transported away from the site. Of these seven aspects, floor decoration is the least reliable, as it is poorly documented, and the 79 CE level is rarely visible in the peristyles.

4.1.1 Plants and plantings: too poorly documented for a comprehensive analysis

Pompeii features all kinds of special archaeological data that is rarely available in other Roman archaeological sites. Nonetheless, even in Pompeii, these are often so poorly documented that a truly comprehensive city-wide analysis of these sources – the method selected for this study – is not possible. An excellent example of this is plantings, which certainly were one possible means to demonstrate wealth. Yet, the remains of plantings have been roundly ignored in the excavations and documentation. Even forming a picture of what types of plantings were normal or average in the peristyle gardens is beyond the reach of the existing material,² leaving us no possibilities to analyze what was extraordinary.

Gardens could be theoretically divided into two groups: ornamental and productive gardens. The peristyle garden could be easily seen to represent the first type.³ In contrast, the Roman *hortus* is often interpreted as productive – a sort of kitchen garden.⁴ Despite the fact that every garden is always in some degree both, hypothetically it is possible to assume that if a garden was intentionally built to be ornamental, it would additionally make it a symbol of status and wealth. Conversely, if it was built for production purposes, its value as a status symbol could be questioned, as it was not necessarily meant to be on display. Nevertheless, even this type of simple distinction between the peristyle gardens is mostly impossible to make in the Pompeian context. In addition, some plants could reflect the socioeconomic status of the owner.⁵ Flowers, with their seasonal character,⁶ could have been an exceptionally effective means of conspicuous consumption. However, whether they were used for this purpose is unknown – not to mention that we lack

the means of recognizing them, and indeed the plants in general that were grown in the peristyle gardens.

Despite the general situation, a few peristyle gardens have been interpreted as having a productive purpose – at least partly. According to Lawrence Richardson there was one such garden in the northern peristyle of the *Casa dei Dioscuri*, and in the *Casa detta di Trebius Valens* (III,2,1) a rectangular planting bed has been identified as a kitchen garden.⁷ They are identified as such on the basis of the shape of the planting bed: rectangular and long, perhaps including long rows. However, the planting bed shape by itself is not sufficient evidence of a productive function. Additionally, similar straight lines of plantings are present in other peristyles, for example in the *Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto* (V,4,a) and *Casa di Sallustio*, and they have not been interpreted as kitchen gardens.⁸ Moreover, all of these beds could equally well have held ornamental plants or flowers.

There are 48 peristyle gardens with some evidence of possible plantings. Three of these are masonry structures that have been interpreted as planting beds.⁹ However, these masonry structures are not necessarily planting beds; for example, the masonry construction in the peristyle of house VII,7,16 has been interpreted as a planting bed, but also as an aviary.¹⁰ In addition, there are 14 peristyles that had a *pluteus* with a groove on the top.¹¹ It is often stated that these grooves would have held plantings.¹² This interpretation is doubtful, as no other evidence is offered to support the assumption. The grooves are not large: the median width is 0.18 m and the median depth is 0.09 m. This does not leave much space for plantings, but there is a possibility that some small flowers could have been grown in them.

The smallest groove – 0.07 m wide and 0.02 m deep – was on the *pluteus* of the *Casa di Marcus Lucretius*.¹³ It is hard to imagine fitting plants into such a small groove. Edward Falkener suggests that the locus had a wooden partition wall during the winter.¹⁴ This is possible: Amedeo Maiuri proposes that the *Casa dell'Efebo* had glass panes in wooden frames between the columns, but as Jashemski notes, Maiuri does not mention finding any glass, making the idea improbable. Jashemski, however, believes that wooden shutters are possible in this case.¹⁵ The current reconstruction of this portico has wooden panes and glass windows, but it also makes it impossible to see whether there were any ancient marks on the columns, and it cannot be determined if there was a partition wall, a wooden fence, or something else between the columns. If this reconstruction was made according to the ancient traces on the columns, then at least this portico contained a wooden partition wall, and perhaps the other grooves – also on the gutters – were for shutters, not for plantings.

Only two peristyle gardens – in the *Casa dei pittori al lavoro* (IX,12,9) and the *Casa di Polibio* (IX,13,1–3) – have been excavated with sufficient detail and methodology to distinguish their planting patterns, and some species can be very likely identified from these gardens.¹⁶ These two examples represent opposite types of gardens. The *Casa dei pittori al lavoro* had an ornamental garden with a geometric plan, whereas the *Casa di Polibio* had a garden with a utilitarian character and irregular plan.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the plants in both gardens were both utilitarian and ornamental.¹⁸

Ciarallo states that only a few stratigraphically excavated gardens were ornamental – meaning they had elaborately shaped planting beds.¹⁹ Seven peristyle gardens had indications of this type of garden plan.²⁰ However, the other types of garden designs are not very numerous either. There are eight gardens where plantings are in straight lines or furrows,²¹ and some of these gardens have been interpreted as being agricultural, as mentioned before.²² The plantings were irregular in seven peristyles.²³ The planting pattern of house VII,6,28 can be interpreted as either regular or irregular. Its root cavities seem to form an irregular shape, but Giuseppe Spano regards them as curving planting beds, and Sampaolo interprets them as three round planting beds.²⁴ As presented, the sparse Pompeian evidence suggests that the peristyle gardens had both irregular and ornamental planting patterns. Both types are equally represented among the known examples, but in total the gardens where the planting pattern can be identified are very few.

There is one more difference between the peristyles of the *Casa dei pittori al lavoro* and the *Casa di Polibio*: the first had a *pluteus* and the second did not.²⁵ It would make sense that the ornamental plantings were protected with a fence or *pluteus*. Perhaps the presence of a protective structure between the columns can be interpreted as a sign of an ornamental garden? But this hypothesis does not have much support, if we compare the peristyle gardens with the regular and irregular planting patterns and the existence of a *pluteus* or fence in them. Although almost all of the gardens with regularly shaped planting beds had a *pluteus* or fence, there is also the southern peristyle of the *Casa dei Vettii* which did not have any barriers between its regular garden and porticos.²⁶ An examination of the gardens with irregular planting beds is even more unhelpful regarding this assumption, as in addition to the mentioned *Casa di Polibio*, the peristyle of the *Casa della Fontana piccola* is the only one without a fence or *pluteus*.²⁷ Similarly, Jansen has studied whether the formal gardens had a connection with piped water. Although there often was, there are examples where this is not the case, and therefore a connection to a water pipe does not necessarily suggest the type of garden design.²⁸

We should not exclude the possibility of long straight linear planting beds as a garden design, although there are no recently excavated peristyle gardens with this form in Pompeii, but the linear design seems to be common in other Roman sites, such as the nearby *Villa Arianna*.²⁹ The straight planting beds of Pompeii could be part of this practice.

In the main, there is no information or means to identify the plants and plantings from the majority of the peristyles, and the material is too limited to perform a comprehensive comparative analysis across the whole city. As demonstrated with the evidence from plantings, the available information is too partial to form an image of the average example – in this case the average plantings – which subsequently does not allow us to identify what could be considered particularly impressive plantings. This makes it impossible to perform a whole city-scale comparative analysis, and eliminates some sources from this type of examination.

4.1.2 Quality of building: too similar

The quality of the building efforts, with regard to material and technique, is another possible indicator of economic status.³⁰ Although it is possible to examine the building techniques and materials of Pompeian peristyles, a closer look reveals that they are not very useful for comparing socioeconomic status, as they are very homogeneous in the Pompeian peristyles, indicating that they were not likely utilized for such a purpose.

Considering first the technique: there is literally no Pompeian peristyle where the *opus incertum* technique is not utilized. It is also the dominant technique in most of the peristyle walls. Figure 4.1 demonstrates that other popular techniques, such as *opus vittatum mixtum*, *opus testaceum*, *opus vittatum*, and *opus africanum* were used in several examples, but all of these techniques were so common that they do not function well as a sign of status.

The rarer building techniques, such as *opus quadratum* – present in seven peristyles³¹ – and *opus reticulatum* (and *opus quasi reticulatum*) – present in 14 peristyles,³² were distinctive compared to other building techniques, but do not correlate well with the other indicators of higher or lower economic status.³³ Consequently, none of the techniques seems to be a clear symbol of economic status.

The situation is almost the same regarding the materials used. Travertine is the main building stone, and every peristyle used it for their walls. Nevertheless, *lapis pompeianus*, brick, and *cruma* were also very popular. Grey tuff – also used in the peristyle walls – is occasionally considered to be an expensive material, but it was commonly used, and therefore is not a very likely sign of economic standing.³⁴

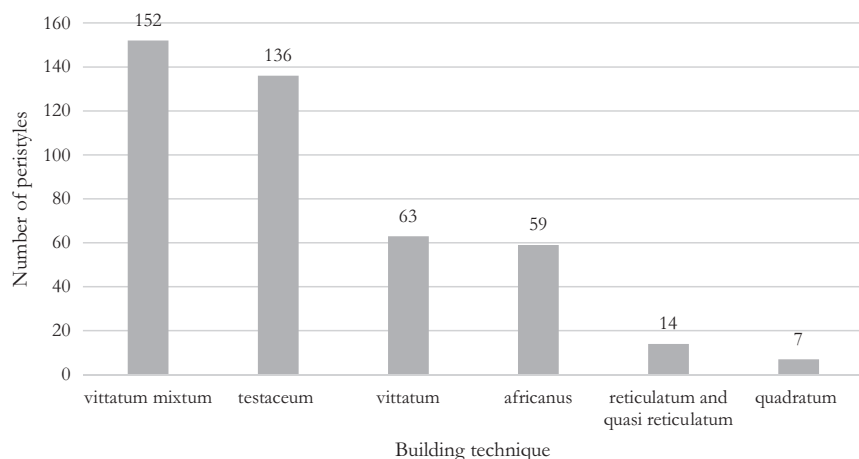


Figure 4.1 The number of peristyles with each building technique. The figure excludes *opus incertum*, which can be found in every peristyle with known wall-building techniques (Total: 251).

Information on the walls of the south peristyle of house VI,17,23–26 is not available, as the peristyle is currently not visible.

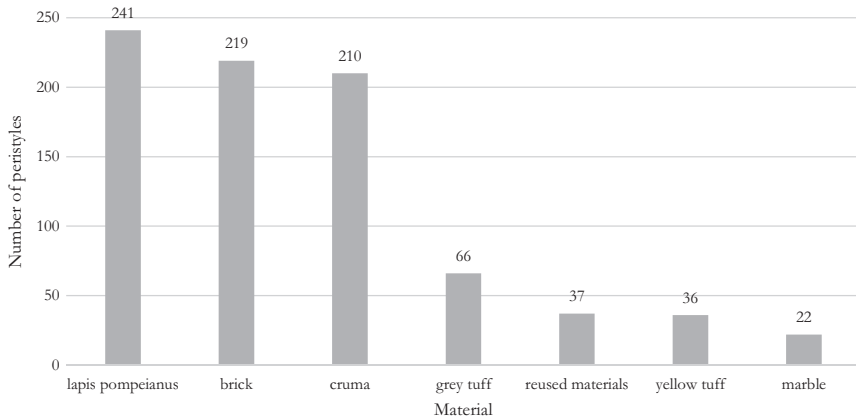


Figure 4.2 The building materials used in peristyle walls. The figure excludes travertine, which can be found in every peristyle where information on the building materials is available (Total number: 251).

Information on the walls of the south peristyle of house VI,17,23–26 is not available, as the peristyle is currently not visible.

Yellow tuff and reused materials – such as pieces of pottery or *cocciopesto* and roof tiles – are not as common, but they are also always used as additional building materials for the walls – not as the core material (Fig. 4.2). Their role in the peristyle walls is small, and hence these materials were probably just utilized as an additional option, if they were available when the building process was taking place – as a recycled material. The same conclusion can be made about the type of marble used, as it is often considered to be an expensive material.³⁵ As a building material it occurs rarely in peristyles, but it does not correlate well with other signs of wealth.³⁶

Additionally, the presence of plaster is an indicator suggesting that the building techniques and materials were not an important means of socioeconomic display.³⁷ There are at least 212 peristyles with remains of plaster on their walls, almost 85 percent of the total. The high number indicates that plastering the peristyle walls was a normal practice in Pompeii. It can be assumed that the peristyle walls without plaster were supposed to be plastered – eventually – or that they might even have had plaster which has been destroyed. The plaster would have covered the wall material and masked the building technique, making them inconvenient for displaying economic status. Consequently, practical solutions probably guided the building process, and were left to the responsibility of the builder, which would explain the homogeneity of the peristyle walls.

4.2 The architecture of display

4.2.1 *Size of the peristyle: area*

The size of the peristyle is one way to display wealth. The partially unroofed peristyle could not fulfill the basic function of the house – protection – as completely

as the roofed rooms. Although the peristyle had an important role in providing air and light inside the house, this function could have been accomplished with spaces that required less area, such as atria and lightwells, and therefore the peristyle was often a demonstration of the consumption of a large amount of valuable city space.

Literary evidence from Rome suggests that city space was expensive, and occasionally even impossible to acquire. Suetonius reports that even the most powerful man in the whole empire – Augustus – could not obtain all the land he wanted for his forum.³⁸ Nevertheless, Rome (and particularly its center) is not directly comparable with Pompeii. There are no means to figure out the land prices in Pompeii, but some features of the urban structure indicate that not everyone could “waste” land inside the city walls.

Although the city wall had lost its defensive function,³⁹ it certainly had a symbolic value as the boundary of the inhabited urban space. The dwellings outside the city wall are mostly limited to some *villae* – probably mainly owned by the upper class – and the areas just outside the wall were mainly used as a cemetery. The building pattern inside the walls is most dense on the west side, whereas the east end of the city had large gardens. This might indicate that there was no shortage of space, as it was sacrificed to agriculture, but the large quantity of small dwellings and several upper floors suggests the contrary, that city space was actually restricted.⁴⁰ The contrast indicates that some people had the ability to even cultivate land inside the city walls, while others had to limit their house to a small space. Wallace-Hadrill has connected the size of the house with the wealth and social status of the owner,⁴¹ and this connection – at least on an economic level – can also be applied to the peristyle gardens.

Peristyle size correlates with the other indicators of the house owner’s wealth. Figure 4.3 demonstrates the correlation between house size and peristyle size: unsurprisingly, large peristyles are usually in large houses. Yet, the examples in the right lower edge of Figure 4.3 indicate that not all peristyles in the vast houses were particularly large. However, these peristyles were all in houses with large garden areas, which made their living quarters relatively small compared to the ground area of the house.⁴²

A large peristyle area also correlates with elements of luxury architecture – the presence of private baths, several atria, or several peristyles (Table 2.2). The peristyles in the houses that had these architectural features had an average area of about 255 m². This is distinctly above the average for the whole of Pompeii (Fig. 2.5). The correlation of large peristyle size and luxury architecture is even more evident if only the largest peristyle of the house – these often had many peristyles – is taken into consideration: the average increases to over 310 m².

In Figure 4.4, the peristyles are arranged from the smallest to the largest. A glimpse at the graph gives an impression of an exponential growth of the data, but a closer look reveals that the increase of the area is actually mostly linear. Low linear growth continues from the point of origin to somewhere above 150 m², marked with a dotted line in the figure. Then the increase is steeper, and even slightly curving above the 300 m² (the dashed line in the figure). The curve steepens and

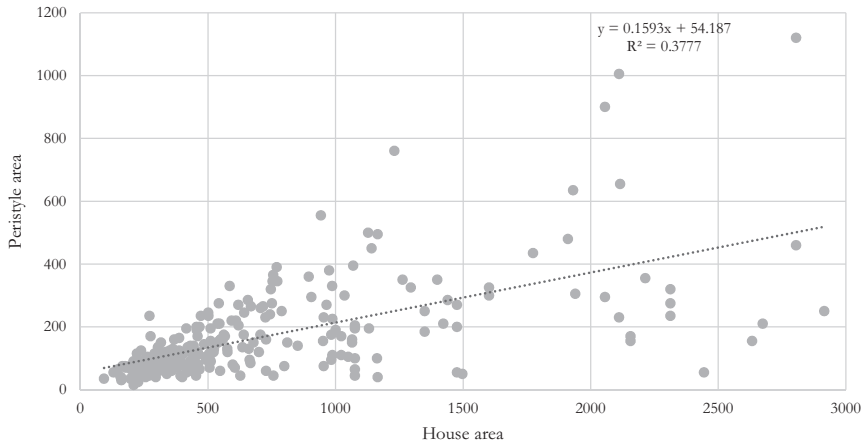


Figure 4.3 Correlation of peristyle size with house size, and linear trendline (Total number: 248).

The area of the south peristyle of house VIII,2,14–16 cannot be estimated, and the entire area of *Casa della soffitta* (V,3,4), *Casa dei pittori al lavoro* (IX,12,9), and the *Casa del Giardino* (V.3.door number unknown) are unknown.

changes to be strongly exponential somewhere before 400 m², as marked with the black line. At the beginning of the continuum there are a few peristyles that are below the dotted line; these can be approximated to be less than 50 m². These values, along with the median and average sizes (Fig. 2.5 and 2.6), offer several characteristics with which to construct a size classification for Pompeian peristyles: small are less than 50 m², lower medium 50–115 m², upper medium 120–165 m², large 170–300 m², and vast 305 or greater m². The last group reflects remarkable land consumption for a single architectural feature, as its size surpasses the area of an average or standard house in several ancient cities.⁴³

The relative size of the peristyle is not limited to its ground area – its height must also be taken into account. Wiseman notes that height was a symbol of social status for a Roman house.⁴⁴ Figure 4.5 demonstrates that higher columns were more common in larger houses. Nevertheless, the dispersion – the low R²-value of the trendline – indicates that there were plenty of exceptions, which makes one question whether it is a good parameter for the task at hand.

In fact, the peristyle does not seem to be the primary location where effort was expended on displays of height in a Pompeian house. Some houses had impressively high atria. One of these is the *Casa di Obellius Firmus*, which had columns about 7.00 m in height, when the peristyle had 4.20 m high columns.⁴⁵ Another example is the *Casa delle nozze d'argento* (V,2,i), which had about six meter high columns in the atrium, creating an impression of monumental space.⁴⁶ Again, the peristyle columns falls short of this, being 4.28 m in the north, and 3.10 m in the other porticoes.⁴⁷

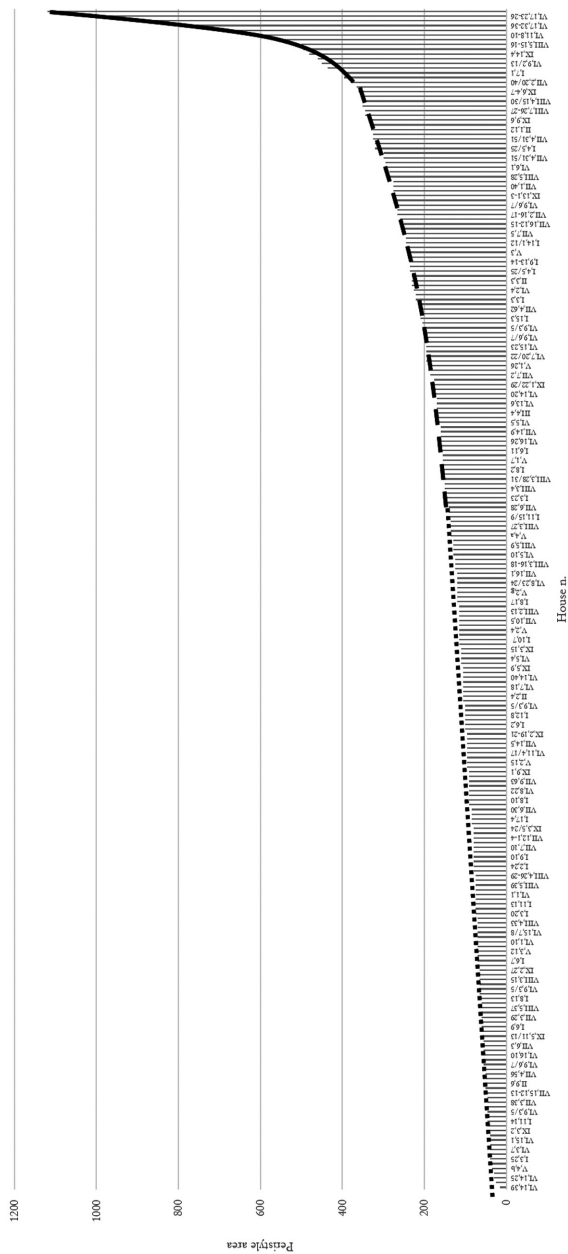


Figure 4.4 The peristyles organized by their size, with lines illustrating how I see the data behavior (Total number: 250).

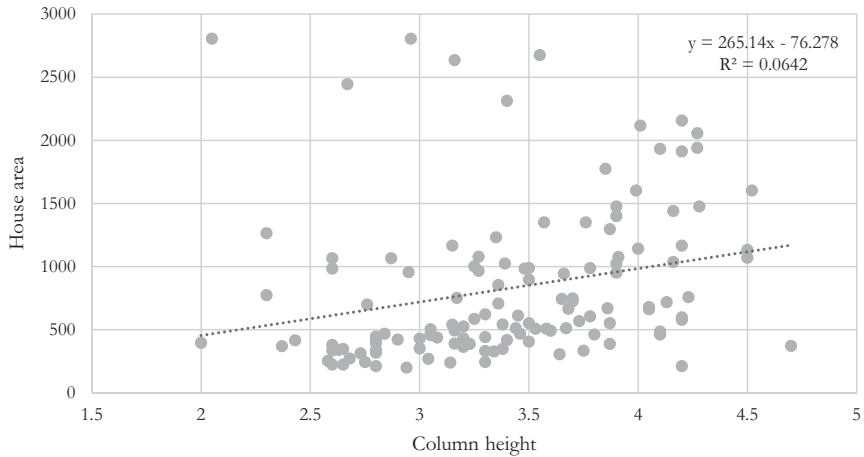


Figure 4.5 Correlation of house area and column height, with linear trendline (Total number: 128).

Height is also a difficult and complicated attribute to estimate in Pompeii. The 79 CE level is rarely currently visible: it is either covered by plants or gravel. In addition, the highest point of a peristyle is almost always near the wall, as the roof sloped down towards the center of the space.⁴⁸ The condition of the walls is extremely variable – in particular the upper parts are often destroyed – and therefore most of the peristyles (178) have no remains that could be interpreted as beam holes for roof supports, and their maximum height cannot be determined.⁴⁹

It is possible to measure column height, which gives the minimum height of the peristyle. Nevertheless, the same problem as with the beam holes emerges: the destruction of the upper parts of the structure. There are 75 peristyles where the columns have not survived to their total height. In addition, the information about column height is missing from 50 peristyles. Therefore, it does not reflect a comprehensive picture.

A second floor constructed over a peristyle was certainly an impressive sight – at least it still is while visiting the peristyle of the *Casa degli amanti* (I,10,10/11). But, again, the source situation is incomplete.⁵⁰ In many cases almost nothing survives to interpret what might have been above the porticoes. The existence of a second floor can occasionally be determined through the remains of stairs, upper floor walls, or even from finds made on upper levels.⁵¹ The general appearance of the second floors, however, can only very rarely be defined.

The peristyles with a second floor – those with the actual remains of columns or piers to signal a portico on the upper floor – number only six.⁵² Even in these cases, the reconstruction is slightly dubious; for example, the loggia of the *Casa di Paquius Proculus* could easily be interpreted as a second floor portico, but the remains suggest that it was an independent space opening onto the peristyle.⁵³

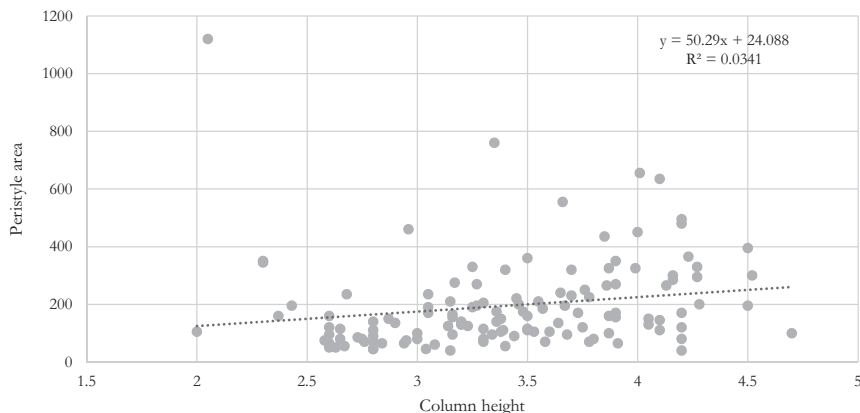


Figure 4.6 The correlation between peristyle area and column height, with a linear trendline (Total number: 128).

In addition, there are four peristyles where there were remains of a *pluteus* above the columns.⁵⁴ Although this does not mean that the upper floor had a portico – with columns or piers – the visual connection of the space with the peristyle is strong, and it could be considered as a part of the peristyle. There are peristyles where built structures can be traced above the porticoes, but the type of structures are unknown – they might be independent rooms – and how they were connected to the peristyle remains unclear.⁵⁵

As a result of the above-mentioned factors, the height of a peristyle is excluded as a means of socioeconomic display in this study, and only the area of a peristyle is used for analyzing the size. There is a slight correlation between the peristyle size and the heights of columns (Fig. 4.6), and on a very general level it can be concluded that there was a link between large area and high columns. Nevertheless, the mild slope demonstrates that the area does not increase very much with an increase in height, and the very low R^2 -value of the trendline reveals that there is a high degree of variation, and any connection between height and area must be viewed very cautiously.

4.2.2 Porticoes

Supporting structures – columns and piers – had a dual role in architecture, serving both practical and display purposes. They support upper structures, which is noted by Cicero, but he also comments on their symbolic value, stating that columns and porticoes gave a temple its dignified appearance.⁵⁶ Vitruvius, instead, links the columns with royal scenery when he writes about theater buildings.⁵⁷ Columns were associated with public buildings, such as temples and *fora*, resulting in them echoing the role that the Roman house played in public life, and also reflecting luxury and prestige.⁵⁸

Columns were not structurally necessary for the construction of most of the peristyles. There are several types of spaces where a roof with an opening is not supported by columns or piers, such as atria, lightwells, and gardens with roofed passageways. One of the largest atria without columns was in the *Casa del Fauno* – it measured about 170 m².⁵⁹ It is larger than the median peristyle, and equal to the average peristyle (Figs. 2.5 and 2.6). There are 163 peristyles that are smaller than this atrium. Although the structure of an atrium and a peristyle – particularly a pseudo-peristyle – is slightly different, and the roofing techniques of an atrium cannot necessarily be applied directly to a peristyle, it can still be assumed that the Pompeians had enough engineering knowledge to construct most of their peristyles without columns and piers if they had wanted to do so. In Pompeian peristyles, the columns and piers had a mostly symbolic value, and they were rather a part of the architectural canon than a necessary part of the structure.

If a column was a socioeconomic symbol, then the use of many columns must have sent a strong signal of status. The number of columns and piers correlates with the number of porticoes, as well as with the size of the peristyle, as is demonstrated by the concentration of the dots in Figure 4.7. The gardens with one portico are the leftmost, followed closely by the peristyles with two colonnades, and then three and four. The distribution of the size of the peristyles, however, shows some irregularities, such as some gardens with one portico, which do not have that many columns or piers. Also, the full peristyles clearly stand out from the rest in their number of columns and size. Additionally, the average number of columns and piers in a full peristyle is 15, in a peristyle with three porticoes

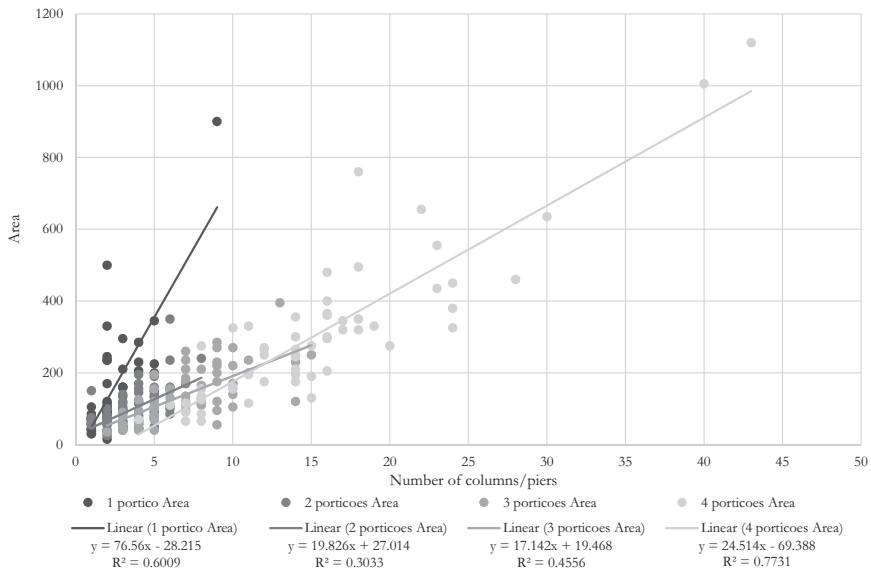


Figure 4.7 The correlation between the number of porticoes, the peristyle area, and the number of columns (Total number: 250).

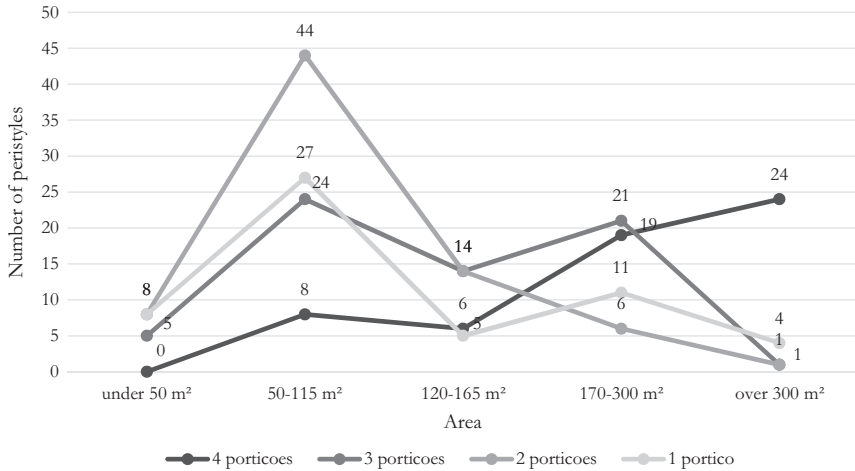


Figure 4.8 The distribution of full peristyles, the peristyles with two or three porticoes, and gardens with one portico, over the size ranges: less than 50 m², 50–115 m², 120–165 m², 170–300 m², and greater than 300 m² (Total number: 250).

The southern peristyle of house VIII,2,14–16 and the peristyle of the *Casa dei pittori al lavoro* (IX,12,9) are excluded, as their entire area cannot be estimated.

seven, with two porticoes four, and in the gardens with one portico two, meaning that the number of porticoes seems to reflect the number of columns rather well, and instead of using the column number, the number of porticoes can be applied.

Figure 4.8 expresses that the portico number correlates with the area: more colonnades means more area. Nevertheless, the trend of the gardens with one portico varies more than the others, and particularly compared to the pseudo-peristyles they are not clearly smaller. The gardens with one portico rather seem to be clearly larger than the peristyles with two porticoes, according to the averages: four porticoes had an area of about 310 m², three porticoes 140 m², two porticoes 100 m², and one portico 145 m². The larger size of the gardens with one portico might be explained by a group of large gardens that are connected to agriculture. These gardens often had one portico.⁶⁰

In addition, the number of porticoes also strongly reflects other attributes that signal the grandeur of the peristyle, such as the number of rooms opening onto it, which also depends on the peristyle area. However, the number of porticoes is more relevant, as the great majority of the rooms around the peristyle open onto the colonnades. Figure 4.9 shows that the more porticoes a peristyle had, in general the more rooms/spaces opened onto it. Consequently, when the peristyle area and the number of porticoes are both considered, they reflect well the number of opening rooms, and rooms thus do not need to be taken into account separately.

The other indicators of house wealth support the display value of the porticoes. Wallace-Hadrill notes that the surface area of a house is connected to the number

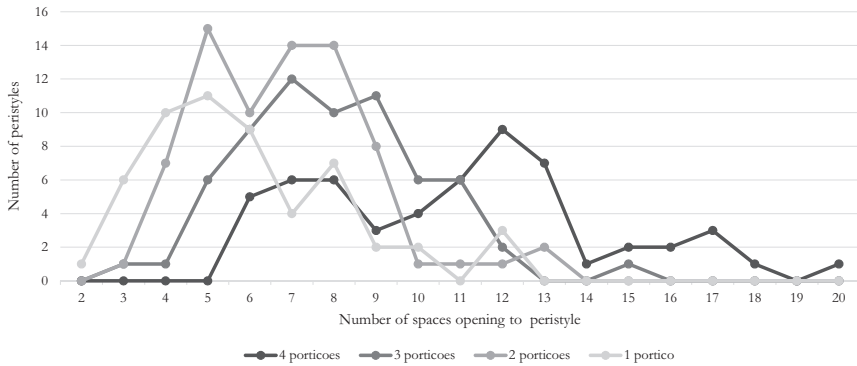


Figure 4.9 The distribution of the number of rooms/spaces opening onto the peristyle, arranged according to the number of peristyle colonnades (Total number: 250).

House VII,16,1 and *Casa di A. Umbricius Scaurus* (VII,16,12–15) are severely destroyed, and the original number of rooms opening to the peristyle cannot be calculated.

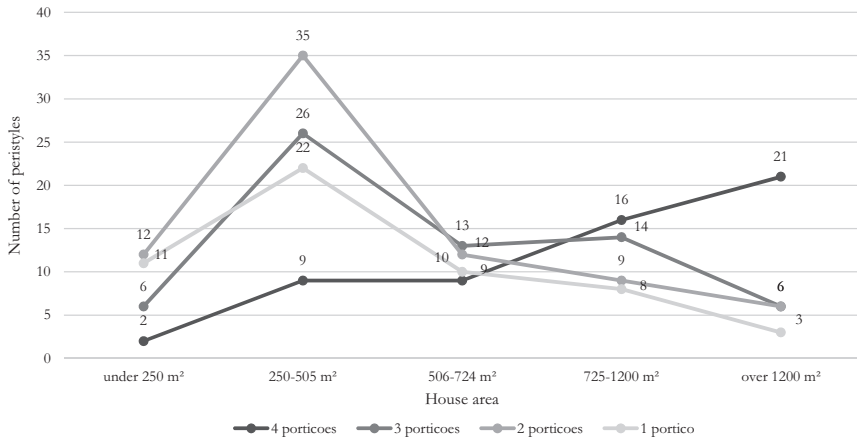


Figure 4.10 The distribution of the full peristyles, the peristyles with two or three porticoes, and the gardens with one portico in the houses with size ranges of less than 250 m², 250–505 m², 506–724 m², 725–1,200 m² and over 1,200 m² (Total number: 250).

The area of the *Casa dei pittori al lavoro* (IX,12,9) and the *Casa del Giardino* (V.3.door number unknown) are missing.

of porticoes, but he continues that it is hard to find differences between the house sizes for gardens with one, two, or three porticoes.⁶¹ Indeed, the differences are not very striking. The pattern for all three of these types of peristyles in Figure 4.10 seems very similar, where they all peak at the lower medium houses (250–505 m²). Nevertheless, the graph demonstrates that in the large houses (725–1,200 m²)

gardens with three porticoes are more common than those with one or two colonnades. This is reinforced when comparing their average house sizes: three porticoes 672 m², two 554 m², and one 532 m². The difference in the last two is relatively small, but two porticoes are slightly more common in the upper medium (506–724 m²), large (725–1,200 m²), and vast (greater than 1,200 m²) houses than the gardens with a single colonnade.

Additionally, the portico number correlates with luxury architecture (Table 2.2), meaning that the more colonnades a peristyle had the more likely it was to be located in a house that had luxury architecture. The houses with luxury architecture had 26 peristyles with four porticoes, 16 with three porticoes, 15 with two, and nine with one.

The number of colonnades is a handy and reliable factor to reflect the owner's likely wealth. In addition, as a source material, the number of porticoes is more reliable than the isolated attributes of columns – even the number of columns – as the number of colonnades nearly always corresponds with the current state of preservation and thus can be easily verified. Yet, in the case of the number of porticoes, one factor rises clearly above the others as a status symbol: the full peristyle. The differences between the peristyles with three porticoes and two porticoes are often small, and the same applies to the relationship of the gardens with one portico and two porticoes. Full peristyles represent wealth more visibly than the other types.

4.3 Decorative features

4.3.1 Pools and decorative basins

The mythical garden of Alkinoös was one model for the ideal Roman garden, with its fertility and large quantity of water. Water had an important role as a luxury good, and it could have been utilized as a means of socioeconomic display: having fountains and pools in a garden was a statement of wealth, as the pools, basins, and fountains took most of the household water, excluding the private baths.⁶² Although the decorated fountains and pools do not echo the traditional and humble Roman values, Hales thinks that they were appropriate symbols of the owner's success, and probably did not disagree too much with these values.⁶³

There are 82 peristyles with a pool or a basin,⁶⁴ but not all of these basins had a decorative role. For example, 20 basins do not have any remains of decoration, only plain plaster. They likely had a practical function, for example as work-related features, and cannot be interpreted as decorative structures.⁶⁵ Instead, the decorative features, such as painted plaster and marble rims, or taking different shapes rather than just a plain rectangular shape, indicate that the pool was intended for display purposes.⁶⁶ Similarly, there are also basins that had a decorative function. They are often made of marble or stone, and are placed on one or two supports.⁶⁷ However, it cannot be automatically assumed that all basins on a support had a decorative function; the function must be considered through a careful individual examination of the basins.⁶⁸

There were altogether 50 houses with a peristyle that also had a pool or basin that can be defined as decorative.⁶⁹ The presence of the pools and the decorative basins in the peristyles correlates well with the indications of wealth in the architecture. The average size of these houses is greater than 1,100 m², and the median greater than 990 m². Both of these measurements belong to the large houses with a peristyle, according to my definition. Almost half, 24, of these peristyles are in the houses defined to have luxury architecture (Table 2.2).

Of all the decorative indicators of socioeconomic status, pools are the most reliable group of source material. Compared to the other decorative elements, they cannot be moved away from the peristyles, which makes verifying their existence easier. Nevertheless, there are also problems. Pools might have sometimes been destroyed or possibly reburied, making it impossible to examine them physically. There are seven peristyles where a pool is no longer visible.⁷⁰ Decorative basins can be moved, but despite that they often remain in the original peristyles, although occasionally the decorative basins are connected with gardens, even though it is doubtful that they were situated there.⁷¹

4.3.2 *Fountains*

A fountain visualizes conspicuous consumption. It thrusts water into the air, and projects an image of carefree consumption of water. However, in the Pompeian context the water was not necessarily wasted, but was often recollected. Therefore, the fountain usually creates an illusion of larger consumption that actually occurs, which makes it a very useful display method.

There are only a handful of Pompeian peristyles where the fountain water was not collected,⁷² and usually we have only insufficient data to confirm that the water was just jetted over the garden. By contrast, the water was most often directed to a pool, and Zanker states that a fountain was an equally important part of the luxury peristyle as a pool.⁷³ There are only ten peristyles with a fountain that did not have a pool or a basin.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the water could be collected in some other type of container, such as a dolium, or even directed into a gutter, or a cistern.⁷⁵

A fountain needs pressure and water, and after the aqueduct was built during the time of Augustus fountains became more popular in the gardens of Pompeii.⁷⁶ The procedure for obtaining a supply of pressurized water for the private houses of Pompeii is unknown to us, but there are examples from other locations, such as the Campanian city of Venafrum. It is possible to conclude that piped water was an expensive article. Furthermore, in the early history of Rome pressurized water was limited to the houses of important persons, supporting the role of piped water as a luxury item.⁷⁷ The main water system of Pompeii was connected to from 91 to 124 houses, which underlines the rarity of piped water and confirms it as a status symbol in Pompeii.⁷⁸

The earthquake of 62 CE might have interrupted the service of piped water to some houses during the last phase of the town.⁷⁹ In the *Casa delle Vestali* (VI,1,7), the supply of aqueduct water stopped, but a new set of water features was built in the peristyle. In the house, other spaces with water installations such as the bath

were demolished, but in the peristyle several attempts were made to have at least still water in the pools, and the former reception room 48 was transformed into an above-ground cistern to provide piped water for the fountain.⁸⁰ In a few other peristyles, similar innovative attempts were made to secure the required pressure for fountains.⁸¹ This highlights the importance of peristyles: it was a place to display running water, even if the means of supply was difficult. According to Rick Jones and Damian Robinson, a non-functional fountain was a symbol of failure.⁸² It probably had a negative value, but it can also be seen as an attempt to hold onto that status, hoping that in the future the fountain would work again, and that the loss of household prestige would only be temporary.

If an independent water reservoir was used to supply the fountains, it might have been filled only when there was a need for display,⁸³ which emphasizes the temporary nature of the water display. Such a temporary display was also a possibility when using piped water. In several peristyles, there was a key or distribution box which allowed one to open and close the fountains when needed.⁸⁴ The illusion of carefree consumption of water was consequently often controlled by the house owner.

There are 55 peristyles with at least one fountain. Nearly half of them (24 peristyles) only had one. The median number of fountains is two, and the average is almost three, meaning that if a peristyle had more than two fountains it can be seen as an impressive water display in the Pompeian scale. Some peristyles also featured impressive built surroundings for the fountains, such as a large niche, and consequently they are called fountain niches.⁸⁵ They were probably highly valued, as for example in the *Casa della Fontana piccola* the niche is built over the west wall of the garden, and also over a large landscape wall painting.⁸⁶ The most extravagant water display in a Pompeian peristyle was in the *Casa del Toro* (V,1,7), where a large nymphaeum with several other water features contributed to a large water exhibition.⁸⁷

The peristyles with fountains are in houses that are on average 960 m² in size, and they link with luxury architecture (Table 2.2) in 24 cases (44 percent). These houses clearly belong to the category of houses with a peristyle that can be defined as large, and the connection with luxury architecture is also quite frequent, confirming that the fountains in Pompeian peristyles correlate with considerable wealth.

Fountains are usually stable constructions that cannot be moved away, but there are some problems related to their reliability as a source material. The excavations were rarely continued under the 79 CE garden levels, whereas the fountain pipes run under the garden surface and the information on the function of fountains – those which were actually working – is often unknown. In some cases, we may not have identified all of the fountains of a peristyle, such as in the *Casa degli Epigrammi* (V,1,18), where the bronze taps are the only indication of the existence of a fountain, or possibly several,⁸⁸ but their location and other details remain unknown.

Twenty-one peristyles had fountain sculptures, but only 12 of them can be connected with a fountain jet.⁸⁹ However, often there were some other water features,

such as pools, that indicate that water was directed or transported one way or another into these peristyles. Nevertheless, there are a few fountain sculptures that cannot be connected to a pool or a possible water pipe.⁹⁰ It is possible that they functioned without jetting water, such as in the *Casa dei Pittori al lavoro*, where a fountain sculpture did not jet water.⁹¹ However, the lack of excavation under the garden surfaces and poor documentation is often a factor preventing us from confirming these hypotheses. Of course, one possibility is that there was a plan to build a fountain in these peristyles, but it was not yet executed when the eruption occurred.

4.3.3 *Sculpture*

Dwyer states that with the increase in the number of fountains the demand for sculpture also grew.⁹² The fountain sculptures had a double role in socioeconomic display: they represented the consumption of water and were artworks for visitors to admire. Although the sculptures without a fountain jet lacked this first attribute, they still played a significant role in garden decoration and its display. The sculptures in private settings, such as a villa or *domus*, have been interpreted to reflect wealth, luxury, status, education, and cultural interest.⁹³ Vitruvius even mentions that sculpture is used to create a royal atmosphere.⁹⁴ However, in this passage he was discussing theaters, and it cannot be directly linked to the private sphere, although it is safe to assume that sculpture imparted Romans and Pompeians with connotations of wealth and high status.

There are 37 peristyles with marble sculpture, 12 peristyles with bronze sculpture, and eight featured both. The marble of the sculptures is almost always white, although traces of paint have been found on several examples.⁹⁵ In addition, the peristyles could have been decorated with terracotta sculpture, as has been reported in 12 peristyles.⁹⁶ The terracotta sculptures were evidently not considered very valuable by the early excavators, as they are very rarely reported in the peristyles that were excavated before the 1870s, and it is likely that our knowledge of terracotta decoration is very incomplete.⁹⁷ Their function and relation to the marble and bronze sculptures is therefore unclear. The themes represented by the terracottas are a little different than those for the marble and bronze sculptures. For example, Dionysus and Venus are rarely depicted in terracotta sculpture, but they are the most common in marble and bronze.⁹⁸ There are, however, some similar themes shared between these materials, such as animals and Egyptian motifs.⁹⁹ In general, the subjects of the terracotta sculptures are often singular and cannot be easily linked to other sculpture, unlike the marble sculptures, which are frequently connected to the same overarching subject, such as the *thiasos* of Dionysus.¹⁰⁰ It is possible that the terracotta statues were mainly signaling something other than wealth.¹⁰¹ In fact, the correlation between the terracotta sculptures and other house attributes signaling wealth suggests that they are not a feature of the highest ranking houses. The average and median house sizes – 730 m² and 500 m² – of the houses containing terracottas are similar to the values for the entire Pompeii assemblage (Figs. 2.5 and 2.6). The *Casa delle nozze d'argento* is

the only house with luxury architecture where the peristyle was reported to feature terracotta sculpture (Table 2.2). However, the poor documentation makes these figures less reliable.

Bronze and marble sculpture, on the other hand, can be considered as art, which interested the early excavators very much.¹⁰² It has been stated that the marble statuary of Pompeii has been relatively ignored when compared to the wall paintings and bronze sculpture, but at least in the early excavation reports the marbles seem to be reported quite often.¹⁰³ Both sculpture types were also reported several times in the peristyles that were excavated before the middle of the 19th century,¹⁰⁴ meaning that our information on the marble and bronze sculptures found in the peristyles is likely quite accurate, although the data might be somewhat incomplete, and some of the sculptures were likely looted and the information about them lost.¹⁰⁵ The bronze sculptures in particular might have been removed very early after the eruption, as John Dobbins expects to have happened with the bronze statue in the *Forum*.¹⁰⁶ Yet, compared to many other movable finds, the situation seems to be good, thanks to 18th and 19th century attitudes that valued marble and bronze sculpture as archaeological finds.

The connection between the peristyles and sculpture could have also been corrupted in a contrary manner. Some sculpture found elsewhere might have been connected to a peristyle and its garden simply because sculpture in the research literature is so strongly linked to gardens.¹⁰⁷ For example, in the *Casa della Fortuna* (IX,7,20) all of the marble sculptures found in the house are considered to be peristyle decorations. This assumption was put forth shortly after the excavation of the house, and is still often accepted today.¹⁰⁸ A majority of the *oscilla*, the marble theater masks, and both herms were found in the atrium, and in a room opening onto the peristyle.¹⁰⁹ It is possible that the sculptures were intended for the peristyle, or that they were moved away from the peristyle, because the inhabitants wanted to protect them during the eruption.¹¹⁰ Still, it is dubious whether they were peristyle decor. They could have been meant for the rooms where they were found, or they may have been in storage in these rooms and yet never meant to be placed in this particular peristyle.¹¹¹ One might think that herms are typical garden sculpture, but they are related to atria, and possibly, they could have been used in other rooms as well.¹¹²

The *oscilla* and the hanging marble masks were more likely to be a part of the peristyle decoration, but there is a possibility that they were also planned for an atrium.¹¹³ The atrium of the *Casa della Fortuna* does not have columns, and the *oscilla* could be imagined as hanging between the columns, and the arches on the east side of the peristyle are reported to have had the remains of iron attachments where the *oscilla* could have hung.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, there are six arches in the colonnade, and four *oscilla*, one hanging marble syrinx, and one hanging theater mask were found in the peristyle.¹¹⁵ Basically every gap already had decoration, leaving no spaces for the *oscilla* found in the other rooms. Of course, the *oscilla* found outside the peristyle might have been intended for other sides of the peristyle. Nevertheless, if the *oscilla* and the theater masks found outside the peristyle were the decoration of the peristyle, one can ask why some of the *oscilla* and one mask

were left in the peristyle when the others were moved away.¹¹⁶ On a general methodological level, it is not possible to connect objects not found in the peristyle to it.

There are several other peristyles where the sculpture found inside the house has been placed in the peristyle without any other explanation than the connection between sculpture and gardens in general.¹¹⁷ Also, it has been speculated that some peristyles contained more sculpture than was found in them, but the information concerning them is lost.¹¹⁸ These are only speculations, and I have decided to include only the sculptures actually found in a peristyle when counting its decoration.

The sculptures found in the upper levels of the *lapilli* are not included in the peristyle decoration, as they most likely belonged to upper floor decoration and their connection with the peristyle is unclear.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, there are some exceptions. The marble head on the peristyle of the *Casa di Obellius Firmus* was very likely a peristyle decoration, although it was not found on the floor level, but a few centimeters above it. It was probably a herm resting on an organic support, which was later destroyed.¹²⁰ Also, the *oscilla* and the masks found in the upper strata are considered to be peristyle decorations, as there are iron attachments found on the *oscilla* and the mask; there are also reported iron attachments on the arches of the *Casa della Fortuna*, mentioned above. In addition, there are wall paintings depicting *oscilla* hanging between columns.¹²¹ Consequently, the *oscilla* were likely not the decoration of the upper floors, but the decoration of the upper parts of the peristyle.

The average house size of those with peristyles with marble sculpture is 805 m² and the median is 585 m². Luxury architecture was present in 15 of these houses, which is 42 percent (Table 2.2). The correlation with wealth is not the most striking, but still slightly above average. With the bronze sculpture the situation is clearer: the average house area was 1145 m² and the median 830 m². Luxury architecture is also present in more than half of the houses (six) with bronze sculpture in the peristyle (Table 2.2).

There are peristyles with both marble and bronze sculpture, but they are rare. Oftentimes the peristyle contained only one sculpture – i.e. almost 40 percent (16) of the peristyles. Two sculptures are found in 15 percent (six) of the cases. Therefore, more than half of the sculpture-decorated peristyles had only one or two pieces. The median number of sculptures is two (counting only the peristyles with sculptures). If it is accepted that the smallest number of sculptures necessary to form a group or a collection is three, then only a minority of sculpture-decorated peristyles contained a sculpture collection, and almost half of these peristyles only had a relatively small number of sculptures – from three to five (Fig. 4.11). Five is the average number of sculptures (counting only the peristyles with sculpture). To sum up, the presence of only one sculpture was still enough to count as a display item in a peristyle, but to stand out at least three sculptures were needed.

4.3.4 *Wall paintings*

The covering plaster – often adorned with paintings – was the visible part of the walls, and therefore it could be utilized for display purposes. There are

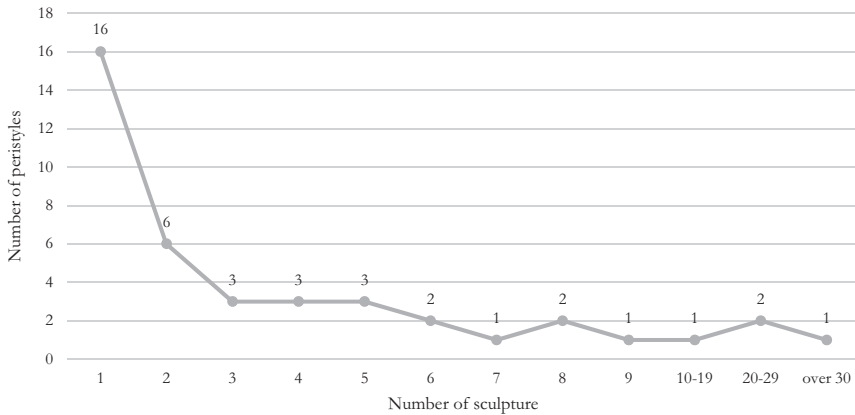


Figure 4.11 The number of sculptures in the peristyle gardens (Total number of peristyles: 41, total number of sculpture: 194).

26 peristyles where the plaster seems to have been simply red, or white, or the lower part was red and the upper part white.¹²² Because of the current condition and poor documentation, the actual number might be significantly different. The red part is occasionally *cocciopesto* plaster, as in the peristyle of house IX,6,4–7. Sampaolo relates the use of *cocciopesto* to the possible commercial or industrial use of this peristyle.¹²³ The simple red and white wall coloring is also connected to the utilitarian or functional uses of rooms.¹²⁴ However, this does not correlate very well with the industrial or commercial use of the peristyles, as only four of 26 peristyles can be connected to that type of function.¹²⁵ In addition, simple white plaster with red stripes or red-lined panels occurs in perhaps three peristyles.¹²⁶ Bragantini relates this type of wall decoration to spaces where production activity occurred, but none of the three can be connected to any production-related activity, commerce, or industry.¹²⁷

Consequently, the wall decoration does not signify the production or utilitarian use of the peristyle. Perhaps the red and white plaster combination can be associated with the streets of Pompeii, which were sometimes decorated in a similar manner.¹²⁸ It creates a certain atmosphere of a public space in the peristyle, but likely the reason for the choice was practical: peristyles – despite the porticoes – were exposed to weather just like the streets.

Some remains of proper wall paintings were found in at least 159 peristyles, which is 63 percent of the total. Pompeian wall paintings are divided into four styles which are each linked to a certain period of time.¹²⁹ The distribution of the painting styles in the peristyles mostly supports this chronology. The fourth is clearly the largest group, and the number of known wall paintings declines towards the oldest type, except for a slight rise again when comparing the first style to the second. However, the first style appears on the walls most often in conjunction with other styles, but it is still slightly more frequent than the second,

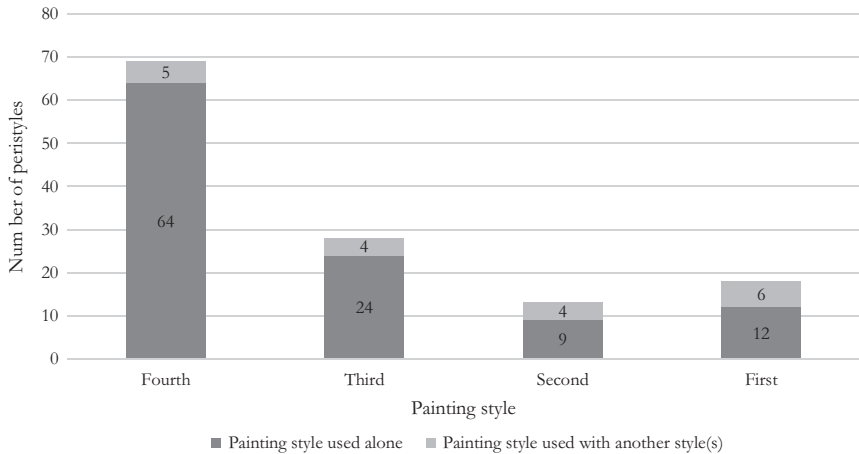


Figure 4.12 The distribution of identified painting styles used in the peristyles. Several painting styles have been identified in the following peristyles: nn. 21, 33, 66, 126, 136, 165, 166, 194, 205.

even if the peristyles with several painting styles are excluded. The difference, however, is very small (Fig. 4.12).

The use of the first style during the last phase of the city is sometimes explained by its association with noble values.¹³⁰ This interpretation, that the earlier style was somehow regarded as more noble and worthy of conserving, is problematic. For example, in the *Casa del Chirurgo* (VI,1,10) the first style paintings of the *cubiculum* 21 were replaced with red and white plaster.¹³¹ If the first style was particularly appreciated in Pompeii, why change it to a simple two-colored plaster? Even if the old decoration was partially destroyed, why change the whole plaster and not repair the old one?¹³² The explanation for the relative popularity of the first style in the peristyles may be the same that applies to the use of red and white plaster: it was one of the decoration styles of the streets.¹³³ It had a connotation with public space, but more importantly with an outdoor space, and this type of decoration was probably also practical for the spaces that were exposed to weather.

The Pompeian painting styles have also been associated with the social functions of the house. It has been proposed that the first and second styles were suitable for primary reception spaces.¹³⁴ Nothing in the peristyles with first style decoration indicates that they were made particularly for visitors, or were more important reception spaces than the other peristyles. None of them contained an outdoor triclinium, only one had a table, six had decorative water features, and four had marble sculpture.¹³⁵ In the case of the second style, one peristyle had an outdoor triclinium, five had a table, and seven contained water installations or sculpture.¹³⁶ Although these features of sojourn and display also occur with the

second style paintings, there are a further six peristyles without any indications of this type of use, and therefore the correlation is not strong, and creating a connection between the function and the style would be hasty.¹³⁷

Roger Ling and Lesley Ling mention the atrium as a primary reception room where the first and second styles were used, again connecting these styles with the process of reception and a more public role.¹³⁸ What this actually means is open to many interpretations, but if it is taken literally and it is thought that these paintings appear in spaces near the main entrance, being then more visible and public, the peristyles with the first and second painting styles do not conform to this conclusion. Most (11) of the second style peristyles are located after a *tablinum* (or some other room following an atrium).¹³⁹ There are 15 peristyles with first style paintings at least an equal distance (three spaces) from the main entrance.¹⁴⁰

The third style is said by some scholars to reflect the senatorial aristocratic mentality, and the fourth style is seen as a bourgeois style of the *liberti* and *hominēs novi*.¹⁴¹ The styles might reflect these attitudes, but these attributes cannot be connected to the spaces where these decorations were used. Eleanor Leach, for example, states that the third style was adaptable for several types of spaces, and therefore it was utilized by several social classes.¹⁴² Ling links the third and fourth style with more private spaces in the Pompeian domestic sphere. They were decorated with rich colors and striking perspectives or mythological themes. Yet, he does not necessarily mean that every space decorated with these two last Pompeian styles was private.¹⁴³ The significance of the private realm in the contexts of these two styles remains ambiguous, but there are clear features indicating that the peristyles with third and fourth style decoration were not automatically more private than others. Signs referring to visitors can be found in the peristyles painted with these styles. Three peristyles with fourth style paintings had an outdoor *triclinium* and two were used for business purposes.¹⁴⁴ In four peristyles with third style paintings there was an outdoor *triclinium*.¹⁴⁵ There are, in addition, eight peristyles with fourth style paintings and two with third style that were located directly after the main entrance or a *fauces*.¹⁴⁶ These were not necessarily visited by very many people, but their location near the entrance did not offer that much privacy.

There are 118 peristyles where the wall painting style can be identified, which leaves 41 peristyles with remains of paintings which cannot be classified according to this typology. This is a problem when trying to analyze whether the painting styles were indicators of the social or economic status of the house owner.¹⁴⁷ As in so many peristyles this information is missing – not to mention all the peristyles where the traces of paintings have possibly vanished – so it is impossible to make a city-wide comparison, or even nearly so. Although the ratio of the painting styles might be relatively correct, connecting a painting style to a function or socioeconomic status is risky based on this evidence, as the correlations are not clear even with the surviving sample.

The survival rate of wall paintings causes problems when researching wall paintings as an indicator of socioeconomic status, but their role as decoration is too important to disregard them.¹⁴⁸ First, it must be specified how they can be

used in this study. Ling sets up a rule related to the house functions: rich decoration separates important reception areas from lesser decorated, humbler rooms.¹⁴⁹ Allison shares this basic idea, as she states that the coarse plaster in the peristyle of the *Casa degli amanti* is a sign of downgrading.¹⁵⁰ In the scholarship, often-times the simplicity of decoration in ancient contexts is not seen as referring to display or elite use.¹⁵¹

What is meant by rich or simple paintings is consequently another question. One possible means to address this would be listing all the decorative elements featured in the wall paintings, and then performing a statistical analysis of which peristyles had the most figurative paintings. This approach, however, would have severe problems relating to the relative reporting and preservation of the paintings. Those in a better state and with better reports would stand out in the results.

Another problem is the diversity of the painted decorations. It cannot be assumed that all of the paintings were valued equally, and probably the cost to execute different types of paintings varied quite a lot. For example, there are several motifs that appear regularly in the wall paintings of Pompeii: garlands, plants, candelabra, small figurines, architecture, and marble imitations.¹⁵² These are repeated over and over again. In general, repetition can be seen as stereotypical, and it suppresses individual choices as Ernst Gombrich suggests.¹⁵³ In Pompeii, these repetitive themes were likely not valued as much as the individual central panel pictures – at the very least, they were not an effective means of standing out due to their common occurrence.

One good example of the contrast between the repetitive and the individualistic are two different types of paintings that can be seen to reflect a garden: the plants on the lower part of the walls and the large so-called garden paintings filling almost the entire wall. Although garden-related painted themes are relatively common in peristyles – about 26 percent (66) include them – they are not characteristically a motif tied to garden spaces, as they occur in other rooms and spaces.¹⁵⁴ Both types of painting basically represent the same theme, but they are still distinctively different, differentiated by their size and their repetitiveness.¹⁵⁵ Although all plant paintings are somewhat different – they are hand-painted after all – and even all large garden paintings have similar characteristics, they are much more diverse, detailed, and individualistic than the plant themes, which often repeat a similar plant again and again.¹⁵⁶

Returning to an overall perspective on the wall paintings, they also have parts that repeat the same or similar figures, and parts that have very individualistic paintings. The latter are often in the center of the wall decoration, and are separated from the other wall decoration by a painted frame. These central panel paintings with their mythological themes, still lifes, and landscape paintings offered a space where the artist and the house owner could more freely express themes they wanted.¹⁵⁷ They occur on third and fourth style walls, and Leach has concluded that with the third style the house owners received more freedom to choose subjects and myths according to their own taste.¹⁵⁸ Therefore, the central panel paintings were best suited for display purposes.

The central panel paintings and their themes have interested excavators from the beginning of field work at the site, and they are mentioned already in the first reports.¹⁵⁹ Although some pictures were cut off the walls and transported elsewhere, the removal leaves a mark that can be recognized as a place for a painting.¹⁶⁰ This makes them good material for a city-wide comparison.

Ling and Ling particularly regard the mythological paintings and other figurative scenes as a means of displaying wealth. They also think that mythological themes were the most prestigious of all the painting types.¹⁶¹ Richardson already valued the “subject paintings” – by which he must have meant the mythological themes – above the landscapes and still lifes.¹⁶² The mythological pictures have thus been ascribed the highest rank among the various types of painted decoration in the houses.¹⁶³ This position, however, is hard to confirm, as there are no Pompeian sources that indicate what type of paintings were valued the most. For example, considering the occurrences of the mythological, landscape, and still life paintings in the peristyles, the first appear in 22 peristyles, the second in 20, and the third in 21,¹⁶⁴ indicating that there was no preferred theme for peristyle painting decoration. If we compare them with the indicators of the wealth of the house owners, such as house area and luxury architecture (Table 4.1), this demonstrates that mythological and still life paintings correlate more-or-less equally with wealth, whereas the landscapes seem to be linked with a higher level of wealth. However, the landscape paintings belong to a house size group that is more-or-less the same as the two other types of paintings (see e.g. Fig. 2.7).

The connection of wealth indicators with the number of mythological, landscape, and still life paintings are very vague estimations. There are several problems relating to these calculations: for instance, our record of the paintings in the peristyle is incomplete, and dividing the paintings into categories is always somewhat subjective – for example, we can only recognize the myths that we know. Sometimes it is difficult to separate the themes from each other, and occasionally a painting can belong to several of these categories.¹⁶⁵ In addition, 13 peristyles contained at least two of the themes, which further highlights their connection with each other.¹⁶⁶

Literary themes – including mythological – are often connected with the education or cultural interests of the house owner, and therefore the display of those

Table 4.1 Comparison of average and median house size and luxury architecture (Table 2.2) between peristyles that had mythological, landscape, or still life paintings.

	<i>Average house area</i>	<i>Median house area</i>	<i>Number of houses with luxury architecture</i>
Peristyles with mythological paintings	830	735	6
Peristyles with landscape paintings	1085	1000	10
Peristyles with still life paintings	845	725	9

attributes.¹⁶⁷ However, still life and landscape paintings also had social display value, although perhaps they reflected it in another form. For example, the still life paintings with *xenia* evoke the idea of hospitality and dining.¹⁶⁸ The landscape paintings can be associated with an exotic character: either geographically distant places or even fantasy worlds. Landscape paintings might even feature mythological themes, and thus they are occasionally intertwined with mythological paintings.¹⁶⁹ As all of these themes represent luxury, and they are often spatially well connected with each other, there is no reason to expect that one of these was somehow regarded as any better than the others.

The repetitive themes are associated with spaces for movement, and are regarded as suitable for these spaces as they do not catch a passerby's attention too intensively.¹⁷⁰ Instead, the mythological paintings are connected with rooms where people spent time, and had time to look at the pictures.¹⁷¹ The paintings with individualistic characters and themes were meant for guests to look at and marvel over. As the landscape and the still life pictures include several details and characters that greatly vary between each other, they can equally be assumed to be meant for careful viewing. Consequently, the peristyles with these types of central panel paintings were planned for visitors to enter and stay, in order to admire these paintings.

Richardson suggests that the small size of the still life paintings is considered a sign that they were not as highly valued as the mythological paintings.¹⁷² If the size was the defining parameter of the value of the painting then the large – almost covering the whole wall – animal, garden, and landscape paintings¹⁷³ should be the most valued in Pompeii. Spano, however, disagrees, stating that the garden paintings never had the value of the central panel paintings,¹⁷⁴ but there is no evidence to support this assumption. Zanker has stated that for Pompeians size counted the most.¹⁷⁵ Size was surely a means to display wealth, and the large garden and animal paintings should be counted among the pictures that had a great display value. They are also exotic, full of details and symbols of luxury. All of these characteristics suggest an important display use for these paintings.

Nevertheless, size is a challenging value to measure. The central panel paintings – as well as the garden and animal paintings – were part of the decoration of the entire painted wall: so how does one quantify their size? Should the whole painted area be counted? Or only the painted area with detailed subjects, or the combined area of all the central panel paintings? This leads again to the problem of survival rates and documentation, and again those peristyles where the situation is best would stand out. Even within a single peristyle, the preservation of paintings can vary a lot between the various walls, so that a comparison of all the peristyles would be even more biased towards the well-preserved peristyles.

The display of paintings had its parallels in public architecture,¹⁷⁶ and it is not odd that paintings were adopted as a part of the appointment of the private sphere. The mythological, still life, and landscape paintings were individual features of wall paintings that certainly drew attention and attracted people to visit these peristyles and spend time in them. The same conclusion applies to the large garden

and the large animal paintings. All of these features were exceptionally good for displaying one's socioeconomic status.

4.3.5 Floor decoration

The last element among the status symbols of a Pompeian house to be discussed is the floor decoration.¹⁷⁷ Marble and mosaic floors are considered expensive, and are usually ranked higher than other floor decorations.¹⁷⁸ Ling and Ling place mortar floors with stone decoration in second place, and particularly exotic stones are worth a higher place in this classification. Mortar floors decorated with tesserae patterns are third, and the last position is held by the mortar floors with scattered tesserae.¹⁷⁹ The Lings' emphasis, where the rare and non-local stones are placed above the geometric patterns, can be questioned. First, laying the tesserae in the desired form was more time-consuming than simply scattering the stones. Second, it is difficult to believe that most of the visitors could recognize the stone materials, particularly if the stone pieces and tesserae were small and the viewer was walking or standing. Third, the expense of the imported stones might not be much higher than locally cut tesserae, if reusable material for the purpose were available.

One would imagine that the peristyles could have been decorated with valuable *opus sectile* or mosaic floors, but this is rare in Pompeii. The most common are the mortar floors: 48 without decoration, and 62 with decoration.¹⁸⁰ Only ten peristyles had a mosaic floor,¹⁸¹ and there are no *opus sectile* floors in the Pompeian peristyles. As exposed by the numbers, there is no information about the floors for most of the peristyles, and a relevant question is: what type of floor was in these peristyles? One possibility is a beaten earth floor, which is possibly reported in one peristyle.¹⁸² They might not have been considered worth recording in most cases. Another possibility is wooden floors; however, no signs of such, such as imprints on the ground, have been recorded in Pompeii. One possibility is the use of other organic materials which did not leave much traces for the excavators, or even mortar without decoration is possible, as several mortar floors without decoration were not reported.¹⁸³ The excavation of the *Casa del Giardino* might introduce new data for these questions, as it seems possible – according to some of the published pictures – that it has a beaten earth floor in the portico, but it might be a *cocciopesto* floor. We just have to wait for the publication to confirm the floor type. As most of the peristyle floors are currently covered with gravel or earth, their nature remains speculative until they are properly cleaned and documented.

The number of mosaic floors is probably approximately correct, as they have been valued highly and consequently more thoroughly reported.¹⁸⁴ Similarly, the situation with the lack of marble floors – which are not found in the peristyles – can be assumed to be right, as they would very likely have been documented. The decorated mortar floors, on the other hand, are problematic. They are mentioned often, particularly in the *Pompeii: pitture e mosaici*, but I have still found several examples of this type of floor that have not been mentioned before.¹⁸⁵ Occasionally only a small stretch with one or two tesserae is visible,¹⁸⁶ which

makes it impossible to estimate whether the tesserae originally formed a pattern. The preservation and uncertain information regarding the floor decoration makes it the most inconsistent parameter for measuring wealth, as the existence of decoration can be verified only occasionally, and sometimes it is impossible to distinguish what type of decoration was present – scattered tesserae or patterns.

The peristyle floors did not have the same display function as, for example, central panel paintings, sculpture, and decorative water features, which likely would have attracted more attention than the simple patterns of the floor decoration. There is perhaps only one peristyle where a floor had a decorative emblem – a hunting scene and fighting cocks. However, even the provenance of this mosaic is slightly dubious.¹⁸⁷ Mosaic emblems are considered suitable for places where people spent time and had the opportunity to look at them.¹⁸⁸ In contrast, the geometrical patterns used for decorating the peristyle floors were suitable for places of movement, as they did not tempt the passer-by to stop and look at the floor.¹⁸⁹ The mosaic floors were likely more expensive than the other floor types in the peristyles, but they featured a simple decoration pattern of geometrical shapes – with the exception of the above-mentioned emblem.¹⁹⁰ Consequently, not even these most expensive peristyle floors required people to stop and marvel at them. The floor decoration was not a feature that attracted people into the peristyle by itself, but was rather something that the visitor saw while moving through the space.

The average house size with decorated portico floors is 970 m², median 735 m², and 35 percent had luxury architecture (Table 2.2). Floor decoration is connected with houses that are clearly larger than the average and median values for Pompeii (Figs. 2.5 and 2.6). This indicates their value as a status symbol, but it was likely not very essential for display purposes.

Notes

- 1 See the discussion about sundials in Chapter 2.3.
- 2 On the poor status of our information about plantings in Pompeii, see Jashemski 1981, 31.
- 3 See Ciarallo 2012, 22.
- 4 See e.g. Sodo 1992, 19, Zarmakoupi 2014, 111. See also, Morvillez 2017, 18–19, although he uses the word *heredium*.
- 5 Zarmakoupi 2014, 111–112.
- 6 Zarmakoupi 2014, 115.
- 7 Spano 1916, 233. Richardson 1955, 45. Jashemski 1993, 99 n. 156. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 469–470 n. 169.
- 8 Nn. 52, 56, 78, 84, 113, 224.
- 9 Nn. 4, 69, 162.
- 10 Jashemski 1993, 188 n. 366. Ciarallo and Giordano 2012, 594 n. 371.
- 11 Nn. 40, 67, 70, 87, 92, 95, 100, 109, 118, 123, 142, 155, 172, 235.
- 12 E.g. Fiorelli 1860, III, 13. Jashemski 1993, 50 n. 69, 108 n. 168, 123 n. 211. Farrar 1998, 19. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 406 n. 69, 478 n. 172, Morvillez 2017, 34.
- 13 N. 235.
- 14 Falkener 1853, 72.
- 15 Maiuri 1927, 49. Jashemski 1993, 38 n. 14. On the wood and glass used as shutter or openings in Pompeii, see Boman 2011, 95–96.

- 16 See nn. 249, 250, Meyer 1980, 417, 421, 431, Jashemski 1993, 249 n. 517, Ciarallo & Mariotti Lippi 1993, 114–115, Mariotti Lippi 2001, 74, Pappalardo 2004, 64.
- 17 Jashemski 1981, 32–37, 44, 48. Ciarallo & Mariotti Lippi 1993, 115. Mariotti Lippi 2001, 74. Ciarallo 2007, 173. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 668–669 n. 520.
- 18 Ciarallo & Mariotti Lippi 1993, 115–116. Mariotti Lippi 2001, 74. Ciarallo 2007, 173–174. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 668–669 n. 520.
- 19 Ciarallo 2007, 173.
- 20 Nn. 47, 57, 134, 162, 213, 245, 249.
- 21 Nn. 24, 25, 39, 52, 56, 98, 113, 224.
- 22 See Chapter 5.8.
- 23 Nn. 46, 51, 55, 107, 170, 172, 248, 250.
- 24 Spano 1910, 465. Sampaolo 1997, 183.
- 25 Nn. 249, 250.
- 26 N. 134.
- 27 Nn. 107, 250.
- 28 Jansen 2017, 416–417.
- 29 See Gleason & Palmer 2017, 372–375, 392, 394. On the planting beds, see also Tally-Schumacher & Niemeier 2016, 66 Figure 6.
- 30 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 3. Wiseman 1987, 393–394.
- 31 Nn. 54, 105, 118, 165, 190, 193, 207.
- 32 Nn. 72, 88, 89, 90, 94, 114, 122, 143, 163, 173, 174, 197, 213, 246.
- 33 Five houses (*Casa dei Dioscuri* VI,9,6/7, *Casa del Fauno* VI,12,2, house VI,17,23–26, *Casa di Trittolemo* VII,7,2, house VIII,2,14–16) where *opus reticulatum* (or *opus quasi reticulatum*) was used in the peristyle are defined as large, and they also feature luxury architecture (Table 4.2). In addition, the *Casa del Gallo* (VIII,5,2/5) is large, but it does not have luxury architecture. Contrary to these, the remaining seven houses are smaller than the median house with a peristyle. The houses where the peristyle had *opus quadratum* walls are all larger than the median house with a peristyle (Fig. 2.6), but only two are vast houses: *Casa di A. Umbricius Scaurus* (VII,16,12–15), and house I,16,5. The first and house VII,14,9 both had a private bath. These are the only two with luxury architecture.
- 34 On the grey (Nocera) tuff as expensive material, see Peterse 2007, 375.
- 35 De Haan 2010, 133.
- 36 There are four houses that are classified as large or vast (see nn. 56, 67, 112, 162) where marble was used as the building material for the peristyle walls. The houses with luxury architecture (Table 2.2), where marble is used on the peristyle walls include: *Panificio di Terentius Neo* (n. 150), *Casa del Centauro* (n. 112), *Casa dei Capitelli colorati* (n. 162), and *Casa di L. Caecilius Lucundus* (n. 67).
- 37 Peterse 2007, 374–375.
- 38 Suet. Aug. 56.2. The passage can be interpreted as the propaganda of Augustus. On the negotiations of the land purchase for Caesar's forum, see also Cic. Att. 4.17.7.
- 39 Tybout 2007, 407–408. Chiamonte (2007, 143) states that after the 62 CE earthquake, the *Porta Vesuvio* was never rebuilt.
- 40 The domination of small houses is visible, e.g. in Robinson's (1997, 137) Fig. 11.1. On the upper floors, see e.g. Spinazzola 1953, 83–109. There are even buildings on the city wall on the west side of the city. Pesando (1997, 263) states that these were among the most luxurious houses of Pompeii.
- 41 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 17, 72, 75. See also Robinson 1997, 137–138.
- 42 N. 52 in the *Casa delle colonne cilindriche* (I,16,2-a) with a large garden (Jashemski 1993, 64 n. 109), n. 54 in house I,16,5 with a large garden (Jashemski 1993, 65 n. 114), n. 57 in the *Casa di D. Octavius Quartio* (II,2,2) with a large garden (Jashemski 1993, 82–83 n. 136), n. 61 in house II,9,6 with a large garden (Jashemski 1993, 97 n. 154), n. 194 in the *Casa di Ma. Castricius* (VII,16,17) with a large garden (Jashemski 1993, 204 n. 406).

- 43 On the size of the average or standard houses, see Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 76, Nevett 2010, 74.
- 44 Wiseman 1987, 398. See also Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 17.
- 45 N. 251. Spinazzola (1953, 337) reports 6.80 m as the atrium column height and Sampaolo (2003, 361) 7.20 m.
- 46 Spinazzola 1953, 337. Pappalardo 2004, 41. Ehrhardt 2004, 39.
- 47 N. 73.
- 48 N. 32: the beam holes at 3.20 m, the columns 2,60 m. N. 43: the beam holes at 3.27 m, the columns 2.80 m. N. 95: the beam holes at 3.40 m, the columns 3.20 m.
- 49 See Landeschi & al. 2015 about the possibility of reconstructing the upper levels with 3D-models. However, it will take plenty of time before there are enough models available to make a comprehensive comparison.
- 50 See Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 74–75, Zanker 1998, 12.
- 51 On upper floors being identified on the basis of stairs and finds, see e.g. Spinazzola 1953, 282–283.
- 52 Nn. 40, 105, 109, 163, 208, 245.
- 53 On the loggia, see Spinazzola 1953, 299, 302.
- 54 Nn. 23, 170, 232, 240.
- 55 E.g. nn. 10, 235. The northern peristyle of the *Casa di Sirico* (VII,1,25/47) had fragments of *cocciopesto* floor at 2.10 and 2.60 m above the floor level (Finati 1856, *Relazione degli Scavi di Pompei*, 2), which indicates that there were structures above the porticoes.
- 56 Cic. De Or. 3.180.
- 57 Vitr. 5.6.9. Leach 1982, 144
- 58 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 21–22.
- 59 Speksnijder 2015, 89 n. 21. The area is measured on the PBMP map: http://digitalhumanities.umass.edu/pbmp/?page_id=1258. (Last visited 17.2.2017). Other large atria without columns: *Casa di Sallustio* (VI,2,4): 135 m², *Casa di Pansa* (VI,6,1): 135 m², *Casa dei Capitelli colorati* (VII,4,31/51): 135 m², house VIII,2,14–16: 130 m², house VIII,2,26: 125 m².
- 60 See Sections 4.1.1 and 6.8.
- 61 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 86. On the comparison of full peristyles and peristyles with less than four porticoes, see also Trentin 2014, 261–264.
- 62 Jashemski 1979, 53. Richardson 1988, 62–63. Farrar 1998, 14, 22–23. Jones & Robinson 2005, 695–696, 702, 707. Von Stackelberg 2009, 40. Mithen 2012, 126. Jones and Robinson (2005, 702, 707) conclude that in the Augustan era the *Casa delle Vestali* used piped water for display, whereas domestic water came from the cistern that collected the rain water.
- 63 Hales 2003, 116. See also Morvillez 2017, 45.
- 64 In this study, I use the word pool for the water features that are mostly under the ground level. A basin is, instead, a water holding structure that is mostly above the ground level.
- 65 Nn. 29, 37, 43, 45, 46, 51, 54, 60, 84, 98, 105, 150, 176, 178, 181, 208, 214, 215, 225.
- 66 Marble facing: nn. 22, 64, 84, 101, 110, 133, 134, 152, 160, 162, 166, 180, 185, 187, 202, 208, 210, 225, 235, 245. Not rectangular shape: nn. 22, 82, 108, 133, 139, 166, 225, 235, 245, 251. Colored plaster: nn. 139, 152, 174, 189, 193, 245. It is stated that Roman pools often had a blue plaster (Von Stackelberg 2009, 39), but in the case of the peristyle pools, this does not seem to occur very often.
- 67 Nn. 15, 67, 105, 121, 131, 187, 209, 243, 244.
- 68 There are several basins that have not been interpreted as decorative, see Fiorelli 1875, 182, Allison 2006, 362. The basins in the following peristyles were probably not decorative: nn. 40, 45, 130, 151, 248. Also, the information on the basins in the *Casa di Pinarius Cerialis* (III,4,4) and *Tintoria* VII,2,11–12 (see Avellino 1844, 84 and Jashemski 1993, 102 n. 160) is insufficient, and their function cannot be deduced.

- 69 Nn. 14, 15, 22, 38, 62, 64, 67, 82, 84, 97, 101, 103, 105, 108, 110, 114, 121, 131, 133, 134, 139, 152, 153, 160, 161, 162, 163, 166, 174, 180, 185, 187, 189, 193, 197, 202, 208, 210, 213, 225, 235, 241, 243, 244, 245, 251.
- 70 Nn. 1, 85, 111, 144, 146, 178, 199.
- 71 The peristyles where the basin is mentioned only in the reports are nn. 105 and 243. E.g. Serpe (2008, 149, 151–152) locates a marble basin in the portico of the *Casa di Acceptus e Euhodia* (VIII,5,39), but it was actually found in another room of the house, and it was likely located on the second floor (see, Mau 1884, 131).
- 72 See, e.g. Jashemski 1979, 35–36, 38, 53; 1993, 153–154 and Richardson 1988, 326. Both think that the southern peristyle of the *Casa dei Vettii* (VI,15,1) had fountains spurting water onto the garden.
- 73 Zanker 1998, 188–189.
- 74 Nn. 3, 6, 25, 33, 66, 73, 123, 136, 219, 249.
- 75 Jansen 1997, 130.
- 76 Jashemski 1979, 32–33; 1981, 39, 48. Dwyer 1982, 113. Richardson 1988, 51, 55, 62. Zanker 1998, 118. Jones & Robinson 2005, 697, 699. Von Stackelberg 2009, 39. Jansen 2011, 72. However, there had possibly been a water pipe leading from the mountains to Pompeii already in 80 BCE (Jansen 2017, 407)
- 77 Jones & Robinson 2005, 698–699. For the edict of Venafrum (CIL X, 4842) that deals with the water distribution of the city, see Taylor 2000, 124–127. For the limited water distribution in Rome, see Frontinus Aq. 94.6.
- 78 Jones & Robinson 2005, 699. See also Olsson 2015, 71–74.
- 79 Jones & Robinson 2005, 702. See also Leander Touati 2010, 121–122.
- 80 Jones & Robinson 2005, 702–707.
- 81 See Chapter 5.4.
- 82 Jones & Robinson 2005, 703, 706.
- 83 Von Stackelberg 2009, 40.
- 84 Peristyles with a key of distribution box: nn. 64, 67, 73, 84, 107, 134, 164, 187, 196, 208, 235, 245, 251.
- 85 Nn. 24, 106, 107, 133, 164, 235.
- 86 Jashemski papers Box 7, Acc. 2013-36, WH29: A: 120a, Notebook 1957, July 6.
- 87 N. 64.
- 88 On the taps, see M. De Vos 1991, 541.
- 89 The peristyles where the fountain statues can be linked with fountain jets: nn. 14, 24, 107, 134, 139, 164, 187, 208, 209, 235, 244, 245.
- 90 Nn. 3, 123, 249.
- 91 N. 249
- 92 Dwyer 1982, 113.
- 93 De Vos 1976, 38. Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 149. Pesando 1997, 7–8. Allison 2004, 86. Loccardi 2009, 31, 69. Zarmakoupi 2014, 118.
- 94 Vitr. 5.6.9. Leach 1982, 144.
- 95 The only peristyles with colorful marble sculptures: nn. 24, 251.
- 96 Nn. 2, 4, 7, 40, 57, 73, 126, 136, 169, 219, 244, 248.
- 97 The oldest known excavated terracotta statue comes from a peristyle that was excavated in 1762 (Fiorelli 1860, II, 144), and it is the only one reported from a peristyle before the 1870s. Some other terracotta statues are also mentioned in the very early reports; see e.g. Fiorelli 1860, I, 16. Allison (2004, 119) mentions that excavators were often looking for complete objects, and consequently the pieces of terracotta sculpture were not likely reported very well. Terracotta was not valued as highly as marble and bronze, and terracotta decoration is often connected with practical use and may not have been considered as art. E.g. the clay vases found in the peristyle of the *Casa di M. Pupius Rufus* (VI,15,5) were shaped as terracotta figurines (Sogliano 1895, 438; 1897, 24–27, Jashemski 1993, 156–157 n. 297, Sampaolo 1994, 581). Also, the terracotta antefixes of the peristyles might have been sculpted (see e.g. Bonucci 1827,

- 118, Gell 1832, I, 169, Fiorelli 1861, 393–394, 1864, 94, Dwyer 1982, 89, Bragantini 1996, 329). This might have confused the line between terracotta sculpture and practical terracotta objects, and therefore they were rarely reported. See, also Monteix 2017, 215 and Pietilä-Castrén 2019, 117.
- 98 On Venus as a common peristyle decoration, see Loccardi 2009, 67. Only peristyle n. 126 had terracotta statues that can be connected to Venus (Zanier 2009, 267). The Dionysiac themes are not present in the peristyle as terracotta sculpture. See also Section 3.2.2.
- 99 The peristyles with animal terracotta sculptures: nn. 40, 73, 248. The peristyles with Egypt themed terracotta statues: nn. 57, 73, 219.
- 100 E.g. the probable philosopher in peristyle n. 2, the bearded man (identified occasionally as Vulcan) in peristyle n. 7, a family group in peristyle n. 136, a muse in peristyle n. 169, a Phoenician monster in peristyle n. 219, and a pillar with a female face in peristyle n. 244.
- 101 Dwyer (1982, 122) sees some of the terracotta statues as a personal taste for bric-a-brac. See also Pietilä-Castrén 2019, 132.
- 102 On the early excavators' interest in sculpture, see Nevett 2010, 90 and Milnor 2014, 13. On the early excavators' interest in art, and particularly bronze objects, see Allison 2004, 31–32.
- 103 Carrella et al. (2008, 13) write that marble statues were ignored by the 19th century researchers, and not even published in some of the early publications. However, the marble statues were present already in the earliest reports, e.g. Fiorelli 1860, I, 8–9, 29, 34, 50, 125, II, 137, 139, 152.
- 104 Peristyles excavated before 1850 with marble sculpture: nn. 87, 89, 94, 103, 104, 107, 112, 113, 122, 133, 164, 166, 168, 178, 235, and with bronze sculpture: nn. 87, 97, 107. The low number of bronze sculptures is probably due to the low number of bronze sculptures in general in the peristyles.
- 105 On the diggings for sculpture and valuable objects after the 79 CE eruption, see Pesando 1997, 8. On the possibilities of misplacing the sculpture in Pompeian houses, see Allison 2006, 403.
- 106 Dobbins 1994, 634–635. Adam 2007, 101.
- 107 See Dwyer 1982, 121. On the connection of Pompeian gardens and sculpture, see Allison 2004, 90, 184.
- 108 Sogliano 1880, 488–489. Mau 1882, 221. Niccolini & Niccolini 1890, Casa nell'Isola VII. della Regione IX, 2; 1896, Nuovi scavi dal 1874 a tutto il 1882, 18. Dwyer 1982, 71–78. Jashemski 1993, 240–242 n. 501. D'Acunto 2008, 186–196.
- 109 Sogliano 1880, 399–400, 452. Mau 1882, 221.
- 110 Allison (2006, 66, 302, 403) proposes the possibility that some of the sculpture of the *Casa del Menandro* (I,10,4/14–17) might have been removed to a safer place during the last turmoil.
- 111 Although sculpture has been connected with gardens, there are several cases where there has not been any problem in connecting them with other rooms. In the atria: Allison 2004, 184, Inserra 2008, 22, 35, 52, Carrella 2008, 75, 77, 93, Serpe 2008, 115, 139, D'Acunto 2008, 171, in the *tablina*: Schulz 1841, 114, Fiorelli 1864, 152, Inserra 2008, 23, Serpe 2008, 116, in the *fauces*: Carrella 2008, 67, D'Acunto 2008, 168, in other rooms: Inserra 2008, 30, 52, Carrella 2008, 69, D'Acunto 2008, 171.
- 112 On herms as garden sculpture, see Inserra 2008, 19, Serpe 2008, 144, D'Acunto 2008, 196, Loccardi 2009, 68. On the herms connected to the atria, see Inserra 2008, 28, Serpe 2008, 118, 144, D'Acunto 2008, 164. On the herms found in houses without a garden, see Carrella 2008, 74. On herms not connected to a garden or a peristyle, see Pesando 1997, 245, Allison 2006, 66, 302, Carrella 2008, 93, 98, Serpe 2008, 139.
- 113 On the connection of *oscilla* and Pompeian gardens, see Carrella 2008, 81, Serpe 2008, 117.

- 114 On the *oscilla* in the peristyles see, e.g. Falkener 1853, 73, Fiorelli 1861, 388, Sogliano 1907, 592, Dwyer 1982, 81, 92, Jashemski 1993, 159, 162 n. 302, Seiler 1994, 741–743, 746. On the attachment of the *oscilla* in the arches, see Mau 1882, 221, Jashemski 1993, 241 n. 501, D’Acunto 2008, 187.
- 115 Sogliano 1880, 398–399, 488–489, 492.
- 116 N. 244.
- 117 See, e.g. Jashemski 1993, 28 n. 17 (house I,3,25), 145 n. 276 (the southern peristyle of the *Casa del Fauno* VI,12,2), 165 n. 311 (house VI,17,23–26), 200 n. 398 (the *Casa di A. Octavius Primus* VII,15,12–13). Carrella 2008, 101–102 (house VI,17,23–26), Serpe 2008, 141 (the *Casa di A. Octavius Primus* VII,15,12–13). Jashemski (1993, 197 n. 387) states that the marble masks found in the *Casa di Ganimede* (VII,13,4/17–18) may have been garden decorations. Serpe (2008, 138) thinks, instead, that they were found in the peristyle of the house. The report (Fiorelli 1862, 381–384), however, does not specify that they were found in the peristyle. It mentions a cortile (Italian: *cortile*), which can also mean the atrium.
- 118 E.g. Dexter (1975, 247) thinks that some decoration of the peristyle of the *Casa di L. Caecilius Lucundus* (V,1,26) was taken away after the eruption. Breton (1870, 470) speculates that the column of the pool in house VIII,4,12–13 may have supported a statue. Ten fountain statues have been connected to the peristyle of the *Casa dei Vettii* (VI,15,1, Mau 1896, 36, Jashemski 1993, 153 n. 294, Sampaolo 1994, 523), probably due to the ten podia for the fountain statues in the peristyle, but only seven actual fountain statues were reported from the peristyle (n. 134). Ciarallo and Giordano (2012, 376 n. 20) speculate that the niche in the peristyle of house I,4,2 had a statue. Spinazzola (1953, 344) thinks that there was going to be a statue in the pool in the *Casa di Obellius Firmus* (IX,14,4). Hartswick (2017b, 341) thinks that the sculptures found in the rooms associated with gardens should also be considered as garden statuary. This is a possible point of view, however, as we rarely know the furniture, doors, curtains, and other obstacles, identifying which rooms can be defined as associated is very speculative. Some rooms quite far away from a garden could have belonged to the same visual design as the garden, and on the contrary some rooms near it may not have.
- 119 E.g. in the peristyle of the *Casa del Centenario* (IX,8,3/7) as noted by Sogliano (1880, 101, 151).
- 120 For the marble head and its finding place, see Della Corte 1911, 48–49. Jashemski (1993, 252 n. 518) thinks that it may have been a garden herm. Della Corte (1954, 211–212) proposes the possibility of wooden supports for herms.
- 121 Fiorelli 1862, 288. Mau 1882, 221. Sogliano 1907, 592. Dwyer 1982, 40. Jashemski 1993, 163 n. 302, 241 n. 501. D’Acunto 2008, 187.
- 122 Nn. 5, 17, 19, 29, 27, 31, 32, 34, 42, 45, 56, 72, 83, 105, 150, 157, 162, 182, 204, 212, 214, 232, 242, 249, 251. In addition, the peristyle of house V,4,b might be added to the list, but it is reported to have had some sketches on the plaster (Sogliano 1901, 331), which might be graffiti or indications of planned paintings.
- 123 Sampaolo 1999, 748.
- 124 Spinazzola 1953, 130. M. De Vos, 1990, 58. Bragantini 1999, 339.
- 125 Nn. 17, 19, 105, 150. See Table 2.3.
- 126 Nn. 2, 13, 227.
- 127 Bragantini 1996, 832. The peristyle of house I,2,16 is interpreted as a possible teaching location, on the basis of a terracotta statue of a philosopher (Pesando 1997, 216, Inserra 2008, 20), but the statue does not necessary indicate that the peristyle was a teaching place.
- 128 On this type of plaster on outside walls, see Spinazzola 1953, 130.
- 129 For the Pompeian painting styles, their periodical nature, and a critique of the styles, see Leach 1982, 158, Barbet 1985, 12, 36–37, 89–90, 96, 104, 139, 182 tab. V, 214, 273. See also Peters & Moormann 1993, 367–368.

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- 130 E.g. Bragantini 2003, 184.
- 131 Sampaolo 1993, 52–53, 81.
- 132 In the peristyle of the *Casa del Principe di Napoli* (VI,15,7/8), the repaired parts of the walls were left undecorated (Strocka 1994, 656) – perhaps to be finished later. This could also have been done also in the *Casa del Chirurgo* (VI,1,10), if wanted.
- 133 Spinazzola 1953, 130–135. Richardson 1955, 3.
- 134 Barbet 1985, 66–72. Ling & Ling 2005, 94, 169.
- 135 The peristyle with a table: n. 122. The peristyles with decorative water features: nn. 66, 111, 121, 133, 166, 244. The peristyles with marble statue: 122, 133, 166, 244.
- 136 The peristyle with an outdoor triclinium: n. 70. The peristyles with a table: nn. 33, 70, 125, 136, 149. The peristyles with a decorative water feature: nn. 33, 136, 152, 243. The peristyles with sculpture: nn. 33, 125, 136, 149, 168.
- 137 Nn. 12, 21, 126, 140, 148, 154.
- 138 Ling & Ling 2005, 94
- 139 Nn. 21, 33, 70, 125, 126, 136, 148, 149, 154, 168, 243.
- 140 Nn. 21, 66, 111, 117, 120, 121, 122, 126, 132, 133, 165, 166, 226, 247, 250.
- 141 Peters & Moormann 1993, 369. Cfr. Leach 1982, 166.
- 142 Leach 1982, 166.
- 143 Ling & Ling 2005, 94. Ling and Ling regard that the reception spaces were decorated with the first and second style, and therefore it can be assumed that he means the third and fourth style.
- 144 The peristyles with an outdoor triclinium: nn. 38, 219, 239. The peristyles with an industrial or commercial activity: nn. 124, 141.
- 145 The peristyles with an outdoor triclinium: nn. 22, 28, 62, 84.
- 146 Fourth style: nn. 55, 74, 76, 138, 186, 202, 205, 219. Third style: nn. 48, 110.
- 147 On the problematic situation of the survival of wall paintings and an entire city-wide comparison, see Robinson 1997, 138–139.
- 148 On the paintings and their role in the functions of Roman social life, see Barbet 1985, 273. See also Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 8.
- 149 Ling & Ling 2005, 93–94.
- 150 Allison 2006, 362.
- 151 See, e.g. Green 2015, 143.
- 152 Barbet 1985, 75. Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 167–168. Ling & Ling 2005, 90. Ciarallo 2012, 23. These decorative themes are often listed as secondary decoration, or as decoration of secondary spaces of a house (see Bragantini 1997, 386; 2003, 184, Ling & Ling 2005, 167).
- 153 Gombrich 1979, 151, 165.
- 154 See, e.g. Jashemski 1993, 317–322 n. 12, 13, Ling & Ling 2005, 90, 94, 108.
- 155 On the size, see Zanker 1998, 189.
- 156 Occasionally the plant paintings might have more details, such as in the *Casa dei Vettii* (see Jashemski 1993, 346 n. 57). Jashemski (1993, 313–369) does not usually list the plant paintings in her catalogue of garden paintings, but this is an exception. Perhaps this is due the extraordinary detail of this painting compared to the other plant paintings. However, even in this painting, the amount of detail does not compare with the large garden paintings.
- 157 The central panel paintings are often referred to as *quodro* in Italian texts, which can be differentiated from the *medaglie* and *vignette*. However, the descriptions are not always so detailed that a classification of the painting can be certainly established, if the painting itself does not survive. Occasionally, such as in the *Casa dei Dioscuri* (n. 114), the painted Dioscuri does not fit clearly in any of these categories. In these unclear cases I have listed them as equal with central panel paintings. See also, Esposito 2017, 271. Esposito thinks that mythological panels and architectural features in the middle zone could each have been executed in a single day, meaning

- that their cost could have been equal, but this obviously depends on size, cost, and the skills of the crew painting them.
- 158 Leach 1982, 141, 166.
- 159 See e.g., Fiorelli 1860, I, 2–4, 6–7, 17, 19, 20–21; II, 134–146. Nevett (2010, 90) comments that the wall paintings in general were favored by the early excavators.
- 160 See e.g. Sampaolo 1993, 280–281.
- 161 Ling & Ling 2005, 101, 167.
- 162 Richardson 1955, 42.
- 163 E.g. Bragantini (1999, 824) uses the number of mythological paintings to evaluate the ranking of the decoration of the *Casa della Fortuna* (IX,7,20).
- 164 Mythological: nn. 1, 15, 59, 66, 76, 85, 101, 104, 105, 108, 113, 114, 128, 139, 147, 163, 169, 175, 202, 216, 240, 245. Landscape: nn. 14, 15, 28, 37, 57, 59, 67, 78, 85, 107, 111, 113, 147, 156, 163, 194, 202, 208, 216, 245. Still life: nn. 1, 40, 44, 55, 59, 66, 73, 82, 84, 101, 114, 134, 137, 139, 148, 156, 166, 208, 235, 245, 250. This list and calculation includes the paintings on all surfaces (*plutei*, etc.), not just walls. The list includes central panel paintings and large paintings, however, vignettes and medallions are not included.
- 165 For example, the painting of a warrior (Sampaolo 1997, 270) in the peristyle of the *Casa di Romolo e Remo* (n. 175) could be interpreted also as mythological or historical event. Elements of mythological, landscape and still life paintings can be mixed in a same picture, e.g. in the peristyle of the *Casa della Regina Carolina* (see Bragantini 1998, 398–399) and *Casa del Centenario* (see Sampaolo 1999, 971–974). Additionally, one could consider all the animal and garden paintings as landscapes, but they are usually categorized as own painting type. They also often include mythological characters, such the famous paintings in the *Casa della Venere in conchiglia* (n. 59), *Casa di Adone ferito* (n. 101) and *Casa di Vesonius Primus* (n. 128).
- 166 Nn. 15, 59, 66, 85, 101, 113, 114, 139, 147, 156, 163, 202, 208, 216, 245.
- 167 See e.g. Leach 1982, 166–167, Peters & Moormann 1993b, 409, Pappalardo 2004, 338, Ling & Ling 2005, 146.
- 168 Leach 1982, 153–154. Zarmakoupi 2014, 125–126.
- 169 See e.g. Sampaolo 1999, 970–974, Allison, 2002, 75–77.
- 170 Sampaolo 1996, 641. Bragantini 2003, 211. Ling & Ling 2005, 94, 100, 129.
- 171 Ling & Ling 2005, 94.
- 172 Richardson 1955, 42.
- 173 Richardson (1955, 42) lists the large sacral landscapes to the *Casa della Fontana piccola* (VI,8,23/24), *Casa di Apollo* (VI,7,23), *Casa dei Dioscuri* (VI,9,6/7), *Casa della Caccia antica* (VII,4,48) and *Casa di Fabia*.
- 174 Spano 1910, 474.
- 175 Zanker 1998, 189.
- 176 Leach 1982, 162.
- 177 On decorative floors as a means of display, see Zanker 1998, 11–12.
- 178 Peters & Moormann 1993b, 409. Pesando 1997, 221–222. Bragantini 2003, 184. Ling & Ling 2005, 95. De Haan 2010, 133.
- 179 Ling & Ling 2005, 96, 166.
- 180 Peristyle n. 135 has a mortar floor decorated with black plaster, which is highly unusual, and it is difficult to know what this means. In this study it is counted as a decorated floor.
- 181 Nn. 78, 82, 95, 114, 136, 146, 174, 180, 198, 201.
- 182 N. 156.
- 183 E.g. the following mortar floors of peristyles have not been documented: nn. 2, 19, 28, 41, 43, 47, 51, 54, 55, 88, 92, 97, 107, 128, 141.
- 184 On the early excavators' interest in mosaics, see Nevett 2010, 90.
- 185 On the problematic situation of the documentation of the floors, see Pesando 1997, 7. Nn. 14, 15, 24, 25, 64, 102, 106, 108, 110, 145, 162, 163, 181, 182, 196, 210, 237.

186 E.g. nn. 14, 64, 102, 106, 110, 182, 210.

187 N. 95. It can also be from the entrance to VI,5,19, but Fiorelli states that it was found near the west side entrance, which would most likely indicate the peristyle opening to VI,5,10 as VI,5,19 does not have an entrance on the west side (Fiorelli 1860, III, 12–14. Niccolini & Niccolini 1862, *Descrizione generale* 28–29. Fiorelli 1875, 101).

188 Ling & Ling 2005, 94.

189 On the connection of spaces meant for movement and geometrical patterns, see Ling & Ling 2005, 94.

190 See e.g. Bragantini 1997, 237. Bragantini states that the white mosaic floor with black stripes and lines of dots in the peristyle of the *Casa di Trittolemo* (VII,7,5) is typical for peristyles. She probably refers to the patterns, as the mosaic floors are not very typical in Pompeian peristyles.

5 Classification of peristyles according to their means of economic display

5.1 Grouping the peristyles according to their use for display

The various means of socioeconomic display defined in the previous chapter create a possibility to divide the peristyles into economic display groups. There are obviously several ways to do this, but I see that seven distinctive clusters rise from the material. The connection between the peristyles in a single group is mainly determined according to how they utilized the means of display.

The peristyle groups are the following: opulent peristyles, large full peristyles, ornamental peristyles, large painting peristyles, imitation peristyles, minor decoration peristyles, and architectural peristyles. The following chapters define each group, and the qualities that connect the peristyles of that group, and discuss how the group's peristyles relate to the continuum of all Pompeian peristyles. To illustrate their location on the economic continuum of the city, they are compared with the house attributes that reflect the owner's wealth: house size and luxury architecture.

A peristyle can belong only to one group, but it might fulfill the criteria of several groups. In these cases, the peristyle is listed in the first group where it fits, e.g. if a peristyle matches the criteria of the opulent peristyles, and also had a sculpture collection which is the criterion of the ornamental peristyles, the peristyle is listed as an opulent peristyle. This is because the peristyle groups are listed in the order of economic representation. The first group of peristyles reflects the most means used, and therefore the most wealth, the second group (large full peristyles) the second most, the third group (ornamental peristyles) the third most, and so on. This naturally means that if a peristyle belongs to one group, but it would also fit the criteria for another lower group, it reflects the economic status of both groups; however, as it is already included in a higher-ranking group, there is no need to include it in the later groups, as the peristyle already represents higher wealth.

Like every classification system, there are problems with this approach. The limits are always somewhat artificial, in particular when a factor is something like a specific number, such as the size of an area. It is very unlikely, of course, that Pompeians had this sort of data on all the different sizes of their peristyles, and therefore they could not say exactly where in their opinion the limit between a large and medium size peristyle lay. However, every Pompeian likely had

experience of many peristyles, and they could estimate whether a peristyle was small, medium, or large compared with the other peristyle gardens of the city.

Occasionally a peristyle in a group might appear relatively different, if it is compared to other examples in the same group, while being relatively similar to another peristyle that belongs to another group. This is a problem with classification systems generally: wherever the limit is set, the examples on both sides of the limit might still be very similar, but this artificial barrier sets them apart somewhat.

Despite the general problems of classification systems, the groupings are made on the basis of the archaeological material – its similarity or diversity – of the peristyle gardens. It would be absurd to expect that ancient Pompeians would have recognized exactly these same groups, but still they saw and experienced the same material that creates these groups, and it is certainly possible that Pompeians' experience of the peristyles could have been similar if they thought of their display use, and particularly the means that were used for this purpose.

5.2 Opulent peristyles

The first group is the opulent peristyles, which are the top peristyles as defined by the means of economic display. The group includes 14 peristyles, and they are all in different houses.¹ The high-end peristyles of Pompeii had two salient architectural features: a large area and four porticoes. In addition, they had at least three of the five decorative elements: floor decoration, fountains, pools or decorative basins, sculpture, and wall paintings with central panel paintings. The criteria for the group slightly emphasize the architectural elements, as they require the highest number of colonnades and a large area, while with the decoration more versatility is allowed, and the conditions can be fulfilled through several combinations. The emphasis on the architectural elements leans on the assumption that the building process and the acquisition of space were more costly and time consuming than obtaining new decoration. It is notable that the architecture largely reflects the economic level of the building-moment of the peristyle, and the economic standing of the house owner in 79 CE might differ from that of the building-moment. Still, the architecture also indicates the wealth of the peristyle owners of the last phase, as they were able to maintain the large size and four porticoes, which echoed the owners' economical ability to retain their high-class peristyle architecture. There was always the possibility to reduce the size or number of porticoes, if the situation so dictated. Maintaining the original configuration reflects a desire to transmit the image of economic success, even if the reality was different.

In four of the peristyles, all seven of the characteristics of display can be found. They are in the peristyles of the *Casa del Menandro* and *Casa degli Amorini dorati*, and also in the middle peristyle of the *Casa del Citarista* and the south peristyle of the *Casa dei Vettii*.² Three peristyles featured six attributes: *Casa di Meleagro* (VI,9,2/13), *Casa del Centenario* (IX,8,3/7), and the *Fullonica* VI,8,20.³ The last example is a fullery, and the peristyle area had several basins relating to working activities in the western and northwestern sections.⁴ It has been suggested that the garden area was used for drying clothes,⁵ but no evidence of this type of activity

has been reported. Instead, the spatial isolation made by raising the northwest area, where the fullery basins were located, and the vision block made from a masonry wall between the garden and the northwestern part, suggest that the garden was separated from the working activity.⁶ The garden probably belonged to the visual atmosphere of the eastern part of the peristyle, where the decorative elements were concentrated. Sampaolo suggests that the east side of the peristyle and the rooms opening onto the peristyle there were reserved for receiving clients.⁷ Flohr does not see any grounds for the commercial use of the rooms on the east side. He, however, thinks that they were in domestic use, but states that they were reception rooms, and that negotiations with clients were possibly held in these rooms. Flohr would rather place the commercial activity inside the peristyle area, and notes that pictures with fullers were visible to people walking in the peristyle.⁸ It is somewhat irrelevant for the purpose of the peristyle whether the clients visited only the peristyle or also the rooms on the east side, because to reach the eastern rooms one had to pass through the decorated areas of the peristyle. The decoration of the peristyle of the *Fullonica* VI,8,20 highlights that making a good impression was equally important in a semi-public space, such as in the buildings of a business or small-scale industry.

In addition to the aforementioned seven peristyles, there are also other peristyles that fulfill the minimum requirements of the opulent peristyle: the architectural display features and three decorative elements. They are *Casa delle nozze d'argento*, *Casa di Obellius Firmus*, *Casa di Cornelius Rufus*, house VI,17,32–36, the south peristyles of the *Casa del Fauno*, and the northern peristyles of the *Casa dei Capitelli colorati* and house VIII,2,14–16.⁹ Water installations emerge as a common decorative feature in the group of opulent peristyles; every opulent peristyle has at least one pool or fountain, and there is often a pool or decorative basin. The only exception is the *Casa delle nozze d'argento*, which does not feature a pool. However, the peristyle had fountains, additionally linking the display of water to this space.¹⁰

Wallace-Hadrill suggests that a pool presented an image of a public portico, *palaestra*, or *gymnasium*.¹¹ A huge pool (34.55 x 22.25 m)¹² exists in the Great Palestra of Pompeii, which would have meant that a pool was a familiar feature for Pompeians as part of a public portico; however, it is the only example. This very large pool has been interpreted to be a swimming pool, and occasionally the pools in the peristyle gardens have been described as diminutive swimming pools.¹³ The peristyle pools do not offer much support to the assumption that they were meant for swimming or bathing. The southern pool of the peristyle of the *Casa delle Vestali* is one of the few examples where this type of activity might have happened. Fausto Niccolini and Felice Niccolini suggest that it was intended for bathing, but Jones and Robinson state that the pool had lost this function in the last phase.¹⁴ It has stairs, which indicate that people were probably meant to step into it, but it is too shallow (depth 0.55 m) for swimming. The peristyle of house VI,17,32–36 is also reported to have a pool with stairs.¹⁵ This pool is not currently visible, and its measurements are not available. These two pools might have been made for bathing, but no proper swimming pools are found in the peristyle gardens.

On the other hand, it has been proposed that the pools in the peristyles held fish.¹⁶ Jashemski thinks that the amphorae in the pools of the northern peristyle of house VIII,2,14–16 and the peristyle of the *Casa di M. Gavius Rufus* (VII,2,16–17) were for fish to lay eggs in and hide.¹⁷ Contrary to this, Sampaolo posits that the amphorae in the pool of the *Casa di M. Gavius Rufus* were a part of a system that changed the water in the pool.¹⁸ In addition to the above-mentioned examples, the southern peristyle of the *Casa dei Capitelli colorati* also has a pool with one amphora on the west side,¹⁹ whereas the peristyle of house VIII,2,14–16 had 27 amphorae at the lower part of the pool. The large number of amphorae in this pool brings into question whether they were used for a water changing system, and how were they sealed when the pool was full? Therefore, Jashemski's explanation is more likely for this peristyle: these amphorae were likely for the fish themselves. In contrast, in the *Casa di M. Gavius Rufus* and the *Casa dei Capitelli colorati* the amphorae are few in number, and they are situated approximately in the middle of the pool wall; their function is not so clear. They might as likely have been utilized for both speculated purposes. All the same, there is one pool in Pompeii that certainly held fish; fish bones and scales were found inside the pool of the *Casa del Centenario*.²⁰ Keeping fish can be considered a luxury practice,²¹ which elevates the status of the pool as a means of economic self-display.

The scattered evidence that the pools were for swimming or bathing, or that they held fish, is not enough to generalize these functions for all the pools in the peristyles. Other purposes have also been suggested, such as for the *Casa dei Postumii* (VIII,4,4/49), where the pool had iron hooks on the side and it has been proposed that they were for keeping meat, fish, fruit, or drinks cold.²² This function is pure speculation. What instead seems to be clear is that the pools were part of the elaborate water decoration of these peristyles, as the pools in the opulent peristyles were usually equipped with a fountain.²³ The combination of a fountain and a swimming or bathing pool is perhaps questionable, but it is not entirely out of the question. For example, the pool of house VI,17,32–36 is reported as having steps down and a fountain,²⁴ but as stated before nothing remains visible and the appearance of the pool cannot be confirmed. The connection of fish and a fountain does not strike one as bizarre. The pool of the *Casa del Centenario* where the fishbones were found had a fountain.²⁵ In addition, the pool of the *Casa di Pansa* (VI,6,1) had painted plants and fish on the inner walls of the pool.²⁶ Perhaps the undulating water made the painted fish look like they were living and moving? Keeping fish, or even the illusion of fish, was another possible means to display wealth in the peristyles, but this function can be verified for only a few peristyles. Instead, it is clear that among the many means to display wealth in the opulent peristyles, the display of water was important.

5.3 Large full peristyles

The second group is called the large full peristyles, and there are 29 examples of the type.²⁷ Their definition is that the garden must feature four colonnades and be larger than the average peristyle (Fig. 2.5). Consequently, the group consists of

the full peristyles that do not fulfill the size requirements of the opulent peristyles, or alternatively were large enough but did not have the mandatory decorations. Some of the large full peristyles are even lacking in both decoration and size, but were still larger than an average peristyle and had four colonnades.

In the overall group of the large full peristyles, the peristyles can be divided into three subgroups. First are the peristyles that had a visual image closely resembling the opulent peristyles. These peristyles had similar decorations to the opulent peristyles, and also a water feature – a pool or a decorative basin – that creates a link to the top peristyles of Pompeii. However, their size is smaller than 305 m² (Fig. 4.4); this is basically the only aspect that separates these peristyles from the opulent peristyles. The second subgroup is the peristyles that had a pool or a decorative basin, mirroring again the opulent peristyles, but lacked almost all other decorations. Yet, some of the peristyles in this group might be even larger than some of the opulent peristyles. The third subgroup did not have the required decorative elements of the opulent peristyles. However, they feature four colonnades and are larger than the average peristyle, and some even surpass the limit of 305 m², being very large compared to the other peristyles of Pompeii.

In the first subgroup, there are a few peristyles that were very similar to the opulent peristyles: the peristyle of the *Casa dei Postumii*, and the southern peristyles of the *Casa dei Capitelli colorati* and *Casa di Pansa*, which all are just below the limit of 305 m².²⁸ Similar cases but slightly smaller are the peristyle of the *Casa di M. Gavius Rufus* and the middle peristyles of the *Casa dei Dioscuri*. The middle peristyle of the *Casa del Centauro* can be connected to these peristyles, although it was clearly smaller than the others.²⁹ Each peristyle is equipped with a pool and fountains, and enough decoration to be counted as opulent peristyles, but they are not large enough in size.

The full peristyles of the *Casa delle Vestali* and the *Casa di Trittolemo* (VII,7,5) are very similar to the peristyles listed above. They similarly had large pools, but again their sizes (195 and 250 m²) fall short compared to the top peristyles.³⁰ However, these two peristyles had something special compared to the opulent peristyles: their mosaic floors. Only the opulent peristyle of house VI,17,32–36 had a mosaic floor, being a unique example in that group.³¹ Whereas, in addition to the peristyles of the *Casa delle Vestali* and *Casa di Trittolemo*, there are two more with a mosaic floor among the large full peristyles: the middle peristyle of the *Casa dei Dioscuri* and the peristyle of the *Casa del Cinghiale I* (VIII,3,8–9).³² Generally, the mosaic floors are concentrated in the peristyles that were between 195 and 270 m² in size.³³ The concentration hints at the possibility that the floors might have been used to compensate for size; if the peristyle could not be enlarged, perhaps a mosaic floor could enhance the appearance of wealth?

The peristyle of the *Casa di A. Umbricius Scaurus* (VII,16,12–15) had four porticoes, an area of 250 m², and a large pool (4.50 x 3.90 m, depth 1.35 m).³⁴ Its architecture resembles the opulent peristyles, but it is smaller, and no decoration besides the pool is known. The peristyle is an example of the second subgroup of the large full peristyles. In addition, there are three full peristyles – in house VI,17,23–26, the *Casa di C. Vibius Italus* (VII,2,18), and the *Casa del Gallo* (VIII,5,2/5) – which by size correspond to the

opulent peristyles, and all had a pool, but they lack other decorative elements such as fountains, sculpture, or wall or floor decoration.³⁵ The peristyle of the *Casa di Paquius Proculus* is very similar to the opulent peristyles; however, only water decoration has been identified from the peristyle, as well as third style paintings, although they lack the central panel paintings.³⁶ The peristyle of house IX,6,f–g did not have a pool, but had a decorative marble basin, which simulates the same idea of a water feature as a pool.³⁷ The lack of decorative elements in these peristyles might be related to poor documentation – particularly with the huge peristyle of house VI,17,23–26, which was excavated in the first half of the 19th century. Also, some of the peristyles might have been severely damaged before they were excavated, for example in the case of the *Casa di A. Umbricius Scaurus*, where hardly any remains of the peristyle walls survive, making it impossible to recognize any potential wall decoration.

The third subcategory consists of the peristyles with four colonnades and an area larger than the average (Fig. 2.5), but which had very little decoration – if any. There are nine peristyles in the size group of 175–300 m², and six larger than 300 m². These particular peristyles often lack garden decorations. Only three of them are reported to have had sculpture: the southern peristyle of the *Casa del Citarista* featured a bronze statue of Apollo, the northern peristyle of the *Casa del Fauno* had two marble sculptures, and in the peristyle of the *Casa di M. Caesius Blandus* (VII,1,40) there was a small collection of Dionysian herms composed of three sculptures.³⁸ Although the *Casa di M. Caesius Blandus* had a notable sculpture collection, in the Pompeian scale, the herms certainly did not take up a lot of space in the peristyle. The reconstruction of these peristyles creates a vision of large open space which was almost empty, and it might have created a feeling of a certain spaciousness.

This experience of emptiness might have been particularly strong in the vast peristyles, such as the one in the *Casa del Labirinto* (VI,11,8–10), where there is no information on the decoration of the central space.³⁹ Nearby was the largest peristyle of Pompeii, the northern peristyle of the *Casa del Fauno*, which featured two marble statues. However, taking into consideration its size of 1,120 m², the statues were a small detail in this enormous open space.⁴⁰ In addition, the peristyles of the *Casa del Labirinto* and the *Casa del Fauno* are in many details similar, as the columns and the wall decoration are almost exactly the same. The southern peristyle of the *Casa del Fauno* can be connected with these two because of its similar wall decoration and columns – although there were minor differences.⁴¹ Yet, the southern peristyle has more decorative elements than the northern peristyle and the peristyle of the *Casa del Labirinto* and, in this study, it is identified as an opulent peristyle, meaning that with regard to its display features the peristyle was clearly in a different category than these two large full peristyles.

A sensation of large open space could communicate wealth. The owners of these peristyles were able to sacrifice a large portion of their houses to create an open space. In some of these peristyles, even the wall decoration hints at the prospect that this feeling of spaciousness was the dominant planning concept. For example, in the *Casa del Labirinto* and the *Casa del Fauno* the plaster pilasters

simulated a double portico, and in the *Casa di N. Popidius Priscus* (VII,2,20/40) the painted columns created an impression of the continuation of the space, and the peristyle of the *Casa di M. Gavius Rufus* also had similar wall decoration.⁴² All of these wall decorations are trying to create a visual continuation of the porticoes beyond the wall surface. These decorative elements did not likely trick Pompeians into believing that the peristyles actually continued beyond the wall, but they were still meant to create an even more spacious experience of the space.

Yet, is it certain that these peristyles were almost empty in antiquity? Was there just a plain open space in the middle of the peristyle where, for example, sports and *palaestra*-like activities could occur? Or were there possibly features made of organic material which have disappeared without a trace? The easiest answer is to imagine plantings in the central area – perhaps decorative flora. The use of decorative plantings does not fit well with *palaestra*-like functions, and would likely preclude these activities in the open space. Although the general assumption is that the peristyle had a garden in the central space, actual information about plantings is seldom very evident.⁴³ We only have reported evidence of plantings from four large full peristyles: *Casa degli amanti*, house II,1,12, *Casa dei Gladiatori* (V,5,3), and the middle peristyle of the *Casa dei Dioscuri*.⁴⁴ House II,1,12 and *Casa dei Gladiatori* had trees, which would certainly interrupt the visual openness of its large central space. In the *Casa dei Gladiatori*, the vast peristyle would have been suitable for a *palaestra*, as it was once a gladiator barracks, even though that activity took place before the last phase.⁴⁵ However, reconstructing the appearance of the central space of the peristyle is difficult, because there is no information on the size, location, or number of trees, and therefore we do not know the character of the garden.⁴⁶ It is equally possible that the presence of a few trees did not obstruct the *palaestra*-activities in the space, so we cannot entirely exclude them. On the other hand, the reported elements of this garden space suggest that most likely there was a garden in this peristyle, and in this case it would call into question whether *palaestra*-activities occurred in the peristyle during the last phase.

The situation is even more complex when examining the peristyles that do not have any reported remains of plantings. The open space of the *Casa del Labirinto* was vast, 295 m². The cistern openings are all between the columns,⁴⁷ therefore water maintenance could be handled in the porticoes and the only clearly identifiable activity that was happening in this peristyle did not require a large central area. The central space is labeled a *viridarium* in the excavation report,⁴⁸ which indicates that at the time of the excavation it appeared as a garden, but nothing of this is reported – no root cavities or imprints on the ground. However, two terracotta drinking basins for birds were found in the peristyle, reinforcing the idea of a pleasure garden and giving some indications of the appearance of this space.⁴⁹ The cut hedge labyrinth that currently is planted in the garden area, however, has no historical foundation, and was inspired by the labyrinth pattern on the mosaic floor of the *cubiculum* (42) on the north side of the peristyle.⁵⁰ Yet, the current plantings tell us something about the surface of the open area. They indicate that if there was some type of hard surface, which was probably needed for

a *palaestra* (or at least *palaestra*-activity would create a hard surface), it would have been destroyed by the modern plants, and it is an unlikely scenario that an ancient structure was intentionally destroyed for the modern plantings, but not impossible.

Even though there are no reported root cavities for the majority of the peristyles, the central part was not likely an open field; the interpretation of a garden made by the excavators and the previous researchers, such as Jashemski, seems to be the most likely option. The plantings change the visual image of the space, as the plants draw the attention of the viewer and make the space feel less empty. Nevertheless, much of the visual image depends on what type of plantings there were. If the plantings were short, such as in the *Casa dei pittori al lavoro*, they would not have interfered with the view through the space – however, the sense of total emptiness is still lost. If the plantings were trees, such as in the *Casa di Polibio*,⁵¹ they would have interrupted the gaze. Nevertheless, the trees in the peristyle were often quite small, so the viewer could still perceive the whole size of the space. In addition, the location of the trees impacts the visibility of the space, and if the trees created another set of vertical lines behind the columns they might have made the space look deeper.

The large full peristyles were very similar to the opulent peristyles, only lacking a few of their qualities. In particular, the visual impression was similar to the opulent peristyles. It is possible that in some cases the building and decoration process of the peristyle was still on-going during the eruption, as several of these houses are reported as having been under restoration.⁵² In the *Casa dei Dioscuri*, *Casa del Labirinto*, *Casa del Fauno*, *Casa del Gallo*, and *Casa di N. Popidius Priscus* the restoration of the peristyle was stopped by the eruption.⁵³ Consequently, we do not know what kind of message these peristyles were meant to convey, as we do not know the end result. Staub Gierow states that the peristyle of the *Casa delle Forme di Creta* (VII,4,62) was probably in poor shape when it was excavated. In this case it might mean that the space was under restructuration, or it was abandoned, at least partly.⁵⁴

In addition, the situation with the sources might be also corrupted, as information about decoration has perhaps disappeared for some of the large full peristyles. For example, the *Casa del Citarista*, *Casa degli amanti*, *Casa dei Dioscuri*, and *Casa di N. Popidius Priscus* were visited before the excavation,⁵⁵ and it is possible that some decoration was transported away from the peristyles before the excavations. Therefore, it is possible that some of the large full peristyles were actually opulent peristyles, but the decoration was never documented, or they were meant to be opulent peristyles but the restoration process was incomplete. On the other hand, the unfinished peristyles could likewise have been undergoing a downgrading in their display value and meanings, and the result was going to be something other than a top peristyle of Pompeii.

Even though some of the large full peristyles might have been more decorated than we know, it is unlikely that all of these peristyles were, and a group of peristyles similar to the large full peristyles already existed in ancient Pompeii. There were peristyles with significantly sized garden spaces without much decoration –

or their decoration was mainly plants. Either way, they are both reflections of conspicuous consumption – one displays an extravagant use of space and the other displays flora, assuming that the plants were not there only for utilitarian purposes.

5.4 Ornamental peristyles

The third group is the ornamental peristyles. The peristyles that had a sculpture collection or a significant number of fountain jets are included in this group. The limit of the features is three in both cases, meaning that either the peristyle had three or more sculptures or three or more fountain jets. Three is chosen as a limit because it is above the median number of these decorative items, and therefore the peristyles with three or more fountain jets or sculptures are more lavishly decorated as compared to the other peristyles.⁵⁶ In addition, the peristyles with a fountain niche are included in this group. A richly decorated niche can be regarded as an equally eye-catching element in a garden as a sculpture collection or several fountains jetting water in the air. In all of the peristyles of this group a remarkable effort was made to decorate the garden area. The criteria place altogether 22 peristyle gardens into this group. The ornamental peristyles often contain both sculpture and fountains, as 15 peristyles are reported to have had both.⁵⁷

The ornamental peristyles tend not to be the largest peristyles in Pompeii. The average size is about 150 m² – less than the average of Pompeii (Fig. 2.5), and even though the median area, 115 m², is not far from the total median of the all peristyles (Fig. 2.6), it is still less than it. In addition, the number of colonnades reveals that most of the peristyles in this group are pseudo-peristyles. Although there are also five gardens with only one colonnade, full peristyles are the most uncommon in this category, appearing only in the *Casa del Gruppo dei vasi di vetro* and the *Casa della Fortuna*.⁵⁸ In general, the architecture of the spaces reflects that the ornamental peristyles were not in the top class, either in size or number of colonnades.

Among the ornamental peristyles there are also several prominent examples of small garden spaces that had numerous sculptures or fountain jets. In these, a large number of decorations were placed in a relatively small space. One of the clearest examples is the peristyle of the *Casa di Marcus Lucretius*. The peristyle had two porticoes and a small garden space – only 50 m² – hosting 16 statues, a pool with a fountain, and a fountain niche; in addition, five *oscilla* and a marble theater mask were hanging between the piers.⁵⁹ This garden can be said to be filled with decorative elements. The garden with one portico of the *Casa di Acceptus e Euhodia* was even smaller (35 m²). It was equipped with eight marble sculptures and five terracotta statues. The northern part of the garden was occupied by a masonry triclinium (9 m²), so the density of the statues must have been even higher than in the *Casa di Marcus Lucretius*.⁶⁰ The small garden (20 m²) of the *Casa del Granduca* was also full, with its fountain niche and four marble statues.⁶¹ In the peristyle of the *Casa del Gruppo dei vasi di vetro* the garden area was 40 m² and contained seven marble statues.⁶² The *Casa del Balcone pensile* (VII,12,28)

did not feature as many statues as the examples listed before, but its garden space was very small – only 10 m² – and even the entire peristyle was only 40 m². In this peristyle there was a marble pool, a table, a basin, and at least three fountains – one with a marble statue.⁶³ This space must have felt quite full compared to many of the peristyles of Pompeii. In addition, three other peristyles – house I,2,17, *Casa del Granduca Michele* (VI,5,5) and *Casa delle Pareti rosse* (VIII,5,37) – contained a small sculpture collection, from three to four pieces, in a garden space between 35–55 m².⁶⁴ These were not so densely decorated as the peristyles mentioned above, but the feeling of fullness must have defined the experience of their visitors.

On the other hand, not all of the ornamental peristyles were so crowded with decorations. Even though they had a large number of decorative elements, the placement of these elements might have influenced the experience of the space. For example, the *Casa della Fortuna* had a garden area of 50 m² and also a large sculpture collection. Yet, the decorative items were probably concentrated near the columns, as the podia for two fountain sculptures and the decorative basin were near the columns and the *oscilla* of the peristyles hung between the columns.⁶⁵ The layout is similar to that of the *Casa dei Vettii*, where major part of the statues and basins are near the columns; however, in the *Casa dei Vettii* the garden part was also decorated, whereas the central part of the *Casa della Fortuna* had minimal traces of decoration.⁶⁶

There are 12 ornamental peristyles where three or more fountains are reported, but like the *Casa della Fortuna* these gardens often also had sculptures. It is not surprising that the two decorative features are regularly found together, because many of the sculptures also functioned as fountains.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, there are four peristyles in this group where display was concentrated mainly on a large number of fountains. The peristyle of the *Casa della Caccia nuova* (VII,10,3/14) had an *impluvium*-like marble pool, and there was a fountain jet in the middle of the pool, but the water display was not limited to only that one, as on the sides of the pool there were three additional fountain jets.⁶⁸ The *triclinium* of the northern peristyle of the *Casa di Sallustio* also had a marble pool with a fountain, but there was in addition another fountain nearby the *triclinium*, and a third on the south wall.⁶⁹ In the peristyle of the *Casa detta di Trebius Valens* there was a semicircular pool lavishly equipped with 13 fountain jets, and even the table of the outdoor *triclinium* was equipped with a fountain jet.⁷⁰ Although all of the above-mentioned peristyles had several fountains, the most extravagant water display of all was in the *Casa del Toro*. The north wall of the peristyle was decorated with a *nymphaeum* including several fountains and pools.⁷¹ The group of ornamental peristyles also includes the peristyles with fountain niches. They regularly had an abundant water display, as all of the peristyles with a fountain niche had more than three fountain jets, except in the *Casa della Fontana grande*.⁷² In spite of the fact that there was only one fountain jet in this peristyle, the richly decorated niche was just as notable as any other fountain niche featured in Pompeian peristyles.

The fountains were certainly considered important in the peristyles where they are found. For instance, in the *Casa detta di Trebius Valens* and in the northern garden of the *Casa dell'Efebo* a water tower was constructed to create pressure for

the fountains.⁷³ This might have kept the fountains working after the earthquake, which perhaps disturbed the water distribution of the aqueduct.⁷⁴ In the *Casa detta di Trebius Valens* it can be questioned whether an amphora that was in the water reservoir of the tower was able to provide enough water for all 14 fountains. A likely option is that not all the fountains of the peristyle were functioning during the last phase, and this might have caused a negative display effect.⁷⁵ Despite the possibility that not all of the fountains were working in this peristyle, the house owner still had the possibility to utilize several fountains for display, which makes the peristyle distinctive compared to most of the Pompeian peristyles.

The architecture of the ornamental peristyles does not compete with the most pretentious peristyles of Pompeii: they rarely feature four porticoes, and their area is often smaller than average. In general, it is the number of decorative garden features that sets apart the peristyles of this group compared to the other peristyles of Pompeii – except for few opulent and large full peristyles. However, the presence of large sculpture collections and numerous fountains is not a very common feature in those two groups.

5.5 Large painting peristyles

Large paintings that dominated almost an entire wall appear now and then in Pompeian peristyles. These paintings often depict garden scenes with plenty of plants and small animals, or hunting scenes where large wild animals dominate the picture, or large landscape paintings representing exotic or imaginative settings. The peristyles with these large paintings form the fourth group of Pompeian peristyles, the large painting peristyles, and include 32 examples.⁷⁶ The large paintings are usually on the wall of the garden – obviously without a portico. There are two exceptions: in the *Casa di Cerere* (I,9,13–14) the painting is on the wall that supports the garden on a higher level than the south portico, and in the *Casa del Banchiere* the animal paintings are reported to have been in the south portico.⁷⁷

These motifs – gardens, animals, and landscapes – are not limited to the garden walls, but can also be found on several other surfaces: *plutei*, piers, masonry benches, or on the sides of fountain niches.⁷⁸ On the other hand, in these contexts the paintings are clearly smaller than those on the garden walls. In addition, plants are often depicted on the lower parts of walls in Pompeii.⁷⁹ The thematic similarity is again obvious, but it does not mean that their function was similar. The large paintings on the walls are eye-catchers; they are meant to be seen and marveled at, while these smaller paintings are part of a larger decorative scheme and were not necessarily meant as the culmination point of the viewer, but as an element that helped fill the decorative ensemble. Because of their lesser display function, the plant paintings and the paintings on surfaces other than walls are excluded from this group.

The themes – garden, animal, and landscape – have a spatial connection with each other. They are often depicted in the same space or even on the same wall. Ciarallo mentions the link between Nilotic paintings and garden paintings, but there is a connection between garden and landscape scenes on a general level – not

just for Nilotic elements. Nine large garden paintings are in the same peristyles with landscape paintings.⁸⁰ In six cases, the *Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto*, *Casa della Fontana piccola*, *Casa del Centauro*, *Casa dei Dioscuri*, *Casa della Caccia antica* (VII,4,48), and in the east peristyle of the *Casa delle Quadrighe* (VII,2,25), the landscapes are part of the same wall decoration as the garden paintings.⁸¹ Additionally, there were 11 peristyles with both garden and animal paintings on their walls.⁸² The relation between the paintings is evident, but not rigorous: six peristyles with large animal paintings are reported without garden paintings.⁸³

In addition, there are two peristyles with large paintings whose topics cannot be identified as gardens, animals, or landscapes, but the size of these two paintings – they cover almost the whole wall – integrates them into this group. The *Casa della Rissa nell'Anfiteatro* (I,3,23) had a large painting of the fight between the Pompeians and Nuceria in the amphitheater.⁸⁴ It could be considered a sort of landscape painting, although its historical theme dissociates it from other landscape paintings, as well as its focus on urban landscape. In addition, the southern peristyle of the *Casa di Sallustio* had large mythological paintings.⁸⁵ Mythological paintings are usually smaller central pieces of the wall decoration, or mythological themes may appear in the large garden or animal paintings, such as the paintings in the *Casa della Venere in conchiglia* or *Casa di Adone ferito* (VI,7,18).⁸⁶ In the mythological paintings of the *Casa di Sallustio* there was also a hint of a garden theme, as it is reported to have depicted a fountain statue of a nymph.⁸⁷

Naturally, as the large paintings were painted on the wall of the garden, none of these peristyles had colonnades on all four sides. The peristyles of the group are not large, with the average size being about 110 m² and the median 115 m², meaning that the large painting peristyles clearly belong to the lower medium size assemblage. The majority, 21 peristyles, are smaller than the median size of Pompeian peristyles.⁸⁸

5.6 Imitation peristyles

The fifth group of peristyles is called imitation peristyles. This group consists of peristyles that were designed to incorporate as many porticoes as possible, either actually featuring four porticoes or seeking to create an illusion of a large number of colonnades. The group contains the full peristyles smaller than the average (170 m², Fig. 2.5) and the peristyles utilizing half-columns, pilasters, and passageways without columns or piers to create an illusion of a larger number of colonnades than they actually featured. There are 28 peristyles in this group.⁸⁹ The criteria of the group already dictate that the peristyles are not particularly large. The average size of the imitation peristyles is 125 m² and the median 110 m².

There are 12 full peristyles smaller than the average in Pompeii.⁹⁰ They were not particularly decorated, but they might occasionally feature fountains, floor or wall decorations, or perhaps a sculpture. This group of imitation peristyles follows the colonnaded architecture of the opulent and large full peristyles. However, the gardens with four colonnades are generally – almost 80 percent of the time

– larger than the average peristyle size, making the full peristyles of this group exceptional compared to the others.

In some cases, the space was not “wasted” on creating all four porticoes, but the idea of a full peristyle was fashioned by imitating columns and piers with half-columns and pilasters.⁹¹ In Pompeii, there are 156 peristyles with at least one half-column or pilaster, meaning that the feature was so common – about 61 percent of the peristyles had it – that it is difficult to discern whether it had much significance, or whether it was an almost default part of peristyle design, particularly for the pseudo-peristyles. A more detailed examination of the half-columns and pilasters reveals that their number was usually limited to one or two. Sixty-three percent of the peristyles featuring this type of decoration had less than three half-columns or pilasters. The low number (one or two) of half-columns hardly created an illusion of a portico, except perhaps in a few exceptions such as house VI,13,13, where two half-columns are placed next to other each other, which might have been an attempt to fashion an imitation portico – albeit a clumsy one.⁹² Frequently, if the peristyle had only one or two half-columns or pilasters, they are in line with the free-standing columns, producing an impression of the continuation of the existing porticoes beyond the wall, rather than an illusion of a new colonnade.⁹³ The half-column or pilaster at the end of the line of the free-standing columns smooths the boundary between the space and the wall, which might be their purpose in this case – rather than to generate the impression of new space beyond the wall. Consequently, the portico imitation almost always requires at least three half-columns or pilasters.

The imitation of a new colonnade appears customarily in pseudo-peristyles, as gardens with one portico with similar decoration are limited to two.⁹⁴ The garden of house VI,16,26 serves as an extreme example of these types of peristyles: it has a colonnade only on the north side, and the other three walls had half-columns. There are altogether ten half-columns. In this garden, the half-columns produce an illusion of the continuation of the porticoes on all sides.⁹⁵ The garden of house VI,16,26 is exceptional, and most of the portico imitations (10) are in gardens with three colonnades.

The gardens with portico imitations usually strive to create an illusion of a full peristyle; however, occasionally the attempts settle for an impression of a pseudo-peristyle. In the latter case, most of the peristyles (7) had two porticoes.⁹⁶ Additionally, there are two gardens with one portico, the *Casa di Inaco e Io* (VI,7,19) and the northern peristyle of the *Casa dei Dioscuri*, which had half-columns on two sides, leaving one side without either a colonnade or the illusion of it. However, both of these gardens had an additional passageway beside the colonnade. These passageways did not have free-standing columns. The difference between the two gardens is the placement of the passageway and the half-columns: in the *Casa di Inaco e Io* the passageway runs on the same side as the imitation portico, whereas in the *Casa dei Dioscuri* it was instead on the side without an imitation portico.⁹⁷

The pseudo-peristyle of house IX,3,15 only had a small passageway on the north side, separated from the garden by a *pluteus*. The north portico had been turned into two rooms, and the passageway without columns had the effect of

simultaneously preserving the illusion of a third portico. The original columns of the north portico were visible on the north wall of the garden, where they appear as half-columns.⁹⁸ In the same *insula*, the peristyle of the *Fabbrica di prodotti chimici* IX,3,2 featured plaster pilasters on the first style painting of the south wall, and possibly on the east wall, although there are visible remains of only one pilaster – therefore, it is unknown whether the wall had more pilasters. The peristyle had passageways on two sides, but only one pier supporting the roof in the north. The western passageway has no columns or piers, but there is a large window facing towards the atrium, which also creates the illusion of a colonnade. Remarkably, in the last phase this peristyle used only one pier – the very minimal number of actual peristyle features – to create an impression of multiple porticoes. This image was created by combining several new and old elements in the peristyle, and by clever use of pilasters and passageways.⁹⁹

5.7 Minor decoration peristyles

Among the peristyle gardens that do not yet belong to any group are 25 peristyles that feature a small number of decorative elements.¹⁰⁰ These 25 examples form the sixth group: the minor decoration peristyles. The peristyles in this group must have at least one of the following major display decoration elements: a pool or decorative basin, a fountain, sculpture, or a central panel painting. Those with decorated mortar floors are not included in this group, as they likely did not draw the attention of visitors and other peristyle users in the same way as the above-listed features. However, the peristyles with a mosaic floor are included in this group, as they seem to be associated with high wealth and are relatively rare in Pompeian peristyles, and would thus likely have been noticed by a visitor.¹⁰¹

Architecturally, the group of the peristyles with minor decoration is heterogeneous. There are nine gardens with one portico, seven peristyles with two porticoes, and a further nine with three porticoes. The peristyle sizes are generally between 15 m² and 250 m², but this group also includes a peristyle that was at least 330 m² in size.¹⁰² The average area of the minor decoration peristyles is 126 m², and the median 105 m².¹⁰³ Despite the wide range of the peristyle size, more than half are below the median for Pompeii: four are even small peristyles (under 50 m²), and ten are lower medium size (50–115 m²).¹⁰⁴ The majority concentrates on the smaller end of the size continuum, but the diversity of size in the group is still remarkable, as eight minor decoration peristyles are classified at least as large (over 170 m²).¹⁰⁵

Among these minor decoration peristyles there are 14 with decoration in their gardens: five with a pool or decorative basins, and nine with fountains or sculpture.¹⁰⁶ Walls decorated with central panel paintings can be found in four peristyles, but no other decoration has been reported in these peristyles, except in the *Casa delle Quadrighe* (VIII,5,24), where the *pluteus* was with painted garden, animal and Nilotic paintings.¹⁰⁷ A similarly decorated *pluteus* was found in the peristyle of the *Casa del Medico* (VIII,5,24).¹⁰⁸ House V,2,10 is reported to also have had animal paintings on the *pluteus*, and the *Casa della soffitta* (V,3,4)

had instead garden paintings.¹⁰⁹ In addition, house IX,5,14–16 had mythological themes on the architrave of the peristyle, but no other particular decoration is reported in this space.¹¹⁰ In total, nine of all the minor decoration peristyles were adorned with this type of individualistic paintings.

There are two peristyles with mosaic floors in this peristyle group: the southern peristyle of house VIII,2,14–16 and the peristyle of house VI,5,10 had a portico partly paved with mosaic.¹¹¹ The latter is the only known peristyle with a descriptive mosaic decoration: it depicted a hunting scene and fighting cocks, and this mosaic had an inscription which has been interpreted as the signature of the mosaic maker.¹¹² As this type of mosaic has not been found in any other peristyle, it likely had a high display value. Nevertheless, Jashemski reports that the peristyle was in a ruined state when the house was excavated. She implies that her source was the publications of Niccolini and Niccolini, and Giuseppe Fiorelli. Reading their descriptions, however, does not indicate this. Niccolini and Niccolini write that some rooms were found ruined when excavated, and the peristyle is not mentioned among them. Fiorelli repeats what the Niccolinis had reported, that some rooms were found in a devastated condition. Fiorelli continues that the house was left abandoned after the excavation, causing the ruined state of the peristyle – and some other rooms – at the time when Fiorelli was writing his description.¹¹³ The assumption that the peristyle was destroyed already before the eruption seems even more unlikely after reading the excavation reports. They do not indicate a ruined condition, not even for the rooms around the peristyle area; instead, the columns are reported to be in good form, and small finds are listed. The report therefore indicates that the peristyle was likely in use during the last period. Some of the rooms, however, had signs of explorations made before the excavation.¹¹⁴ As with house VI,5,10, the *Conceria* I,5,2 also contained a descriptive mosaic, depicting a skull. However, it was not on the floor but decorated the *triclinium* table.¹¹⁵ This is exceptional decoration compared to all other peristyles, and a highly individual feature.

Houses VIII,2,29–30 and VIII,2,14–16 were on the southwest edge of the city, and were badly damaged during the eruption.¹¹⁶ There is a high possibility that the peristyles in these houses had more decoration than is indicated by our sources. For example, the southern peristyle of house VIII,2,14–16 partly collapsed during the eruption, and if there was decoration it probably fell out of the peristyle during the destruction. The porticoes had a mosaic floor, which indicates that the peristyle might have been well appointed.¹¹⁷ In this case, it is also possible that the peristyle had more porticoes than the two currently visible colonnades, and the peristyle was at least 330 m²,¹¹⁸ so without even knowing its entire size it belongs among the vast peristyles of Pompeii. It would not be impossible that this peristyle was, or was meant to be, an opulent peristyle. In any case, the peristyle likely had an important display function in the house due to the mosaic floor and its size – even if it only had two colonnades and no particular garden or wall decoration.

Some peristyles of the group were under restoration when the eruption occurred, for instance in house IX,5,14–16. It is imaginable that the decoration of

the peristyle was not yet finished when the destruction occurred. Similarly, four other houses with minor decoration peristyles are reported to have been under restoration, and it is possible that the peristyle was also meant to be restored along with the other parts of the house, or that some decoration from the peristyle was moved away due to the planned construction.¹¹⁹ In addition, the peristyle of the *Casa di D. Octavius Quartio* was visited after the eruption, and it may be that some of its decoration was looted.¹²⁰

It is obviously impossible to say what kind of decoration was planned for the peristyles that were under restoration. The peristyle of house VI,13,13 is regarded as having been undergoing repainting, as the second style paintings were covered with white plaster.¹²¹ Was the plan to replace these with proper new paintings? Not necessarily, if we consider the peristyle of the *Casa del Principe di Napoli* (VI,15,7/8). There, the plaster parts without decoration are interpreted as repairs carried out after the earthquake of 62 CE, and were left without paintings.¹²² Perhaps there was a plan to paint these plaster pieces later. Are these plastered walls without paint signs of a downgrading of the peristyle? This can only be speculated upon. Nevertheless, even if we eliminate all of the possible examples of incomplete work or looting, there still seems to be a group of peristyles where the decoration was modest, demonstrating that there was a group of peristyles in 79 CE Pompeii which would correspond to the minor decoration peristyles defined here.

5.8 Architectural peristyles

There are 102 peristyles that did not have any significant decoration or architectural features. This amounts to 40 percent of all the peristyles in this study. These peristyles form the last group, called the architectural peristyles. Not all of the peristyles of this group, however, are entirely devoid of decoration. Three peristyles had one terracotta sculpture, and one had two decorated terracotta discs on the wall.¹²³ The material and the low number of the terracotta items indicate that their effect on socioeconomic display was low. There are ten peristyles where mortar portico floors are decorated with tesserae or stones.¹²⁴ Twenty-two peristyles of the group have reported remains of paintings in various Pompeian painting styles, and additionally one peristyle had plants painted on the lower part of the walls, but the painting style is not identified.¹²⁵

The ornamented floors and wall paintings had some display value, but as they do not depict any specific themes they appear mostly as a complementary decoration of the space – not as something that was drawing people inside the peristyles to have a better look at the decoration and the space. This type of decorated floors and wall paintings was also quite common in Pompeian peristyles, so it would not have worked well as a means of impressing visitors, but rather seems to have been part of the standard planning and decoration of Pompeian domestic space. Some example of Pompeian painting, of various styles, is recognized in 128 peristyles – 51 percent of the total. A mortar floor decorated with tesserae or stones was the most common floor decoration: about 85 percent of all known ornamented portico floors were decorated this way.

There are some other indications of possible decoration, such as podia or supports, but no means to conclude whether these were meant as decorative features.¹²⁶ However, there are some signs of distinctive decoration in a few peristyles. For example, in house V,1,15 there were garden paintings on a masonry bench, but they were from a previous phase and only partly visible during 79 CE.¹²⁷

Even if all peristyles with some major decorative elements are excluded, there are still 67 peristyles remaining in the group. This represents about 27 percent of all the peristyles in Pompeii. Of course, these peristyles are not totally undecorated: some had painted plaster on their columns or on a *pluteus*. One *pluteus* even features a marble top.¹²⁸ Nevertheless, painted plaster on such surfaces is very common in Pompeii: 179 peristyles (71 percent) had columns with colorful plaster, and at least 66 *plutei* were painted, which is almost half of all *plutei*. These decorations can hardly have been a means to stand out, but rather this type of decoration seems to be a quite ordinary aspect of peristyle design; but even if these peristyles are excluded, there are still 32 peristyles without decorative elements.¹²⁹

The major part of the architectural peristyles (63) is smaller than the median peristyle of Pompeii, and 11 of those peristyles are small (see Figs. 2.6, 4.4, and 5.1). Thirty-two peristyles contained only one portico, 39 featured two colonnades, and the remaining 31 peristyles had three porticoes. The peristyle architecture is at the lower end of the continuum. However, there is a strong link with the economical lower medium size, and therefore it cannot be concluded that the architectural peristyles were in general small. The colonnades are divided quite equally, although those with two porticoes are slightly more common than the others (obviously the classification criteria exclude full peristyles from this group).

Figure 5.1 illustrates the architectural peristyles in their order of size, from the smallest to the largest. The increase in area is mostly linear, as the red line on the graph demonstrates, but it changes to exponential (the dashed line) at the right end of the graph. The curve starts somewhere after 200 m². The architectural peristyles larger than 200 m² are the 12 largest gardens of this peristyle group.¹³⁰ Nine of these peristyles had another architectural similarity: they all featured only one portico.¹³¹ Those gardens with one portico tend to be found in houses near the perimeter of the city, apart from the *Casa di M. Epidius Rufus* and *Casa del Naviglio* (VI,10,11). Six of these gardens with one portico are interpreted as having been for agricultural use.¹³² In four cases the excavated land contours, root cavities, or botanic studies support this interpretation.¹³³ It has been suggested that two of these dwellings, houses VIII,7,6 and II,8,2/3, functioned as restaurants or places serving refreshments.¹³⁴ Indeed, they both had an outdoor *triclinium* that could have been utilized for restaurant activity. Additionally, two other large gardens of this subgroup of the architectural peristyles had an *outdoor triclinium*.¹³⁵ Similarly, there are other large cultivated areas in Pompeii which also feature outdoor *triclinia*.¹³⁶ These parallels indicate that these nine large gardens with one portico were possibly cultivated to produce goods for market, and/or to add a pleasant atmosphere for the *triclinia*. However, when compared to other similarly large gardens, the portico – even though it is only on one side – changes the architectural appearance towards the architectural form of a peristyle garden and

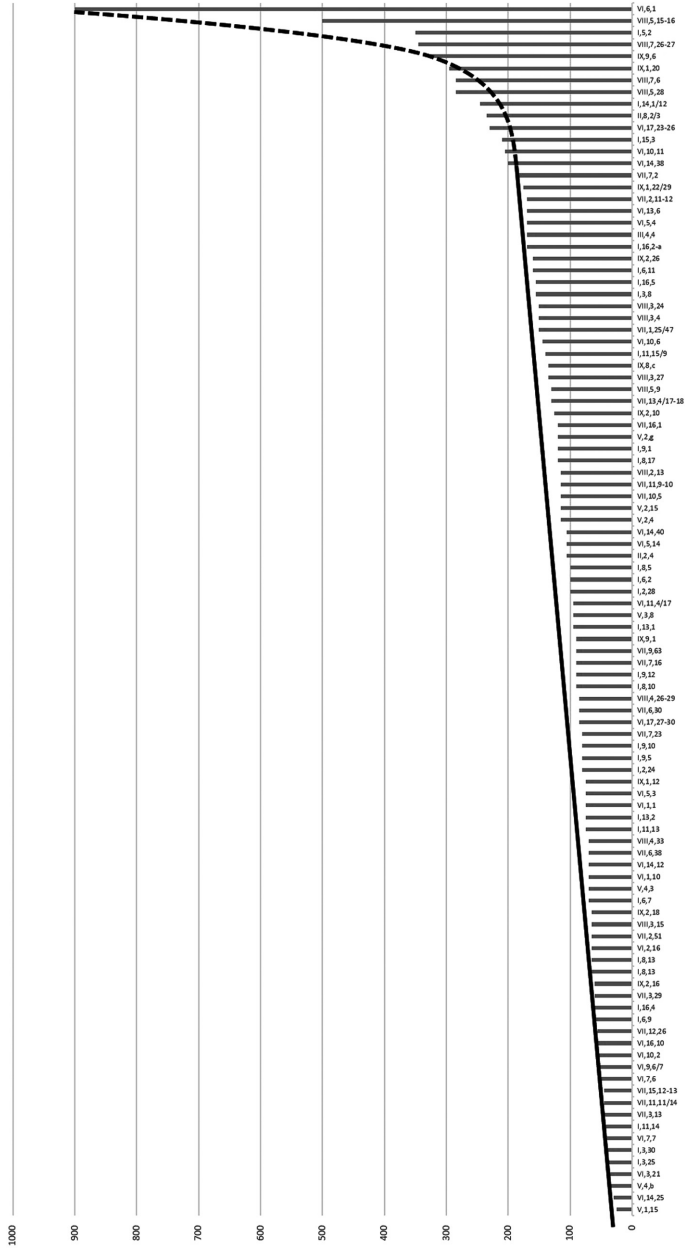


Figure 5.1 The size distribution of the architectural peristyles, with a red line to illustrate how I see the data behavior. Average 130 m² and median 95 m².

integrates these gardens into the domestic center of the house, whereas the large gardens without porticoes appear more as independent orchards or vineyards. The portico also took up space that could have been cultivated, and its role in guiding movement is reduced as it does not lead to any other colonnade. Consequently, the porticos in these gardens were probably primarily a display feature that added to the pleasantness of the space, meaning that the produce function of the space was not the only important aspect in the planning of these gardens.

As the definition of the architectural peristyles relies on a lack of features – decoration and architecture – it must be considered that our source situation is incomplete. The poor documentation, discussed time and time again, is a possible factor, as well as events that damaged the peristyle, such as bombings or explorations that took place before the official excavations.¹³⁷ There is also the possibility that the peristyle was being restored when the eruption occurred,¹³⁸ and it therefore does not accurately reflect the economic status of the inhabitant.

The undecorated state of some of the architectural peristyles has resulted in speculation that these spaces were abandoned. For example, the rooms around the peristyle of house I,6,9 – the eastern peristyle of the *Casa dei Quadretti teatrali* (I,6,11) – have been reported to be in such a bad shape that they might not have been used in the last phase. Also, the atrium area of the *Casa dei Quadretti teatrali* is interpreted as having been abandoned, at least to some degree.¹³⁹ The house, however, is also interpreted as having been under restoration,¹⁴⁰ and in this case it is likely that the peristyle area was also supposed to be renovated. In addition, the house was explored before its excavation,¹⁴¹ which might have influenced the condition in which the house was found when excavated. Likewise, Matteo Della Corte reports that house I,8,10 was almost destroyed, but he still identifies the house as functioning as a *caupona-hospitium*.¹⁴² It can be questioned whether these two peristyles were used during the last period, but it is also possible that they were under reconstruction.

This last group – the architectural peristyles – is decoratively and architecturally far removed from the opulent peristyles and the conspicuous consumption seen in that type of peristyle space. The purpose of the architectural peristyle was not to display immense or growing wealth; rather, these peristyles were built because the owner needed light and air in the house, and a peristyle was a conventional solution to arranging rooms and movement in Pompeian houses. The architectural peristyles, however, are not completely without display features – as demonstrated above – and adding even one portico can be a conspicuous “waste” of space.

Notes

1 Nn. 14, 38, 73, 105, 108, 121, 134, 139, 146, 162, 197, 210, 245, 251.

2 Nn. 14, 38, 134, 139.

3 Nn. 105, 108, 245.

4 Niccolini & Niccolini 1862, *Descrizione generale* 33. Fiorelli 1875, 122. Jashemski 1993, 134 n. 249. N. 105.

- 5 Niccolini & Niccolini 1862, *Descrizione generale* 33. Fiorelli 1875, 122. Sampaolo 1993, 604. Jashemski 1993, 134 n. 249. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 519 n. 253. Sampaolo suggests that room 14 on the south side of the peristyle was a drying room.
- 6 On the separation of the industrial area and the rest of the peristyle, see Flohr 2011, 94–98.
- 7 Sampaolo 1993, 604. Sampaolo proposes that the *oecus* 14 was a space where orders were taken.
- 8 Flohr 2011, 97–98.
- 9 N. 73, 121, 146, 162, 197, 210, 251.
- 10 N. 73.
- 11 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 21.
- 12 Jashemski 1993, 92 n. 148.
- 13 Jashemski 1993, 92 n. 148. Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 21.
- 14 Niccolini & Niccolini 1862, *Descrizione generale* 21. Jones & Robinson 2005, 705.
- 15 Mazois 1824, II, 52. Fiorelli 1875, 434. Jashemski 1993, 166 n. 312. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 562–563 n. 316.
- 16 E.g.: Bechi 1831, *Relazione degli Scavi di Pompei*, 9–10. Gell 1832, II, 20. Minervini 1862, 53. Sogliano 1880, 103, 148. Mau 1881, 171. Niccolini & Niccolini, 1890 *Casa detta Centenario*, 2. Richardson 1955, 54. Curtis 1984, 558. Jashemski 1993, 139 n. 260, 173 n. 322, 205–206 n. 240, 244 n. 506. Zanker 1998, 182. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 659–661 n. 507.
- 17 Jashemski 1993, 173 n. 322, 205–206 n. 410.
- 18 Sampaolo 1996, 554.
- 19 Bonucci 1834, 35. Bechi 1834, 4. Pistolesi 1842, 493. Niccolini & Niccolini 1854, *Casa detta dei Capitelli Colorati*, 2; 1862, *Descrizione generale*, 47. Breton 1870, 376. Fiorelli 1875, 219. Jashemski 1993, 179 n. 350. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 583 n. 355. Ciarallo and Giordano mistakenly locate the amphora on the east side.
- 20 Sogliano 1880, 103, 148. Mau 1881, 171. Niccolini & Niccolini, 1890 *Casa detta Centenario*, 2. Jashemski 1993, 244 n. 506. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 659–661 n. 507.
- 21 Bechi 1829, *Relazione degli scavi di Pompei*, 21. Farrar 1998, 23. Bergmann 2002, 89–90. Farrar refers to Nero's ex-slaves who wanted to enlarge their fishponds, as reported by Pliny the Elder (HN, 18,1,7). Pliny is criticizing the habits of his contemporary, and he is probably being ironical and exaggerating, but the passage likely reflects the atmosphere in Rome on some level.
- 22 Fiorelli 1861, 47, 350; 1873, 2. Minervini 1862, 53. Breton 1870, 463. Jashemski 1993, 212 n. 429. The hooks are not visible anymore.
- 23 All the opulent peristyles with a pool connected to a fountain: nn. 14, 22, 38, 108, 121, 134, 146, 161, 162, 197, 208, 210, 245, 251. In addition, the peristyle of the *Fullonica* VI,8,20, which did not have a pool but a decorative basin (n. 105), also had a fountain connected to the basin.
- 24 Mazois 1824, II, 52. Fiorelli 1875, 434. Jashemski 1993, 166 n. 312. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 562–563 n. 316.
- 25 N. 245.
- 26 Mazois 1824, 82. Bonucci 1827, 110. Niccolini & Niccolini 1862, *Descrizione generale* 29. Fiorelli 1875, 102. Sampaolo 1993, 359. Jashemski 1981, 39; 1993, 127 n. 234. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 509 n. 238. Jashemski (1993, 226–227 n. 465) reports painted fish inside a pool in the southern peristyle of the *Casa di M. Epidius Sabinus* (IX,1,22/29). There are no visible remains of the painted fish in this peristyle, and they are not mentioned in any of the descriptions written right after the excavation, which would have been expected, as this type of decoration is exceptional in Pompeii. Jashemski might have confused this house with the *Casa di Pansa* (VI,6,1) as the *Casa di M. Epidius Sabinus* is also occasionally called the *Casa di C. Cuspius Pansa* (see e.g. Della Corte 1954, 207–208).

- 27 Nn. 16, 22, 40, 56, 80, 82, 97, 110, 114, 120, 122, 138, 144, 149, 152, 153, 154, 165, 167, 174, 182, 193, 195, 201, 208, 213, 221, 242, 243.
- 28 N. 97, 161, 208.
- 29 Nn. 110, 114, 152.
- 30 Nn. 82, 174.
- 31 N. 146.
- 32 Nn. 114, 201.
- 33 Between 195–270 m²: nn. 82, 114, 136, 174, 201, smaller: nn. 78, 180, and larger: nn. 146, 198.
- 34 N. 193.
- 35 Nn. 144, 153, 213.
- 36 Nn. 22.
- 37 N. 243.
- 38 Nn. 16, 40, 56, 80, 120, 122, 138, 149, 154, 167, 182, 195, 201, 221, 242.
- 39 N. 120.
- 40 N. 122.
- 41 N. 121.
- 42 N. 120, 122. Sampaolo 1996, 531, 556. On the details of the wall paintings of the *Casa di N. Popidius Priscus* (VII,2,20/40), see Sampaolo 1996, 648.
- 43 E.g. Bechi (1832, *Relazione degli scavi di Pompei*, 12) mentions that the northern peristyle of the *Casa del Fauno* may have had a *viridarium*. He is not totally sure of this, and the existence of a garden was not clearly obvious even shortly after the excavation.
- 44 Nn. 40, 56, 80, 114.
- 45 The *Casa dei Gladiatori* (V,5,3) is often interpreted as a gladiator barracks (Sogliano 1899, 234, 347. Esposito, Kastenmeier & Imperatore 2011, 112), but Pesando (2001, 191–194) has demonstrated that after 62 CE there is no evidence that gladiators still occupied this space, and instead the *ludus* of the gladiators was moved to the Portico (VIII,7,16), south of the theaters.
- 46 See also Jashemski 1993, 118 n. 198.
- 47 Jashemski 1993, 143 n. 272.
- 48 E.g. Fiorelli 1862, II, 304.
- 49 On the drinking basins, see Fiorelli 1862, II, 304, Strocka 1991, 37. Drinking basins for birds were not necessarily located in gardens – it is possible that they were also located in other spaces – but a garden would be a likely place.
- 50 Strocka 1991, 42–44; 1994, 26, 37–39.
- 51 See Section 4.1.1. Jashemski 1981, 32–37, 44, 48.
- 52 *Casa del Citarista* (I,4,5/25): Inserra 2008, 34. *Casa degli amanti* (I,10,10/11): Ling & Ling 2005, 119–120. *Casa dei Gladiatori* (V,5,3): Sogliano 1899, 351, Mau 1901, 292. *Casa dei Dioscuri* (VI,9,6/7): Richardson 1955, 77. *Casa del Labirinto* (VI,11,8–10): Schulz 1838, 151, Strocka 1994, 29. *Casa del Fauno* (VI,12,2): Niccolini & Niccolini 1854, *Casa detta del Fauno*, 8. Fiorelli 1862, 253; 1875, 157, Jashemski 1993, 145 n. 276. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 537 n. 280. *Casa di C. Vibius Italus* (VII,2,18): Della Corte 1954, 126, Sampaolo 1996, 586. *Casa di N. Popidius Priscus* (VII,2,20/40): Della Corte 1954, 123–124. *Casa di Trittolemo* (VII,7,5): Bragantini 1997, 232. *Casa di A. Umbricius Scaurus* (VII,16,12–15): Curtis 1984, 558.
- 53 Niccolini & Niccolini 1854, *Casa detta del Fauno*, 8. Fiorelli 1862, 253; 1875, 157. Sogliano 1881, 320. Mau 1883, 172. Della Corte 1954, 123–124. Richardson 1955, 77. Jashemski 1993, 216 n. 436. Strocka 1994, 29. Sampaolo 1996, 615, 645–651; 1998, 547. Serpe 2008, 115. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 625 n. 437.
- 54 Staub Gierow 1997, 140. On the restoration of the house, see Staub Gierow 2000, 106–107, 111.
- 55 CIL IV 2311. Niccolini & Niccolini 1862, *Descrizione generale*, 43. Fiorelli 1873, 33; 1875, 190–191. Della Corte 1954, 209–210. M. De Vos 1990, 117–118. Sampaolo 1996, 615. Serpe 2008, 115. Allison 2006, 362.

- 56 See Chapters 4.3.2 and 4.3.3.
- 57 Nn. 3, 24, 37, 62, 64, 67, 84, 94, 103, 106, 107, 123, 133, 136, 164, 166, 180, 187, 218, 219, 235, 244.
- 58 Gardens with one portico: nn. 24, 84, 106, 218, 219. Full peristyles: nn. 123, 244.
- 59 N. 235.
- 60 N. 219. On the possible location of the sculpture, see Serpe 2008, 148–151 and Trentin 2019. On the similarity of the sculpture collection with the *Casa di Marcus Lucretius*, (IX,3,5/24), see Mau 1884, 129, Della Corte 1954, 214.
- 61 N. 164.
- 62 N. 123.
- 63 N. 187.
- 64 Nn. 3, 94, 218.
- 65 N. 244. On the locations of the sculpture, the podia and the basin, see Sogliano 1880, 452, 488, 492, Mau 1882, 220–221, Niccolini & Niccolini 1890, Casa nell'Isola VII. della Regione IX, 1; 1896, Nuovi scavi dal 1874 a tutto il 1882, 18, Dwyer 1982, 76–77, Jashemski 1993, 240 n. 501, Bragantini 1999, 835, D'Acunto 2008, 186–187, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 657–658 n. 502.
- 66 Nn. 134, 244. On the locations of the garden features in the *Casa dei Vettii* (VI,15,1), see Jashemski 1993, 153–155 n. 294. Mau (1882, 221) and Jashemski (1993, 241 n. 501) state the possibility that the statue of Silenus was in the middle of the garden, but this is pure speculation. According to Dwyer (1982, 70) the sculpture collections of both houses were similar.
- 67 The peristyles with three or more sculpture and three or more fountains: nn. 24, 37, 107, 136, 164, 219, 235, 244.
- 68 N. 180.
- 69 N. 84.
- 70 N. 62.
- 71 N. 64. Zanker 1998, 181.
- 72 N. 106. Other peristyles with fountain niches: nn. 24, 107, 133, 164, 235.
- 73 Nn. 24, 62. Spano 1916, 233. Maiuri 1927, 49. Jashemski 1993, 38 n. 14, 99 n. 156. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 389 n. 41. Jansen 2017, 411–413.
- 74 Spano 1916, 233.
- 75 Jones and Robinson (2005, 703, 706) speculate that a negative display effect may have occurred in the *Casa delle Vestali* (VI,1,7).
- 76 Nn. 9, 10, 25, 28, 46, 47, 55, 59, 61, 66, 70, 78, 85, 87, 101, 104, 111, 113, 126, 128, 135, 156, 163, 169, 170, 175, 185, 189, 190, 225, 238, 239.
- 77 Nn. 37, 189. The peristyle (n. 189) of the *Casa del Banchiere* (VII,14,5) also had garden paintings on the garden wall. It is possible that the animal paintings in the portico were small central panel paintings.
- 78 Nn. 38, 62, 65, 66, 67, 74, 101, 105, 133, 135, 149, 155, 202, 216, 235, 238.
- 79 See Section 4.3.4.
- 80 Ciarallo 2012, 24. Nn. 37, 59, 67, 78, 107, 111, 133, 156, 163. Bragantini (1997, 601) mentions that the peristyle of the *Casa del Balcone pensile* (VII,12,28) may have had an animal painting. This, however, is not mentioned in any excavation report, and the nature, size, or location cannot be verified. Therefore, it is not included in the list.
- 81 Nn. 78, 107, 111, 113, 156, 163. Allison 2002, 44–45. In addition, the garden paintings, Nilotic scenes, and animal paintings are represented together on the *pluteus* of two peristyles, nn. 155, 216, which further demonstrates the link between these themes.
- 82 Nn. 10, 24, 25, 66, 67, 78, 128, 156, 163, 175, 189. The garden and animal paintings are depicted together on the *pluteus* of the peristyle n. 149.
- 83 On a wall: nn. 28, 47, 126, 180, 238, 239. See also peristyles 69 and 80 where the paintings are on the *pluteus*.

- 84 MANN 112222. Niccolini & Niccolini 1862, *Descrizione generale*, 78. Matz 1869, 240–242. Fiorelli 1873, 145–156; 1875, 55–56. Sogliano 1879, 204. Sampaolo 1990, 77, 80–81. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 373–374 n. 15.
- 85 N. 85.
- 86 Nn. 59, 101.
- 87 Bonucci 1827, 102. Fiorelli 1860, II, 80; 1875, 85. Niccolini & Niccolini 1862, *Descrizione generale*, 23; 1890, *Casa detta di Salustio 2*. Sampaolo 1993, 88, 129, 131–135. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 498–499 n. 208. Laidlaw and Collins-Clinton 2014, 96, 106.
- 88 The large painting peristyles that are larger than the median (120 m², see Fig. 2.6): nn. 9, 59, 66, 78, 87, 113, 128, 163, 169, 170, 190.
- 89 Nn. 1, 13, 15, 23, 28, 45, 76, 88, 92, 102, 109, 141, 142, 147, 150, 165, 194, 204, 207, 209, 229, 231, 233, 234, 236, 237, 241, 250.
- 90 Nn. 1, 26, 45, 76, 88, 92, 109, 147, 194, 209, 237, 241.
- 91 On half-columns as imitations of colonnades, see e.g. Jashemski 1993, 328 n. 26 (*Casa degli archi*), Staub Gierow 1997, 91 (*Casa dei Capitelli figurati*), Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 559, 618, 668–669 nn. 309, 424, 520 (house VI,16,26, *Casa di Diana and Casa di Polibio*), Nevett 2010, 99–100 (house VI,16,26) and Bergmann 2002, 105 (in the villa context).
- 92 N. 125.
- 93 E.g. peristyles: Nn. 2, 6, 10, 12, 18, 25, 35, 39, 43, 48, 49, 52, 148.
- 94 Nn. 13, 15, 23, 102, 141, 142, 150, 165, 204, 207, 229, 231, 233, 234, 236, 250.
- 95 N. 141. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 559 n. 309.
- 96 Nn. 9, 13, 23, 55, 207, 231, 233.
- 97 Nn. 102, 113.
- 98 N. 236.
- 99 N. 234.
- 100 Nn. 2, 6, 17, 33, 39, 44, 57, 69, 74, 89, 95, 112, 125, 131, 137, 155, 160, 168, 178, 198, 199, 202, 216, 240, 249.
- 101 See Sections 4.3.5 and 5.3.
- 102 N. 198. The exact area is uncertain, as the peristyle is partly destroyed. The calculation is based on the assumption that the garden space was rectangular, except for the southeast corner, which was integrated into room h.
- 103 The calculation does not include the peristyle of house VIII,2,14–16, as it is partially collapsed and the area cannot be measured. The size of the *Casa dei pittori al lavoro* (IX,12,9) is also missing.
- 104 Small: nn. 89, 112, 131, 160. Lower medium: nn. 2, 39, 44, 57, 74, 137, 155, 168, 202, 216. On the sizes, see Fig. 12.
- 105 Nn. 6, 33, 69, 178, 198, 199, 240. The southern peristyle of house VIII,2,14–16 is counted in this group, as the remains indicate that it was at least 330 m², assuming it was rectangular (except that the southeast corner was integrated into room h).
- 106 The minor decoration peristyles with a pool or basin: nn. 131, 160, 178, 199, 202. The minor decoration peristyles with a fountain or sculpture: nn. 2, 6, 33, 39, 89, 112, 125, 168, 249.
- 107 Nn. 44, 57, 137, 155.
- 108 N. 216.
- 109 Nn. 69, 74.
- 110 MANN 111442. Sogliano 1878, 183. Niccolini & Niccolini 1896, *Nuovi scavi dal 1874 a tutto il 1882*, 15. Bragantini 1999, 648. N. 240.
- 111 N. 95, 198.
- 112 N. 95. Fiorelli 1860, III, 12–14; 1875, 101. Niccolini & Niccolini 1862, *Descrizione generale* 28–29. The finding place of the mosaic is unclear, and its place in the peristyle is a bit suspicious, as no figurative mosaics are known from other Pompeian peristyles. Fiorelli, however, states that it was near the western entrance of the peristyles,

so the peristyle seems to be the most likely place. Entrance 10 is the only entrance of the house, and therefore the mosaic might have been the type of door mosaic that is usually found in the *fauces* leading from the door to the atria.

- 113 Niccolini & Niccolini 1862, *Descrizione generale*, 29. Fiorelli 1875, 101. Jashemski 1993, 126 n. 233.
- 114 Fiorelli 1860, III, 11–14, 18–19.
- 115 N. 17.
- 116 Jashemski 1993, 205 n. 411, 208–209 n. 414.
- 117 N. 198. See Section 4.3.5.
- 118 N. 198.
- 119 Bragantini 1999, 601. In addition, house VI,13,13 (Viola 1879, 20, Sampaolo 1994, 192–193, Gobbo 2009, 351, 360, 374–375) and the *Casa dei pittori al lavoro* (Varone 2007, 140) have been stated to be under restoration during the eruption. In the peristyle of the *Casa del Medico* there were two broken amphorae filled with lime (Mau 1883, 228. Jashemski 1993, 217 n. 442), and in house VII,6,3 there were building materials (Spano 1910, 442), indicating that both houses were under reconstruction.
- 120 Spinazzola (1953, 395) notes that the peristyle of the *Casa di D. Octavius Quartio* was visited before the eruption.
- 121 Sampaolo 1994, 192–193. Gobbo 2009, 351, 360.
- 122 Strocka 1994, 656.
- 123 Nn. 4, 7, 41, 248.
- 124 Nn. 21, 31, 34, 63, 124, 145, 172, 181, 188, 196.
- 125 The peristyles with Pompeian paintings styles: nn. 12, 18, 21, 48, 51, 63, 68, 77, 91, 117, 124, 130, 132, 140, 148, 172, 186, 188, 205, 223, 226, 247. The peristyle with painted plants without an identification of the style: n. 171.
- 126 See, e.g. Jashemski 1993, 102 n. 160 and peristyles nn. 58, 139. Peristyle n. 151 had a round travertine basin, but nothing else of it is known, making it impossible to determine whether it was a decorative element.
- 127 Nn. 17, 65. Boman & Nilsson 2014: [http://www.pompejiprojektet.se/decoration.php?hid=2&hidnummer=8359643&hrubrik=V%201,14-16%20Bakery&rid=17&ridnummer=2150539&rrubrik=Room%20h%20\(peristyle-viridarium\)&did=4&didnummer=6339268&drubrik=Wall%20decoration%20\(extant\)](http://www.pompejiprojektet.se/decoration.php?hid=2&hidnummer=8359643&hrubrik=V%201,14-16%20Bakery&rid=17&ridnummer=2150539&rrubrik=Room%20h%20(peristyle-viridarium)&did=4&didnummer=6339268&drubrik=Wall%20decoration%20(extant)). Last visited 25.7.2016.
- 128 N. 19.
- 129 Nn. 8, 11, 20, 27, 29, 32, 50, 53, 60, 75, 90, 91, 115, 127, 129, 143, 158, 159, 176, 184, 191, 192, 200, 211, 212, 215, 222, 224, 227, 228, 230.
- 130 Nn. 50, 51, 60, 98, 118, 143, 215, 217, 220, 222, 224, 248.
- 131 Nn. 50, 60, 98, 118, 215, 220, 222, 224, 248.
- 132 Jashemski 1993, 128 n. 235, 216 n. 438, 225–226 n. 463, 246–247 n. 511. Gallo 2013, 62. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 458–459 n. 150, 635 n. 459, 663–664 n. 512.
- 133 Nn. 98, 224, 248. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 458–459 n. 150.
- 134 Mau 1875, 164. A. De Vos 1991, 316. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 458–459 n. 150.
- 135 On the triclinia, see nn. 50, 60, 118, 220.
- 136 E.g. Jashemski 1993, 67 n. 116, 69 n. 120, 73 n. 123, 89–90 n. 146, 94–95 n. 153, 97 n. 154.
- 137 See e.g. M. De Vos 1990, 362; 1990b, 2, A. De Vos 1991, 435, Jashemski 1993, 83 n. 137, Bragantini 1994, 376, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 545–546 n. 293.
- 138 For the possible restoration process and/or signs of it in individual peristyles, see house I,3,25: Trendelenburg 1871, 172, Jashemski 1993, 28, Sampaolo 1990, 86, *Casa della Nave Europa* (I,15,3): De Simone 1990, 963, *Casa dei Quadretti teatrali* (I,6,11): M. De Vos 1990, 362, Jashemski 1993, 35 n. 34, 36 n. 35, 36 n. 35, house VII,7,23: Minervini 1859, 66, *Casa del Calce* (VIII,5,28): Sogliano 1882, 324, Mau 1883, 230–231, and Bragantini 1998, 611, house IX,9,1: Sogliano 1888, 515. Mau 1889, 7. In addition, the following houses are reported to be under restoration, and it is possible – but not certain – that the peristyle was also intended to be restored: *Casa*

- del Criptoportico* (I,6,2): Spinazzola 1953, 446–447, house I,6,9: Jashemski 1993, 35 n. 34, house VII,6,30: Sampaolo 1997, 197, house VIII,5,15–16: Sampaolo 1998, 572, *Casa di M. Epidius Rufus* (IX,1,20): Breton 1870, 486, Gallo 2013, 130.
- 139 Maiuri 1929, 393–395. Allison 2006, 333, 400.
- 140 M. De Vos 1990, 362. Jashemski 1993, 35 n. 34, 36 n. 35.
- 141 M. De Vos 1990, 362.
- 142 Della Corte 1954, 272. See also Maiuri 1954, 91.

6 The economic display functions of peristyles

The social influence and trends in peristyles

6.1 Peristyle groups and socioeconomic standing

In Chapter 5, seven groups of peristyles were defined: opulent, large full, ornamental, large painting, imitation, minor decoration, and architectural. The groups were defined according to the means of socioeconomic display that were utilized. The economic display characteristics of each group will now be discussed. We will consider how the peristyle groups are situated in the larger continuum: what type of economic success they represent when they are compared to each other, and how their other functions influenced their display purpose. The question of identifying social status through archaeological evidence is itself very complex, and will be addressed separately in Chapter 7.

The connection between the peristyle groups and wealth has already been established in Chapter 4, where the means are compared with the house ground area and the presence of luxury architecture (Table 2.2). It is therefore possible to assume that the ranking of the peristyles more-or-less follows the same order in which the peristyle groups are presented in Chapter 5. However, it is important to remember that the house architecture does not reveal everything about the owner's wealth, and this comparison is very generalized; it mainly creates a rough outline of the economic standing of each group. Accordingly, I will now move on to further examine the groups and their connection with wealth and its display.

Opulent peristyles only represent about six percent of all the houses with a peristyle, and the owners of this type of peristyle were most likely among the wealthiest people of Pompeii. The large number of display features already signals this, but the connection between great wealth and the opulent peristyles is confirmed by the average size of the houses containing them, which is over 1,600 m² for the group of opulent peristyles. Although some of the opulent peristyles were not located in the vast houses of Pompeii, they usually are, as the median size of these houses is also over 1,600 m². In addition, 70 percent of the houses with opulent peristyles also had luxury architecture.¹ Even though the opulent peristyles seem to be in the houses of the wealthiest inhabitants of Pompeii, this does not mean that all of the richest Pompeians had an opulent peristyle in their homes.

The large full peristyles featured several means to display high economic standing in Pompeii, but these peristyles do not seem to belong to quite the same

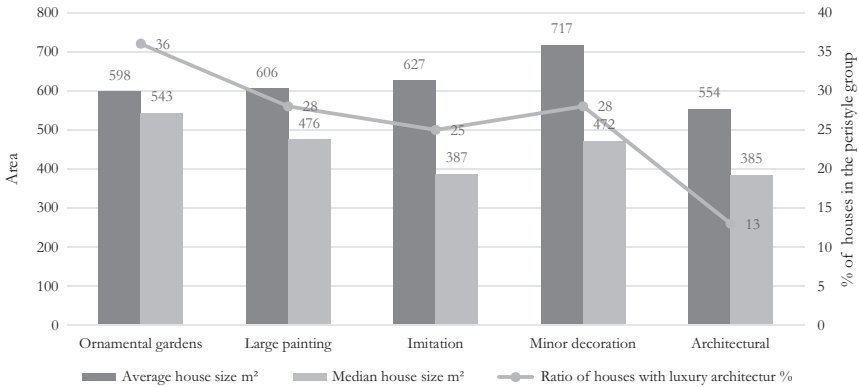


Figure 6.1 The average and median house ground area of the ornamental, large painting, imitation, minor decoration, and architectural peristyle groups (Total number: 205).

On the right side of the graph, illustrated with a gray line, are the percentages of houses with luxury architecture for each group.

economic level as the group owning the top peristyles in the city. The large full peristyles are found in houses that are on average a little smaller than 1,200 m², but the difference is really demonstrated by the median values of the house areas, which is over 600 m² smaller than in the group of opulent peristyles. The connection with luxury architecture is also not as strong: only about 40 percent of the houses with large full peristyles featured a double atrium, two peristyles, or a private bath.²

Figure 6.1 shows the connections between house size and luxury architecture for the remaining five peristyle groups: ornamental, large painting, imitation, minor decoration, and architectural. The average house size of these peristyle groups is clearly lower, compared to those with opulent and large full peristyles. The average house area of the ornamental and large painting peristyles is about 600 m². It increases a little for the imitation peristyles, and keeps rising for the minor decoration peristyles, where the average is 717 m², and then drops again to 558 m² in the houses with an architectural peristyle. The median values start at 543 m² for the ornamental peristyles, and all of the other peristyle groups are below this level. The median size for the large painting and the minor decoration groups is around 470 m², while for the imitation and the architectural peristyles groups it is just below 390 m². The connection with luxury architecture and these five peristyle groups follows a similar pattern: it is highest for the ornamental peristyles, and then drops, but rises a bit again for the minor decoration peristyles, and drops for the architectural peristyles. In general, Figure 6.1 demonstrates that the difference between the houses with ornamental and architectural peristyles is clear – the first case has a high degree of correlation, while the second has a low degree. The rest of the groups are more-or-less similar to each other, with their degree of correlation situated between the ornamental and architectural peristyles.

Considering the average house area, the ornamental, large painting, imitation, minor decoration, and architectural peristyles belong to the upper medium group, but only the ornamental peristyles would belong to this group if the medians were considered. Its median area, and the high ratio of luxury architecture compared to the other four groups, indicates that the owners of these peristyles mostly belonged to the economic upper middle class of Pompeian peristyle owners – meaning that they likely were the elite of the city. The houses with the large painting, imitation, and minor decoration peristyles are not so easily categorized. The relatively large difference between the median and average for the groups indicates that there were large variations between the house sizes in these peristyle groups. In general, these could all be placed in the economic middle class of peristyle owners, without making a clear distinction whether they were upper or lower middle class. The architectural peristyles instead seem to incline towards the lower middle class of the peristyle owners, as the median is clearly below the line of 505 m² – the median value of all houses with a peristyle (Fig. 2.6) – and the ratio of the luxury architecture is low. However, the difference between the average and median for this group suggests that there are plenty of exceptions in house size, and so overly broad generalizations must be avoided.

The situation of the imitation peristyles and the minor decoration peristyles in Figure 6.1 suggests a few significant notions. First, the difference between the average and median for both groups is particularly large, and these peristyles seem to be located in very different sized houses. Second, the minor decoration peristyles are often in particularly large houses compared to the houses with the large painting peristyles and the imitation peristyles, and even in some cases in relation to the ornamental peristyles, as the average areas suggest. This might indicate that our source situation is corrupt for the imitation and minor decoration peristyles, and that they were more decorated than we know, or that they were going through an upgrading or downgrading process at the time of the eruption. Nonetheless, it is equally possible that the house owners preferred to invest their money somewhere other than these peristyles. Of course, we cannot dismiss the possibility that they – or some of them – were actually messaging a higher wealth than is apparent to modern eyes, for example with their flora, but this cannot be confirmed due to our poor source situation.

Nevertheless, most significantly the values of the imitation and minor decoration peristyles indicate that the linkage between the order of the peristyle groups and economic status is not straightforward, and the peristyle types alone cannot be considered the sole determinant of their owners' wealth. Some houses, for example, contain several peristyles, and this naturally reflects great wealth, even though the specific characteristics of the individual peristyles would not necessarily do so. Likewise, other areas in Pompeian houses could have been used to reflect the owner's socioeconomic standing.

To conclude, on a general level the owners of the opulent peristyles correspond to the economic elite of Pompeii, and the owners of the large full peristyles can be also defined as belonging to the economic upper class of the peristyle owners – likely in most cases belonging to the city's top economic class. The

ornamental peristyle gardens instead mostly correspond to the upper middle class of the peristyle owners, but on the overall scale of the city they likely belonged to the elite, while the large painting, imitation, and minor decoration peristyles are classified as belonging to the economic middle class in general. In contrast, the architectural peristyles correspond mostly with the lower economic middle class of the peristyle owners, but compared to all of the city's inhabitants they were safely in the middle class. This classification is obviously very rough, and there are variations within each group. Also, the architecture of a house alone does not always correctly reflect the house owner's wealth. For example, it does not tell us anything about movable property, other land owned, savings, or debt. Moreover, the effectiveness and utility of architectural display is that it can be used to reflect a different – possibly higher – status than the owner had actually achieved. The following four sections discuss what type of display these peristyles groups represented, and what the owners potentially wanted to signal with the different kinds of peristyles.

6.2 Architecture and the size of built space as representations of wealth in the opulent and large full peristyles

Quantity plays an important role in all of the first four groups: opulent, large full, ornamental, and large painting. In the first two this is manifested in the form of the area and number of colonnades, in the ornamental peristyles in the number of sculptures or fountains, and in the large painting peristyles in the quantity or the size of the wall paintings. It can be questioned whether quantity has an overly dominant role in the classification system, as we do not have the data to examine what individual Pompeians thought about overall size, or the number of porticoes or decorative items in peristyle gardens. Nevertheless, the quantity also tells us about appreciation. The fact that these features can be found in several peristyles signals that they were on some level appreciated in Pompeian society, not just by the individuals who chose them. It can also reflect that it was just a custom to build and decorate in this way, but compared to the total amount of the peristyles these features are still a rarity, meaning that the selection was not dictated by simple routine.

The quantity of different display features suggests that economic representation had a very important – almost primary – role in the opulent peristyles. They transmit a message of the abundant wealth of the house owner through their architecture and decoration. The grand architecture, large area, and full number of porticoes created an image of an important and rich house owner. This image is reinforced by the conspicuous play of water achieved with fountains and pools, and the grandeur of the space is highlighted by the floor, wall, and sculpture decorations. The opulent peristyles were most likely used for entertaining guests, and nine of them offered art – sculpture or central panel paintings – that tempted the visitor into the peristyle to take a better look at them. The five peristyles that do not feature these elements had pools and fountains to make the space more pleasant.³ The 14 peristyles represent approximately six percent of Pompeian peristyles.

The ratio is quite small, and making a generalization that all the peristyles were used mainly for display purposes solely on the basis of this group is questionable.

The display function of the large full peristyles is not as readily apparent as that of the opulent peristyles, although in many cases it is clear. There are peristyles, such as the one in the *Casa di Paquius Proculus* and another in the *Casa dei Postumii*, that are very much reminiscent of an opulent peristyle.⁴ The difference between some peristyles in these groups is often mainly theoretical, and a Pompeian's experience of these peristyles was probably not much different. It seems that many of the peristyles classified as large full peristyles also had a primary purpose of display. The large full peristyles with central panel paintings likely had an important display function. It is probable that these paintings were intended to attract visitors to examine the paintings more closely, meaning that it was an important function of the space, and likely that the visitors entered into and walked through these peristyles. These paintings can be found in the large full peristyles in the *Casa degli amanti*, *Casa delle Vestali*, and *Casa dei Dioscuri*.⁵ In the *Casa dei Gladiatori* the paintings of the *pluteus* were probably an equally attractive item for visitors.⁶

However, in many large full peristyles the indicators of display function vary so much that the importance of this role is more difficult to grasp, and their role in the house might be slightly different compared to the opulent peristyles. Among the large full peristyles there are some that were reported with only a few decorative elements, and because the peristyles of this group are larger compared to the many other peristyles (Fig. 4.4) this would create an image of a large open space in the house, and particularly in the middle part of the peristyle. Good examples of this are the *Casa del Labirinto* and the northern peristyle of the *Casa del Fauno*, which feature very little or no decoration at all in the central spaces, and which are 295 m² and 650 m² in size respectively.⁷ This type of empty space would be effective as a display of wealth, if not even as conspicuous consumption of land. If the intention was to transmit the owner's ability to waste expensive city space, it was not necessary for the visitors to spend much time in the peristyle – it might have been enough to just take a glance at the space and the message was received. However, it can be questioned whether the central spaces were empty. Even if the documentation of the structures and the decoration is correct, the documentation of possible plantings was rarely carried out at any level. Therefore, these gardens might have had plantings reflecting the wealth of the owner, but for a clear majority of the peristyles this is purely speculation. In these peristyles, wealth was not demonstrated via numerous decorations; rather, the primary means of display are the large spaces, which were almost empty, or perhaps had lavish plantings.

The large full peristyles and the opulent peristyles are visually similar, but the first mentioned lacks several attributes compared to the second. Whether the opulent peristyles of Pompeii were used as the models for the large full peristyles is uncertain, as their design might have arrived from other cities or even *villae*, rather than from the neighboring houses.⁸ However, the idea of the peristyle space is similar to that of the opulent peristyles: four porticoes, a large space, and often even a pool as decoration. In both groups, the intention was to build relatively

similar peristyles, and even if the model for the large full peristyles was not the opulent peristyles, they at least imitate the same idea that was behind the opulent peristyles.

One possibility is that the peristyles of Rome functioned as models for Pompeii. However, the current source situation of the capital does not allow us to make this conclusion. Literary evidence does not describe the peristyle or gardens in such detail, making their similarity with the Pompeian peristyles is very speculative. The archaeological remains that can be dated to the period prior to 79 CE are very few, and we rarely know the layout and contents of an entire peristyle courtyard. Instead, what we know about these peristyles are mostly reconstructions made on the basis of a few remaining structures, interpretations of later phases, and modeling on the basis of other known peristyles of the Roman Empire, such as Pompeian peristyles.⁹ Considering this methodology, it is no surprise that the Pompeian peristyles are similar to those in Rome; but actually, in this case, the Pompeian peristyles functioned as the model for the Roman examples – although, only for the reconstructions – not the other way around. In addition to these severe problems, in most cases in Rome the presence of a garden in the peristyle cannot be verified.¹⁰

Architecture has a strong role in both top peristyle groups, and particularly in their colonnades, of which four are required in the criteria of the opulent and large full peristyles. One could question whether so much value should be placed on the maximum number of porticoes, principally because the colonnades are vital for movement and could be thought of as a very practical feature. Despite this practical function, the connection of the full peristyle and wealth has already been demonstrated, and in addition the practicality of having several colonnades can be also questioned.¹¹

A great number of the full peristyles have porticoes that do not significantly facilitate movement. For instance, it would be possible to eliminate a portico and change the full peristyle into a pseudo-peristyle, and all the rooms around the peristyle could still be reached through the remaining colonnades. The *Casa dei Vettii* offers a model example: the south and the west colonnades could be eliminated – transforming it into a pseudo-peristyle with two porticoes – without affecting the movement patterns of the house (Fig. 6.2).¹² Consequently, the function of these two porticoes is more likely related to display rather than to movement. Firstly, they double the number of porticoes and almost double the number of columns, signaling that more material and time was consumed in building the peristyle than if it was a pseudo-peristyle. Secondly, the porticoes offer the possibility to stroll around the garden and to marvel at the fountains, sculpture, and wall paintings from several directions, and to take a closer look at them, making all their details better visible. Another similar example is the peristyle of the *Casa di Meleagro*. Its north and west colonnades had a decorative function rather than being important for movement, and more than half of the full peristyles had at least one portico that could have been eliminated without disconnecting any rooms of the house.¹³ As a matter of fact, in the peristyle of the *Casa del Gallo* the elimination of the west portico might have been in process just before the eruption. The peristyle

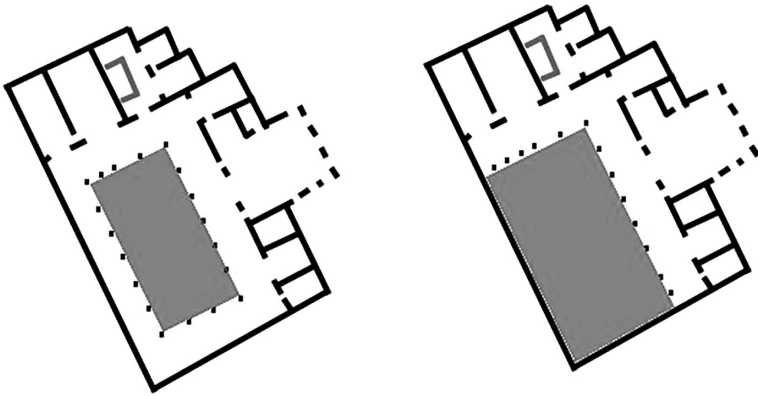


Figure 6.2 The plan of the *Casa dei Vettii*, showing how the south and west porticoes could be eliminated without affecting the accessibility of the rooms around the peristyle. It would not even change the distance between the rooms around the peristyle, and the time spent moving from one room to another would remain the same. The left side is the actual situation of the *Casa dei Vettii*, while the right side is an imaginary reconstruction with only two colonnades.

was under reconstruction and the west side was missing columns,¹⁴ but the gutter and its corner tuff slabs indicate that the peristyle still had four porticoes when the eruption occurred,¹⁵ although the northwest corner column is the only column remaining in the west portico. In most cases, the presence of all four porticoes was rarely absolutely necessary for the space, and some of the colonnades seem to be important for their display function rather than being very crucial for movement.

6.3 The importance of the quantity and size of decorations: the means of display in the ornamental and large painting peristyles

The architecture of the ornamental and large painting peristyles does not reflect an image of the wealthiest inhabitants of Pompeii, nor are they often found in houses that signal enormous wealth. In these peristyles the image of economic success is created through the display of extravagant fountains, sculpture collections, or large paintings. What was missing in the size or number of colonnades was compensated for with the lavish decorative elements in the garden. These eye-catching features guided the viewer's gaze towards the garden and away from the architecture.

Five of the opulent peristyles and two of the large full peristyles featured a sculpture collection and/or more than three fountains.¹⁶ It has been suggested that the small or middle sized peristyle gardens with a large number of decorative garden elements – a description fitting to the ornamental peristyles – were

trying to imitate rich houses. Already in the 19th century Guglielmo Bechi stated that the fountains of the *Casa del Granduca* indicate how lower class Pompeians imitated the upper classes.¹⁷ More recently, Patrizia Loccardi has stated similarly that the sculpture decoration of the *Casa del Gruppo dei vasi di vetro* was trying to imitate rich houses, but she contradicts herself later by stating that the sculpture decoration in the peristyles does not usually appear in the houses of the highest ranks.¹⁸ Nadia Inserra sees the peristyle of house I,2,17 – featuring four marble sculptures – as an imitation of a luxury villa.¹⁹ Many scholars who apply the *villa*-imitation theory are inspired by Zanker, who states that the sculpture-filled gardens were imitations of *villa* gardens. His main example is the peristyle of the *Casa degli amorini dorati Amorini*, but he also refers to the *Casa di Marcus Lucretius*. Besides the sculpture, Zanker and others also interpret the luxurious water installations as an imitation of the *otium villa*.²⁰

Zanker has the correct view, when stating that some of the *villa* gardens had large sculpture collections, such as the Villa of Oplontis,²¹ but what goes unnoticed is that these *villa* gardens are usually very large.²² The *villa* peristyles with numerous fountains or with large nymphaea were also large, such as the peristyle in the Villa of San Marco.²³ That is why the context of these types of decorations compared to the Pompeian houses seems to be relatively different. In Pompeii, these elements are mostly in the medium sized peristyles, or in even more restricted spaces, so that the imitation is not straightforward, and it seems like an application of one specific feature of the *villa* gardens in a different context.

Moreover, establishing a clear link – at such a level that one could conclude that there was imitation – between the *villa* gardens or any other gardens and the Pompeian peristyles is difficult. The presence of sculptures or fountains is not enough to demonstrate that they were copied, and a more detailed analysis is needed. This is complicated by the literary sources, as they do not describe the features in such detail that it would be possible to define how similar they actually were to the Pompeian examples, whereas the archaeological material has a problem with dating; if something is copied, then it should be older than the copy. This can be the case with a single sculpture, but the known sculpture collections in the gardens are from 79 CE in both *villae* and in the *domus*, making it impossible to establish which preceded another. Some fountain structures can be dated, but their dating is quite ambiguous, making it again difficult to establish a clear timeline. For example, the nymphaeum of the *Casa del Toro* is estimated to have been built during the early Empire, the Tiberian/Claudian era.²⁴ One could imagine that the nymphaeum of the Villa San Marco was its model, but it is also from the Julio-Claudian period.²⁵ Similar lavish water displays were also occurring in Rome; for example, a nymphaeum dating to the age of Nero is known from the Imperial palace complex, and there are other examples.²⁶ All of these large fountain structures are dated to more-or-less the same era, and consequently it is impossible to say that the Pompeian nymphaeum was imitating the *villa* or Palatine structures. It is likely that they all originated from the same model that Aurora Raimondi Cominesi thinks inspired the examples in Rome.²⁷

Zanker proposes that some houses in Pompeii were so-called “town *villae*,” and were mediating the *villa* decoration into the *domus*.²⁸ Perhaps these had plenty of sculptures and fountains? However, taking a closer look at the peristyles demonstrates that this was not the case – or the connections are very weak and such a conclusion cannot be made. For example, lavish sculpture decoration or the presence of several fountains is very rare in the vast houses with a peristyle (above 1,200 m², Fig. 2.7) in Pompeii: there is only one case with a sculpture collection and three fountains, and two with more than two fountains.²⁹ Although the definition of a “town *villa*” is murky, this comparison already demonstrates that it is impossible to state that these houses functioned as intermediaries for the use of sculpture collections or a large quantity of fountains.

A further examination of the peristyles regarding a possible correlation in sizes provides equally unsatisfying results, although the numbers are a little higher. There are three vast peristyles (above 305 m², Fig. 4.4) with a sculpture collection and several fountains, and additionally two with more than two fountains but without a sculpture collection.³⁰ Consequently, the large amount of sculptures or fountains does not seem to be a phenomenon of a large peristyle, as in the *villae*. The idea that the *villa* gardens or large houses were examples of ornamental peristyles can be generally questioned.

The opulent peristyles often featured pools with fountains, and similar decorations can be found in several large full peristyles. The water installations of the ornamental peristyles could be regarded as imitations of these pools. For example, a similar idea of a pool equipped with a fountain can be found in the *Casa della Caccia nuova*, where an *impluvium*-like marble pool had a fountain jet in the middle. The water display, however, was not limited to only one fountain in this pool, as there were three additional fountain jets on its sides.³¹ This is the difference between ornamental peristyles and most of the opulent peristyles, which often had only one or two fountains, or the large full peristyles, which usually had only one fountain if they had any.³² In some of the ornamental peristyles the display value of the fountain is increased with conspicuous constructions around the fountain jets, such as decorative niches or even a *nymphaeum*. The water display in the ornamental peristyles is more lavish compared to the opulent and large full peristyles.

The sculpture collections and lavish water installations in the peristyles of Pompeii seem more of a distinctive means to display wealth by the peristyle owners below the top elite, rather than a direct imitation of the richest houses, as they are rarely featured in the opulent or large full peristyles. Sculpture is an easy method to display wealth: there is no need to acquire more land or build new porticoes, and even installing a fountain is easier than restructuring a whole part of the house. In a *villa* garden the sculpture was just one part of the luxurious decoration, but in Pompeian ornamental peristyles it was the primary means of display.

Almost half (11) of the ornamental peristyles were also decorated with large paintings,³³ so there is a clear physical connection between these decorative elements. The garden paintings are often interpreted as creating an illusion of a continuation of space beyond the wall.³⁴ This function concurs with the small

size of these peristyles. If the function of the garden paintings was to enlarge the garden space, one would assume that they were meant to be observed from quite far away, as the illusion is weaker the closer the viewer is. Consequently, half of the peristyles with large paintings had the largest room of the peristyle area opening onto the peristyle, just opposite the paintings. The walls and floors of these rooms were often richly decorated.³⁵ The intention was that the paintings in the peristyle were visible from these rooms, placing the viewer outside the peristyle. The size and decoration of the rooms indicates that they could be used for entertaining guests. In the eight cases where the largest room did not afford a clear view to the large paintings, the paintings were on the entrance-atrium-*tablinum* axis, and in five houses the *tablinum* was the largest room opening onto the peristyle.³⁶ All of these room layouts suggest that it was important to see these paintings from a distance.

There are, however, indicators – such as the details – in these paintings suggesting that the large paintings were equally meant to be appreciated from a close range.³⁷ The small details point out that the peristyles were meant to be visited. Additionally, there are five peristyles with a masonry triclinium and a large painting,³⁸ which certainly establishes that guests were meant to spend time in these spaces. In all of these cases, except in the *Casa dell'Efebo*, the triclinium was practically attached to the wall where the paintings were located.³⁹ This clearly suggests that the paintings were also meant to be viewed from a close range.

The illusion of a greater space created by a garden painting can be experienced if the paintings are viewed from a distance,⁴⁰ but at close range this does not happen. From the modern viewer's point of view, the illusion of spatial continuation is shattered at the latest when a person walks into the peristyle – if not before. Given their relatively large number, these types of paintings were probably so well-known in Pompeii that even from a fair distance a passer-by could have easily guessed that they were looking at paintings, not real landscapes or gardens. Some fantasy elements, such as the large Venus in the *Casa della Venere in conchiglia*, further reveal that the paintings were not supposed to create an image of reality. In general, such fantasy characters are an integral part of garden paintings in the Roman world.⁴¹

Ciarallo claims that the paintings with the large Venus in the *Casa della Venere in conchiglia* had a sacred symbolism. She bases her interpretation on the depicted plants, which can be connected to Venus.⁴² It is likely that the plants were chosen because they were associated with Venus, but any attribution of sacral meaning to these plants is speculative. The wall had a niche, which has been interpreted by several researchers as a *lararium*,⁴³ but it does not have any evidence of a sacral function: no *lararium* statues have been reported and no *lararium* paintings are present around the niche. The paintings in the niche, a few branches of a plant, indicate a connection with the garden painting, but not a cult function. None of the other peristyles with large garden or animal paintings with mythological characters had *lararia*. A niche on the north wall of the peristyle of the *Casa di Vesonium Primus* (VI,14,20) is listed as one,⁴⁴ but again there is no evidence to indicate this type of use. In addition, in house VII,6,7 a *lararium* is reported on the south wall

with a garden painting and a Venus,⁴⁵ but yet again the evidence to connect the niche with cult activity is non-existent. The imaginary elements of these paintings are clearly visible, and they underline the fantasy character of the paintings, but there is no direct evidence of cult activity, and the sacred connection is limited to the divinities represented in the paintings. The mythological themes alone do not make the space particularly religious in the Pompeian domestic context.

In the animal paintings, the connection between the picture and the physical space is remote, and the fantasy of escaping reality is clearly present. The same can be said about the Nilotic scenes and landscapes. They represent elements that were not possible in the actual space of the garden, and hint at exotic themes and luxury beyond the limits of the house or the means of the house owner. Umberto Pappalardo maintains that the animal paintings were imitating the zoological gardens of Hellenistic royal palaces.⁴⁶ Although the idea of these paintings might have been received from somewhere in the eastern Mediterranean, it is difficult to show a direct connection between the royal palaces and the Pompeian houses, whereas the animal paintings are linked to the parapet wall of the amphitheater of the city.⁴⁷ Therefore, there is a possibility that the inspiration for these paintings was much closer than the Hellenistic palaces.

It has also been suggested that the garden paintings reflected the actual gardens where they were located. Barbara Amadio thinks that the garden paintings of the *Casa degli archi* (I,17,4) represent the plantings of the garden.⁴⁸ Neither the florae of the garden nor of the paintings, however, are identified, and the connection between the painting and the actual plants is purely speculative.⁴⁹ The painting, however, represents several marble basins with sculptural decoration, but no such basins or sculpture – or any type of basins or sculpture – were found in this garden, meaning that not even these elements reflect the actual garden. The painting seems to echo fantasy rather than reality; and it was easy to paint features that were impossible to acquire or fit into the actual garden. The only peristyle with large paintings that slightly correlates with the decoration of the actual garden is in the *Casa di L. Caecilius Iucundus* (V,1,26), where the peristyle had marble *oscilla* and its animal painting had painted *oscilla*. In addition, the garden painting featured a nymph fountain with a bowl, which might resemble the marble fountain basin in the peristyle, but this is speculative and uncertain, as the fountain in the painting has not survived and its appearance cannot be determined.⁵⁰ Among the 20 peristyles with garden paintings, the *Casa di L. Caecilius Iucundus* is an exception, as it is the only one where even a small connection can be made with the painting and the actual garden.⁵¹ In general, the painted gardens did not correspond with the three-dimensional decoration of the peristyle gardens, but the paintings could have been used to compensate for some desired but missing elements of the garden.

Despite the strong indicators that the large paintings were experienced as paintings, not as realistic trompe-l'œil illusions, there are several aspects indicating that Pompeians still enjoyed playing with the relationship between actual and painted space. For example, surprisingly many of the gardens (14) with large garden paintings feature reported remains of plantings.⁵² The plantings, such as the trees and shrubs in the *Casa degli archi*, were an excellent means to blur the line

between the garden and the painting. The north garden of the *Casa di Sallustio* had a planting bed directly in front of the east wall, which had garden paintings.⁵³ The visuality of the garden plants probably mixed with the painted plants, and made it difficult for the viewer to understand where the actual garden ended and the painted one started.

In the northern garden of the *Casa di Sallustio*, there was another planting bed on the west side of the garden, which added depth and layers to the garden view. The combination of the actual and painted plants may have made the narrow garden look larger. Perhaps a similar aim was intended in the *Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto*, where the garden had a row of planting pots in front of the north wall, which had painted vegetation on the lower part of the wall and animal paintings in the middle part.⁵⁴ In this case, the combination of the elements is not as smooth as in the *Casa di Sallustio*, where the plants and painted plants likely intermingled more effectively. Additionally, long straight planting beds and garden paintings on the walls are reported in the north peristyle of the *Casa dei Dioscuri*.⁵⁵ All of these gardens had a long and narrow structure and only one colonnade. The garden and plant paintings are on the long wall, and the planting seems to have been in rows in front of the painting. The layout might have created an illusion of a deeper garden, but even more effectively it functioned in shading the limit between the real and the imaginary – the wall and the garden.

Occasionally the garden and animal paintings are divided by half-columns or pilasters.⁵⁶ The half-columns in the peristyle of the *Casa del Granduca Michele* and the north peristyle of the *Casa dei Dioscuri* imitate the appearance of the free-standing columns of the real peristyles.⁵⁷ In the *Casa degli Epigrammi* they are quite similar, but the upper part of the half-columns is pinkish, whereas on the actual columns it is white.⁵⁸ In the northern peristyle of the *Casa di Sallustio* the shape is different: the wall had rectangular pilasters where the columns are round, but their coloring was similar.⁵⁹ The three-dimensional quality of these architectural elements further blurs the line between the painting and the actual space. The similarity of the half-columns and the free-standing columns suggests that the illusion of the extension of the peristyle space on the sides without colonnades was somewhat intentional in these cases.

The large garden paintings in the peristyles and their overall contexts demonstrate that these paintings had various functions, from the purely decorative to the possible interplay between the space and the painting. However, they are idealized, as Bergmann notes on garden paintings in general.⁶⁰ Most clearly – in the light of current evidence – they do not try to imitate the garden space where they are located. Instead, the paintings depict things that one could not see in the actual space, and these paintings complete the owner's or painter's imaginary vision of the garden. This is most evidently shown in the mythological themes presented in the paintings. The fantasy elements are strong in these paintings, but all of the large paintings were something more than the actual gardens – they were a means to fulfill fantasies. Several details in these paintings suggest that they were meant to be observed at close range, and it must have been obvious to the viewers that they were seeing a painting. Nevertheless, there are indications that the house

owner wanted to blur the line between reality and fantasy. Actual plants could be used for the interplay with the paintings, and in this way the boundary between the actual garden and the painted was blurred. In addition, the relationship between the paintings and the layout of many of the houses suggests that these paintings created a backdrop for a visual axis inside the house. When viewed from these axes, particularly from a long distance, it might have been difficult to know where the garden/reality ended and the painting/fantasy started, making it difficult to see what was missing in the real peristyle and what was filled in by the painting. The large paintings reflect a fantasy, and perhaps a desire for unobtainable luxury, as Jashemski suggests for the garden painting of house VII,6,28, which creates an impression of a luxurious garden.⁶¹ The elements that were not possible to supply in the actual garden – statues, fountains, exotic animals, even mythological characters – were compensated for in the paintings.

The number of decorative items is the key element of display in the ornamental peristyles, while in the large painting peristyles the size of the painting was more important. The quantity of decoration was important in these peristyles, and the large art collections or wall-spanning paintings were certainly visible to the visitors and peristyle users. This means that these peristyles were display spaces, and that visitors were meant to enter the peristyle to have a better view of these art works. Nevertheless, the location of these large paintings, sculpture collections, or lavish water displays also suggests that they were planned to create a background for activity taking place outside the peristyle.

These fountain niches, sculpture collections, large paintings, and multiple fountains were rarely a feature in the largest peristyles of Pompeii. Instead, they are located in the peristyles that are more-or-less medium sized, and feature colonnades on from one to three sides. Because architectural modifications – such as enlarging a peristyle or building more colonnades – were costly, slow, or perhaps even impossible, these types of decorations offered an easier method to demonstrate prosperity. There is a certain degree of speculation in assuming that these peristyles were compensating for the architecture, as other motives might be possible; for example, some Pompeians may have simply preferred this kind of decoration. Nevertheless, the fountain niches, sculpture collections, large wall paintings, and multiple fountains certainly were a means to display wealth for a certain group of people that can be primarily placed in the economic middle class of peristyle owners.

6.4 The idea of the full peristyle: imitating the top peristyles of Pompeii

Pompeians had several means of blurring the line between open space and the wall. Jashemski has suggested that the nails on the west wall of the peristyle of the *Casa di Polibio* indicate that the trees near the wall were espaliered.⁶² This could be a method of merging the wall with the garden space by decorating both with real plants. Furthermore, the same west wall of the peristyle of the *Casa di Polibio* had half-columns that also played a part in creating an illusion of a

flexible boundary between the wall and the inhabited space. In general, half-columns and pilasters were used for this purpose, particularly in the imitation peristyles.

The peristyles with portico imitations usually tend to create an illusion of a full peristyle; however, occasionally they settle for achieving a pseudo-peristyle. If a pseudo-peristyle with an imitation portico was located after an atrium-*tablinum* axis, the intention of the design was to leave the wall without the portico imitation invisible to the atrium area – the only exception of this layout being the *Casa di Inaco e Io*.⁶³ The layout maintained the image of a full portico until entering the peristyle. This possibly indicates that much of the activity involving visitors occurred in the spaces where the peristyle was only partially visible – such as the atria – and from the owner's view-point it was more important that the visitors acknowledge the existence of the peristyles than actually spend much time in them.

The rarity of decoration in the peristyles with imitation porticoes also indicates that the likely intention was that a guest would not spend much time in the peristyle. Even if we include the ornamental peristyles that had portico imitations, there are only three peristyles with both a portico imitation and an extensive collection of sculpture or fountains.⁶⁴ Besides these three ornamental peristyles, significant decoration in the peristyles with imitation porticoes is rare: only the north peristyle of the *Casa del Citarista* had a marble basin, and the peristyle of house VII,6,7 had a terracotta statue.⁶⁵ None of the peristyles with imitation porticoes had fountains.

Although the peristyles with imitation porticoes did not have a similar display function to the opulent and the ornamental peristyles, they had a different display role: creating an illusion of an architecturally more impressive peristyle than there actually was. The peristyles with an imitation portico (including the ornamental peristyles and the peristyles with large paintings) are not particularly large in general – their average size is about 145 m². The primary purpose of a portico imitation was to compensate for the missing portico, but as it was also intended to create an impression of the continuation of space it was also a means of compensating for the small size of the peristyle.

In the group of the imitation peristyles, there are 12 peristyles with four porticoes that are smaller than the Pompeian average (Fig. 2.5). Among these peristyles are the peristyles of house I,2,6, the *Casa di Giasone* (IX,5,18), and the northern peristyle of the *Casa del Centauro*. They all had an area smaller than 100 m², four porticoes, and additionally a pool in the garden, and therefore they can be interpreted as miniature versions of the opulent peristyles.⁶⁶ The peristyle of house VIII,4,12-13 can also be added to this group. It is reported to have had a bronze basin – not found in any other Pompeian peristyles – which makes this full peristyle another small-size reflection of an opulent peristyle.⁶⁷ All of the full peristyles in the group of imitation peristyles belong to the size group 65–170 m², which in the continuum of Pompeii is dominated by the pseudo-peristyles, while a full peristyle of such a small size is a rarity (Fig. 6.3). It can be said that a normal solution for that amount of space would have been to restrict the number of porticoes, but

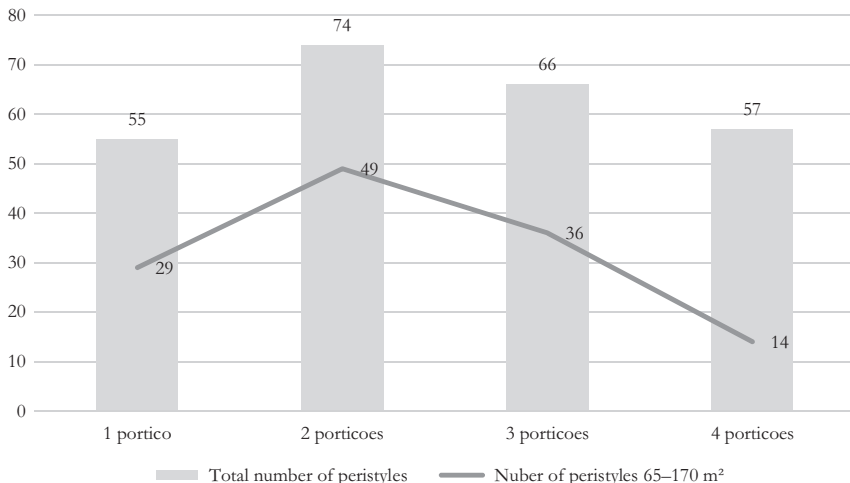


Figure 6.3 The number of peristyles with one, two, three, or four porticoes in the size group of 65–170 m². The percentage of all the peristyles in this size group: one portico 23 percent, two porticoes 38 percent, three porticoes 28 percent, four porticoes 11 percent (Total number: 128). The ratio of the peristyles of size group 65–170 m² compared to the total number of peristyles with one, two, three, or four porticoes: one portico 53 percent, two porticoes 66 percent, three porticoes 55 percent, four porticoes 25 percent.

some owners decided not to do so. Instead, they decided to build and maintain a full peristyle themselves, even though many other Pompeians had chosen another option.

Compared to the use of sculpture collections, multiple fountains, and large paintings, which seem to be featured mainly in the medium and small pseudo-peristyles, half-columns are not limited only to the pseudo-peristyles. They are also featured in the large and vast full peristyles. For example, the opulent peristyle of the *Casa di Meleagro* has four half-columns on the east wall, creating a monumental entrance into the Corinthian *oecus*, or perhaps the illusion of a double portico on the east side.⁶⁸ A similar effect is presented on the south side of the *Casa di Cornelius Rufus*, where the columns frame three openings onto the peristyle.⁶⁹ These openings possibly enabled viewing from the peristyle into the street, and vice-versa, visually connecting the peristyle to the public space. However, the use of half-columns behind an actual colonnade was not only a phenomenon of the full peristyles; they occurred in all types of peristyles.⁷⁰ Using the visual image of a portico behind an actual portico may have aspired to create an illusion of a double colonnade, although actual double porticoes are rare in Pompeian peristyles.⁷¹

In the large full peristyle of the *Casa del Labirinto*, and in both peristyles – one opulent and the other large full – of the *Casa del Fauno*, there were several plaster pilasters. In the *Casa del Labirinto* the pilasters are only on the west and east walls,

while in the *Casa del Fauno* they were probably present on all of the walls. The walls also had first style wall paintings, and the plaster pilasters were a part of this wall decoration.⁷² Daniela Corlàita Scagliarini notes that the pilasters and columns of the *Casa del Fauno* generate a similar effect as the columns and half-columns of the Basilica of Pompeii,⁷³ making these peristyles visually associated with that public building. A similar effect of free-standing columns and plaster pilasters can be found in two pseudo-peristyles: in house VI,2,16 and the *Casa di Cippius Pamphilus* (VII,6,38).⁷⁴ In five peristyles the plaster pilasters are on the garden walls, where they likely had a similar function to the half-columns on garden walls: creating the illusion of another single portico. Again, in some of these peristyles the pilasters are part of the first style wall decoration.⁷⁵ Imitation porticoes are featured in all types of peristyles, including the large and full peristyles, and therefore their use in the smaller pseudo-peristyles may possibly have been copied from these larger peristyles.

In the houses with the imitation peristyles,⁷⁶ the idea of the full peristyle is considered important – whether it was an actual small-size peristyle with four porticoes or an attempt to create an illusion of a full peristyle. Therefore, these peristyles can be seen as attempts to imitate the opulent and large full peristyles, or perhaps – more likely – the same idea of a peristyle. The pseudo-peristyles and gardens with one portico, where half-columns or pilasters created an illusion of additional porticoes, would not have deceived a Pompeian: the average Pompeian must have known these features so well that it was very clear that they were half-columns, not actual colonnades. Nevertheless, the half-columns and pilasters were widely used in Pompeii, and an imitation portico was an appropriate decoration for a wall without a colonnade. This function is commonly associated with the large paintings – which were also utilized to decorate the walls without porticoes – however the imitation porticoes are mimicking the idea of the top peristyles of Pompeii, whereas the large paintings can be seen as a unique method compared to the top peristyles. Their decoration – or lack of it⁷⁷ – suggests that the imitation peristyles were probably not intended as spaces where guests would spend much time. The likely role of the imitation peristyle was to guide a visitor through to another space or room, and to create a background for the activities that occurred in other parts of the house. In this case, even an illusion of a full peristyle was enough, and the existence of a peristyle alone was a symbol of wealth. With careful planning of the house architecture, including placement of furniture and plantings, the illusion of a full peristyle could have been made to last even longer – perhaps even until the moment when a person entered the peristyle.

6.5 The peristyles without a specifically planned display function

The evidence for display features in the minor decoration and architectural peristyles is in general limited. Some minor decoration peristyles, however, have indicators that they had some extra display value – at least at some point in their history if not during the last phase. The peristyles of the *Casa delle Nozze di Ercole* (VII,9,47) and *Casa della Regina Carolina* (VIII,3,14) had three porticoes. The

last mentioned had a pool with a fountain, and the peristyle walls were adorned with mythological paintings. The peristyle of the *Casa delle Nozze di Ercole* was 250 m² in size, and had two pools and two marble sculptures.⁷⁸ This peristyle seems to follow the idea of an opulent peristyle – or parts of it – and the same idea is visible in the peristyle of the *Casa della Regina Carolina*. In addition to these two peristyles, there are several minor decoration peristyles with an occasional fountain, sculpture, painting, or decorative plantings.⁷⁹

The presence of fountains, sculpture, paintings, or decorative plantings indicates that the space might have had a display value, and that they might be imitating the ideas of the luxurious peristyles, but the number of decorations is low in the minor decoration peristyles, and it is risky to propose an important representative function for them. For example, when a peristyle only had one statue it can be hypothesized that personal preferences were more important during its acquisition than when obtaining whole sculpture collections. It is more likely that in a large collection not all of the statues had as much personal value as when buying only one statue. Therefore, in a large collection the display function more likely had a larger role than in the case of one sculpture, when other motives probably played a large or an even larger role. For instance, the decorative elements are rare in the architectural peristyles compared to the other groups, and the means of display as defined in this study are almost non-existent. However, while there are a few exceptions, the nature of the features in these architectural peristyles is unclear and does not suggest an important display role, as in these cases there may well have been other motivations to acquire these decorations.

The lack of significant means of display in the architectural peristyles indicates that they did not have an important – or perhaps any – planned display function. However, there is a possibility that due to perhaps corrupted source material some of the architectural peristyles had a display purpose – or they were being developed into display peristyles – but this remains mostly speculation.

As has been noted several times, the peristyle had important architectural functions: providing light and air for the house and guiding movement inside the house. For example, Spinazzola concludes that the peristyle of the *Casa del Criptoportico* – one of the architectural peristyles – did not have any other function than guiding movement in the house.⁸⁰ The architectural peristyles were likely planned and built primarily for their architectural functions. This indicates that the owner did not intend the peristyle space for display, probably due to a lack of financial resources, or perhaps because there was no need, as their economic status was demonstrated in some other part of the house that visitors were more likely to encounter.

Although the architectural peristyles are most likely found in the houses of commoners compared to the other groups, this type of peristyle also suggests a certain level of wealth in the entire city-wide context. At least when compared to small houses without peristyles, and not to mention people who did not own any property at all, owning an architectural peristyle signaled wealth.

The architectural functions were also important – if not the primary characteristics – in the minor decoration peristyles, but it is possible that a little twist

of pleasant atmosphere was added with some decoration in these peristyles. The owners could not harness the peristyle for as magnificent a display as the wealthier Pompeians, but they could at least invest in something to ornament the peristyle with meaningful decorative elements. It would, however, be risky to interpret these peristyles as important display spaces, because there were without a doubt also other motivations guiding the decoration and planning processes of the Pompeian peristyles.

6.6 The role of the peristyles in the architectural functions of the house

The decoration of the opulent peristyles, the ornamental peristyles, and the large painting peristyles suggests that they were planned for display purposes. The display value of the imitation peristyles relies on their ability to generate a similar idea as the upper class peristyles. The architectural peristyles, instead, seems to lack the qualities that would indicate that they were important for display purposes. The large full and minor decoration peristyles are somewhat transitory groups, where a straightforward connection with a display purpose is not always very apparent. In these two groups the display function must be interpreted on a case-by-case basis, but on a general level the architecture of the large full peristyles was so impressive that it likely messaged about wealth. The minor decoration peristyles, instead, do not feature enough decorative elements to conclude that they were planned particularly for display purposes.

It can be tested whether it was possible to harness a peristyle solely for display purposes. This test can be made through an examination of the other functions of the peristyles; for example, if the peristyle was the only light source of the house, it would have served several household functions and could not only be a display space, or if the peristyle was used for commercial purposes then this function was likely at least as important as any display function. First, we shall examine how important the different peristyles were for architectural functions, and in the next chapter we will explore how the peristyles of the different groups were utilized for other purposes, such as small-scale industry or other business purposes.

Even if the peristyles had a display value, they naturally retained the innate architectural functions of the peristyle – providing air and light to the house and guiding movement. Some houses, however, had several light sources – atria, peristyles, lightwells, and gardens. In these cases, it was possible to decentralize the different functions that required sunlight throughout the house. This would allow the focusing of display functions in one area, possibly in a peristyle, which could be a powerful demonstration of wealth, as one part of the house was allocated only for display. Whether a peristyle was only or primarily considered a display area will probably always remain on a certain speculative level, but if the house did not have many light sources it would mean that this type of decentralization of functions was hardly an option. Consequently, it is worthwhile examining the correlation between the peristyle groups and the number of light sources in the

house, in order to learn how important the peristyle was for providing air and light into the house.

The light sources are divided into two groups: principal and additional. The principal light sources are the atria and the peristyles, which often form the core of the house, with other rooms built around these spaces. In addition to these two space types, there are lightwells, gardens, and other openings in the ceiling that provided light and air for the house, but their role in the plan of a *domus* does not appear to be so central as the role of the atria and peristyles. Some houses have several peristyles, and oftentimes these peristyles belong to different peristyle groups. In these cases, my examination lists these houses with the peristyle group where they are first represented, e.g. if a house has an opulent peristyle and a large full peristyle, the house is listed as a house with an opulent peristyle.

Figure 6.4 indicates that the houses with an opulent peristyle were differentiated from the other peristyle groups. An opulent peristyle was never the only principal source of light and air in the house, which diminishes the importance of its purely architectural functions – these houses were not solely dependent on the opulent peristyle for managing the daily household routines. The majority, nine houses with an opulent peristyle, even featured two additional principal light sources in addition to the opulent peristyles, meaning that these houses had

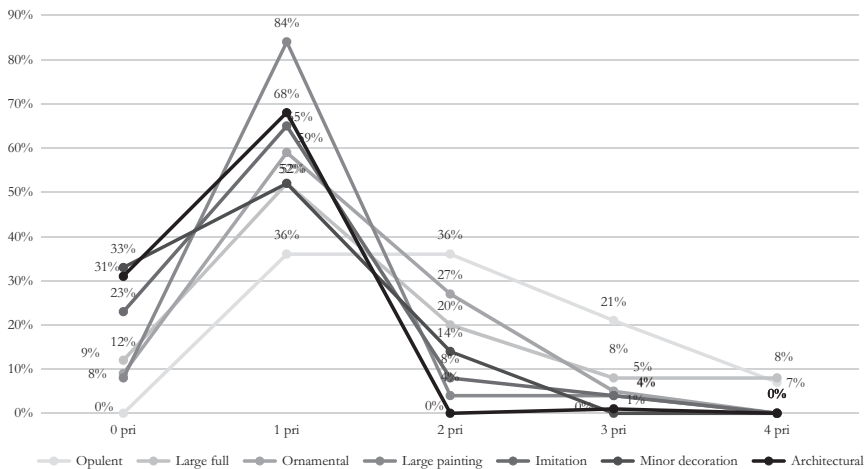


Figure 6.4 The percentage of the number of principal light and air sources for houses in addition to the peristyle. Total number of houses: 229.

The *Casa del Centenario* (IX,8,3/7) may have had three atria. However, one is not obvious, and the number of the atria in the house is counted as two. The excavations of the *Casa degli archi* (I,17,4), *Casa della soffitta* (V,3,4), houses V,3,12 and IX,6,f–g are not finished, and therefore are excluded. The houses at the west or southwest edge of Pompeii are partly destroyed, and there is a possibility that a few of them had even more open spaces. House VII,16,1 is excluded, as it currently seems to have only one atrium besides the peristyle, but it is severely ruined, and it is possible that it had more open spaces.

Table 6.1 The number of principal light sources (peristyles and atria) in the houses with peristyles. Total number of houses: 229.⁸¹

	1 pri	2 pri	3 pri	4 pri	5 pri	Average of principal light sources
Opulent	0	5	5	3	1	3,00
Large full	3	13	5	2	2	2,48
Ornamental	2	13	6	1	0	2,27
Paintings	2	22	1	1	0	2,00
Imitation	6	17	2	1	0	1,92
Minor	7	11	3	0	0	1,81
Architectural	29	63	0	1	0	1,73

several possibilities to decentralize the household functions (Table 6.1). Three opulent peristyle houses – the *Fullonica* VI,8,20, *Casa di Meleagro*, and *Casa di Cornelius Rufus* – only had an atrium in addition to the peristyle. In these houses, the peristyle was likely important for illumination, and could not have been isolated solely for display, as several household activities requiring light probably also took place in the peristyle.

The peristyle groups other than the opulent peristyles are concentrated mainly in houses that had one or zero principal light sources in addition to the peristyle (Fig. 6.4, Table 6.1). In Figure 6.4, the pattern of these six peristyle groups is quite similar, but there are still some points of differentiation – even though the differences are not very great. The average number of atria and peristyles, in Table 6.1, indicates that the number of principal light sources rises in the order that the peristyles are arranged in this study: the chance of having several principal light sources is highest for the houses with an opulent peristyle and lowest for architectural peristyles.

The minor decoration and architectural peristyles were clearly designed for houses where only one or no principal light sources were built in addition to the peristyle (Table 6.1). This indicates a concentration of multiple activities requiring light on the areas of these peristyles, and there was thus little possibility to harness these peristyles only for display purposes, since the space was essential for several functions. Particularly in the houses where the peristyle was the only principal light source, it would have been the center of the household and impossible to utilize only for display purposes.

Peristyles and atria were architectural conventions used in the planning of a house's illumination, but other additional light sources were used if needed, or if there was an opportunity. Some of these were not necessarily primary planned for this purpose. For example, the gardens were intended for horticulture, and did not always play an important role in the house's illumination. The large gardens of the *Conceria* I,5,2, *Casa della nave Europa* (I,15,3), and *Casa delle colonne cilindriche* (I,16,2-a) open mainly onto the peristyle of the house, but to almost none of the other rooms of these houses. Because the peristyles were already illuminated

and air-conditioned by themselves, the air and light provided by the garden was “lost” in the peristyle.⁸² Nevertheless – for example in houses VIII,5,15–16 and VIII,7,6 – gardens do sometimes open onto several rooms (more than three) that were not illuminated by the peristyle.⁸³ Gardens, in general, were probably also used for this purpose, if there was the possibility or need, but sometimes they played only a very minor role in the illumination of the house.

If one counts all of the ceiling openings in the house – not just atria and peristyles – the situation remains generally similar to that of the principal light sources. The opulent peristyles are clearly different from the other groups, which all instead follow a relatively similar pattern, as seen in Figure 6.5. The patterns of the minor decoration and architectural peristyles are almost identical, and the similarity of the groups is demonstrated by the averages in Table 6.2. It is notable that in the averages the architectural peristyles are slightly higher than the minor decoration peristyles, but the difference is too small to draw any significant conclusions from this, except for their similarity regarding the role of providing air and light to the house.

Table 6.2 establishes that several architectural peristyles are the only light source for the house. Five imitation and five minor decoration peristyle houses also only had one light source – the peristyle. This indicates that these peristyles could hardly have been used only for display. The other peristyle groups are almost missing this type of house plan, apart from the *Casa dei Gladiatori* and house VI,15,23, which both had a large full peristyle and no additional light

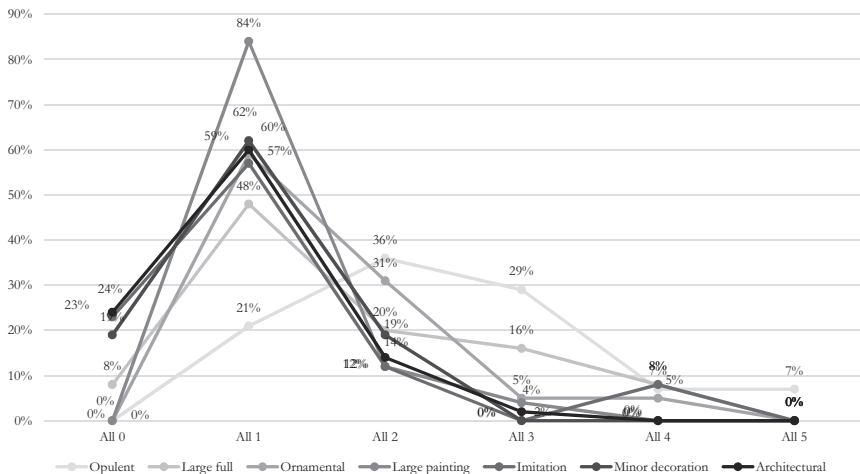


Figure 6.5 The percentage of the number of all additional light sources (peristyles, atria, lightwells, gardens) for the houses, in addition to the peristyle. Total number of houses: 229.

The light wells and gardens are collected from Jashemski's *Gardens of Pompeii Herculaneum and the villas destroyed by Vesuvius, Volume II: Appendices* (1993). There might have been more open areas in some houses, e.g. the stable in the southwest corner of the *Casa del Menandro* (I,10,4/1417), but these are not counted here.

Table 6.2 The number of all light sources (peristyles, atria, lightwells, gardens) in the houses with peristyles. Total number of houses: 229.⁸⁴

	All 1	All 2	All 3	All 4	All 5	All 6	Average of principal light sources
Opulent	0	3	5	4	1	1	3,42
Large full	2	12	5	4	2	0	2,68
Ornamental	0	13	7	1	1	0	2,55
Paintings	0	22	3	1	0	0	2,19
Imitation	6	15	3	0	2	0	2,12
Minor	4	13	4	0	0	0	2,00
Architectural	22	56	13	2	0	0	1,95

sources. In these two houses, the peristyle was crucial for the household activities that required good illumination, but customarily a Pompeian house with a peristyle had several spaces providing air and light into the house.

In addition to the 34 peristyles which were the sole light source of their houses, there are 136 houses that only had one additional light source (Table 6.2). In these cases, it was likely that the requisite activities were divided between the peristyle and the other light sources, but the probability that the peristyle was used only for display is low, as the area was likely needed for other activities. In these houses the display role of the peristyle does not seem planned, but the space was probably harnessed for that purpose, for example, by acquiring sculpture, fountains, or large paintings.

In the group of minor decoration peristyles, there are 13 peristyles where the decoration indicates a possibly stronger display function than for the other peristyles of the group.⁸⁵ These 13 cases have echoes of imitation of more luxurious peristyles, and the houses with these peristyles almost always had additional light sources.⁸⁶ Perhaps their owners saw a possibility to add some decoration to the peristyle, as the space was not entirely needed so urgently for other purposes. The only exception is house VI,5,10, which seems to be quite unique if we examine its decoration and how it was placed in the peristyle. It had a descriptive mosaic, which is reported to have been placed near the entrance.⁸⁷ Additionally, the peristyle had no other decorative elements except pilasters placed against the north wall – the wall nearest the entrance.⁸⁸ Therefore, all the effort invested in display was in the area directly after the entrance, and the other parts of the peristyle lack decoration. The entrance area was undoubtedly very important for this house, while the other parts of the peristyle did not have the same significance. The concentration of the decorative elements might indicate that only rare visitors advanced deeper inside the peristyle, and that it was primarily important to create a wealthy appearance facing towards the street.

The examination of the light sources offers a possible scenario where some peristyles were carefully planned for display. For example, several opulent peristyle houses had numerous other light sources: the *Casa del Menandro* had three atria,

a stable with porticoes, and at least one garden.⁸⁹ The *Casa di Obellius Firmus* had two atria and one large garden,⁹⁰ the *Casa del Fauno* and house VIII,2,14–16 had two atria and two peristyles,⁹¹ the *Casa del Centenario* had three atria, and the *Casa dei Capitelli colorati* an atrium and two peristyles.⁹² In the *Casa del Citarista* the opulent peristyle is even located so that only a few rooms actually received light solely from this peristyle, as it had a peristyle at the north and south side. These peristyles provided their own light, making the central peristyle less important for this function.⁹³ All of the listed houses offered several possibilities to decentralize the activities in several parts of the house, and to possibly allocate one peristyle predominantly to the display function, which in these cases would have been the opulent peristyle, as suggested by their extensive decoration and grand architecture.

In general, the possibility of focusing the peristyle on the display function was highest for the opulent peristyle houses, second highest for the large full peristyles, and about equally high for the ornamental peristyles. The potential further declines for the large painting and imitation peristyles. It is lowest in the minor decoration and architectural peristyle houses. Consequently, the peristyles which seem to have a large display value were usually in the houses where it was possible to decentralize the functions around the different light sources, and to allocate the display function to one peristyle.

6.7 Other purposes of the peristyles

The functions of peristyles are not limited to display and architectural functions; the space was naturally a place for various human actions and activities. Their occurrence in the peristyle groups is examined next. The investigation here focuses on the following activities: industrial or commercial activities, food preparation, toilet use, productive gardening (kitchen garden, cultivation, or orchard), dining or banqueting, cult activity, and use as a water reservoir. If these activities can be associated with a peristyle then the role of the peristyle must be re-evaluated, taking into consideration how they would affect the display value of the peristyle. Was the peristyle mainly used for these activities without a significant display function, or did the activities take place in the peristyle alongside its display function?

Hypothetically, the industrial, commercial, kitchen, and toilet activities can be thought of as contradictory to the display purpose, or at least they might have reduced the pleasantness of the space. There is a clear correlation between the evidence for these activities and a low amount of decoration, as the majority of these activities can be located in the imitation and architectural peristyles (Table 6.3). Nevertheless, these activities cannot be regarded as typical of these peristyle groups, because their occurrence is also proportionally low in these two groups (Table 6.4).

The separation of display and utilitarian uses applies on some level to the peristyles, as can be seen in the concentration of business activities in the architectural, minor decoration, and imitation peristyles. There is also no evidence of

Table 6.3 The number of peristyles where industrial or commercial activities, food preparation, toilet use, utilitarian garden, outdoor triclinia, cult activity, or water reservoir use can be identified, listed according to the peristyle groups.

	<i>Industrial and commerce</i>	<i>Kitchen</i>	<i>Latrines</i>	<i>Productive gardens</i>	<i>Triclinia</i>	<i>Cult activity</i>	<i>Water</i>
Opulent	1	0	0	0	1	2	6
Large full	0	1	0	0	1	2	9
Ornamental	0	0	0	2	4	4	5
Paintings	1	0	0	3	3	8	11
Imitation	4	1	0	1	0	3	6
Minor	3	1	1	2	2	3	4
Architectural	8	7	3	6	12	20	17

Table 6.4 The ratio of peristyles where industrial or commercial activities, food preparation, toilet use, utilitarian garden, outdoor triclinia, cult activity, or water reservoir use can be identified, compared to the total number of peristyles in the groups.

	<i>Industrial and commerce</i>	<i>Kitchen</i>	<i>Latrines</i>	<i>Productive gardens</i>	<i>Triclinia</i>	<i>Cult activity</i>	<i>Water</i>
Opulent	7%	0	0	0	7%	14%	43%
Large full	0	3%	0	0	3%	7%	31%
Ornamental	0	0	0	9%	18%	18%	23%
Paintings	3%	0	0	9%	9%	25%	34%
Imitation	14%	4%	0	4%	0	11%	21%
Minor	12%	4%	4%	8%	8%	12%	16%
Architectural	8%	7%	3%	6%	12%	20%	17%

productive garden use in the opulent and large full peristyles (Table 6.3). Yet, the source situation for planting evidence is very fragmentary, and is missing for most of the peristyles, meaning that the numbers for productive garden use are quite unreliable. In addition, in Tables 6.3 and 6.4 productive garden use is defined very loosely. For example, in the *Casa delle Nozze di Ercole* this utilitarian use is defined based only on a pollen sample, and in other cases only on the shape of the planting bed (straight line or rectangular) as a sign of their utilitarian function, resulting in them being counted as a kitchen garden.⁹⁴ It is mostly impossible to know, without further evidence, whether the plants in most of the gardens were utilitarian or decorative. Even if a planting bed resembles a kitchen garden, it does not automatically mean that it was dedicated to utilitarian plants.

The display use, however, did not always exclude production or other utilitarian uses of the space; for example, the opulent peristyle of the *Fullonica* VI,8,20 combines both. The people working for the owner in the peristyle were another possible symbol of the high economic and social status of the house owner. Yet, the peristyle was used for a practical purpose, meaning that it was making a profit

and the space was not wasted in a strict economic sense, as it would be if the peristyle were primarily reserved for display.

The lack of outdoor *triclinia* in the imitation peristyles indicates that these peristyles might not have been meant for sojourning or entertaining guests (Table 6.3). It supports the proposed nature of the imitation peristyles as passage spaces, and not *per se* spaces used for entertaining guests. It is possible that some of the imitation peristyles had movable *triclinia* that were used in the peristyle when needed but were otherwise stored in other rooms, or wooden *triclinia* that were either not identified or reported. For example, in the opulent and large full peristyles, if an outdoor *triclinium* is reported, it is always wooden.⁹⁵ Nevertheless, the lack of masonry *triclinia* suggests that dining or banqueting activities were not regarded as the top priority for use of the full peristyles – at least to the extent that they would have required a stationary masonry *triclinium*. In contrast, the presence of a masonry *triclinium* in some minor decoration and architectural peristyles tells us that less-decorated peristyles were also used for entertaining guests. The presence of a *triclinium* might also be a sign that the peristyle was used as a restaurant, which has been a tempting conclusion for some of the less impressive peristyles,⁹⁶ but confirming that a dining couch was used by customers rather than invited guests is difficult.

Cult activity and the use of the peristyle as a water distribution center for the house occur in all of the peristyle groups (Table 6.3). Both activities were very temporary by their nature, and consequently would not interfere with the display function. Additionally, the *lararia* and altars are frequently decorated with paintings and sculpture, which had a primarily religious value but also functioned as decoration. The cistern heads and *puteals* mark the place where the water was taken from the cistern. They could be made of precious stone materials, such as marble, or feature decoration, meaning that they were probably thought of as a part of the décor of the space, not just as practical items. These two activities were clearly considered suitable and compatible with a display purpose.

Table 6.4 suggests that there is some correlation with the amount of decoration and the use of the peristyle as a water distribution center for the house. The percentage of peristyles used for water distribution decreases when moving down in the peristyle rankings – except for a rise again in the large painting peristyles. The water distribution category, however, is unreliable, as not all of the cisterns have necessarily been excavated, meaning that it is likely that more peristyles had cisterns. If only the occurrence of cistern heads are compared to the groups, the situation changes slightly and the differences between many groups are not so striking, but the correlation with the decoration and water distribution remains. The opulent peristyles have the highest ratio, at about 80 percent, and the large full peristyles are at 59 percent, but the imitation peristyles rise almost to their level with 57 percent, the large painting peristyles have 47 percent, but the ornamental peristyles rise to 45 percent, minor decoration peristyles to 46 percent, and the architectural peristyles to 37 percent. The apparent connection of decoration and water distribution might be due to the documentation, as the most decorated peristyles might have been better examined and reported than the

others, and therefore their cisterns and cistern heads are better known. This might explain why the ratio of the opulent peristyles is so much higher than the other groups. However, there is also the simple possibility that the activities related to water distribution were considered suitable for decorated peristyles, which seems likely when looking at the numbers.

Most of the activities examined in this chapter are temporary in their nature, but the industrial, commercial, and productive activities instead took up a main part of the daily life in the peristyles. Subsequently, in the context of display use, they might have had a significant effect, and possibly even disturbed it – even if the peristyles frequently had plenty of space to locate these activities above and beyond the area reserved for display. However, there are some examples that suggest that the industrial use had replaced the display use. The peristyle of *Tintoria* VII,2,11–12 was used as a dye-shop, and the wall paintings were already in a bad condition when the house was excavated, meaning that the decoration of the space was not considered to be of primary importance during the last phase.⁹⁷ Likewise, in the peristyle of the *Casa del Banchiere* the garden paintings were already in a poor condition when they were discovered, according to the reports. The peristyle probably had lost its display purpose, and was being utilized for other functions. For example, it is suggested that it was a part of a dye-shop functioning in the house.⁹⁸ In the peristyle of house V,1,15 the garden paintings on a masonry bench were from a previous phase, and only partly visible during 79 CE.⁹⁹ The paintings had lost most of their decorative function by the last phase, and the space was functioning as a bakery. In addition to these examples, Sampaolo states that house VII,10,5 was a washhouse, and the peristyle there had lost its display character when it was transformed into a washing space.¹⁰⁰ What the exact function of the peristyle was – washing or something else – is not absolutely clear, but it was utilized to support the dyes hop in the house.¹⁰¹

The changing function of the garden of the *Casa del fabbro* (I,10,7), from an entertainment area into a utilitarian domestic and industrial space, or a place to collect salvaged industrial and manufacturing material, has been interpreted as a downgrading of the peristyle area.¹⁰² What activities occurred in the peristyle during the last phase is not entirely clear; Domenico Mustilli speculates that it was the place of business of a marble worker, but notes that the evidence suggests that the house was used for several different business activities simultaneously. Allison states that there is no evidence to connect the house with any special type of industry, except collecting and salvaging items during the general upheaval.¹⁰³ Perhaps the peristyle did not have a significant display value during the last period. Ciarallo and Giordano state that even the statue of Hercules in the garden had a religious value rather than ornamental.¹⁰⁴ If this interpretation is accepted, then there are no features of display in the peristyle. However, the material and size (h. 0.44 m) of the statue do not correspond to the other *lararium* statues,¹⁰⁵ but instead are similar to the garden decorations, and the function of the sculpture seems to indicate a more ornamental role rather than cultic.

The peristyle of *Conceria* I,5,2 contained a *triclinium* table with mosaics representing a skull.¹⁰⁶ Besides the outdoor *triclinium*, the peristyle had a kitchen and

a latrine on the west side. These features can all be related to dining, whereas the east side functioned as a tannery.¹⁰⁷ This peristyle seems to be a very multifunctional space, where industrial activity occurred alongside a kitchen, latrine, and *triclinium*. These last three features might have been for dining and entertaining guests. The arrangement of the space suggests a separation of the activities by their location in the peristyle: on the west side there were the dining related activities, and on the east side was the tannery. Similarly, the activities in *Fullonica* VI,8,20 seem to be divided into two parts: the eastern part was for decoration and display purposes, whereas the western was for the fullery.

To conclude, examining a broad range of activities demonstrates that the decorated peristyles were rarely used for industrial, commercial, cooking, or toilet activities. This reinforces their status as display spaces, signifying that this was likely their main function. Nevertheless, the display peristyles were also possibly used for cult activities or as water distribution centers of the house, but these two activities were temporary in nature, meaning that the peristyle was only occasionally needed for these activities and it was also possible to utilize the peristyle for other purposes.

Chapter 6 has concluded that the peristyle groups are presented in an order that more-or-less describes their economic relationships: the opulent and large full peristyles represent the upper class, or elite; the ornamental peristyles the upper middle class; the large painting, imitation, and minor decoration peristyles the middle class; and the architectural peristyles the lower middle class. This, however, is the ranking for the houses with at least one peristyle, and if all of the houses of Pompeii would be included, those with ornamental peristyles would perhaps belong to the elite, and those with architectural peristyles would most certainly belong to the middle class.

The role and means of display vary between the peristyle groups. The opulent peristyles utilize all types of means. One of these is the use of grandiose architecture, which follows the same pattern as in the full large and imitation peristyles. Who imitated who is a difficult question to answer; it is possible that some Pompeian houses imitated other houses in the city, but it is equally possible that the models came from the local *villae*, Rome itself, or other cities of the Roman Empire – the Bay of Naples had several significant urban centers during antiquity. However, the archaeological record of other sites rarely offers the possibility of making extensive comparisons with Pompeii – at least in the same level of detail that is possible for a city buried by a volcanic eruption. This is particularly problematic with the evidence for decoration, which is an important means of display. Densely decorated peristyles have been seen as imitating the Roman upper class. Yet, our archaeological evidence provides very little evidence for this – which might be because of the lacunae in our sources – while it actually does demonstrate that well-decorated peristyles were a means used primarily by the middle class, and rarely by the elite.

There is a large group of peristyles that do not provide any evidence that they were planned or used for display purposes – perhaps the existence of the peristyle alone was enough to be treated as a status symbol in these houses. When

comparing the display function of the peristyles with the pattern of the house light sources and the activities likely occurring in the peristyles, this confirms that the less-decorated peristyles – those that were not planned primarily for display – were most likely spaces where several other activities could have taken place, whereas the richest peristyles offered better possibilities to focus only on display, if it was so desired.

Notes

- 1 The opulent peristyles that are not in the houses featuring luxury architecture: nn. 22, 105, 108, 139, 210.
- 2 The large full peristyles in the houses with luxury architecture: nn. 16, 97, 110, 114, 120, 122, 144, 149, 161, 174, 193, 242.
- 3 Nn. 121, 146, 162, 197, 210.
- 4 Nn. 22, 208. The peristyle of the *Casa di Paquius Proculus* (I,7,1) did not have sculpture, floor decoration, or central panel paintings – although there are landscape vignettes (Parise Badoni 1990, 525–531) on the walls – which only just excludes it from the group of opulent peristyles. See also peristyles nn. 97, 114, 152, 161, 174, which are close to the definition of the opulent peristyles.
- 5 Nn. 40, 82, 114. Additionally, the peristyle of the *Casa di Trittolema* (n. 174) had a painted priestess, but it is unknown whether it was a central panel painting or a vignette – likely the latter.
- 6 N. 80.
- 7 Nn. 120, 122.
- 8 For the *villae* as the model of the *domus*, see Zanker 1998, 12–14, 142, 145, 160, 168, 192–193.
- 9 For the Roman peristyles and their reconstructions, see Papi 1998, 53–55, Carandini 2010, 52–53, 71–74, 81, 99–111, 114–118, 120–125, 128–132, 143–147, 187–248, Morvillez 2017, 23–24, 30–31. On the peristyles of the Imperial palaces (beginning with the *Domus Aurea*), their peristyles and reconstructions, see Carandini 2010, 248–292. On the general criticism of Carandini's work, see Wiseman 2012. One of the few archaeological remains of Rome where the peristyles predate Pompeian houses is the so-called House of Augustus on the Palatine (see Iacopi 1995). However, its remaining peristyles – or what is left from them – are hardly as lavish as many Pompeian examples.
- 10 See Morvillez 2017, 31.
- 11 On the connection between Pompeian full peristyles and wealth, see Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 86 and Section 4.2.2.
- 12 See also Trentin 2014, 184.
- 13 The south portico of the middle peristyle of the *Casa del Citarista* (I,4,5/25), the west peristyle of house VI,5,4, the north peristyle of the *Casa del Centauro* (VI,9,3/5) and the peristyle of the *Casa degli Amorini dorati* (VI,16,7). The west portico could be eliminated from the peristyle of the *Casa del Pomarius Felix* (I,8,2), *Casa delle Vestali* (VI,1,7), the middle peristyle of the *Casa dei Dioscuri* (VI,9,6/7), the southern peristyle of the *Casa del Fauno* (VI,12,2), the peristyles of the *Casa di N. Popidius Priscus* (VII,2,20/40), *Casa di Trittolema* (VII,7,5), *Casa di Championnet II* (VIII,2,3–5), *Casa del Cinghiale I* (VIII,3,8–9), house VIII,4,12–13 and *Casa del Gallo* (VIII,5,2/5). The east portico of the peristyle of house I,2,6, *Casa di Ma. Castricus* (VII,16,17), *Casa dei Postumii* (VIII,4,4/49), *Casa di Achille* (IX,5,1–3), *Casa di Giasone* (IX,5,18), *Casa del Centenario* (IX,8,3/7), and *Casa di Obellius Firmus* (IX,14,4). The north portico of the northern peristyle of the *Casa di Sirico* (VII,1,25/47) and the peristyle of the *Casa della Fortuna* (IX,7,20). The north or the

south colonnade of the south peristyle of the *Casa del Citarista* and house IX,6,4–7. In the *Casa del Labirinto* (VI,11,8–10), the northern peristyle of the *Casa del Fauno*, house VII,11,6–8, and *Casa dello scultore* (VIII,7,24/22) either the west or the east portico could be eliminated. In the *Casa di M. Caesius Blandus* (VII,1,40) the south and west porticoes could be eliminated. Possibly also the west colonnade of the peristyle of house VI,17,32–36, but as the west side of the peristyle has not survived this cannot be verified, as well as in the western peristyle of house VI,17,23–26 only the east portico is needed, so three colonnades could have been eliminated. However, this peristyle is not currently visible, and the room situation cannot be verified. The northern peristyle of house VIII,2,14–16 could probably lose the east portico, as the *fauces a* can be reached from two side by side doors of the peristyle. The *Casa delle Forme di Creta* (VII,4,62) could lose the east and the south portico and the *Casa di A. Umbricius Scaurus* (VII,16,12–15) the north and the west porticoes, but these two peristyles with rooms opening onto them have been destroyed so badly that the situation cannot be verified with certainty.

- 14 Sogliano 1881, 320. Mau 1883, 172. Jashemski 1993, 216 n. 436. Sampaolo 1998, 547. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 625 n. 437. N. 213.
- 15 Trentin 2014, 9.
- 16 Nn. 14, 134, 139, 149, 208, 210, 251.
- 17 Bechi 1835, 10.
- 18 Loccardi 2009, 69.
- 19 N. 3. Inserra 2008, 23.
- 20 Zanker 1998, 168–174, 178, 180–182. See also Bragantini 1991, 342. Sampaolo 1993, 613. Fröhlich 1993, 641; 1996, 116.
- 21 See e.g. Bergmann 2002, 91–95.
- 22 On the *villa* gardens, see Jashemski 1993, 277–312, and their sizes, see Zarmakoupi 2014, 245–263.
- 23 See Jashemski 1993, 306 n. 612.
- 24 See Leander Touati 2010, 156–157 and Staub 2017: <http://www.pompejiprojektet.se/house.php?hid=23&hidnummer=6060276&hrubrik=V%201,7%20Casa%20del%20Torello> (last visited 24.6.2021).
- 25 Zarmakoupi 2014, 259.
- 26 See Raimondi Cominesi 2018b and 2019.
- 27 Raimondi Cominesi 2019, 157.
- 28 Zanker 1998, 200.
- 29 Nn. 14, 210, 215.
- 30 Nn. 14, 134, 139, 210, 251.
- 31 N. 180.
- 32 The opulent peristyles with fountains: Nn. 22, 38, 73, 105, 108, 121, 146, 161, 162, 197, 245. The large full peristyles with a fountain: 82, 97, 110, 114, 161.
- 33 Nn. 3, 24, 37, 67, 84, 94, 106, 107, 133, 164, 180.
- 34 Spano 1910, 468, 472. Soprano 1950, 300–301. Richardson 1955, 45. Jashemski 1981, 41. Peters & Moormann 1993, 348–349. Sampaolo 1997, 183. Inserra 2008, 23. Ciarallo 2012, 22, 26. Laidlaw & Collins-Clinton 2014, 89. Bergmann 2002, 115 (in the *villa* context).
- 35 Exceptions (the peristyle where the largest room is not opposite the large painting): Nn. 9, 37, 47, 66, 70, 85, 87, 94, 104, 113, 128, 169, 170, 175, 180, 189, 225. In the *Casa dei Pigmei* (IX,5,9) the largest room (p) is not opposite the west wall animal paintings. However, there were also animal paintings on the western part of the north wall (Fiorelli 1875, 274. Mau 1879, 135. Niccolini & Niccolini 1896, Nuovi scavi dal 1874 a tutto il 1882, 14. Jashemski 1993, 366 n. 94), and these paintings were probably visible from the room. The excavation of the *Casa degli archi* (I,17,4) is unfinished, and some of the rooms around the peristyle cannot be measured. The eastern peristyle of the *Casa del Centauro* is mostly destroyed, and it is reported to

- have had garden paintings on the walls (Bechi 1830, *Relazione degli scavi di Pompei*, 8), but the exact location of the paintings is unknown. It would be highly unusual if a peristyle had garden paintings on every wall.
- 36 Nn. 37, 66, 104, 169, 170, 175, 180. The *Casa dei Pittori* (I,12,11) does not have a *tablinum*, but the paintings are opposite the atrium, and hence the peristyle is counted in this group. The peristyles with large paintings where the *tablinum* is the largest room opening to it: Nn. 84, 107, 126, 164, 239.
- 37 See e.g. Ciarallo 2012, 24. Ciarallo mentions different details in the garden paintings, such as insects, and Jashemski's (1993, 330–331 n. 28) description of different fauna and flora in the garden paintings of the *Casa della Venere in conchiglia* (II,3,3).
- 38 Nn. 24, 28, 70, 84, 239.
- 39 In the peristyle of house IX,5,11/13 the triclinium is not touching the walls, but it is very close – less than 0.50 m away from the wall.
- 40 There is a literary reference mentioning that occasionally landscapes and paintings could have been confused in the Roman world (Plin. Ep. 5.6. Bergmann 2002, 99).
- 41 Ciarallo 2012, 21, 299. See also Grimal 1984, 241, Bergmann 2002, 108 (in the villa context), Kuivalainen 2019, 79.
- 42 Ciarallo 2012, 30.
- 43 A. De Vos 1991, 113, 136, 138–143. Jashemski 1993, 84 n. 139. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 451–452 n. 141. Brandt (2010, 99), however, does not list this niche as a *larium*.
- 44 Brandt 2010, 104 n. 174. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 543–544 n. 288.
- 45 Brandt 2010, 107 n. 241. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 590 n. 364. The wall is badly damaged, and the niche and the painting are no longer visible.
- 46 Pappalardo 2004, 45. See also Bergmann 2017, 304–305.
- 47 Allison 2002, 75. Bergmann 2017, 304–305.
- 48 Amadio 1990, 1039. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 430–431 n. 117. On the *Casa del Menandro* (I,10,4/14–17), see Petersen 2006, 145–146.
- 49 On the garden and its paintings, see Jashemski 1993, 66 n. 115, 328 n. 26
- 50 N. 67. On the painting, see Jashemski 1993, 334 n. 32.
- 51 Nn. 3, 24, 37, 46, 67, 84, 87, 94, 101, 104, 106, 107, 111, 113, 133, 163, 164, 185, 189, 255. On the description of the garden paintings, see Jashemski 1993, 313 n. 3, 316 n. 8, 323 n. 14, 326 n. 20, 340 nn. 41 & 43, 340–341 n. 44, 342 n. 47, 343 nn. 48, 49 & 50, 343–344 n. 51, 346 n. 56, 361–362 n. 73, 362 n. 74, 364 n. 84, 365 n.90, Bragantini 1993, 244–245; 1997, 483, Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 501–502 n. 215. In the *Casa di Adone ferito* (VI,7,18) there is a painted rocky bond, but its visual appearance is quite far from the rectangular marble pool in the peristyle garden.
- 52 Nn. 24, 25, 37, 46, 55, 70, 78, 84, 94, 107, 111, 113, 169, 170.
- 53 Nn. 84. Mazois 1824, 76. Niccolini & Niccolini 1862, *Descrizione generale* 23. Jashemski 1993, 121 n. 203. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 497–498 n. 207. Laidlaw & Collins-Clinton 2014, 88. Stella 2014, 220–221.
- 54 Brunsting & Wynia 1993, 3. Peters and Moormann 1993 & 348–349. See also n. 78.
- 55 N. 113. Gell 1832, II, 43. Richardson 1955, 45. Jashemski 1993, 138 n. 259. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 528 n. 263.
- 56 Nn. 66, 84, 113, 169. In the peristyles of houses VII,6,7 and VII,6,28 (Nn. 169, 170) the paintings were probably also divided by half-columns, but these walls are destroyed, and their composition cannot be verified. In addition, the east wall of the peristyles of the *Casa degli archi* (I,17,4) probably had garden paintings between the pilasters (Jashemski 1993, 328 n. 26), but the painting is mostly destroyed, and its theme cannot be identified.
- 57 N. 94, 113.
- 58 N. 66.
- 59 N. 84.

- 60 Bergmann 2017, 315. However, on the possible merging of painting with actual garden elements in order to create the experience of an actual garden, see Tally-Schumacher & Niemeier 2016, 66–68, Niemeier & Tally-Schumacher 2017, 65, 72.
- 61 Jashemski 1993, 362 n. 77.
- 62 Jashemski 1993, 249 n. 517.
- 63 Nn. 9, 13, 102, 113, 231. There is a similar situation in house IX,3,15, where the peristyle (n. 236) is located after a *fauces* leading from the atrium. In the *Casa di Inaco e Io* (n. 102) the west wall did not have half-columns or pilasters, and it was visible from the main entrance-atrium-*tablinum* axis.
- 64 Nn. 64, 67, 166.
- 65 Nn. 15, 169.
- 66 Nn. 1, 109, 241.
- 67 N. 209.
- 68 N. 108.
- 69 N. 210.
- 70 E.g. nn. 4, 27, 49, 51, 86, 95, 131, 137, 142, 146, 175, 215, 233.
- 71 Two peristyles perhaps had a double portico: nn. 21, 24.
- 72 Nn. 120, 121, 122.
- 73 Corlàita Scagliarini 1976, 6.
- 74 Nn. 86, 172. The *Casa delle Nozze di Ercole* (VII,9,47) has remains of one plaster pilaster on the north wall (n. 178). It is unclear if the wall had more plaster pilasters, or if the pilaster was just part of the decoration of the entrance of *oecus* 9.
- 75 Nn. 84, 133, 165, 231, 234.
- 76 Nn. 1, 13, 15, 23, 26, 45, 76, 88, 92, 102, 109, 141, 142, 147, 150, 165, 194, 204, 207, 209, 229, 231, 233, 234, 236, 237, 241, 250.
- 77 The imitation peristyles with fountains: nn. 209, 241. The imitation peristyles with a pool or decorative basin: nn. 1, 15, 209, 241. The imitation peristyles with central wall paintings: nn. 1, 15, 76, 194, 250. The imitation peristyles with sculpture: nn. 147, 209. The imitation peristyles with decorated floors: nn. 15, 23, 102, 142, 147, 194, 236, 237. The floor decoration has its display value; however, as it does not depict any descriptive themes, such as e.g. the wall paintings, the floor decoration does not engage persons to come and take a closer look. It is probably just something for guests to notice, and hence it cannot be interpreted as a feature that suggests that a peristyle was meant to be visited and marveled at. In addition, most of the decoration, besides the floor decoration, is concentrated on the full peristyles – except for the northern peristyle of the *Casa del Citarista* (I,4,5/25). These full peristyles (e.g. nn. 1, 209) might have been planned for a sort of strolling activity, but they are quite small, and the stroll would have been quite short. The walls of the peristyle of the *Casa di Achille* (IX,5,1–3) were probably in the process of being decorated during the eruption (Sogliano 1878, 146. Bragantini 1999, 388). There is no means to know what type of paintings were planned, but descriptive central paintings would explain the odd structure of the peristyle. The columns and piers are hardly visible from anywhere else other than the surrounding rooms of the peristyle. This indicates that the columns and piers did not have an important display function; however, if there was going to be central wall paintings, they would have given a purpose for the colonnades (particularly for the east portico), to protect the paintings and allow people to see them at close range. In addition, the *Casa di Giasone* (IX,5,18) was under restoration in 79 CE (Sampaolo 1999, 670), so it was also possible that there was supposed to be central paintings or other decorations in this peristyle.
- 78 Nn. 178, 202.
- 79 Nn. 6, 33, 69, 74, 137, 155, 216, 249.
- 80 Spinazzola 1953, 441.
- 81 See note 106.
- 82 Nn. 17, 29, 30, 51, 52.

- 83 See Jashemski 1993, 216 pl. 81, 220 pl. 83 and PBMP map: http://digitalhumanities.umass.edu/pbmp/?page_id=1258 (Last visited 30.1.2017). Nn. 215, 220.
- 84 See note 106.
- 85 Nn. 6, 17, 33, 69, 74, 95, 137, 155, 178, 198, 202, 216, 249.
- 86 The *Casa delle Quadrighe* (VII,2,25) and house VIII,2,14–16 are not listed as houses with minor decoration peristyles; but as these houses had several peristyles, it indicates that their minor decoration peristyle was not the only light source of the house.
- 87 Fiorelli 1860, III, 12–14. Niccolini & Niccolini 1862, *Descrizione generale* 28–29. Fiorelli 1875, 101.
- 88 N. 95.
- 89 Jashemski (1993, 47–48 n. 65, 48–49 n. 66) identifies two gardens beside the peristyle in the *Casa del Menandro* (I,10,4/14–17), but Ciarallo and Giordano (2012, 404–405 n. 66) note that the identification of the garden on the east side of the house is uncertain.
- 90 N. 251. Jashemski 1993, 252 n. 520.
- 91 Nn. 121, 122, 197, 198.
- 92 Nn. 161, 162.
- 93 Nn. 14, 15, 16.
- 94 N. 178.
- 95 Nn. 22, 38.
- 96 See e.g. Jashemski 1993, 92 n. 150.
- 97 Fiorelli 1873, 30; 1875, 185. Jashemski 1993, 172 n. 320. Sampaolo 1996, 496. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 568 n. 325.
- 98 Schulz 1841, 123. Fiorelli 1875, 301. Jashemski 1993, 198 n. 389. Sampaolo 1997, 676. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 602–603 n. 390.
- 99 Boman & Nilsson 2014: [http://www.pompejiprojektet.se/decoration.php?hid=2&hidnummer=8359643&hrubrik=V%201,14-16%20Bakery&rid=17&ridnummer=2150539&rrubrik=Room%20h%20\(peristyle-viridarium\)&did=4&didnummer=6339268&drubrik=Wall%20decoration%20\(extant\)](http://www.pompejiprojektet.se/decoration.php?hid=2&hidnummer=8359643&hrubrik=V%201,14-16%20Bakery&rid=17&ridnummer=2150539&rrubrik=Room%20h%20(peristyle-viridarium)&did=4&didnummer=6339268&drubrik=Wall%20decoration%20(extant)). Last visited 25.7.2016.
- 100 Sampaolo 1997, 423, 428.
- 101 See Monteix 2017, 218–219 Fig. 7.2 about the location of the dyeing vats.
- 102 Allison 2006, 343–345, 348. On the regression of the *Casa del fabbro* (I,10,7) during the last period, see Ling & Ling 2005, 144–145, 169.
- 103 Mustilli 1950, 218–219. Allison 2006, 349. See also Jashemski 1993, 49 n. 67.
- 104 Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 405 n. 67.
- 105 N. 39.
- 106 N. 4, 7, 17, 41, 248.
- 107 N. 17. Jashemski 1993, 33 n. 27. Monteix 2017, 218–219 Fig. 7.2.

7 The social status of Pompeian peristyle owners

7.1 Evidence of social status in the domestic sphere

The task of defining the social status of peristyle owners is much more difficult than defining their economic status, although that is not straightforward either. The houses do not usually have direct evidence of their owners' social status, and the archaeological material tends to indicate their wealth.¹ There have been attempts to connect certain decorations, such as animal paintings, to magistrates who funded spectacles in the amphitheater. However, the basis for this hypothesis is far from solid, as we will see later (in Section 7.2.4) that it is uncertain whether, for instance, M. Lucretius Fronto owned the house named after him, and the ownership of the *Casa degli Epigrammi* is even more problematic, as it seems very unlikely that L. Valerius Priscus owned that house, even though these are the cases used as evidence for the theory regarding the animal paintings.²

Traditionally, house architecture and size has been linked to the owner's social status: a large house size and prestigious architectural features, such as atria and peristyles, are connected to high social rank and influence, and a small house size and lack of the aforementioned architectural features are connected to lower status.³ However, this approach has several problems.

Mariette De Vos lists several houses where an owner is possibly known, and was a *duumvir* or an aedile. De Vos's conclusion is that the aediles had houses that were about 300–400 m² and the *duumviri* owned houses between 1,000 and 2,000 m². Therefore, De Vos thinks that the *Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto* was too small for a *duumvir*, and she thinks that M. Lucretius Fronto was not the owner of the eponymous house, because he must have served as a *duumvir* before he was a *quinquennalis* candidate.⁴ However, this reasoning is problematic, beginning from the premise that M. Lucretius Fronto was a *duumvir*. The office of *quinquennalis* is considered to be the high point of a municipal officer's career, and it is thought that a person must have been a *duumvir* before becoming *quinquennalis*. Henrik Mouritsen, however, notes that there was no such requirement for the office.⁵ Therefore, the house of M. Lucretius Fronto – wherever in Pompeii that may be – was not necessarily the house of a *duumvir*, as it is only known that M. Lucretius Fronto served as an aedile; he may never have been a *duumvir*.

The area of *Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto* was about 420 m², placing it behind 127 other houses with a peristyle (Fig. 2.7 and the Online Appendix).⁶ Mouritsen lists the names of 120 candidates for the period 50–79 CE.⁷ The number of candidates is quite close to the number of houses with a peristyle that was larger than the *Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto*, and in this scenario it would not be impossible that the *Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto* was inhabited by an aedile. Although the house does not have any pretentious architecture – such as private baths, or vast or large peristyles – its decoration, such as the large animal paintings in the peristyle, might have compensated for the shortcoming of the architecture.⁸ Therefore, it is possible that M. Lucretius Fronto – known only to hold the office of aedile – was living in the house named after him, although the identification has other problems that are discussed in Section 7.2.4.

Returning to the discussion of the house owner's social status as defined by the house size: if it is considered that a *duumvir* must have had a house larger than 1,000 m², there was likely a shortage of such houses for *duumviri* in Pompeii. There are 37 houses with a peristyle that are larger than 1,000 m². Five of these houses are dominated by a large garden, meaning that their living quarters are quite small compared to the houses listed by De Vos,⁹ and these houses do not appear to be worthy of *duumviri* according to De Vos's criteria. In addition, the *Panificio di Terentius Neo* was larger than 1,000 m², but it was dominated by industrial and commercial activities, and it can be questioned how suitable this was for a *duumvir*. Depending on whether the *Panificio di Terentius Neo* is counted as a possible *duumvir* abode, this leaves 32 or 31 houses larger than 1,000 m². Taking Mouritsen's last period, from 50 to 79 CE, there were 58 *duumviri* positions during this period.¹⁰ The number of *duumviri* is almost double the number of houses that were larger than 1,000 m² and had a peristyle. However, the number of actual *duumviri* was probably a bit lower than the number of *duumvir* positions, as the same person might have held the office twice, or even more often, but in Mouritsen's list there are no persons who are reported as being *duumvir* even twice.¹¹ It can also be assumed that some of the *duumviri* of the period came from the same family, and consequently possibly lived in the same house. Taking the ratio – 12.5 percent – of persons with same *praenomen* and *nomen* in the candidate list leaves 50 persons serving as *duumvir*. There is still a remarkable difference between the number of appropriate houses and possible *duumviri*.

There are still several reasons to assume that the ratio between *duumviri* and their houses should be even lower than the 50 to 32/31 presented before. It is possible that some of the candidates lived in a house without a peristyle. For example, the *Casa dell'ancora* and *Casa del Marinaio* are not counted as houses with a peristyle in this study, but they certainly were among the most impressive houses of Pompeii. Some may also have lived in the *villae* around Pompeii, and additionally the whole of Pompeii is not excavated, and a few large or vast houses might still be under the *lapilli*. Additionally, over a period of 29 years, it is possible that some of the *ordo* families disappeared, which could have allowed another family to take over their upper class house.

However, there are other problems relating to the assumption that the *duumviri* lived only in houses that were larger than 1,000 m². Even if we consider all the above-listed possibilities, it would not leave many houses larger than 1,000 m² for other groups of people than *duumviri*. Yet, there must have been wealthy Pompeians who owned significant houses but never held an office – such as L. Caecilius Iucundus and the elder A. Umbricius Scaurus, whose houses certainly were worthy enough for a *duumvir* according to De Vos's criteria.¹² This indicates that not all of the largest houses were owned by the members of the *ordo*, and that some members of the political elite could possibly have been living in more modest houses. In any case, these are at their best only directional calculations, but they demonstrate several of the problems inherent in assuming that everyone holding a high political office in Pompeii lived in a large or vast house. On a more general level, the calculations show how difficult it is to define what type of house was worthy of each social group.

Ling uses a similar method as De Vos, and examines the houses where a possible *duumvir* owner is known. He concludes that, because the *Casa del Menandro* is larger than most of the houses that were supposedly owned by a *duumvir*, the owner of the house must have been at least from the same class as the owners of these other houses.¹³ However, Kenneth Painter reminds us that nothing of the grandeur of the *Casa del Menandro* tells us about the social rank of the owner, but only of his wealth.¹⁴ Then again, Ling and De Vos are not alone in their interpretations connecting grand architecture with high social status and political power. There are many houses that can be considered to have layouts similar to the *Casa del Menandro*, such as the *Casa del Labirinto*, *Casa del Fauno*, *Casa del Centenario*, and *Casa di Obellius Firmus* – all with a double-atrium and a large peristyle with four porticoes at the rear of the entrance-atrium-*tablinum* axis – and similarly vast houses with several atria and vast peristyles, such as the *Casa del Citarista*. There has been a strong desire to identify upper class owners for these houses – possibly from the old families of Pompeii – or even to link them to the senatorial class or the Imperial families of Rome. However, in most cases the evidence concerning the house owners remains insufficient to even speculate about the likely owner.¹⁵

Instead, the two houses that had the most decorated peristyles in Pompeii, the *Casa dei Vettii* and *Casa degli Amorini dorati*, are often ranked not as belonging to the elite but rather to the upper middle class.¹⁶ Pappalardo even thinks that the extensive display of luxury in the *Casa dei Vettii* is one of the reasons why the house was inhabited by members of the wealthy commercial class.¹⁷ Allison criticizes this type of identification of the owners of the *Casa dei Vettii*, and states that connecting the abundant decoration to the commercial or middle classes is based on contemporary attitudes.¹⁸ Similarly, identifying the social status of the owner of the *Casa degli Amorini dorati* on the grounds of its decoration is not based on a Pompeian perspective, but ours.

The tendency to classify some houses, such as the *Casa dei Vettii* and *Casa degli Amorini dorati*, as middle class houses is probably due to some of their special characteristics, compared to what is thought to be a high elite house. In both

houses, the rooms are concentrated mainly around the peristyle, and they lack the traditional entrance-atrium-*tablinum*-peristyle axis. The *Casa dei Vettii* does not have a so-called *tablinum* – at least in its traditional place – and in the *Casa degli Amorini dorati* the peristyle is not behind the *tablinum*. The lavish decoration of the peristyles is a particular feature in both houses. In addition, compared to the other houses with a peristyle they are slightly smaller than the group that is defined as vast houses in this study (Fig. 2.7).¹⁹

The middle class is always a very vague group and concept, particularly in the ancient context. There are several houses with a peristyle that have been identified as belonging to this group. Katharina Zanier places the *Casa di Sextus Pompeius Axiochus* (VI,13,19) in the upper middle class.²⁰ Willem Peters and Eric Moormann identify the *Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto* as belonging to the same group.²¹ The less well-known houses I,11,14 and I,11,15/9 have also been classified as middle class houses. In the first case the identification is argued on the basis of the lack of an atrium in the house.²² Volker Stročka thinks that the *Casa del Principe di Napoli* was a lower middle class house.²³ Sampaolo, instead, identifies house IX,2,10 as middle class, but thinks that only its decoration separates the house from the lower class.²⁴ All of the above-mentioned houses – as generally for all the houses with a peristyle, or even with a garden with one portico – can be identified as belonging to at least the economic middle class of the Roman world, but at the same time the houses reflect very different economic backgrounds.

The famous passage of Vitruvius describes how the social upper class needed grand architecture and the lower classes did not – at least in Rome.²⁵ It supports the connection of large houses with several atria and peristyles to the social and political elite of Pompeii. Wealth and power go together in almost any society, and there is no need to think differently for Pompeii, as several inscriptions demonstrate that powerful persons used their wealth to finance public building projects and shows in the amphitheater.²⁶ Therefore, it is justified to think that the social elite lived mostly in the large and well-appointed houses, rather than in the small and modest ones,²⁷ but turning it the other way around does not work: a large and decorated house does not automatically have an owner that was from the political and social elite of the city. There is always the possibility that the house owner was wealthy but had very little interest in politics, or that the house owner was a wealthy freedman and cannot be counted as a member of the highest socio-political elite in the Roman world.²⁸ There is simply not enough evidence to connect the house architecture or decoration with a certain social class, and by doing so we might end up revealing more about modern attitudes than ancient ones.

Even if grand architecture or decoration does not directly reveal the owner's social status, there are two possibilities to uncover information on the social rank of a house owner: firstly, it is possible to identify some house owners and their social status, and secondly, to examine whether the house can be connected to commercial or industrial activity. Both are biased towards the upper classes, as the house owners can be identified only by using written sources – inscriptions, electoral notices, and graffiti – indicating that the person was literate or closely connected to activities related to writing, which is mostly thought of as an upper

class phenomenon in the Roman empire. In addition, the archaeological evidence for commerce and small-scale industry refers to owning these facilities, which means that the person had a certain level of wealth.²⁹ Therefore, the lowest stratum – for example, the illiterate and people whose occupation did not require large investments – is mainly beyond the scope and means of the examination.

Identifying the houses that can be connected to industrial or commercial activity is limited to the cases where there is a direct connection – an entrance – between the house and the areas of these activities. It is possible that some house owners also maintained nearby shops, bakeries, fulleries, or other industrial properties, but if there is no evidence to point out the connection, the ownership remains to some extent speculative.³⁰ Also, in some cases the professional activities of the house owner may not have occurred in the house area, but in some other part of the city, and we have no means to identify these houses. Yet, it is also significant that some houses had business activities directly connected to the house. This indicates a very close connection between the business and the daily life of the household – perhaps closer than in the cases where the owner was able to spatially separate the business facilities from the living quarters. However, if the house was connected to the business facility, it does not necessarily mean that the house owner was running the business, and the degree of connection between the owner and the activity remains questionable. The most likely explanation is that they at least owned the business areas, even if someone else was running the operation. Due to the listed problems, I have chosen to examine only the houses that are connected through an in-house entrance to the business facilities, under the assumption that in these cases the house owner was also the owner of the facilities, and was at least in this way connected to the business.

Identifying house owners and their social status is a complicated matter, as stated already several times.³¹ The debate over the house owners is illustrated by the old optimistic attitude represented by Della Corte and the new critical methodology of Allison. Della Corte relies on the electoral notices on the façade of the house, and particularly assumes that the person who supports the candidate was the house owner.³² His work and methods are often criticized, and they have been proven inadequate.³³ Instead, Allison states that only the owners of the *insula Arrianna Pollianna* and the *Villa di Giulia Felice* can be certainly identified as property owners in Pompeii.³⁴ It is unclear whether she even considers L. Caecilius Iucundus as the owner of house V,1,26. It is theoretically possible that the archive of L. Caecilius Iucundus was kept in someone else's house, but that scenario is very hypothetical and it would require some evidence to support it, such as proving that someone else owned house V,1,26; the electoral notices and other epigraphic evidence also indicate that the Caecilii Iucundi were the owners.³⁵

Mouritsen suggests that house owners can be identified by combining several different types of inscriptions – electoral notices, seal stamps, graffiti, and amphorae with inscriptions – as none of these types of inscriptions alone is better than the other when trying to define the house owner. Mouritsen does not specify how the combination of these sources should be made, and how many source groups

there should be for the identification, but he seems to be satisfied if at least two source groups suggest the same person.³⁶ Similar methods to Mouritsen's have been utilized by several other researchers.³⁷ Nevertheless, such identification is a complex process, and no simple rule for it can be defined. In every case, the role and importance of the inscriptions have to be carefully considered against all the evidence that is relevant for the identification of the house owner. The results will always remain somewhat speculative, but that is the nature of archaeology.

Every type of epigraphic evidence has its problems of identification. The connection of the electoral notices on the outside walls of the house with the house owner is not straightforward. It has been pointed out that the electoral notices of the same person can be found all around the city, and it is very unlikely that the *rogator* or the candidate owned all the houses where an electoral notice mentioned the person's name.³⁸ Mouritsen has suggested a link between a high concentration of electoral notices on a house and the owner being the candidate mentioned in those notices.³⁹ Although the probability of connecting a candidate and a house is very low, as they usually advertised all around the city, it would also be odd if the candidate did not advertise himself on his own house walls. Nevertheless, generally the electoral notices are concentrated on the streets of Pompeii, where a lot of activity was occurring due to the presence of commercial and industrial buildings. There was no point in advertising if there was no audience.⁴⁰ However, not all houses had electoral notices, nor were all such notices documented, and it cannot be ruled out that candidates lived in houses without notices; it is also possible that the candidate did not even have a house in Pompeii, but lived in a *villa* outside the walls.

Mouritsen suspects that the documentation of the electoral notices was done with variable quality in the different parts and during the different eras of the excavations.⁴¹ This, however, is not the case according to the study of Eeva-Maria Viitanen, Laura Nissinen, and Kalle Korhonen, which concludes that the distribution between *Regiones* I, VI, and VII is quite even, although the last excavated part of *Regio* I has a slightly higher number of the notices, and most of the uncertain locations are in *Regiones* VI and VII.⁴² However, the survival and documentation of the notices have several other limits, making them an imperfect source group.⁴³

If the outside walls of the house were primarily reserved for the house owners to show their political support,⁴⁴ the walls inside a house were likely under even stricter control by the owner. Electoral notices inside a house are extremely rare, and it is difficult to understand the motivation of painting them inside the house, as a more prominent place would have been on the outside walls along the streets. The presence of electoral inscriptions inside a house may signal that not all the visitors of the house knew the political connections of the owner. It is likely that the house owners also had a very close connection with the candidate, as they had chosen to show them support even inside their own houses – if the candidate was not the house owner himself.

Seal stamps were the source group that Fiorelli used most often to identify the house owner, but seal stamps are also a very problematic source.⁴⁵ Allison notes that little is known about the function of the seal stamps found in the Pompeian

houses. It has been suggested that they were for bread stamping, but Allison does not believe this identification, because they are according to her too heavy for such a purpose.⁴⁶ Mouritsen proposes more varied functions, and connects them generally to production, but mentions pottery in particular, and cloth and leather manufacturing.⁴⁷ Giovanna Cicala has demonstrated a potential connection between some of the seal stamps and viticulture and handcrafts – in particular, the images used in the stamps connect them to these activities. She also uses the stamp imprints on some of the items as evidence of their connection to certain professions.⁴⁸ Her examples, however, are few, and there are no cases where an imprint of a known seal stamp has been discovered. The function of the seal stamps remains uncertain, but the connection with commerce and industry is very likely.⁴⁹

Mouritsen notes a connection between the seal stamps and servile origin. He states that over one third of the *cognomina* are Greek, which has usually been connected with a servile origin, and there are several other names with the same indications.⁵⁰ The Greek *cognomina* do not necessarily refer to slavery or servile origins, as Allison has pointed out with hypothetical scenarios about the origins of C. Julius Polybius and C. Julius Philippus.⁵¹ Mouritsen lists seven seal stamps where “the persons mentioned are explicitly called slaves,” but actually only one stamp has the abbreviation “ser,” which refers to slave.⁵² However, there are additionally three seal stamps that clearly indicate that their owners had the status of freedman.⁵³ Some other persons mentioned in the stamps were also *liberti*, as confirmed by other sources.⁵⁴ In addition, one seal stamp owner from Herculaneum is known to be a *libertus*, and in some other stamps from the city the *praenomen* and *nomen* are the same as several freedmen known from Herculaneum.⁵⁵ This might indicate that all of these persons, and also the persons on the seal stamps (or at least their family), were freed by the same wealthy individuals from Herculaneum.

Mouritsen claims that only one freeborn high-class member of Pompeii can be identified as an owner of a seal stamp. He is referring to P. Vedius Siricus, and the specific seal stamp that is often connected to him. P. Vedius Siricus is known to have been a *duumvir* in Pompeii.⁵⁶ However, the seal has only the text *SIRICI*,⁵⁷ so there is no certainty that the stamp was actually that of P. Vedius Siricus. In the context of the other seal stamps, the text may suggest that it belonged to a freedman or slave of the family Vedii Sirici. Consequently, there are no seal stamps that can be certainly linked to any persons who held an office in Pompeii.⁵⁸

The only possible known candidate for an office on a seal stamp is A. Vettius Restitutus.⁵⁹ However, it is unclear whether he was even a candidate, as the only electoral notice of his possible candidature only has the name Restitutus, and there are other persons from Pompeii with this *cognomen*. It is more likely that the electoral notice is referring to someone else, for example to L. Sextilius Restitutus.⁶⁰ Regardless of whether anyone from the political elite of Pompeii can be identified on a seal stamp, there is probably one stamp from Herculaneum that was owned by a magistrate of the city;⁶¹ at least the name on the seal stamp and the name of one *duumvir* are same. This suggests the possibility that the high political elite might be involved in activities that required these stamps. Nevertheless, there are

no ties between the Pompeian political elite and the Pompeian seal stamps, and it must be taken in consideration that this social group might not feature in this type of source material when examining the house owners.

More problematic than the absence of one social group – particularly when there are several groups that do not feature in almost any of the written sources, as mentioned before – is the portable nature of the seal stamps. Therefore, the find context is extremely important for the seal stamps, as it might help to define the relationship between the stamps and the house. The same problem applies to the amphorae with texts, as these vessels were portable. In addition, the amphorae might have had several different texts and names. It has been suggested that the consumer – and the possible house owner – is in the dative, but the amphorae with names in the dative alone cannot be considered as an indication of house ownership, as the amphorae could have been reused and relocated to a different house.⁶²

The graffiti, in contrast, are ordinarily firmly connected to their find place, but there are problems with their recording – presumably not all of the graffiti were documented in the older excavations, and important information is thus missing. Also, who wrote the graffiti and why are often unknown. For example, a name scribbled on a wall might belong to a visitor, not a member of the household.⁶³ There are, in addition, some special cases where names are written on mosaics, or other types of texts than graffiti are found in houses, but these examples are only a few and must be considered on a case-by-case basis.

Although, in general, it could be assumed that one's name in written form would concentrate spatially around one's location of living, and therefore the highest percentage of occurrences would indicate the location of the house, this methodology has several problems. Subsequently, the following chapter will be largely based on Mouritsen's method of seeking possible house owners, where the identifications can be only made if there are several written source groups identifying the same person, as it lessens the potentiality that the names were written several times because of some other event that produced a large quantity of textual data with names at a single location – such as an electoral campaign.

In the following discussion, the houses where only one epigraphical source group is available as evidence of possible ownership are mostly excluded. None of the houses in this study combines all four groups – electoral notices, seal stamps, amphorae, and graffiti – with the same name. There are several houses where two source groups indicate the same individual; however, the combination of evidence is different in each case. Some of the identifications are based on a very weak connection, where for example the sources only refer to a *cognomen*, which are so common that it is impossible to determine whether the different sources are actually referring to the same person. These cases where the ownership is very dubious are classified as *proposed*. In some cases, it is possible to know that the sources are referring to the same person – or at least that it is likely. These are classified as *potential* owners. These identifications must still be treated with some caution, but the identification is more reliable than when the definition is classified as *proposed*. Some of the houses can also be linked to a specific family, but the individual who owned the house remains unclear. There are only a very

few cases where three different source groups indicate the same individual. They are classified as *probable* owners. Although several scenarios can be proposed for why someone's name might be present in three different source groups found in the same house area, ownership is one of the most likely alternatives – if not the most likely. In addition to those classified as *probable* identifications, there are the houses where ownership can be defined certainly due to some additional evidence, such as the archive in the *Casa di L. Caecilius Iucundus*. These cases are very few, and I have included them in the group of *probable* identifications. All of the identifications of the house owners are based on evidence of very different qualities and quantities, and occasionally the rules listed here must be reconsidered when the classification of reliability is made.

7.2 Possible peristyle owners and their social statuses

7.2.1 *Opulent peristyles*

The opulent peristyles are the smallest group, yet there are five houses which require investigation of possible owners, following the methodology set out in the previous chapter. The *Casa delle nozze d'argento* is the only house from the group where three different source groups identify a possible owner: electoral notices on the front of the house, graffiti, and amphorae with text – one in dative – found inside the house all suggest that the owner was L. Albucius Celsus.⁶⁴ On the basis of these inscriptions the ownership of L. Albucius Celsus can be defined as probable.

What is known of the family Albucii, who likely lived in this house? The first known Albucius in Pompeii was aedile in 33/34 CE, L. Albucius Celsus.⁶⁵ This is the early Julio-Claudian period, which Paavo Castrén regards as a time when new families gained entry to the ruling families of the *ordo decurionum*. The Albucii are one of those immigrant families – they came from Gavii – and later in the Neronian and Flavian periods they have become an integral part of the administration of Pompeii.⁶⁶ The younger L. Albucius Celsus – the probable owner of the house – was an aedile candidate in the Flavian period, after 75 CE, with M. Casellius Marcellus. It is unknown if he was elected.⁶⁷ According to De Vos, the owner of the *Casa delle nozze d'argento* was an aedile and *duumvir*,⁶⁸ but there is no evidence to confirm this. Castrén states that the Pompeian Albucii were a small but wealthy family.⁶⁹

The *Casa di Obellius Firmus* had electoral notices both inside and outside the house. The notices refer to M. Obellius Firmus, as do several graffiti inside the house.⁷⁰ It is speculated that the house was abandoned after the death of M. Obellius Firmus, because there were on-going restoration efforts at the time of the eruption.⁷¹ Nevertheless, there is no need to think that the entire house – particularly one so large – had to be abandoned because of some restoration work.

Castrén and Mouritsen identify two persons, father and son, with the name M. Obellius Firmus in the period of 50 to 79 CE. Mouritsen believes that they both lived in the *Casa di Obellius Firmus*.⁷² Spinazzola, instead, thinks that the

father was the principal inhabitant of the house.⁷³ There is a sepulchral inscription for one M. Obellius Firmus, who was an aedile and *duumvir*, and according to Willem Jongman it was from the son's tomb. He bases this on the assumption that only the younger M. Obellius Firmus held an office. Because of this, the younger M. Obellius Firmus should be dead during the last period, meaning that he could not be the house owner: Jongman speculates that a freedman of the family may have owned the house during its last years, but he also states that the evidence is insecure. The argument is based on the poor quality of the new wall paintings and the decision to restore the *lararium* of the house first.⁷⁴ However, these arguments are insufficient to suggest that the owner was freedman: a freeborn person could equally be expected to prefer rebuilding a *lararium* first, and to have poor quality paintings in his house.

Jongman's identification of the tomb with the younger M. Obellius Firmus is debatable. Jongman uses the Iucundus tablets of 54 CE as an argument to point out that only the son achieved an office, but it cannot be certainly said whether the M. Obellius Firmus mentioned in the tablet was the son or the father. In addition, Jongman's interpretation, that the father is in the minor role in the electoral notice, where the Obellii are asked to support Ti. Claudius Verus for *duumvir*, is dubious.⁷⁵ On the contrary, the notice stating "Obelli cum Patre" makes a particular declaration of the father, which might also suggest that he played an important role, because if he was not important the mention could have been left out.⁷⁶ Consequently, the ownership of M. Obellius Firmus can be classified as potential.

Even if the tomb inscription does not necessarily belong to the younger M. Obellius Firmus, it casts a shadow of doubt whether the Obellii still owned the house during the eruption. Nevertheless, the peristyle of the house – at least at one time – possibly belonged to the decurional and administrative family, as at least one M. Obellii Firmi was *duumvir iure dicundo*.⁷⁷ The peristyle, however, seems to have been under restoration,⁷⁸ so that the new owner, whether it was the younger M. Obellius Firmus or somebody else, was modifying it. Therefore, the decoration of the peristyle cannot necessarily be interpreted to reflect the decurional class, but the architecture and larger structures, such as the pool, perhaps can be.⁷⁹

The *Casa del Citarista* is often identified as having been owned by L. Popidius Secundus Augustianus, whose name can be found on a few graffiti in the southern peristyle of the house.⁸⁰ The connection between him and the house is however limited to these graffiti, making the foundation of the case for his ownership shaky. L. Popidius Ampliatus has also been suggested as a possible house owner.⁸¹ There is a rude graffito mentioning the *cognomen* Ampliatus in the middle peristyle, and this name is on two amphorae – one in the dative – excavated from the house.⁸² The amphora with the name in dative was, however, found in the upper levels, so it was probably located on the upper floors.⁸³ As it is unknown how the upper floors were organized, and to which house they were connected, the link between the amphora and the *Casa del Citarista* is not certain.⁸⁴ Additionally, according to Della Corte there are two electoral notices mentioning Ampliatus near the house. However, their locations are ambiguous; it rather seems that they were on the

neighborhood houses, not on the walls of the *Casa del Citarista*.⁸⁵ Dwyer notes several electoral notices referring to L. Popidius Ampliatus in the nearby *insulae* of the house.⁸⁶ Despite the several potential references to L. Popidius Ampliatus, his complete name does not appear in any of the texts that are spatially connected to the house, and additionally the *cognomen* Ampliatus is quite common. Also, the amphorae refer to a Popidius Ampliatus without a praenomen – so it also remains a bit questionable whether they refer to L. Popidius Ampliatus, as P. Popidius Ampliatus is also a possibility.⁸⁷ Consequently, the ownership of L. Popidius Ampliatus is too dubious, but a Popidius Ampliatus can be classified as a proposed owner, without certainty of the *praenomen*, leaving the associated social rank of the house unclear, as the owner cannot be defined more clearly.

The *Casa dei Vettii*, as its name states, was usually identified as owned by A. Vettius Restitutus and A. Vettius Conviva.⁸⁸ However, Allison has questioned the identification of these owners. She admits that both men were connected to the house, but according to her nothing points to them being the owners.⁸⁹ The case for the ownership of the Vettii is based on two seal stamps, one bronze ring with an inscription, and a painted text on the outside walls of the house.⁹⁰

The seal stamps and the ring in the *Casa dei Vettii* were found nearby a large chest in the atrium.⁹¹ They were probably among the items kept in the chest, which suggests that they were objects that the owners wished to be kept safe, but were not carried at all times. Combining the seal stamps with the painted text outside the house indicates that the ownership A. Vettius Conviva can be classified as potential.⁹² A. Vettius Restitutus, instead, is linked to the house only via the seal stamp, making his ownership very hypothetical.⁹³ Nothing can be said with certainty about the relationship between these two persons.⁹⁴ A. Vettius Conviva, the potential house owner, was possibly a freedman – but not certainly – because he probably served as an *augustalis*.⁹⁵ Although the ownership of A. Vettius Conviva is classified as potential, the identification in this case is based only on a very few sources, which makes it also somewhat doubtful.

House VIII,4,15/30 is named after C. Cornelius Rufus, and the Cornelii are often identified as the house owners. The identification is based on a herm with an inscription mentioning C. Cornelius Rufus.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, there are no electoral notices, graffiti, seal stamps, or amphora with texts recorded to confirm his ownership.⁹⁷ Yet, a marble slab referring to the Cornelii has been found in the house.⁹⁸ It is not impossible that some Cornelii owned the house, but the marble slab is fragmentary and it is unclear why it was in this house, so the connection between the Cornelii and the house can only be considered as possible, as it is based on very few sources. Besides the inscription in the house, nothing else is known about C. Cornelius Rufus.⁹⁹ It is difficult to define his connection with the house, because there is no further information about this person. If these types of statues were some kind of ancestral portraits, the connection of C. Cornelius Rufus and the last phase of the house is uncertain, because the presence of the statue would mean in this case that he was likely dead.

The herm inscriptions found in a few Pompeian houses are problematic as indicators of house ownership. They offer a very limited amount of information,

which also varies between the herms. The herm in the *Casa di Cornelius Rufus* has only the name, but it is the complete *tria nomina*. Instead, in the *Casa di L. Caecilius Lucundus* only a letter L refers to the name of the person represented on the herm. In this case, only the *praenomen* – Lucius – is provided, but the inscription also has an additional text, a *cognomen* – Felix – referring to the person who probably donated the statue.¹⁰⁰ In the *Casa di Vesonius Primus* the subject of the herm is only referred to by his *cognomen*, Primus, and possibly again only the *cognomen* of the donator, Anteros, is mentioned.¹⁰¹ In the *Casa di L. Caecilius Lucundus* and *Casa di Vesonius Primus* very limited information on the person's name is provided, and it can be questioned whether it is enough to identify the person represented in these herms.¹⁰² However, comparing these two houses to the *Casa di Cornelius Rufus*, it seems that only a *praenomen* or a *cognomen* was enough for the household members and visitors to identify the sculpted person. Why, then, was the complete name needed in the herm from the *Casa di Cornelius Rufus*? Perhaps C. Cornelius Rufus was not so well known in the house, and the owners wanted his full name to be carved on the herm.

7.2.2 Large full peristyles

There are a few houses with a large full peristyle where the owner can be possibly identified, but in addition to these there have been several attempts to identify the owners of other houses with a large full peristyle that lack reasonable evidence. For example, the *Casa del Centauro* has been attributed to A. Vettius Caprasius Felix.¹⁰³ However, one seal stamp with a few letters is hardly enough to confirm that the house was owned by the A. Vettius Caprasius mentioned on an electoral notice nearby the dwelling.¹⁰⁴

The *Casa dei Dioscuri* and *Casa del Labirinto* were located on the opposite sides of the street, and both had a seal stamp with the name Eutyclus.¹⁰⁵ In both cases, Eutyclus is not believed to be the house owner, although Cn. Caetronius Eutyclus is sometimes considered to be the owner of the house opening from entrance 7, which is connected to the *Casa dei Dioscuri*.¹⁰⁶ Nothing else links him to the house, so his connection with the ownership of the *Casa dei Dioscuri* remains highly speculative. On the other hand, the atrium wall of the *Casa del Labirinto* had a graffito that probably refers to Eutyclus.¹⁰⁷ The reluctance to identify Eutyclus as the house owner is likely due to his name, which suggests a servile origin, and it is thus not considered possible that he was the owner of one of the most prominent houses of Pompeii. Yet, an Imperial freedman with the *cognomen* Eutyclus is known to be active in the Vesuvian area, and it is not uncommon to consider Imperial *liberti* as the owners of some of the other more impressive houses of Pompeii.¹⁰⁸ So, even if one starts with the assumption that the owner must have been an important person on a social level, there is no basis to rule out Eutyclus as the owner. However, in the *Casa del Labirinto* there was a graffito stating that Fuficius Ianuarius was living in the house,¹⁰⁹ making him one possible owner, but living in the house does not automatically make him the proprietor. No further information on Fuficius Ianuarius is available, and therefore he cannot

even be classified as a proposed owner. Eutychus, instead, can be identified as a possible house owner of the *Casa del Labirinto*, but on very weak evidence. It is only a *cognomen*, and the other names of the person cannot be identified; consequently, no information about his social rank is available, except that he likely did not belong to the political elite of the city, because his name is absent from the electoral notices.

Seal stamps have been found in the *Casa di N. Popidius Priscus*, *Casa di C. Vibius Italus*, and *Casa di Trittolemo*, and in each case the name on the stamp has been connected to a possible house owner.¹¹⁰ In the *Casa di Trittolemo*, the seal features the name L. Calpurnius Diogenes, and an amphora found in the house possibly mentions a person called T. Calpurnius Aquila in the dative. In addition, there were other amphorae with the abbreviations LCS, LCQ, and LCSQ, which might refer to two L. Calpurnius, however with a different *cognomen* than Diogenes or Aquila.¹¹¹ A seal with the text C. Vibi. C was found in the *Casa di C. Vibius Italus*, and a painted red text inside the peristyle mentions C. Vivius Italus and possibly one of his enslaved persons.¹¹² N. Popidius Priscus is mentioned on the seal from the *Casa di N. Popidius Priscus*. Inside the house is an Oscan graffito with the name M. Popidius and a graffito with the name Numerius.¹¹³ In the case of all these houses, the *cognomen*, and in some of the cases even the *praenomen*, is different in the stamps and the other written sources, making it impossible to identify the seal owner as the house owner. Instead, in all of these cases the family name is the same in the seals and the other source types. Consequently, the house can possibly be linked to a family: the *Casa di N. Popidius Priscus* was possibly owned by the Popidii,¹¹⁴ the owner of the *Casa di C. Vibius Italus* was possibly the family of (C.) Vibii, and the *Casa di Trittolemo* the (L.) Calpurnii. Because the entire names of the owners remain unknown, not much can be said about the social status of the owners of these peristyles, but at least the *gens* Popidia and Vibia had political power during the last period,¹¹⁵ so it is possible that, even if these houses were not inhabited by the most powerful members of the family, they likely had contacts – perhaps even close – with these important family members.

There are two houses – the *Casa di A. Umbricius Scaurus* and house IX,6,4–7 – with a large full peristyle where the atrium floor was decorated with mosaics that include text.¹¹⁶ These mosaics can be utilized to recognize the potential house owner. Della Corte thinks that Oppius Gratus owned house IX,6,4–7, but it is unclear if Gratus was even living in the house.¹¹⁷ In addition, there are no sources to connect the *nomen* Oppius to the architect Gratus in this case.¹¹⁸ Instead, the mosaic in the atrium of this house only indicates that the matron of the house was likely Quartila. In the other house – the *Casa di A. Umbricius Scaurus* – the mosaic in the atrium (2) depicts amphorae with inscribed texts that suggest that the owner of the house was A. Umbricius Scaurus.¹¹⁹ There are no other sources to identify the house owner in this case, and the mosaic only provides the name Scaurus, but Robert Curtis convincingly points out the connection between the amphorae on the mosaic and the actual amphorae known to be used for commercial purposes by A. Umbricius Scaurus. In addition, there are no other persons

known from Pompeii with this *cognomen*, except his son.¹²⁰ The evidence indicates that A. Umbricius Scaurus was the owner of this house.

A. Umbricius Scaurus had a son who was named after him. The son was a *duumvir*, and his equestrian statue was in the forum.¹²¹ The father probably did not hold any office,¹²² but the house and the family were connected – through the son – to the decurional class and to the highest political powers in Pompeii. The family seems to have been relatively new in the city at the time of the eruption, and it joined the group of magisterial families with the son's career.¹²³ Curtis demonstrates that the ample evidence from the amphorae indicates that the father was alive in 79 CE.¹²⁴ There is also the possibility that during the last period there were several A. Umbricii Scauri living in this house, and it is not even impossible that the last owner was the grandson of the first A. Umbricius Scaurus.¹²⁵ In either case, the connection to the house remains, and the social status of the house owner as well. A. Umbricius Scaurus was a very wealthy businessman, and probably one of the most important players in the fish-sauce business in Pompeii.¹²⁶ In this case only one source is used to identify the house owner; however, the text and its context make the identification probable.

In the case of house IX,6,4–7, there are no means to better identify who Quartila was. There is the possibility that she was the house owner's wife, as Della Corte identifies her.¹²⁷ Yet, it is also possible that she was the house owner. She is saluted in the mosaic inscription, suggesting that she was an important person in this house.¹²⁸ It is always possible to construct different scenarios explaining why Quartila is mentioned in the text, but her role as the main object of the text indicates that the most probable option is that she owned the house. Other female Pompeians are known to have been active in public life and owned property,¹²⁹ so a female house owner should not be ruled out, although Pompeian life seems to be on many levels dominated by men, at least according to the epigraphical sources. All the same, as no further information on Quartila is available, she is listed as a potential house owner.

The owner of the *Casa di Pansa*, Cn. Alleius Nigidius Maius, is one of the few cases where the identification is stated to be sure.¹³⁰ He was a candidate for the positions of aedile and *duumvir*, and served as a *quinquennalis* in 55 CE. Cn. Alleius Nigidius Maius was also a *flamen Caesaris Augusti* and was one of the leading citizens of the town, as he is referred to with the title *princeps coloniae*.¹³¹ An inscription reports that Cn. Alleius Nigidius Maius was renting his premises. The inscription can be interpreted to mean that he was renting, besides the other property, the house – the so-called *Casa di Pansa*. In this case, he would not have been living in it during the last period of Pompeii.¹³² Della Corte suggests that Ollius Primus lived in the house. Sampaolo – probably referring to the same person – proposes that a slave called Primus was taking care of the house.¹³³ The reading of the inscription, however, is not clear. If the *domus conductor* in the inscription is understood as the position of the enslaved Primus, then the house is not among the properties that were rented.¹³⁴ In this case, Cn. Alleius Nigidius Maius was likely living in the house. There are no other reported inscriptions nearby, or inside the house, to either strengthen or weaken the speculation about

whether he lived in the house during the last phase.¹³⁵ Cn. Alleius Nigidius Maius was the house owner, but as it remains unclear how he was linked to the house – whether it was just a business investment or his home – any connections between the peristyle and his social status must be made very cautiously.

7.2.3 *Ornamental peristyles*

In the group of the ornamental peristyles, there is one house where the owner can be identified certainly, the *Casa di L. Caecilius Iucundus*. The owner is known on the basis of the wax tablet archive found in the house. The name L. Caecilius Iucundus appears frequently in the tablets.¹³⁶ In addition, a herm with an inscription referring to Lucius was found in the house, and electoral notices mentioning the Caecilii Iucundi as political supporters, as well as notices asking for their support, were located both in the front of the house and elsewhere nearby, and finally an amphora with the name L. Caecilius Iucundus in dative was found in the house.¹³⁷ According to the herm inscription, Lucius – very likely a Caecilius – had a freedman named Felix.¹³⁸ It has been suggested that L. Caecilius Felix, who was an *augustalis*, was the father of L. Caecilius Iucundus, and it has also been suggested that the L. Caecilius mentioned in the herm inscription was also a freedman.¹³⁹ However, the relationship between L. Caecilius Iucundus and L. Caecilius Felix remains unproven, as their only possible connection is the herm inscription, and it does not provide clear evidence about the social connection between the two persons. If the *libertus* Felix was the father of this L. Caecilius Iucundus, then the Lucius mentioned on the herm can hardly be L. Caecilius Iucundus, because that Lucius seems to be in a higher social position than the Felix on the herm; and therefore the relationship between the Lucius and the Felix on the herm, and also between them and the house owner L. Caecilius Iucundus, remains uncertain. The house owner had two sons, Q. Caecilius Iucundus and Sex. Caecilius Iucundus.¹⁴⁰ It has been speculated that L. Caecilius Iucundus was no longer active during the last phase, and the sons had taken over his business and property.¹⁴¹ According to Caroline Dexter, L. Caecilius Iucundus was an active businessman belonging to the Pompeian middle class, and the house demonstrated that he was wealthy enough to be a member of the *ordo*,¹⁴² however in the light of our data there are no sources stating that he was a member of the decurional class.

It has been determined that the *Casa della Fortuna* was owned by D. Caprasius Felix, based on an amphora with his complete name in the dative and a graffito greeting someone named Felix, both found inside the house. In addition, nearby the house were electoral notices mentioning that a person with the *nomen* Caprasius was a supporter.¹⁴³ The identification is problematic, as the name Caprasius on the electoral notice could also belong to, for example, the politically active A. Vettius Caprasius Felix. Felix is also a common *cognomen*, and it is risky to identify the graffito with D. Caprasius Felix.¹⁴⁴ Therefore, this identification of the house owner is classified as proposed. Even if we thought that it was certain, it would not help much in the task of connecting social status with peristyles, because the social standing of D. Caprasius Felix is mostly unknown. Most of the information

connected to him is speculative and without evidence, for instance that his wife was named Fortunata,¹⁴⁵ that he was involved in trade,¹⁴⁶ and that he was related to A. Vettius Syrticus or A. Vettius Caprasius Felix.¹⁴⁷ First, his profession is unknown, and the connection with trade, speculated by Dwyer, cannot be attested – as pointed out already by Dwyer himself – because there are no business facilities connected to the house.¹⁴⁸ Second, Fortunata is mentioned in the same graffito that greets a Felix, but their relationship remains unclear. Third, the only thing that links D. Caprasius and A. Vettius Syrticus or A. Vettius Caprasius Felix are the similarities with the name of the last mentioned, which does not necessarily mean that they were related. Castrén states that most of the Caprasii in Pompeii were freedmen. There is one inscription referring to a D. Caprasius who was a freedman,¹⁴⁹ but he, or rather the inscription, cannot be linked to D. Caprasius Felix; therefore, almost nothing can be concluded of his social status.

It has been proposed that the *Casa detta di Trebius Valens* was owned by A. Trebius Valens, based on the electoral notices mentioning the names Trebius Valens near the entrance of the house and in areas nearby the house. The name Valens is also mentioned in a graffito found inside the house.¹⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the *cognomen* Valens is one of the most common in Pompeii, and consequently it is difficult to know if the graffito means A. Trebius Valens specifically.¹⁵¹ Therefore, the ownership is defined as proposed. A. Trebius Valens was an aedile candidate during the Flavian period. He was a client of the Epidii and co-operated with the Caecilii. Castrén reports that the Trebii were an indigenous Pompeian family.¹⁵²

A suggested owner of the *Casa dell'Argenteria* (VI,7,20/22) is L. Laelius Erastus. The name Erastus can be found as a *rogator* in an electoral notice on the opposite side of the street, and the name Laelius Erastus in the genitive was found on the silverware in the house.¹⁵³ L. Laelius Trophimus and P. Antistius Maximus, whose bronze seal stamps have been found in the house, might have been inhabitants of the house,¹⁵⁴ but their link with the dwelling is not clarified by other sources. However, the house was large enough so that both seal stamp owners could have lived in there, as suggested by Fiorelli, and Niccolini and Niccolini.¹⁵⁵ Della Corte thinks that L. Laelius Erastus and L. Laelius Trophimus were brothers, but this must be based only on their common *praenomen* and *nomen*.¹⁵⁶ The relationship between the seal stamps and a servile origin could also support the hypothesis that L. Laelius Trophimus was a freedman;¹⁵⁷ he could have been a freedman of the house owner. The potential ownership of L. Laelius Erastus is not supported by strong evidence, as the electoral notice is on the wall of another house and even its location is in doubt.¹⁵⁸ Erastus is also known as the *cognomen* of P. Cornelius Erastus in the wax tablets of L. Caecilius Iucundus,¹⁵⁹ meaning that the Erastus on the notice could also refer to him. Nothing else is known of Laelius Erastus, not even his *praenomen*, which seems to be an invention based on the seal stamp of L. Laelius Trophimus. As the evidence is very shaky, the ownership of Laelius Erastus cannot even be classified as proposed. The sources do connect the *gens* Laelia with this house,¹⁶⁰ as the *nomen* is mentioned on the two different finds made in the house. The *gens* Laelia was a fairly new arrival in Pompeii at the time of the eruption.¹⁶¹

M. Pupius Rufus has been suggested as the owner of the house (VI,15,5) bearing his name. The identification is based on the electoral notices in front of the house and a graffito mentioning the complete name in the *tablinum*.¹⁶² In addition, most of the electoral notices related to M. Pupius Rufus were found nearby the *Casa di M. Pupius Rufus*.¹⁶³ Three seal stamps were found in the atrium of the house – one with Titinia Saturnina, one L. Sepunius Amphion, and one C. Stlaccius Epitynchanus – but nothing else of these persons is known, and they cannot be connected to the *Casa di M. Pupius Rufus* in any other way.¹⁶⁴ The house ownership of M. Pupius Rufus is classified as potential. He was an aedile and a *duumvir* candidate.¹⁶⁵ Therefore, he probably served as an aedile.

P. Cornelius Tages is suggested as the owner of the *Casa dell'Efebo*. There are two amphorae that may refer to him – one has the name in the dative – found inside the house, and electoral notices with the names Cornelius and Tages on the outside wall of the opposite house.¹⁶⁶ Della Corte is sure that P. Cornelius Tages was a *homo novus*, and Zanker thinks that he was a freedman. Both also connect him to commerce, and Zanker states that he was involved in the wine business.¹⁶⁷ There is no clear indication that P. Cornelius Tages was a freedman, and his connection to the wine business is supported only by one amphora found inside the house, and therefore it is very questionable at what level he was involved in the business. The identification of P. Cornelius Tages as the house owner is in several ways problematic: the electoral notices are not on the walls of this house, meaning their spatial connection with the house is problematic and based only on vicinity. Moreover, the entire name P. Cornelius Tages is not present in any sources from Pompeii, and consequently it cannot even be verified that there was a person with this name. The ownership cannot be listed even as proposed.

In addition, the owner of the *Casa di Marcus Lucretius* could have been M. Lucretius, according to a painting of a letter with text situated inside the house. According to Castrén, it is likely that in this case the letter is for the owner of the house. Castrén, however, notes that there is no *cognomen*, which could indicate that the person in question was living in the Julio-Claudian period. He suggests that the person could have been a son of M. Lucretius Epidius Flaccus.¹⁶⁸ In any case, the owner of the house during the period before the eruption remains unclear and cannot be classified in this examination.

7.2.4 *Large painting peristyles*

There are six houses with large painting peristyles where a possible house owner is proposed on the basis of at least two epigraphical source groups. House I,8,8 – known as the *Caupona di Lucius Betutius (Vetutius) Placidus* – is thought to have been owned by two persons: Ascula and L. Betutius Placidus. They are featured separately as supporters in the electoral notices on the façade of the house. Ascula's name can be found in the graffiti on the peristyle, and L. Betutius Placidus is mentioned on the amphorae found inside the house.¹⁶⁹ None of his names on the amphorae, however, is in the dative. Also, the electoral notice is written only with the *cognomen* Placidus. On the side of the neighboring entrance 7,

several electoral notices with the names Placidus and Betutius have been found. The room opening from the door is occasionally thought to be connected to the house I,8,8.¹⁷⁰ They are linked by a window, and in addition there are steps going up from the room, so there might have been a link between the house and the room through the upper level, but as the plan of the upper level is unknown this is only hypothetical. The sources leave plenty of opportunities for speculation, meaning that the ownership of L. Betutius Placidus is classified as proposed and Ascula's as potential. Their relationship with each other is unknown, but Della Corte has suggested that they were a couple,¹⁷¹ although this is not the only possible scenario where a man and a woman could have lived in the same household. Nevertheless, in a male dominated society Ascula seems to have a relatively strong role, as she is active in politics as a supporter of some candidates. L. Betutius Placidus was a *cliens* of C. Julius Polybius and L. Popidius Ampliatius.¹⁷²

There are two possible owners suggested for the *Casa della Venere in conchiglia*. According to Della Corte, D. Lucretius Satrius Valens – with his family – was living in the house. Mouritsen instead thinks that the owner was D. Lucretius Valens (II), who is identified as a son of D. Lucretius Satrius Valens. Both identifications are based on the electoral notices in front of the house and in nearby areas, and also on a few graffiti inside the house.¹⁷³ The electoral notices represent them only as candidates – not supporters – which brings into question the identification, as the candidates usually had notices supporting them all around the city, and consequently they do not offer much support for the possible ownership of a particular house. In addition, the graffiti inside the house are very fragmentary, and do not refer to a complete name, but rather give separate parts of the name or abbreviations. The house ownership of someone with the name D. Lucretius Valens can be classified as proposed, but even this remains very speculative. In addition, it is unknown which one of the family, D. Lucretius Satrius Valens or his son D. Lucretius Valens (II), was the last owner. Both were members of the decurional class, but D. Lucretius Satrius Valens had a longer career and served as a *duumvir*, and was named as *flamen Neronis filii Caesaris perpetuus*.¹⁷⁴

The *Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto* is occasionally identified as having been owned by two persons: M. Lucretius Fronto and M. Lucretius Lirus.¹⁷⁵ This identification is problematic, and there has been a desire to identify a sole owner. The name M. Lucretius Lirus is only present in two graffiti inside the peristyle,¹⁷⁶ meaning that the evidence is too weak to name him as the house owner. M. Lucretius Fronto likewise is mentioned in two graffiti inside the peristyle, but also in some electoral notices in front of the house and the areas nearby.¹⁷⁷ Nevertheless, De Vos thinks that M. Lucretius Fronto could not be the owner of the house, because the house is too modest for a *duumvir*.¹⁷⁸ This, however, is a problematic interpretation in several ways, as discussed previously.¹⁷⁹ Peters and Moorman also suggest that M. Lucretius Fronto was not living in the house during the last period.¹⁸⁰ Among the electoral notices, there is only one where Fronto is a supporter, and it only mentions the *cognomen*, so it is always possible that the supporter is someone else with same *cognomen*.¹⁸¹ However, there is a concentration of electoral notices supporting M. Lucretius Fronto in the area of the house, which might

also indicate that the use of this *cognomen* as a supporter is referring to him. The ownership of M. Lucretius Fronto is classified as potential. M. Lucretius Fronto was a candidate for the offices of aedile, *duumvir*, and *quinquennalis*. Because he was a *duumvir* candidate, he likely had served as aedile at some point in his life.¹⁸²

In the *Casa degli Epigrammi*, a graffito inside the peristyle and two electoral notices on the front wall of the house suggest that Rufinus was the possible house owner.¹⁸³ Della Corte is against this interpretation, and identifies L. Valerius Flaccus as the owner on the basis of a seal stamp found in the house. He also thinks that Rufinus had the *nomen* Valerius.¹⁸⁴ The seal stamp by itself is not enough evidence for identifying the house owner, and the text of the stamp does not even certainly refer to the *cognomen* Flaccus, as it only has a letter F.¹⁸⁵ Della Corte probably considered that the house was too noble for a Rufinus, and wanted to find an owner that was a member of the Pompeian upper class. The name Rufinus does not appear anywhere else in Pompeii, and because of the rarity of the name, he can be classified as a potential owner of the *Casa degli Epigrammi*. However, only one name of this potential owner is known, and we are missing any other information about the person and his social status; but at least he was in a position to support candidates in the elections.

House IX,1,22/29 is called the *Casa di M. Epidius Sabinus*, and not surprisingly M. Epidius Sabinus is proposed as its owner. The identification is based on the graffiti found inside the house, and several electoral notices outside the house and its nearby areas.¹⁸⁶ Della Corte, however, places C. Cuspius Pansa and C. Cuspius Proculus in this house, and according to him and Mouritsen, M. Epidius Sabinus was living in the next house IX,1,20.¹⁸⁷ Nevertheless, the references to the Cuspia can only be found outside of house IX,1,22/29, and there are none inside. In addition, Della Corte seems to have even confused the places of some graffiti,¹⁸⁸ and there are no actual references to Sabinus in house IX,1,20. Instead, there are references to him inside house IX,1,22/29, so the connection of Sabinus with this house is actually stronger. Yet, the identification of the house owner is very problematic, as the only name mentioned inside the house is the *cognomen* Sabinus, which is one of the more frequent *cognomina* in Pompeii.¹⁸⁹ The identification is thus classified as proposed, but it is very speculative. M. Epidius Sabinus was an aedile and a *duumvir* candidate and was called *defensor coloniae*. He might have even had contacts in the Imperial family through T. Suedius Clemens.¹⁹⁰ As a *duumvir* candidate it can be assumed that he had served as an aedile.¹⁹¹ Castrén states that the Epidia were an old local family.¹⁹² Cicala adds that they were known for wine making and the bronze vase industry.¹⁹³ Whether M. Epidius Sabinus was involved in these businesses is unknown.

The *Casa di Vesonius Primus* was, as the name claims, perhaps owned by Vesonius Primus. The identification is based on a graffito found in the house, a herm inscription found in the atrium, and electoral notices and other painted texts on the front wall of the house and its nearby areas.¹⁹⁴ Mouritsen criticizes the identification, as the herm can be dated to the Augustan period.¹⁹⁵ In addition, the graffiti inside the house only mention the name Primus, which is a quite common *cognomen*,¹⁹⁶ so the identification is somewhat dubious. Vesonius Primus is

also named as the owner of the neighboring *fullonica*, and sometimes even as the owner of the tannery (I,5,2) in the southern part of Pompeii.¹⁹⁷ The ownership of the tannery is based on only one graffito on the outside wall of the property with the name M. Vesonius,¹⁹⁸ so it cannot be considered as even probable, and there is also another graffito that indicates another possible owner for that dwelling.¹⁹⁹ There are no references to Vesonius Primus inside the *Fullonica* VI,14,21–22, but an electoral notice in front of the *fullonica* states “*Primus fullo*,” which, given the context and several other electoral notices referring to Primus on the front of the establishment, makes it possible that Vesonius Primus was the owner of the fullery.²⁰⁰ Nevertheless, as stated before, the name Primus is quite common, which casts a doubt on this identification. The ownership of the house is classified as proposed.

7.2.5 Imitation peristyles

Very few possible owner identifications can be made for the imitation peristyle houses. Della Corte and Mouritsen name Amandus as the owner of the *Casa del Sacerdos Amandus* (I,7,7). He is mentioned on an electoral notice on the façade of the house,²⁰¹ but the graffiti inside the house cannot be related to him with any certainty. Only the letters AMA appear on the graffiti,²⁰² which Della Corte interprets as the beginning of the name Amandus.²⁰³ The interpretation is excessively bold – even if the name is mentioned on an electoral notice on the front of the house – because love-related graffiti are not rare in Pompeii, not to mention the possibility that it is the beginning of some other word or name. This identification cannot be classified even as proposed.

Defining the ownership of the *Casa di Sirico* is a complicated matter. The house is often described as being owned by P. Vedius Siricus, or he and P. Vedius Nummianus together. There is one electoral notice on the outside wall of the house referring to Siricus, and a seal stamp with the text SIRICI has been found inside the house. Nummianus is only mentioned on a painted text inside the house.²⁰⁴ What makes the identification problematic is that the name P. Vedius is not mentioned in any of these sources; there is only the *cognomina*.²⁰⁵ However, in Pompeii, the *cognomina* Siricus and Nummianus are only known from the individuals that had the names P. Vedius,²⁰⁶ making it very possible that the inscriptions are referring to P. Vedius Siricus and P. Vedius Nummianus. In addition, they are mentioned together, as *rogatores*, in the same electoral notice on the *Via Stabiana* opposite entrance 25 of the *Casa di Sirico*.²⁰⁷ Additionally to all of this, there is a possible electoral notice inside the house that might refer to the candidacy of Siricus. This would make the identification more certain, but oddly neither Fiorelli nor Niccolini and Niccolini mention this notice, which makes the location of this inscription uncertain.²⁰⁸ Nummianus is only mentioned on a painted text inside the house, making it too uncertain to conclude that he was the house owner. The relationship between Siricus and Nummianus is unknown. Fiorelli suggests that they were brothers,²⁰⁹ but other relationships are possible; for example, Della Corte suggests that they might also be father and son.²¹⁰ Siricus is classified as a

potential owner of the house. He was probably P. Vedius Siricus, who served as a *duumvir* in 60 CE.²¹¹

The *Casa di Polibio* has also been ascribed to two owners: C. Julius Polybius and C. Julius Philippus.²¹² As the name of the house indicates, the first one is often considered to be the actual house owner,²¹³ but some have identified C. Julius Polybius as the owner of another house,²¹⁴ and some suggest that C. Julius Philippus was the owner this house.²¹⁵ The latter identification is often made on the basis of his seal stamp, which was found inside the house, but there is also a graffito greeting him inside the house.²¹⁶ Furthermore, there is an electoral notice near the house where Julius Philippus is mentioned.²¹⁷ On this same notice, there is also a mention of Polybius, and there are several electoral notices on the façade of the *Casa di Polibio* where Polybius is mentioned as a supporter, as well as notices referring to the candidacy of C. Julius Polybius.²¹⁸ The supporter Polybius is most likely referring to C. Julius Polybius, as he seems to be the only person known in Pompeii with this *cognomen*.²¹⁹ Mouritsen notes a concentration of his electoral notices near the house.²²⁰ In addition, there is even an electoral notice referring to C. Julius Polybius inside the peristyle, and two more inside the other rooms of the house.²²¹ If we are just counting the number of texts, the majority of the evidence points to C. Julius Polybius – but they are all electoral notices. C. Julius Philippus instead appears in two different epigraphical source groups.

Allison thinks that it is problematic to have two household heads in one house in the Roman social and historical context,²²² and consequently it is complicated to name both C. Julius Polybius and C. Julius Philippus as the owners of the same house. However, Alfonso De Franciscis already noted that the *Casa di Polibio* has a structure of two apartments: two atria and two *lararia*, and he has a theory that the other atrium area might have functioned as a *hospitium*.²²³ This function is purely speculative, but the house structure seems to be appropriate for two families. There are several possible scenarios to explain how these two men could be placed in one house: they were patron and freedman, they were father and son, or they were in some other way related. Nevertheless, the problem remains: which one was the owner? Which one can be connected to the peristyle, and whose social status does the peristyle represent? The question might be solved if the relationship between C. Julius Polybius and C. Julius Philippus can be clarified.

Della Corte and Carlo Giordano suggest that they are related,²²⁴ which is a possibility; for example, as father and son. Nevertheless, as there is a connection between the seal stamps and servile origins, it is also possible that Philippus was a freedman of C. Julius Polybius, as suggested by Jashemski.²²⁵ If this was the relationship between the two men, it is also possible to speculate that the latter did not even live in the *Casa di Polibio*. The link between C. Julius Polybius and the house is based only on the electoral notices, and if he was a patron of C. Julius Philippus it is not hard to imagine that the freedman's house was covered with his patron's electoral propaganda.

It is possible that C. Julius Polybius owned the *Casa di Polibio*, but the weight of the evidence leans towards C. Julius Philippus. His seal stamp was found near one of the cupboards of the peristyle, which indicates that it was

stored there,²²⁶ and the possibility that the stamp was accidentally dropped – for example in the turmoil of the eruption – inside the house is low. This does not, however, rule out the possibility that the C. Julius Polybius also lived in the house. There is a big difference in social status between the two possible owners, C. Julius Polybius and C. Julius Philippus. The first mentioned was a *duumvir* candidate, which suggests that he was probably at least an aedile at some point in his career.²²⁷ The second mentioned instead had no known political career or candidacy. Nevertheless, he seems to be well connected with C. Julius Polybius, so he probably had some political influence. Following Mouritsen's methodology – where at least two different epigraphical groups are needed to identify the owner – only C. Julius Philippus can be classified as a potential owner of the house.

7.2.6 Minor decoration and architectural peristyles

In the group of minor decoration peristyles no owners can be identified – even tentatively. There were seal stamps in a few houses among the finds, but further evidence to confirm that the stamp owner was the house owner is missing.²²⁸ In house V,2,10 there was a graffito referring to Successus, and an amphora with the name Successus in the dative.²²⁹ The text on the amphora also mentions Paccia, and it has been suggested that Successus was Paccia's slave or dependent. Thus, Della Corte sees that Paccia was the house owner.²³⁰ There are no other sources to connect Paccia with this house. Mouritsen instead thinks that Successus was living in the house.²³¹ This interpretation seems most reliable, but the text of the amphora refers to a social standing where Successus could not be a likely house owner – yet, it is not completely impossible. In addition, as only the *cognomen* is represented in both sources, it is debatable whether the person mentioned was the same, as there are several persons known with the name Successus in Pompeii.²³² The ownership thus cannot be classified even as proposed.

Several owners of houses with an architectural peristyle have been suggested based on very little evidence.²³³ The owners of the *Casa di Pinarius Cerialis* (III,4,4) and the *Casa di T. Dentatius Panthera* have been identified based on the electoral notices and graffiti found on the outside wall of the houses. The possible owner of the first house was Pinarius Cerialis, while the second was possibly owned by Q. Bruttius Balbus.²³⁴ Because of the location of the graffiti – they were also outside of the house, not inside – the identifications cannot be considered reliable.

There are two cases where a house owner is possibly mentioned in two different source types, and the names are also found inside the house. The first is the *Casa dei Quadretti teatrali*, which Della Corte identifies as belonging to the Calavii. On the basis of a stamped brick he thinks that the owner was either Staius or Stenius Calavius. An amphora was found inside the house with an inscription referring to Calavia Optata. Della Corte thinks that the name is in the dative, but Mouritsen notes that it could equally well be the genitive.²³⁵ The possible house owner's name is mostly Maiuri's reconstruction, and as the brick does not even have the complete name Calavius visible, but only the three first letters,²³⁶ and the

amphora does not necessarily have a dative form, the link with the family *Calavii* and the house is very doubtful.

Both M. Epidius Rufus and M. Epidius Sabinus have been interpreted as the owner of house IX,1,20, the so-called *Casa di M. Epidius Rufus*.²³⁷ M. Epidius Sabinus is also identified as the possible owner of the neighboring house IX,1,22/29 and there is no reference to Sabinus inside house IX,1,20, so therefore the possibility of linking him with house IX,1,20 is low.²³⁸ A seal stamp was found inside the *Casa di M. Epidius Rufus* that refers to Epidius Rufus, and a marble inscription was also found that is likewise interpreted as referring to him.²³⁹ The seal, however, only has the letters EP followed by the name Rufus; the letter M only appears on the marble inscription. None of the sources seems to clearly indicate the complete name M. Epidius Rufus, and in fact that person seems to be imaginary, as such a name is unknown in Pompeii.²⁴⁰ Even for the truncated name Epidius Rufus, the seal stamp is the only source. There is a graffito in front of the house with the name Rufus, but taking into account the common nature of the *cognomen* the link between the person on the seal stamp and the person in the graffiti is dubious.²⁴¹ The identification of the house owner is on very doubtful ground, and cannot be classified even as proposed.

The *Casa di M. Spurius Mesor* (VII,3,29) is, according to Sampaolo, one of the few houses where the owner is certainly identified. The house owner is thought to be M. Spurius Mesor, based on a name written with mosaic tesserae on the *cocciopesto* floor of the *triclinium* (I).²⁴² Nevertheless, not all are convinced that he was the house owner; for example, Curtis mentions that the name might also indicate the mosaic maker.²⁴³ Della Corte is certain that M. Spurius Mesor was the maker of the mosaic decoration, not the house owner. He states that a house owner's name was never found written on the floors in Pompeii – although he thinks that house IX,6,4–7 is an exception – and Della Corte questions the motivation for writing one's own name in a space that is clearly one's own property.²⁴⁴ At the time when Della Corte wrote, the mosaic of the *Casa di A. Umbricius Scaurus* was unknown, and in that case Scaurus was not likely a mosaic maker.²⁴⁵ Now, considering also the *Casa di A. Umbricius Scaurus*, it cannot be stated that the names on the mosaics were always their makers. Consequently, the text in the *Casa di M. Spurius Mesor* does not necessarily indicate that the name belongs to the maker of the floor.²⁴⁶ The floor is not an actual mosaic floor, but a *cocciopesto* floor decorated with tesserae and hexagonal pieces of slate.²⁴⁷ Signatures on mortar floors are very rare in Pompeii, and there were no pictorial representations in this floor that might be expected to be signed.²⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the hexagonal slates are a rare type of decoration.²⁴⁹ Perhaps the floor maker wanted to advertise his specialty – floors decorated with slate. However, the floor and the text are not in a very visible place, as one had to pass through at least four rooms before seeing it, and it is not on any entrance axis of the house, meaning that it was not visible from the street. In addition, there are no indications that this house was visited by that many people. The reported undecorated state of the peristyle instead suggests that the peristyle area – where the *triclinium* room was located – did not have much of a display value, and it can be questioned whether many people visited it.

The peristyle is now a part of the modern buildings, which makes it impossible to check the reliability of the reported undecorated state. There was, however, a cooking bench that might indicate that the peristyle was utilized for a utilitarian function. The *triclinium* instead is one of the most decorated rooms in the house, besides a *cubiculum* (m).²⁵⁰ Therefore, these rooms might have been used when entertaining guests.

There are no clear signs that M. Spurius Mesor was either the house owner or the floor maker. Nevertheless, it is not even sure that he was still the owner during the last phase, if he once was the house owner. For example, Sampaolo classifies the floor as third style, and also states that M. Spurius Mesor owned the house during the first decades of the first century.²⁵¹ The link between him and the last phase of the house remains uncertain, and therefore the ownership cannot even be classified as proposed in this case. Even if we assume that M. Spurius Mesor was the house owner during the last phase, it does not help much in connecting a social status to this peristyle, as the person is only known from this floor inscription.²⁵² Fiorelli and Sampaolo assume that he was a geometer or land surveyor.²⁵³ They do not give any reasoning for this assumption, but it must be his *cognomen*, which cannot be thought of as sufficient evidence to identify his profession.

7.2.7 Political activity and the peristyle owners

In only a very few cases can the house owner – and consequently the peristyle owner – be even potentially identified, and the number is not much higher if the proposed owners are added. The identified house owners are concentrated in houses with peristyles that are at the top of their rankings. The houses with minor decoration or architectural peristyles do not have any examples where the owner could be classified even as *proposed*.

If only the houses where the identification is defined as *probable* are taken into consideration, they would be limited to the houses with the opulent, large full, and ornamental peristyles (Table 7.1). There are several reasons for this: first, quite simply the size of the houses is larger, if they are ranked at the top of the list. Consequently, the potential area for providing possible evidence of ownership is much larger. Second, the recording of the evidence might also have influenced the situation, and likely evidence of possible owners might have vanished. In addition,

Table 7.1 The peristyle groups linked to the possible house owners.

	Owners		
	<i>Probable</i>	<i>Potential</i>	<i>Proposed</i>
Opulent	1	2	1
Large full	2	2	0
Ornamental	1	1	3
Large painting	0	3 ²⁵⁴	3
Imitation	0	2	0

Table 7.2 The peristyle groups linked to the possible house owners and their political activity. Supporters in the table mean possible house owners who are not known to be candidates, but have been identified as supporters in electoral notices.

	Candidates			Supporters		
	Probable	Potential	Proposed	Probable	Potential	Proposed
Opulent	1	0	0	0	0	0
Large full	1	0	0	0	0	0
Ornamental	0	1	1	1	0	0
Large painting	0	1	2	0	2 ²⁵⁵	1
Imitation	0	1	0	0	1	0

there might have been more desire to find evidence suggesting the owners of the large or vast houses, and therefore they may have been better documented and examined. Third, the peristyles at the top of the ranking indicate that the house owner probably had more money, which can be connected to writing and politics, and which in turn weighs the pool of potential evidence towards these owners.

Table 7.2 demonstrates that in all of the peristyles groups where at least a potential owner can be identified, one of them was a candidate for a political office; however, if only probable identifications are examined, the candidates are limited to the opulent and large full peristyle houses. Table 7.2 does not include the *Casa di Pansa* and *Casa di A. Umbrius Scaurus* – both with large full peristyles – where it is unclear whether the candidate lived in the house, but both houses were very closely connected to persons that served as high magistrates of Pompeii. In addition, the *Casa dei Vettii*, with its opulent peristyle, has A. Vettius Conviva – who is also not listed in Table 7.2 – classified as a *potential* owner. He was perhaps a freedman, but may have also held the office of *augustalis*. The possible house owners whose political activity seems to be limited to only supporting candidates are found instead in the groups of ornamental, large painting, and imitation peristyles.

There is one house with an opulent peristyle, and three houses with large full peristyles, that can possibly be connected to a family, rather than an individual: the *Casa di Cornelius Rufus* to the Cornelii, the *Casa di N. Popidius Priscus* to the Popidii,²⁵⁶ the *Casa di C. Vibius Italus* to the Vibii, and the *Casa di Trittolema* to the Calpurnii. The owner of the house cannot be defined more precisely, meaning that the social status remains undefinable. All of the families except the Calpurnii seem to be politically powerful, and have several members of the decurional class.²⁵⁷ Consequently, these houses – except the *Casa di Trittolema* – likely had at least a close contact with the political elite of Pompeii, even if their inhabitants were not members of it.

In several other cases, connecting houses to specific families might also be a more plausible solution than identifying their individual owners. The evidence regarding the possible ownership of the *Casa dei Vettii* is similar to that of the

Casa dell'Argenteria, where the movable items, such as seal stamps and vases with text, also suggest the same family, but again two different persons. Based on the painted texts outside the houses, one of these persons can be said to more likely be the house owner than the other, but on the other hand the evidence is limited to a very few texts. Instead, the link between the houses and the families Vettii and Laelii are indicated by several sources. These houses might also be a kind of “family headquarters” for the Vettii and Laelii, but identifying the individual owner of the house remains more speculative. There are similar cases for the *Casa del Citarista*, *Casa della Venere in conchiglia*, *Casa di Sirico*, and *Casa di Polibio*, where the evidence of the possible owner is weak but the relationship with the families Popidii, Lucretii Valenti, Vedii, and Julii are present in the form of several texts connected to the houses.

In conclusion, the examination of the possible owners and their social status does not reveal anything that would contradict the assumption that the peristyles with ample means to display economic status were also the peristyles of the socio-political elite, but as the examples are very few, the conclusion cannot be turned around. Consequently, the presence of a large and decorated peristyle does not necessarily mean that the owner of the house was a member of the political elite. There are two women who potentially owned a house with a peristyle – one was a large full peristyle and the other a large painting peristyle. This, however, is not very surprising, as previous scholarship has demonstrated the presence of several powerful women in Pompeii.²⁵⁸ In general, the low number of potential owners and the uncertainty of their identifications do not allow us to make any generalizations about the social status of the owners of different types of peristyles.

7.3 Business uses of houses with peristyles

Commercial activity played an important role in Pompeian society, and connecting houses with business activities enable us to define a group that could be called the “commercial class.” Previous scholarship has viewed the Pompeian elite as hostile towards trade, but this view has now been criticized.²⁵⁹ This chapter discusses what types of peristyles were in the houses that can be directly connected to commercial activities. The aim is to reveal the relationship between the commercial and display uses of the peristyles, and furthermore to determine whether some of the peristyle groups are particularly linked with commercial activities.

Before starting the analysis, we should make some observations about the sources for the identification of commercial and small-scale industrial activities in Pompeii. The archaeological record rarely identifies indirect links to commercial activity, which limits this examination to the houses where direct links with commercial activity can be made. For example, if the household owned a property used for business that was not physically connected to the house through an in-house opening, the link between the spaces is mostly hypothetical. Instead, a direct connection – such as a door opening – between the commercial space and the house creates a clear link to connect the activity to the household. Additionally, it also

reflects the importance of the business to the household, as the owner wanted direct access between the house and the place of business.

Industrial activity and production is separated from commercial activity in the following analysis, although production likely involved commerce. Houses are considered to be connected to production if they had facilities where a large part of the production of goods or services occurred inside the house space.²⁶⁰ For instance, bakeries and *fullonicae* are listed as production spaces. In contrast, commercial spaces are considered to be areas which suggest that the space was used for the selling and storage of goods. For example, houses that had several large *dolia* in their peristyle are listed as commercial facilities in this chapter.

In Sections 3.2.3 (Table 3.1) and 6.7 several peristyles were listed that were used for small-scale industrial activity or production. In addition to these peristyles, there are many houses with a peristyle where these activities occurred in the other spaces. For example, the atrium of the *Casa dello scultore* (VIII,7,24/22) was a workshop or storage space of a sculptor, and the *Casa del Labirinto* had a bakery.²⁶¹ Both of these houses featured a large full peristyle. The houses with ornamental peristyles did not have any type of industry connected to them, although Fiorelli thinks that the northern part of the *Casa dell'Argenteria* may possibly have been dedicated to an industrial activity. He states that it is impossible to define what type of activity took place there, and he does not provide any evidence to support his assumption.²⁶² Consequently, the industrial activity in the house remains purely speculative, and the house cannot be listed among the dwellings where industrial activity occurred. In contrast, some houses with large painting peristyles featured spaces for industrial activity: the *Casa di M. Epidius Sabinus* had a bakery,²⁶³ as did house VII,12,1–4, or at least it had a large oven that suggests the large-scale production of baked goods.²⁶⁴ House II,9,6, with its gardens, seems to be harnessed for viticulture.²⁶⁵ As for the *Casa del Banchiere*, it is unclear whether the dyeing activity extended into the peristyle, but certainly the house had facilities for this purpose.²⁶⁶ The *Casa degli Amorini dorati* was additionally connected to a *fullonica*, but it seems that in the last phase the production space was under reconstruction, making its new function unclear.²⁶⁷ The *Casa dei Capitelli colorati* also once had a perfume shop, but not during the last phase.²⁶⁸ Consequently, these two houses cannot be certainly linked to production.

A few imitation peristyles feature industry, and in addition some houses with this type of peristyle had industrial activity in other spaces.²⁶⁹ Numerous remains of carbonized herbs were found in the *Fabbrica di prodotti chimici*, and it might have functioned as a sort of chemical laboratory, as its name suggests, or as a dye shop, as suggested by Bechi and Jashemski.²⁷⁰ Bragantini states that a part of the house was in commercial use, as there are three masonry furnaces in the atrium.²⁷¹ The furnaces indicate that, besides commercial use, small-scale industry also occurred in the house – probably dyeing as has been suggested. The *Casa di Sirico* had an imitation peristyle and a room with a large oven and a stone mill. This room has been previously identified as a kitchen.²⁷² Yet, these types of ovens are consistently connected with bakeries in other Pompeian dwellings, and

thus I have listed the area as an industrial space, despite the possibility that the baked goods were not for sale.²⁷³ The large oven probably indicates the production of goods that were meant to be sold, rather than only production that was limited to the household needs. There was also a bakery in house I,12,1/2, which is classified as a minor decoration peristyle house.²⁷⁴ In addition, the so-called *Accademia di Musica* (VI,3,7) had a *fullonica* and minor decoration peristyle,²⁷⁵ and there are also two minor decoration peristyles in Pompeii where small-scale industrial activity occurred. Several architectural peristyles include areas for industrial activity,²⁷⁶ and additionally there are a few houses with architectural peristyles where industrial activity occurred in the other parts of the house. The *Casa della nave Europa* is connected to commercial agriculture based on the numerous amphorae, but the house also had a large productive garden linking the house to production, not just the selling of the products.²⁷⁷ Houses V,3,8, VIII,4,26–29, and VII,2,51 all had bakeries and architectural peristyles.²⁷⁸ In the last example, a part of the mill is currently in the peristyle, but without further archaeological excavation and cleaning it is impossible to determine whether the peristyle was used for milling purposes. Finally, the *Casa del Larario doppio* (VII,3,13) had a lead workshop.²⁷⁹

Two houses with a large full peristyle can be linked to commerce due to their likely owners: Cn. Alleius Nigidius Maius and A. Umbricius Scaurus, who were attested businessmen.²⁸⁰ Therefore, the houses they owned – the *Casa di Pansa* and the *Casa di A. Umbricius Scaurus* – are connected to the “commercial class” of Pompeii. Nevertheless, it remains uncertain whether Cn. Alleius Nigidius Maius lived in the *Casa di Pansa*, and therefore its peristyle does not necessarily reflect his taste. Also, L. Caecilius Iucundus can be counted as a businessman,²⁸¹ and his house, the *Casa di L. Caecilius Iucundus*, featuring an ornamental peristyle, was also linked to the business life of Pompeii.

The *Casa del Gruppo dei vasi di vetro*, with its ornamental peristyle, has been linked to medical practice. Loccardi suggests that the house was a medical clinic during the last phase, based on the several medical instruments and other finds related to medicine. She adds that the peristyle area had several rooms that could have been suitable for patients, but she also notes that doctors usually made house calls during that era.²⁸² The presence of medical supplies does not necessarily indicate a doctor’s apartment. It can be assumed that the city’s doctors were busy during the eruption, and were probably needed in several houses, meaning that there is a high possibility that the find location of the instruments does not indicate the house where a doctor was living. Nevertheless, in this case the large number of medical supplies in the *Casa del Gruppo dei vasi di vetro* does suggest that it was likely a doctor’s house, but there is no evidence that the peristyle, or the house, was functioning as a clinic. Loccardi’s speculation that the house owner was a Greek *libertus* named Phillipus does not have enough supporting evidence.²⁸³ Also, one minor decoration peristyle house – the *Casa del Medico* – might have been owned by a doctor, as surgical instruments were found in the house during the excavation.²⁸⁴ In this case, they were found in a niche under a staircase, which seems to indicate that the instruments were in storage, and thus suggests

that this was possibly a doctor's house. There are two other houses with a minor decoration peristyle that can be linked to business activity, making their owners likely entrepreneurs. One of them is house VI,14,39, which can be connected to the business life of the city on the basis of the door mosaics *lucrum gaudium*,²⁸⁵ and another is the *Casa del fabbro*, where the peristyle seems to play an important part in the business activity.²⁸⁶

It can be debated whether the room with an oven in the *Casa di Sirico* – an imitation peristyle house – should be interpreted as a bakery, but at least the business-friendly mosaic of the *fauces* connects the house owner to the business life of Pompeii.²⁸⁷ I have, however, listed the house as connected to production, as the oven is large enough to produce baked goods in excess of the needs of the house. The *Casa del Granduca di Toscana* (IX,2,27) – another imitation peristyle house – is stated as belonging to a *tector* based on some finds made in the house.²⁸⁸ Adolf Trendelenburg, however, has criticized the interpretation, as the house was not spacious enough for the work of a *tector*.²⁸⁹ As it is dubious whether the owner was practicing this profession, the house is not connected to commerce in my listing.

In addition to the architectural peristyles involved in commercial activity listed previously in Sections 3.2.3 and 6.7, there are also other houses with an architectural peristyle that can be related to these activities. The *Casa di Pinarius Cerialis* seems to have been owned by a producer of *camei*, as many were found inside the house. The finds include wrought and unfinished products, as well as some tools to make them.²⁹⁰ House VIII,5,9 had a box of *terra sigillata* vessels, which probably indicates that the owner was involved in the business of selling them.²⁹¹ J. Theodore Peña and Myles McCallum mention the possibility that the vessels were meant for a large household or a restaurant.²⁹² They also mention that there were 90 bowls, which is quite a large amount for this house, suggesting that they were probably acquired for business purposes, either for sale or restaurant use. Ray Laurence also notes that the uniformity of the vessels suggests that they were not intended for household use.²⁹³ The eastern part of house VIII,5,15–16 had numerous wine amphorae, and the house may have been connected to this business.²⁹⁴ In the *Casa di vinaio* (IX,9,6), the amphorae have been connected to wine selling.²⁹⁵ In the *Casa del Chirurgo* items interpreted as surgical instruments were found. They were found inside a container – possibly a bronze box as Bonucci states – but the excavators failed to identify the object. There were also plenty of other finds inside the same room where the instruments were found.²⁹⁶ It is possible that all the finds were stored in the room, which would possibly indicate that a doctor was living in the house, but as they are reported to have been inside an object which is not better described, they could also be interpreted as having been boxed for transport, which could possibly indicate a house call. Therefore, this house is not listed as the house of a doctor. For similar reasons, I have decided not to count the *Casa di Marcus Lucretius* as a house of the doctor. Ria Berg notes that the number of medical tools is close to that of a typical portable set,²⁹⁷ which makes it debatable whether the doctor was from the house or visiting.

Nicolas Monteix has mapped Pompeian 79 CE productive spaces. Among them are features that he has identified as fermentation dyeing vats, which indicates

their connection with dyeing. These vats can be found, for instance, in House I,3,30, the *Casa di L. Cornelius Diadumenus* (VII,12,26), and in the peristyle of the *Casa dei Postumii*.²⁹⁸ This is one possible function for the vats, but as they are located near a space that could also be defined a kitchen, there might be a connection with food preparation, and their function is a little questionable. In this case, I have decided that I will not count the spaces with only one vat as used for production purposes outside the household needs, meaning that only the *Casa di L. Cornelius Diadumenus*, which has an architectural peristyle, is listed as connected to production in this investigation.

There are many houses that are directly linked to a bar.²⁹⁹ The ornamental peristyle house I,2,17 had a bar with a counter. However, the possible brothel connected to the house is only speculative.³⁰⁰ The *Casa di Sallustio* – another ornamental peristyle house – also had a bar with a counter connected to the house. The large painting peristyle house VII,6,28 can also be linked to a bar, as can the *Casa delle Quadrighe* and the *Caupona di Lucius Betutius (Vetutius) Placidus*. The imitation peristyle house I,4,2 and the *Casa del Pomarius Felix* (I,8,2) had bars, as did the following minor decoration peristyle houses: the *Casa di Successus* (I,9,3), the *Casa di D. Octavius Quartio* (II,2,2), and house VII,3,38. In addition, seven of the architectural peristyle houses had a bar.³⁰¹ Furthermore, there might be a few houses with a peristyle where restaurant activity occurred, but my method of only accepting spaces with a counter as bars does not include these.³⁰² It is very likely that restaurant activity occurred in spaces where there were very little structural remains – or even none – associated with it, but due to the poor documentation in many areas counting only counters is more consistent.

There was plenty of business and commercial activity that is mostly invisible in the archaeological record.³⁰³ Several spaces connected to the Pompeian houses have been interpreted as shops, however the function is often speculative and based only on some architectural features of the space. The proposed shops are frequently rooms opening directly onto the street, and they are wide enough for something other than passing through, which seems to be the main function of the *fauces* – the other type of rooms opening onto the street. A shop or *taberna* is often defined by its wide and low entrance. For example, Eeva-Maria Viitanen and Heini Ynnilä have proposed numerous spaces in Pompeii as shops by applying this definition.³⁰⁴ A wide door was probably useful for many types of shopkeepers, but it is equal possible that shops had narrow doors, so it is not possible to only list the entrances with a wide door as shops.³⁰⁵ There are, however, some other options to narrow down the number of potential shops in the analysis. For example, several possible shops only open onto the street and not into a house, and therefore it is impossible to connect them directly with any Pompeian house, and they are therefore excluded from this investigation. Consequently, only the rooms that opened directly onto the street and to the house through an in-house entrance are included this analysis. The *fauces* fulfill these requirements, but as they are too narrow for almost anything other than movement, they can also be excluded. Even after excluding the *fauces*, there are several rooms that meet the requirements, but their identification even as possible shops is questionable. For

example, the room opening from entrance VI,9,9 of the *Casa dei Dioscuri* could be defined as a shop connected to the house, but it is interpreted as a stable.³⁰⁶ The rooms opening onto the street might have had various purposes; for example, a stable was likely needed in many houses. Therefore, I limit the possible shops in this examination to those rooms that were situated alongside the *fauces*.³⁰⁷ This rules out several rooms that might have functioned as a shop, but their role in the house could equally have been something else.³⁰⁸ With the selected definition, almost all of the shops are beside the likely main entrance of the house, and the business conducted in these spaces was very visible to visitors, which means that the activity was an influential and important part of the owner's identity.³⁰⁹ This definition provides 66 houses with a peristyle and a shop.

Listing the business activities along with the houses reveals that all of the peristyle types can at least occasionally be connected to houses involved in commercial activities, as indicated by Table 7.3. If we exclude the possible shops from the analysis, production and commerce (including bars) was apparently concentrated in the dwellings that are defined as large painting, imitation, minor decoration, and architectural peristyle houses. Nevertheless, none of these groups had a dominant connection to these activities, as is demonstrated by the ratio of activities compared to the number of houses in each group.

Commercial activities – excluding the possible shops – are rare in houses that featured an opulent, large full, or ornamental peristyle. The last group differ from the opulent and large full peristyles, as the two groups do not feature any of the bars in Pompeii (Table 7.3). This might reflect that the wealthiest owners might have preferred not to have a bar, along with all its disadvantages, directly connected to their houses, but already in the ornamental peristyle group some of the house owners accepted this arrangement. Nevertheless, the wealthy houses were also located near bars,³¹⁰ even though they might have isolated their houses from a direct connection with such establishments. The ornamental peristyle houses, however, did not involve production facilities, which might indicate that industrial activities may have impinged upon the image that the house owners wanted

Table 7.3 The houses with a peristyle that can also be connected to commercial or small-scale industrial activity. The right side of the table is the ratio compared to the total number of houses in the peristyle group.

	<i>Production</i>	<i>Commerce</i>	<i>Bars</i>	<i>Shops</i>	<i>Production</i>	<i>Commerce</i>	<i>Bars</i>	<i>Shops</i>
Opulent	1	0	0	6	7%	0	0	43%
Large full	2	2	0	10	8%	8%	0	40%
Ornamental	0	2	2	8	0	9%	9%	36%
Large paintings	4	1	3	4	15%	4%	11%	15%
Imitation	4	2	2	10	15%	8%	8%	38%
Minor decoration	4	3	3	5	19%	14%	14%	24%
Architectural	10	7	8	22	11%	8%	9%	24%

to give – or, on the other hand, the house owners may not have had the resources to invest in production facilities.

The ratio of shops, instead, is highest in the opulent and large full peristyle houses (Table 7.3). This means that their owners were not hostile to an open connection with commercial activity for their house. It can be speculated to what degree the house owners were connected to the activities of the shops. For example, Cn. Alleius Nigidius Maius – owner of the *Casa di Pansa* – was renting shop space,³¹¹ and therefore it is possible that the business in front of the house was conducted by someone other than the house owner. However, the shopkeeper was a dependent of the house owner, which on some level increased the social prestige of the house owner. Moreover, it is possible that not all the spaces defined as shops in this analysis were utilized for commercial purposes.

The number of architectural peristyle houses connected to production and commerce is largest compared to any other group, but the ratios demonstrate that the group in general was not particularly popular among businesspersons. When the shops are excluded from the analysis, the ratios of areas of production, commerce, and bars were usually slightly more commonly connected to the large painting, imitation, and minor decoration peristyle houses than the architectural peristyle houses. The minor decoration peristyle houses were somewhat more connected to commerce (including bars) than the other two groups (Table 7.3). Commercial activity did not require such a large starting investment as production, which correlates with the less wealthy image projected by the minor decoration peristyles compared to the large painting and imitation peristyles.

In conclusion, all of the peristyle groups can be connected on some level to business activities, but the large painting, imitation, and minor decoration peristyles demonstrate the highest correlation with the “commercial class.” Counting only by the numbers, most of the production and commercial activity is connected to the architectural peristyle houses, but relative to the large number of houses belonging to this group it does not stand out compared to the others. The opulent and large full peristyle houses can often be linked to shops, but there is the possibility that the house owner was not involved in the business conducted in the shops, and was only renting the space to someone else. Monteix in general thinks that these spaces were not rented, but that the shops were managed by the house owner. He, however, underlines that it is very difficult to interpret on the basis of spatial archaeological remains whether a space was rented.³¹² If we accept Monteix’s premise, there is still the possibility that these shops were mainly run by the dependents of the house owner, and the owner’s role in these enterprises could have been minimal. On the other hand, the business could have been conducted in almost any room of the house, and it is possible that the connection with all of the peristyle groups was actually much higher than what is visible in the source material. However, if the business activities were not organized in their own spaces, but occurred in the living quarters of the house, it would have provided the owners with many more options to either hide or display this aspect of their lives: to conduct them openly in the rooms which were easily visible to the public, or to hide these activities deeper in the house.

Notes

- 1 See e.g. Mayer 2012, 33, 53, Painter 2001, 35.
- 2 See Bergmann 2017, 304, 537 n. 61.
- 3 See Robinson 1997, 136–137. See also Mayer 2012, 52–53, 171–172. Mayer seems to think that there is a correlation between large house size and high social rank, but he is also critical towards the assumption that house size can be connected with social status.
- 4 M. De Vos 1991, 966–967.
- 5 Castrén 1975, 66–67, 185–186. Mouritsen 1988, 29, 141, 186 n. 107.
- 6 N. 78.
- 7 Mouritsen 1988, 109–114.
- 8 On the decoration of the peristyle see n. 78.
- 9 The houses: *Conceria* I,5,2, *Casa della nave Europa* (I,15,3), *Casa delle colonne cilindriche* (I,16,2-a), house II,9,6, *Casa della Regina Carolina* (VIII,3,14), house VIII,5,15–16. M. De Vos 1991, 967.
- 10 Mouritsen 1988, 106. The *quinquennales* are included in the calculation, as Mouritsen (1988, 29) has demonstrated that legally they were equal to *duumvir*.
- 11 Mouritsen 1988, 109–112.
- 12 See Section 7.2.2. M. De Vos 1991, 967.
- 13 Ling 1997, 142. On other examples of interpreting a connection between wealthy houses and high social status or influence, see Seiler 1994, 716. M. De Vos (1991, 966–967) uses the same logic trying to demonstrate that the *Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto* (V,4,a) could not have been owned by M. Lucretius Fronto as the house is too modest for a *duumvir* compared to the other houses that are assumed to be owned by members of the same social and political class.
- 14 Painter 2001, 35.
- 15 For the proposals and critique of possible house owner identification, see e.g. Niccolini & Niccolini 1862, *Descrizione generale*, 39, 79, Fiorelli 1875, 61, Gordon 1927, 167, 169, Della Corte 1954, 208–209, 212, Giordano 1974, 23, Dwyer 1982, 85–86, Mouritsen 1988, 14–19, M. De Vos 1990, 117; 1991, 967, Strocka 1994, 2, Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 66, Sampaolo 1999, 905; 2003, 361, Painter 2001, 36, Allison 2001, 58, 61; 2006, 334, D’Acunto 2008, 196, Inserra 2008, 34, 49–50.
- 16 Seiler 1994, 714. See also Petersen 2006, 5–6 on the interpretations that the house was owned by a freedman, and her criticism of these interpretations. According to Jashemski (1979, 35–41), the *Casa dei Vettii* (VI,15,1) had the most decorated peristyle in Pompeii, if the number of decorative elements is taken account. If the pools, fountains, and sculpture are added together, the peristyle had 33 decorative items and wall paintings (n. 134). The peristyle of the *Casa degli Amorini dorati* (VI,16,7/38) instead, had wall paintings and 37 decorative items, including the reliefs on the walls (n. 139, see also Powers 2011). Therefore, counting just the number of the decorative items, the *Casa degli Amorini dorati* is the most decorated peristyle of Pompeii. Both peristyles are in their own class in their number of decorations. Next in the ranking is the middle peristyle of the *Casa del Citarista* (n. 14), which had 21 decorative items and wall paintings. However, the exact number of sculptures is always somewhat problematic to count: See Kuivalainen 2019, 69–72, about the sculpture collection of the *Casa di Marcus Lucretius* (IX,3,5/24).
- 17 Pappalardo 2004, 334.
- 18 Allison 2001, 63.
- 19 Nn. 134, 139.
- 20 Zanier 2009, 229.
- 21 Peters & Moormann 1993b, 409.
- 22 Miniero 1990, 598.
- 23 Strocka 1994, 649.

- 24 Sampaolo 1998, 1091.
- 25 *Vitr.* 6.5.2.
- 26 CIL IV 7991, 7992, 7993. On the wealth requirements for the decurional class, see Castrén 1975, 58, Mouritsen 1988, 29.
- 27 See Viitanen, Nissinen & Korhonen 2012, 67.
- 28 On the economic and social position of the freedmen, see Mouritsen 2011, 66, 109.
- 29 On the connection between large houses, literacy, and people visiting these large houses, see Viitanen, Nissinen & Korhonen 2012, 77
- 30 Viitanen and Ynnilä (2014, 149–152) rely on the presence of an internal doorway as the main evidence of common ownership. They also mention other shared structures such as windows, water pipes, drainage channels, and cesspools – although these can also demonstrate a servitudinal relationship, as mentioned by Viitanen and Ynnilä. They also mention that Roman law stipulated that an upper floor was owned by the ground floor owner, which therefore suggests a common ownership. In Pompeii, the condition of the upper floors is poor, and the connections through upper floors are mostly theoretical. On the connection between shops and the *domus* as property, see Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 297.
- 31 Viitanen, Nissinen & Korhonen 2012, 67.
- 32 Della Corte 1954, 13.
- 33 Castrén 1975, 31–33. Mouritsen 1988, 13–27, Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 108, Allison 2001, 57. Viitanen, Nissinen & Korhonen 2012, 67, Haug 2021, 57.
- 34 Allison 2001, 69. The identification is based on the inscriptions CIL IV 138 and 1136.
- 35 On the electoral notices and the other inscriptions, see Della Corte 1954, 12–13 nn. V a–c.
- 36 Mouritsen 1988, 14–19, 182 n. 60. Allison 2001, 57. Cicala 2014, 234 n. 1.
- 37 See e.g. Dwyer 1982, 69–70, Parise Badoni 1991, 676, Sampaolo 2003, 361.
- 38 Mouritsen 1988, 18–19, 52–61. Allison 2001, 57.
- 39 Mouritsen 1988, 52–57.
- 40 Viitanen & Ynnilä 2014, 148. Viitanen, Nissinen & Korhonen 2012, 72.
- 41 Mouritsen 1988, 47–52.
- 42 Viitanen, Nissinen & Korhonen 2012, 69–70.
- 43 See Viitanen 2020, 286–287.
- 44 Viitanen, Nissinen & Korhonen 2012, 76. Viitanen 2020, 304–305. Cfr. Mouritsen 1988, 58–60.
- 45 Mouritsen 1988, 14.
- 46 Allison 2001, 64. For seal stamps as bread stamps, see Dwyer 1982, 86. A seal stamp that corresponds to the imprint on the bread has been found in a storage room in Rome, but, as Cicala notes (2010, 215 n. 3), the provenience of the seal stamp is unknown.
- 47 Mouritsen 1988, 15–16. See also Cicala 2010, 215–216 (criticism).
- 48 Cicala 2014, 236–240.
- 49 Cicala 2010, 214–220.
- 50 Mouritsen 1988, 14–15, 62, 194 n. 224. Cicala 2010, 214; 2014, 235 n. 6.
- 51 Allison 2001, 67–69.
- 52 Mouritsen 1988, 14, 181 n. 35. Cicala 2014, 235. Castrén (1975, 134, 158, 138, 165, 180, 209) lists six of the persons mentioned in the seal stamps as slaves. A seal stamp (CIL X8058.18) from Herculaneum can be added to the list.
- 53 Della Corte 1954, 406 nn. 26, 31, 409 n. 69. Cicala 2014, 235 n. 6. One of the seal stamps is also noted by Mouritsen (1988, 14, 181 n. 36).
- 54 Cicala 2014, 235 n. 6. Castrén (1975, 174, 181) reports the following persons mentioned in seal stamps (Della Corte 1954, 407 n. 49, 408 n. 55) as freedmen: N. Herennius Castus and L. Laelius Trophimus. In addition, Castrén (1975, 133, 239) reports C. Alleius Stephanus and A. Vettius Conviva as *Augustales*. *Augustales*

- were usually recruited from rich freedmen, but possibly sometimes from the highest municipal aristocracy (Castrén 1975, 73–74, 133, 239, see also Allison 2001, 63).
- 55 CIL X 1403 for the freedmen. C. Vibius Nymphicus in CIL X 8058 and Q. Caecilius in CIL X 8058.12, Q. Maecius in CIL X 8058.48, M. Nonius in CIL X 8058.57, possibly C. Messenius in CIL X 8059.51.
- 56 Della Corte 1954, 410 n. 97. Castrén 1975, 235. Mouritsen 1988, 15, 181 n. 39.
- 57 CIL X 8058.81. Fiorelli 1875, 181. Della Corte 1954, 410 n. 97.
- 58 Two seal stamps might possibly be linked to two magistrates, but in both cases the connection is far from certain. L. Valerius Flaccus (Castrén 1975, 233) was a *duumvir*, and a seal stamp (Della Corte 1954, 310 n. 93) has the text: L. Val. F. The *cognomen* on the seal had only the letter F, and the identification remains uncertain. Also, Castrén reports that L. Valerius Flaccus was a *duumvir* in 1/2 AD, and at the time of the eruption he was probably long dead, so the stamp must have belonged to someone else, if the seal stamp was not very old. Della Corte (1954, 79) thinks that the owner of the seal was the son of the *duumvir*. Vibius was *aedile* (Castrén 1975, 240), but the *cognomen* of the magistrate is not known, and the seal has a *cognomen* starting with the letter C (Della Corte 1954, 310 n. 102).
- 59 Della Corte 1954, 410 n. 100. Castrén 1975, 240.
- 60 CIL IV 7947. Castrén 1975, 221, 240, 259. Mouritsen 1988, 151. L. Sextilius Restitutus is known to have been a candidate (Castrén 1975, 221, Mouritsen 1988, 151), and the electoral notice where he is clearly identified as a candidate (CIL IV 9858) is near the electoral notice mentioning only Restitutus; the location of the notices would also indicate that it was possibly L. Sextilius Restitutus, as is identified by Mouritsen, who also notes that there is no candidate with the name of Vettius Restitutus.
- 61 The seal stamp of Ti. Crassus Firmus might belong to a *duumvir* from Herculaneum (Camodeca 2008, 200–201). Della Corte (1954, 407 n. 33bis) thinks that the seal is actually from Pompeii, but it had been located in Herculaneum (Cicala 2014, 234 n. 3).
- 62 Mouritsen 1988, 16–17.
- 63 See Section 3.3.
- 64 CIL IV 4156, 4177, 5768, 7048. Della Corte 1954, 83–84. Mouritsen 1988, 17, 56, 181 n. 51, 182 n. 62. Parise Badoni 1991, 676. Ehrhardt 2004, 274–275. Simelius 2015, 123. There are other electoral notices mentioning either Albuicius or Celsus located nearby the house (CIL IV 7040, 7043, 7046, 7050, 7051). This concentration of electoral notices near the *Casa delle nozze d'argento* (V,2,i) was already noted by Mouritsen (1988, 56–57).
- 65 Della Corte 1954, 84 n. 1. Castrén 1975, 104, 110, 132. Mouritsen 1988, 104.
- 66 Castrén 1975, 103–104.
- 67 CIL IV 7046, 7050, 7051. Mouritsen 1988, 40, 42, 47. Ehrhardt 2004, 274. On the political carrier, the younger L. Albuicius Celsus, see Castrén 1975, 132, Mouritsen 1988, 109.
- 68 M. De Vos 1991, 967.
- 69 Castrén 1975, 132.
- 70 CIL IV 3828, 3829, 7806, 8970, 8971. Della Corte 1954, 9–11. Jongman 1979, 64. Mouritsen 1988, 18, 108, 182 n. 60, 188 nn. 123, 125, 212 n. 495. Sampaolo 2003, 361. Mouritsen occasionally incorrectly reports the house as number III,14.
- 71 Jongman 1979, 65. Mouritsen 1988, 108, 188 n. 125. Sampaolo 2003, 361. De Haan 2010, 228–229 K. 24.
- 72 Castrén 1975, 198. Mouritsen 1988, 108, 212 n. 495. Campbell (2015, 206–207) thinks that M. Obellius Firmus was living in this house, but she does not state if she is referring to the son or the father.
- 73 Spinazzola 1953, 341.
- 74 Jongman 1979, 63–65. On the tomb, see Campbell 2015, 206–207 n. PN1.

- 75 See Jongman 1979, 64.
 76 CIL IV 3828.
 77 Jongman 1979, 62. Mouritsen 1988, 108. Sampaolo 2003, 361.
 78 The large digging in the garden, reported by Della Corte (1911, 49–52), indicates an unfinished restoration process.
 79 N. 251.
 80 CIL IV 2380–2381, 2383. Niccolini & Niccolini 1862, Descrizione generale 79. Fiorelli 1873, 66; 1875, 61. Gordon 1927, 180–181. Della Corte 1954, 208–209. Dwyer 1982, 84. Inserra 2008, 34.
 81 Gordon 1927, 180. Della Corte 1954, 208–209, 212. Dwyer 1982, 85. Mouritsen 1988, 182 n. 60. Inserra 2008, 34.
 82 CIL IV 2375, 2658, 2659. Della Corte 1954, 209, n. 497–498d, 212 n. 497–498e. Dwyer 1982, 85, 160–161. Inserra 2008, 34. There might have been a third amphora with an abbreviation of Ampliatus (see Dwyer 1982, 160).
 83 Fiorelli 1862, 666. Dwyer 1982, 85.
 84 See Mouritsen 1988, 17, 182 n. 551.
 85 Dwyer 1982, 85. Mouritsen 1988, 182 n. 60. See also the locations in the CIL IV 2939, 2978.
 86 CIL IV 7210, 7290, 7413, 7423, 7443, 7474, 7510, 7517, 7526, 7624, 7632, 7650, 7665, 7702, 7706, 7851, 7896. Dwyer 1982, 85.
 87 On possible P. Popodius Ampliatus, see CIL IV 2659. On the common occurrence of the *cognomen* Ampliatus, see Castrén 1975, 262–263.
 88 Niccolini & Niccolini 1896, Nuovi Scavi, 75–76. Sampaolo 1994, 469. Della Corte 1954, 54–55 nn. 89–93. Castrén 1975, 239–240. Mouritsen 1988, 14–15, 181 n. 40, 44. Petersen 2006, 5.
 89 Allison 2001, 63.
 90 CIL IV 3509. Sogliano 1876, 103; 1895, 31–32. Mau 1898, 49. Della Corte 1954, 54–55 nn. 89–93. CIL IV 3522 is also connected to Vettii, but it only has the *cognomen* “Restitutus” and can also refer to, e.g. L. Sextilius Restitutus. On confusing the two persons in other electoral notices, see Mouritsen 1988, 151. However, Mouritsen (1988, 182 n. 60) thinks that CIL IV 3522 refers to A. Vettius Restitutus.
 91 Sogliano 1895, 31–32. Sampaolo 1994, 469. Allison 2001, 61–62.
 92 CIL IV 3509, 3522.
 93 CIL IV 3522 is also connected to Vettii (Della Corte 1954, 54 n. 89–90d), but it only has the name Restitutus, and can thus refer to anyone with the *cognomen* Restitutus. On the occurrence of the *cognomen*, see Castrén 1975, 263.
 94 Allison 2001, 63–64.
 95 CIL IV 3509. See Petersen 2006, 5, 58–62.
 96 CIL X 864. Lugebil 1861, 238. Niccolini & Niccolini 1862, Descrizione generale, 67. Breton 1870, 471–472. Fiorelli 1873, 6; 1875, 341. Della Corte 1954, 198–199. Bragantini 1998, 518.
 97 Della Corte (1954, 198 n. 481d) mentions a seal stamp, but because its find spot is unknown, it cannot be connected with the house (Mouritsen 1988, 180 n. 31, Cicala 2014 234 n. 3). Additionally, the electoral notice (CIL IV 748) in front of the house cannot be, without doubt, linked to C. Cornelius Adiutor, as it only mentions the name Adiutor, and there are at least two persons with this *cognomen* in Pompeii (Castrén 1975, 248).
 98 CIL X 862. Fiorelli 1873, 89. Della Corte 1954, 199 n. 481e.
 99 Castrén 1975, 158.
 100 CIL X 860. Lundqvist: http://www.pompejiprojektet.se/admin/rwdx/inscriptions/Casa_di_Caecilius_Iucundus-south.pdf, 2–3, Last visited 4.5.2017.
 101 CIL X 865.
 102 See below.
 103 Della Corte 1954, 38–39. Loccardi 2009, 78.

- 104 CIL IV 204. Della Corte 1954, 410 n. 101. In addition, there were also electoral notices for A. Vettius Firmus (CIL IV 171, 174, 175) nearby by the *Casa del Centauro* (VI,93/5), and he could be as likely a house owner as A. Vettius Caprasius Felix.
- 105 Schulz 1835, 128; 1838, 151. Fiorelli 1862, 304; 1864, 86; 1875, 138. Della Corte 1954, 406 n. 18, 407 n. 39. Della Corte reports a wrong address for the *Casa del Labirinto*.
- 106 Niccolini & Niccolini 1862, Descrizione generale, 39. Fiorelli 1875, 138, 147. Della Corte 1954, 33–34 nn. 27–28, 40–41 n. 44–45. Strocka 1994, 2.
- 107 CIL IV 1369.
- 108 Della Corte (1954, 33–34) identifies Eutychus as a dependent of the house owner, not as the owner. On the imperial freedman with the *cognomen* Eutychus, see Della Corte 1954, 406 nn. 25, 26, Castrén 1975, 154. For suggestions of imperial freedmen as the owners of Pompeian houses, see Sampaolo 1999, 905 and D'Acunto 2008, 196 for the *Casa del Centenario* (IX,8,3/7), and De Franciscis 2001, 222 for the *Casa di Polibio* (IX,13,1–3).
- 109 CIL IV 1435.
- 110 Niccolini & Niccolini 1862, Descrizione generale, 43. Fiorelli 1875, 190–191. Della Corte 1954, 124 n. 264a, 126 n. 271, 183 n. 434, 406 n. 19, 409 n. 74, 410 n. 102. Mouritsen 1988, 181 n. 40. Sampaolo 1996, 586, 615. Serpe 2008, 115.
- 111 CIL IV 5795. Della Corte 1954, 183–184 n. 434–437. Mouritsen 1988, 181 n. 51. Della Corte (1954, 184 n. 1) thinks that the amphora with the name Calpurnius Aquila also had Lucius as praenomen. The *cognomen* is also unclear, but it is unlikely to be Diogenes.
- 112 CIL IV 2953. Fiorelli 1875, 190. Della Corte 1954, 126–127 nn. 271–272. Castrén 1975, 241. Sampaolo 1996, 586.
- 113 CIL IV 2313. Della Corte 1954, 124–125 nn. 264–265.
- 114 Mouritsen 1988, 181 n. 42.
- 115 Castrén 1975, 207–209, 240–241. Mouritsen 1988, 111–112.
- 116 Pompeii inv. 15188–15191. CIL X 8146. Curtis 1984, 559–560. Di Vita-Évrard 1992, 92 n. 278. Bragantini 1997, 885. Campbell 2015, 164.
- 117 Della Corte 1954, 136. On different readings of the mosaic text, see CIL X 8146, Fiorelli 1878, 322.
- 118 Mouritsen 1988, 20, 183 n. 64. Della Corte (1954, 136 n. 297–299b) takes the name Oppius from a nearby electoral inscription (CIL IV 3696) that mentions it, but there is no connection between the electoral notice and the mosaic.
- 119 Curtis 1984, 559–562. Bragantini 1997, 845–846, 885.
- 120 Curtis 1984, 559, 561. On the cognomen, see Castrén 1975, 259.
- 121 CIL X 1024. Castrén 1975, 232. Curtis 1984, 562. M. De Vos 1991, 967. Bragantini 1997, 845–846. Campbell 2015, 47, 85–86, 97–98, 162–165, 162–164 n. PE7.
- 122 Castrén 1975, 120.
- 123 Castrén 1975, 120. Curtis 1984, 564.
- 124 Curtis 1984, 564.
- 125 Mouritsen (1988, 103) identifies one person named A. Umbricius Scaurus who served as a *duumvir* during the period 14–40 CE. If his career had begun already in 14 CE, it is very possible that there was already a third A. Umbricius Scaurus.
- 126 Curtis 1984, 561, 564. Bragantini 1997, 845–846, 885. Curtis mentions that 29 percent of all inscribed fish-sauce vessels are connected to the family of Scauri.
- 127 Della Corte 1954, 136.
- 128 CIL X 8146.
- 129 CIL IV 1136. CIL X 810, 812, 813. Gordon 1927, 179. Castrén 1975, 95.
- 130 Mazois 1824, 101. Niccolini & Niccolini 1862, Descrizione generale 29. Fiorelli 1875, 102. Della Corte 1954, 91–93. M. De Vos 1991, 967. Sampaolo 1993, 357. Allison 2001, 69.
- 131 Castrén 1975, 69, 133. Mouritsen 1988, 32, 34, 36, 109, 126. Mayer 2012, 47.

- 132 CIL IV 138. Sampaolo 1993, 357. Della Corte 1954, 93. Robinson (1997, 142) and Monteix (2010, 47, 351 n. 11) suggest that the *dipinto* also offered the *domus* for rent.
- 133 Sampaolo 1993, 357. Della Corte 1954, 93. The inscription with the rental announcement (CIL IV 138) mentions an enslaved person named Primus, and on the façade of the house there was an electoral notice (CIL IV 250) where one Ollius Primus is mentioned. Giordano (1974, 23) thinks that T. Olius with his wife Poppea Sabina (*maoir*) was living in the *Casa di Pansa* (VI,6,1), but he does not give any sources for his interpretation.
- 134 Pirson (1997, 168, 172) thinks that the inscription was also for renting out a *domus*, but he thinks that the *Casa di Pansa* (VI,6,1) was not rented. Mayer (2012, 48) instead thinks that the word *domus* is in the plural, but he suggests that Cn. Alleius Nigidius Maius was still interested on the *Casa di Pansa*, because it was being redecorated during the eruption, meaning that the house was not referred to in the advertisement.
- 135 Some advertisements for gladiatorial games (CIL IV 1177–1180) in the area of the Forum baths refer to one Cn. Alleius Nigidius Maius, but the highly public nature of this area probably led to the selection of the place, not its vicinity to the house.
- 136 Niccolini & Niccolini 1890, La Casa del Banchiere L. Caecilio Giocondo, 3. Niccolini & Niccolini 1896, Nuovi scavi dal 1874 a tutto il 1882 11–12. Dexter 1975, 45, 51, 170, 187–224, 249–250. Mouritsen 1988, 182 n. 60. A. De Vos 1991, 575. Jashemski 1993, 108–109 n. 168. Petersen 2006, 163. Carrella 2008, 68–69. Karivieri & Forsell 2015: <http://www.pompejiprojektet.se/house.php?hid=13&hidnummer=6388183&hrubrik=V%201,26%20Casa%20di%20Caecilius%20Iucundus%20-%20South%20House>. Last visited 26.7.2016. Lundqvist: http://www.pompejiprojektet.se/admin/rwdx/inscriptions/Casa_di_Caecilius_Iucundus-south.pdf, 3. Last visited 19.11.2016.
- 137 CIL IV 3428, 3433, 3473, 5788 X 860. Della Corte 1954, 81–82 nn. 142–143. Mouritsen 1988, 181 n. 51, 182 nn. 55–60. Lundqvist: http://www.pompejiprojektet.se/admin/rwdx/inscriptions/Casa_di_Caecilius_Iucundus-south.pdf, 2–3, http://www.pompejiprojektet.se/admin/rwdx/inscriptions/Facade_Via_del_Vesuvio.pdf, 33, 36. Last visited 20.11.2016.
- 138 Della Corte 1954, 82. Karivieri 2014, 90–91. Lundqvist: http://www.pompejiprojektet.se/admin/rwdx/inscriptions/Casa_di_Caecilius_Iucundus-south.pdf, 2–3. Last visited 19.11.2016.
- 139 CIL X 891. Gordon 1927, 180. Della Corte 1954, 81 n. 3. Dexter 1975, 224–225, 238–239, 249–251. Castrén 1975, 145. Carrella 2008, 68–69. Della Corte does not think that the father of L. Caecilius Iucundus was mentioned in the herm inscription.
- 140 Gordon 1927, 180. Della Corte 1954, 81 n. 3. Castrén 1975, 145. Petersen 2006, 166.
- 141 A. De Vos 1991, 576. Carrella 2008, 68–69. The sons were involved in politics, at least as supporters of L. Ceius Secundus (CIL IV 3433, Lundqvist: http://www.pompejiprojektet.se/admin/rwdx/inscriptions/Facade_Via_del_Vesuvio.pdf, 36, Last visited 5.1.2017), which indicates their active role in society, but does not in itself demonstrate that L. Caecilius Iucundus was inactive. See Petersen 2006, 166.
- 142 Dexter 1975, 224–225, 238–239, 249–251.
- 143 CIL IV 935g, 3697, 5373, 5650. Gordon 1927, 177. Della Corte 1954, 177 n. 426a–e. Dwyer 1982, 69–70. Mouritsen 1988, 16–17, 181 n. 51. Bragantini 1999, 824. D’Acunto 2008, 186. Mouritsen (1988, 182 n. 60) names Caprasius without a *praee-* or *cognomen*.
- 144 On A. Vettius Caprasius Felix, see Mouritsen 1988, 156, Castrén 1975, 239. On the common occurrence of the *cognomen* Felix, see Castrén 1975, 262.
- 145 Gordon 1927, 177. Della Corte 1954, 177. Dwyer 1982, 69.
- 146 Dwyer 1982, 70.
- 147 Della Corte 1954, 178. Dwyer 1982, 70.
- 148 Dwyer 1982, 70.

- 149 CIL X 805. Castrén 1975, 149.
- 150 CIL IV 7429, 7605, 7614, 7617–7619, 7624, 7627, 7630, 7632, 7658, 7927, 8815, 8824. Della Corte 1954, 287–288 n. 739a–p. Mouritsen 1988, 19, 52, 182 nn. 60, 62, 207–208 n. 427. M. De Vos 1991, 966.
- 151 On the commonness of the *cognomen* Valens, see Castrén 1975, 262–263.
- 152 CIL IV 7605, 7617. Castrén 1975, 42, 230–231. Mouritsen 1988, 46, 53, 135, 153–154, 191 n. 182.
- 153 CIL X 8071₁₁. Bonucci 1830, 179–180.
- 154 Fiorelli 1875, 114. Della Corte 1954, 35–36 nn. 31a, 32, 405 n. 3, 408 n. 55. Fiorelli proposes that one person was living upstairs and the other downstairs. Della Corte thinks that L. Laelius Trophimus and L. Laelius Erastus were the house owners, and Della Corte suggests that P. Antistius Maximus was renting a part of the house.
- 155 Niccolini & Niccolini 1862, Descrizione generale, 31. Fiorelli 1875, 113.
- 156 Della Corte 1954, 35. Cfr. Mouritsen 1988, 20.
- 157 Castrén (1975, 180–181) has already proposed the possibility that L. Laelius Trophimus was a freedman of L. Laelius Fuscus.
- 158 Bonucci (1830, 179–180) vaguely places the electoral inscription on the outside western wall of the *Casa di Meleagro* (VI,9,2/13), where it would be opposite the *Casa dell'Argenteria* (VI,7,20/22). CIL IV 179 lists its location as being on the left side of the entrance VI.9.1, where it would not be opposite the *Casa dell'Argenteria*.
- 159 Castrén 1975, 251.
- 160 Mouritsen (1988, 15, 181 n. 42) states that the family can be identified from other sources. He is referring to seal stamps (Della Corte 1954, 405 n. 3, 408 n. 55), and he probably means the family Laelii.
- 161 Castrén 180–181.
- 162 CIL IV 3537, 4615, 6678. Sogliano 1897, 23. Mouritsen 1988, 18, 182 n. 60. Sampaolo 1994, 580. Carrella 2008, 99.
- 163 Della Corte 1954, 53. Sampaolo 1994, 580.
- 164 Sogliano 1896 228–229. Della Corte 1954, 52 nn. 80, 81, 82.
- 165 Castrén 1975, 211. Mouritsen 1988, 149.
- 166 CIL IV 7314, 7315, 9437, 9493a–b. Della Corte 1954, 262–265 nn. 647–648. Mouritsen 1988, 18, 163, 182 n. 60, 211 n. 486. Zanker 1998, 175, 177.
- 167 Della Corte 1954, 263–264. Zanker 1998, 175, 177. Castrén (1975, 158) also states that Cornelius Tages was a wine merchant, but he was referring to C. Cornelius Tages, not P. Cornelius Tages.
- 168 Castrén 2019, 17–19.
- 169 CIL IV 7288, 7290, 7291, 7295, 8194a–b, 9614b, 9615, 9616. Della Corte 1954, 270–271 n. 672e, 673g–n. Mouritsen 1988, 182 n. 60.
- 170 CIL IV 7275, 7278, 7279, 7280, 7284. Della Corte 1954, 270–271 n. 672a–d, f. Mouritsen 1988, 182 n. 60.
- 171 Della Corte 1954, 270.
- 172 CIL IV 7275, 7279, 7290.
- 173 CIL IV 7555, 7556, 7557, 7563, 7564, 7766, 7995, 8497b, 9888. Della Corte 1954, 318–321 n. 810–813. Mouritsen 1988, 19, 182 n. 62.
- 174 Castrén 1975, 186. Mouritsen 1988, 35, 141, 208 n. 434, 209–210 n. 452.
- 175 M. De Vos 1991, 967. Peters & Moormann 1993b, 411–412.
- 176 CIL IV 6797, 6799.
- 177 CIL IV 6613, 6625, 6626, 6633, 6637, 6795, 6796. Sogliano 1901, 163. Mau 1901, 334. Della Corte 1954, 7–8 n. a–h. Mouritsen 1988, 182 n. 60. M. De Vos 1991, 967. Moormann & Wynia 1993, 383. Peters & Moormann 1993b, 411.
- 178 M. De Vos 1991, 967.
- 179 See Section 7.1.
- 180 Peters & Moormann 1993b, 411–412.
- 181 On persons with the *cognomen* Fronto, see Castrén 1975, 252.

- 182 Castrén 1975, 64. Mouritsen 1988, 28–29. See Section 7.1.
- 183 CIL IV 3403, 3408, 4049. Mouritsen 1988, 182 n. 60. Lundqvist: http://www.pompejiprojektet.se/admin/rwdx/inscriptions/Casa_degli_Epigrammi_Greci.pdf, 7. Last visited 10.1.2017; http://www.pompejiprojektet.se/admin/rwdx/inscriptions/Facade_Via_del_Vesuvio.pdf, 12, 17. Last visited 10.1.2017.
- 184 Della Corte 1954, 79–80 n. 134–136d.
- 185 On the seal stamp, Della Corte 1954, 410 n. 93.
- 186 CIL IV 696, 765, 1032 1048, 1049, 1059, 2395, 2400f, 2401, 2408c. Fiorelli 1875, 373. Sampaolo 1998, 956.
- 187 Della Corte 1954, 203–208 n. 489–496c. Mouritsen 1988, 19, 182 n. 62.
- 188 Della Corte (9154, 205 n. 429–493o) states that the Latin and Oscan graffiti with the name Sabinus (CIL IV 2395) are in the atrium of house IX,1,20, but the CIL locates them in the peristyle of house IX,1,22/29. Schöne (1867, 47–48) and Fiorelli (1875, 373) report that the Oscan graffito was in the atrium of house IX,1,22/29.
- 189 On the commonness of the name Sabinus, see Castrén 1975, 262–263.
- 190 Castrén 1975, 117, 164–165. Mouritsen 1988, 133–134. Cicala 2014, 237 n. 23.
- 191 Castrén 1975, 64. Mouritsen 1988, 28–29.
- 192 Castrén 1975, 117, 164.
- 193 Cicala 2014, 236–237.
- 194 CIL IV 3471, 3477, 3480, 3481, 3482, 4512, CIL X 820. Viola 1879, 22. Della Corte 1954, 11–12. Narciso 1994, 264.
- 195 Mouritsen 1988, 183–184 n. 78.
- 196 Castrén 1975, 262. See also Flohr 2013, 301.
- 197 Fiorelli 1875, 451–452. Gordon 1927, 170. Jashemski 1993, 33 n. 27. Della Corte 1954, 11. Mouritsen 1988, 182 n. 59.
- 198 CIL IV 4012. Fiorelli 1875, 452.
- 199 CIL IV 4014.
- 200 CIL IV 3477, 3478. Possibly also CIL IV 3480, 3481. See Flohr 2013, 300–301.
- 201 CIL IV 7231. Della Corte 1954, 261 n. 645a. Mouritsen 1988, 182 n. 60.
- 202 CIL IV 8156b, 8159a. The first graffito seems to have only the letters *am*, and the second one has writing in the second row, but the few letters do not continue the name *Amandus*.
- 203 Della Corte 1954, 261 n 645c–d.
- 204 CIL IV 805, 917. Niccolini & Niccolini 1854, Casa di Sirico, 1–2. Fiorelli 1862b, 3–5; 1875, 169, 181. Della Corte 1954, 5–7 n. a–d. Mouritsen 1988, 181 n. 40, 42, 182 n. 60. M. De Vos 1991, 967. Bragantini 1996, 228. Serpe 2008, 113. The seal stamps with only one name are quite rare (see Della Corte 1954, 405 n. 2, 7, 407 n. 39, 409 n. 71). See Section 7.1.
- 205 CIL IV 910 has name P. Vedius Numm..., but it seems to be on the wall of the neighboring house (Fiorelli 1862b, 4).
- 206 Castrén 1975, 256, 260.
- 207 CIL IV 916.
- 208 CIL IV 805b. Fiorelli 1862b, 17. Niccolini & Niccolini 1854, Casa di Sirico, 3.
- 209 Fiorelli 1875, 169.
- 210 Della Corte 1954, 6 n. 2.
- 211 On P. Vedius Siricus' career, see Castrén 1975, 234–235, Mouritsen 1988, 111, 154–155.
- 212 Mouritsen 1988, 182 n. 60 n. 62, 193 n. 200. Bragantini 2003, 184.
- 213 Della Corte 1954, 278–279 n. 708b–d. See also Allison 2001, 64–65, Painter 2001, 34–35, 38.
- 214 Fiorelli 1875, 79. The identification is based solely on a graffito, and it is not reliable.
- 215 Giordano 1974, 26. De Franciscis 2001, 222.
- 216 8. Feb. 1973, Fergola 2001, 122–123. Giordano 1974, 25–26. De Franciscis 2001, 215, 222. Allison 2001, 65–66. Bragantini 2003, 184.

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- 217 CIL IV 7316. Della Corte 1954, 279 n. 708e. Mouritsen 1988, 182 n. 60.
- 218 CIL IV 7941, 7942, 7945, 7954, 7956, 7957. Mouritsen 1988, 182 n. 60 n. 62, 193 n. 200. Allison 2001, 65.
- 219 Castrén 1975, 257.
- 220 Mouritsen 1988, 52.
- 221 23. Mag. 1973, Fergola 2001, 136. 25. Mag. 1973, Fergola 2001, 136. Della Corte 1954, 279 n. 708a–e. Giordano 1974, 27–28. Bragantini 2003, 229. Allison (2001, 65–66) states some of these are graffiti, but Giordano reports that they are written with red paint, which indicates that they were electoral notices. The notice has only the abbreviation CIP, so it could be interpreted as referring to C. Julius Philippus as well. However, he is not known as a candidate (see Mouritsen 1988, 110, 139), and therefore the abbreviation very likely refers to C. Julius Polybius.
- 222 Allison 2001, 63–64.
- 223 De Franciscis 2001, 219–221.
- 224 Della Corte 1954, 279. Giordano 1974, 26.
- 225 Jashemski 1979, 26.
- 226 8. Feb. 1973, Fergola 2001, 122–123. De Franciscis 2001, 215. Allison 2001, 66. Bragantini 2003, 184.
- 227 On the candidacy of C. Julius Polybius, see Castrén 1975, 178–179, Mouritsen 1988, 110, 139. On the matter of serving as an aedile before holding the office of *duumvir*, see Castrén 1975, 64, Mouritsen 1988, 28–29.
- 228 E.g. the *Casa di D. Octavius Quartio* (II,2,2) see Della Corte 1954, 308–313 n. 800 and M. De Vos 1991, 43, house VI,14,39 see Mau 1878, 96 and Della Corte 1954, 67–68 n. 111 and the *Casa di M. Spurius Saturninus e di D. Volcius Modestus* (VII,6,3) see Fiorelli 1860, I, 127. A seal stamp was discovered between entrances 37 and 38 of insula VII,3 (Della Corte 1954, 407 n. 45), but this probably means that it was found on the street, not inside the house. The *Casa del Centauro* (VI,9,3/5) also had a seal stamp (Della Corte 1954, 38 n. 40) and a minor decoration peristyle (n. 112), but the house is ranked as a large full peristyle house.
- 229 CIL IV 4136, 5902. Sogliano 1896, 438. Della Corte 1954, 105 n. 208.209. Mouritsen 1988, 181 n. 51.
- 230 CIL IV 5902.
- 231 Mouritsen 1988, 17, 181 n. 51.
- 232 For a list of persons with the *cognomen* *Successus*, see Castrén 1975, 260.
- 233 For the identifications based only on graffiti found inside the house, see Niccolini & Niccolini 1896, *Nuovi scavi dal 1874 a tutto il 1882*, 3, Della Corte 1954, 97–98 n. 185, Lipizer & Loccardi 2009, 137–139 for the *Casa del Forno di ferro* (VI,13,6). For the identifications based only on the electoral notices, see Avellino 1844, 84–85 and Della Corte 1954, 130–133 n. 280–281 for the *Tintoria* VII,2,11–12. For the identifications based only on an amphora with text, see Della Corte 1954, 143 n. 313, Sampaolo 1997, 198 for house VII,6,30. For the identifications based only on seal stamps, see Della Corte 1954, 168 nn. 391–392, Bragantini 1997, 565, for the *Casa di L. Cornelius Diadumenus* (VII,12,26), and Fiorelli 1873, 49–50, Mau 1874, 96–97, Della Corte 1954, 144 nn. 319, 320, Serpe 2008, 141 for the *Casa di A. Octavius Primus* (VII,15,12–13). Della Corte (1954, 45 n. 56) thinks that the *gens* *Tintiria* was living in the *Casa del Naviglio* (VI,10,11), but Cassetta (2006, 310) has demonstrated that the identification is shaky. On the lack of the sources to identify the owner of house IX,1,12, see also Gallo 2001, 25.
- 234 CIL IV 935b, 935d, 935h, 935i, 3159, 7669, 7670, 7671, 8845, 8851. Della Corte 1954, 178–179 n. 429a–f, 302 nn. 785–786. Jongman 1988, 354–355. Spinazzola 1953b, 689. Mouritsen 1988, 181 n. 52, 182 n. 60. A. De Vos 1991, 435. Mayer 2012, 55. T. Dentatius Panthera is also suggested as the owner of house IX,2,16 on the basis of a seal stamp (Della Corte 1954, 178 n. 428, Niccolini & Niccolini 1862,

- Descrizione generale, 72, Fiorelli 1875, 381, Sampaolo 1999, 1, see also Mouritsen 1988, 15, 181 n. 42).
- 235 CIL IV 9481. Maiuri 1929, 398, 427. Della Corte 1954, 237–238 n. 577a-b. Mouritsen 1988, 181 n. 50. M. De Vos 1990, 361.
- 236 Maiuri 1929, 427. There are the letters STKA and a possible L in Maiuri's picture.
- 237 Niccolini & Niccolini 1862, Descrizione generale, 70. Fiorelli 1873, 89; 1875, 371. Mouritsen 1988, 182 n. 62. D'Acunto 2008, 162. Gallo 2013, 205. Della Corte (1954, 204) thinks that they were both house owners.
- 238 See above.
- 239 Schöne 1867, 45. Fiorelli 1873, 89. Breton 1870, 482. Della Corte 1954, 204 nn. 490–493, 407 n. 38. Gallo 2013, 166.
- 240 See Castrén 1975, 164–165. Castrén (1975, 25) has a question mark after the letter M, indicating the unreliability of the praenomen.
- 241 CIL IV 2408a. Minervini 1858, 188. On the commonness of the cognomen Rufus, see Castrén 1975, 259, 262.
- 242 CIL X 879. Niccolini & Niccolini 1862, Descrizione generale, 46. Breton 1870, 407. Fiorelli 1875, 207. Sampaolo 1996, 902, 916.
- 243 Curtis 1984, 565.
- 244 Della Corte 1954, 121–122.
- 245 See Section 7.2.2.
- 246 Cfr. CIL X 880 where the text indicates that the names are the mosaic makers. The signed painting in the *Casa di D. Octavius Quartio* (II,2,2) has the word *pinxit* (CIL IV 7535, Spinazzola 1953, 404). This makes one question if the mosaics should have something similar, but the other examples (CIL X 882, 8146, 8147) that Della Corte (1954, 122) interprets as the names of mosaic makers do not actually have the word *fecit*. It is only his assumption of the texts. In the CIL X 882 and 8146 it is possible, but neither of them actually has the entire word clearly visible.
- 247 Sampaolo 1996, 916.
- 248 The only possible examples, besides the *Casa di M. Spurius Mesor* (VII,3,29), are: house VI,5,10 (CIL X 880), the *Casa dei Capitelli colorati* (VII,4,31/51, CIL X 882), and house IX,6,4–7 (CIL X 8146, 8147). In house VI,5,10, the text probably indicates the makers of a mosaic emblem.
- 249 Of all of the floors listed in the Online Appendix only cubiculum 26 of the *Casa del Centenario* (IX,8,3/7), besides the room in the *Casa di M. Spurius Mesor* (VII,3,29), has a reported slate decoration (n. 245).
- 250 On the decoration of the house, see Sampaolo 1996, 902–942.
- 251 Sampaolo 1996, 902, 916.
- 252 Castrén 1975, 224.
- 253 Fiorelli 1973, 43. Sampaolo 1996, 902.
- 254 The *Caupona di Lucius Betutius (Vetutius) Placidus* (I,8,8) is listed as potential, but it is also possible to connect it to a proposed owner.
- 255 The *Caupona di Lucius Betutius (Vetutius) Placidus* (I,8,8) is listed as potential, but it is also possible to connect it to a proposed owner.
- 256 Mouritsen 1988, 181 n. 42.
- 257 Castrén 1975, 147, 157–158, 207–209, 240–241.
- 258 Savunen 1997, 50–51, 56–58, 78–79.
- 259 Robinson 1997, 135–136; 2017, 243–247. Mayer 2012, 51–52.
- 260 A similar approach as Kaiser 2011, 124.
- 261 Fiorelli 1875, 357. Della Corte 1954, 219. Jashemski 1993, 222 n. 457. Strocka 1994, 67. Sampaolo 1998, 718–719. Kuivalainen 2019, 68.
- 262 Fiorelli 1875, 115.
- 263 Sampaolo 1998, 956–957.
- 264 Bragantini 1997, 478.
- 265 Jashemski 1993, 97–98 nn. 154–155. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 463–464 n. 157.

- 266 Fiorelli 1875, 301. Jashemski 1993, 198 n. 389. Sampaolo 1997, 676. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 602–603 n. 390. Monteix 2017, 218–219 Fig. 7.2
- 267 See Monteix & al. 2019, paragraph 50. Additionally, there might have not been a connection between the peristyle and the former *fullonica* space, as the corridor was converted into a staircase (see Flohr 2013, 291).
- 268 Bustamante Álvarez & Ribera 2020, 34–37.
- 269 See Sections 3.2.3 and 6.7.
- 270 Bechi 1852, 17. Breton 1870, 387. Jashemski 1993, 231 n. 478. Laurence 1994, 63 Map 4.5.
- 271 Bragantini 1999, 128.
- 272 Fiorelli 1875, 180. Bragantini 1996, 299.
- 273 Laurence 1994, 55. Monteix 2017, 217, 218–219 Fig. 7.2. However, Laurence (1994, 58–59 Maps 4.1 & 4.2) does not consider this space to be a bakery.
- 274 Jashemski 1993, 54 n. 80.
- 275 Flohr 2013, 24–25.
- 276 See Sections 3.2.3 and 6.7.
- 277 On the amphorae and their links to commerce, see De Simone 1990, 964. On the large garden, see Jashemski 1993, 61–63 n. 107.
- 278 Sogliano 1901, 405. Jashemski 1993, 114 n. 186–187. Sampaolo 1998, 528. Ciarallo & Giordano 2012, 489 n. 191. Monteix 2017, 218–219 Figure 7.2.
- 279 Monteix 2017, 218–219 Figure 7.2. There is also a counter without cooking facilities (Ellis 2018, 68), but it was likely for selling the goods of the workshop, and therefore this is not counted as a bar.
- 280 See Section 7.2.
- 281 See Section 7.2.2.
- 282 Loccardi 2009, 66, 77–78.
- 283 Loccardi 2009, 77–78.
- 284 Mau 1883, 229.
- 285 Curtis 1984, 565.
- 286 See Section 6.7.
- 287 Fiorelli 1875, 177. Curtis 1984, 565. Bragantini 1996, 230–231.
- 288 Barone 1870, col. 9.
- 289 Trendelenburg 1871, 177.
- 290 Della Corte 1927, 104. Spinazzola 1953b, 690, 707–708. A. De Vos 1991, 435.
- 291 Sogliano 1881, 322. Mau 1883, 174–175. See also Bragantini 1998, 569.
- 292 Peña and McCallum 2009, 193.
- 293 Laurence 1994, 52.
- 294 Sogliano 1882, 279–280. Sampaolo 1998, 572.
- 295 Sogliano 1889, 125–126. Sampaolo 2003, 131.
- 296 Bonucci 1827, 99. Fiorelli 1860, I, 253–254.
- 297 Berg 2019c, 171.
- 298 Monteix 2017, 218–219 Fig. 7.2.
- 299 I have defined a bar by the existence of a masonry counter, which is often used as an identification criterion, although other features, such as limited size and a wide door, are used as additional criteria (see e.g. Poehler 2017b, 166, Monteix 2010, 89–113; 2017, 217, 221–222 Ellis 2004, 373–375; 2018, 62–76). I will use the modern term bar, although it might have too modern connotations for some (see Monteix 2010, 92).
- 300 Monteix 2017, 218–219 Fig. 7.2. Della Corte (1954, 227), A. De Vos (1990, 38) and Inserra (2008, 22–23) think there was a brothel. McGinn (2002, 36–37) considers this to be more likely a brothel. However, Laurence (1994, 77 Map 5.1) does not.
- 301 The architectural peristyle houses with a bar: *Casa della Grata metallica* (I,2,28), houses I,3,20, I,9,12, I,14,1/12, II,8,2/3, *Casa dei cinque scheletri* (VI,10,2), house IX,9,1. Additionally, house V,1,15 had a counter, but no cooking facilities

- (Monteix 2017, 218–219 Figure 7.2, Ellis 2018, 67). A likely option was that the space was used to sell baking goods made in the house.
- 302 For example, Monteix’s (2017, 218–219 Figure 7.2) type 5 (Restaurants without facilities).
- 303 Se e.g. Monteix 2017, 224–230.
- 304 Viitanen & Ynnilä 2014, 144, 147 fig. 4. See also, Van Nes 2011, 105–106, Flohr 2021, 198 and Zanella 2021, 291. Eschebach & Eschebach (1993) have identified several shops in Pompeii.
- 305 See the detailed analysis of the door mechanisms of possible shops in Herculaneum made by Monteix 2010, 56–61.
- 306 Richardson 1955, 79. On the location of transportation properties in Pompeii, see Poehler 2011, 200, Table 8.2.
- 307 The *Panificio di Sotericus* (I,12,1/2) and the *Casa del Granduca di Toscana* (IX,2,27) does not have a room that could be identified as a *fauces* leading to the street. Nevertheless, they have an entrance room and another room that can be defined as a possible shop, and are therefore included in the calculation.
- 308 E.g. the following spaces opening onto a street might have had a commercial function, but they are excluded in this study: I,2,19, I,15,2, II,3,1–2, V,2,e, VI,5,1–2, VI,7,4–5, VI,9,13, VI,10,9, VI,14,16–17, VI,15,7, VI,15,27, VII,2,24, VII,2,40, VII,2,42, VII,6,4, VII,6,37, VII,11,7–8, VIII,2,4–5, VIII,3,28, IX,14,c. For example, house VII,11,7–8 has a masonry structure that Ellis (2018, 68) has listed as a counter, however Monteix (2017, 218–219 Fig. 7.2) does not. It is possible that the structure is related to business activity, but as this is unclear, I have decided not to take it into account.
- 309 For an exception, see e.g. entrance I,10,17.
- 310 Mayer 2012, 30. Viitanen & Ynnilä 2014, 146, 152.
- 311 See Section 7.2.1.
- 312 Monteix 2010, 351–352, 358–359.

8 Conclusion

Pompeian peristyle gardens have long been thought of as spaces for the socio-economic representation of their house owners, likely because earlier research has focused heavily on the most decorated gardens and largest peristyles. However, having examined all of the 252 peristyles of Pompeii, there is a remarkable number of peristyles that do not have much evidence to support the assumption that they were actually planned for such a purpose, for example, the peristyles defined as minor decoration and architectural peristyles in this study.

The peristyle had a vital role in the practical functioning of a Pompeian and Roman house. It was a source of light and air, and it guided the movement inside the house. These were some of the primary reasons to build a peristyle. Yet, it was also a relatively large space, and was therefore unsurprisingly harnessed for additional purposes, such as small-scale industry, cult activity, commercial activities, water distribution, different types of household work, banqueting, and – of course – display. As a matter of fact, only about 15 percent of all peristyles do not have any evidence of these additional functions, and even this proportion is probably too high, as many of the peristyles in this 15 percent had puteals, shelves, terracotta sculpture, and other indicators that would suggest that they probably had additional functions – not to mention the many potential activities that are invisible in archaeological record.¹ It is easy to imagine several daily life activities taking place in and around the peristyle, as it was a good light source, and many of these activities do not leave material traces, or even if they might have done so their traces were not documented.

The multifunctional nature of the peristyle is underlined by the factor that there is not a single human activity that was dominant for this space, such as cooking is for a kitchen. Water supply and display functions are present in many peristyles, but their rate of occurrence is still not frequent enough to be considered the dominant function of peristyles in general. A peristyle could encompass several activities simultaneously, and it was also possibly to make use of its space for different purposes at different times.

This multifunctionality makes the peristyle an excellent venue for display purposes, as it situates a large number of people in the space at various times for

various reasons. The peristyle was utilized and visited by persons of different status, genders, backgrounds, and ages, including people working and completing everyday household tasks and people simply loitering or spending time in the peristyle, such as guests and visitors. Moreover, a large number of people passed through the peristyle to reach other parts of the house.

The number of persons who could look at or into the peristyle was likely higher than the number of visitors, providing that the visibility was not blocked from the other parts of the house or street. This combination of a steady level of observation and visits secured an audience for display, making the peristyle an exceptional space for the house owners to show off their social and economic status. Additionally, the relatively large space offered several options to do so. However, as mentioned at the beginning, not all of the peristyles were necessary utilized and planned for this purpose.

Even though almost anything relating to human actions can be interpreted as a status indicator, not everything was utilized or functioned equally well for that purpose. For instance, the building techniques and materials used do not seem to indicate the peristyle owner's wealth or social standing in Pompeii – although a detailed further examination of building techniques and materials, with a larger body of source material, would be beneficial for this inquiry.

An extensive examination of sources reveals that the best and most widely used tools to display socioeconomic status were the size of peristyle, the number of porticoes, pools and basins, fountains, sculptures, wall paintings, and decorated portico floors. The height of the peristyle was not as relevant as the ground area, and a four-portico peristyle indicates a distinctively higher level of wealth than any other number of colonnades. However, the decorative elements offered a method of display that was easier to execute than architectural alteration of the peristyle space.

The listed means offer a good and comprehensive picture of how the peristyles were harnessed for display purposes, but without a doubt plantings could also have been utilized for the same purpose. Nonetheless, the current source situation for plants and planting patterns is incomplete, and it is impossible to conclude what type of plantings were normal in Pompeian gardens – and consequently what types and methods were meant to stand out and demonstrate wealth. Several scholars are currently studying the plants and plantings of ancient gardens, and this is definitely an area where further investigation is needed.² However, it will also require much time before the material is extensive enough to conclude something beyond isolated examples or small samples.

The various means of display were utilized differently, but a comparison of the peristyles reveals groups where similar methods were used. The first group applied almost all of the tools possible. I have named them opulent peristyles. The second group, the large full peristyles, is similar to the first group but not equally extravagant, and mostly lacked the numerous decorative items in their gardens. In contrast, the third group – the ornamental peristyles – relied on a large quantity of statues or fountains as the best way to display status. The owners of the large painting peristyles wanted a huge painting of animals, gardens, or landscapes on

their peristyle wall, while the imitation peristyles reflected the idea of a full peristyle as it might be executed in smaller sizes. Minor decoration and architectural peristyles barely used the listed methods of display, suggesting that it was not a key function in these cases – perhaps in these groups the existence of the peristyle alone was enough to display status.

My analysis of the possibility of harnessing peristyles for display supports my classifications. The opulent peristyles were in the houses with options to prioritize a space mainly for display purposes, while the houses with an architectural peristyle rarely had this option, as the house structure required that the peristyle area had to be used for several other purposes. A comparison with the other activities that likely took place in the peristyle also indicates that the decorated peristyles seldom included industrial, commercial, cooking, or toilet activities, reinforcing their status as prioritized display spaces. However, other functions such as cult activity and water supply were still common in these peristyles.

The peristyle groups also correspond to the economic level of the peristyle owners, as demonstrated by the control studies for luxury architecture and house area. The opulent peristyles were – on a general level – owned by the economic elite of the city, and the owners of the large full peristyles were similarly owned by the economic upper class of the peristyle owners. The ornamental peristyles correspond mostly to the upper middle strata of the peristyle owners, while the large painting, imitation, and minor decoration peristyles are classified as the middle echelon in general. The architectural peristyles correspond mostly with the lower economic group, as compared to the other peristyle owners. As with any classification, however, this is a rough estimate, and there are variations inside the groups; it might be that some examples from one group of peristyles might be very similar to those in other groups, but largely the groups correspond to the owner's level of wealth.

The grouping of the peristyles was based on the archaeological sources – the sharing of similar features was the foundation of the groups. This method avoids the pitfalls of using arbitrary criteria that are based mainly on assumptions or guessing, such as setting the size limit at 1,000 m² or dividing the material into quartiles.³ All classification systems have problems, and are on some level arbitrary, and therefore it would be irrational to think that exactly similar groups existed in the minds of actual Pompeians. However, the Pompeians, with their own experience of houses and peristyles, could surely recognize that some features were more typical of a certain economic standing and would associate them with groups similar to ours; a result which is unlikely – or even impossible – with purely arbitrary classifications.

A peristyle does not necessarily reflect the actual wealth or social position of its owner. It could even have been used to make an impression of a higher, or perhaps lower, social position – as some members of Roman society appreciated modesty.⁴ There are 23 houses where the peristyle might represent a too modest level of wealth, at least when compared to the impression made by the rest of the house (Fig. 8.1). This assumption is based on the existence of the luxury architecture in these houses (Table 2.2).⁵ Additionally, the peristyle of the *Casa*



Figure 8.1 Location of houses with a peristyle. Darker color indicates a higher economic status. The different colored rings around the dots signify that the house architecture indicates that the image given by the peristyle should be upgraded or downgraded. If the ring is darker, it means that the house architecture indicates higher status than the peristyle. If the ring is lighter, it indicates that the house in general does not match the status reflected by the peristyle.

di D. Octavius Quartio might create an overly humble image compared to the rest of the house, and although the *Casa di D. Octavius Quartio* did not have luxury architecture as defined in this study, it had a vast sunken garden, which probably sent a message of wealth. In contrast, the peristyle of the *Complesso dei Riti magici* (II,1,12) probably transmitted a picture of a wealthier inhabitant than the house overall did, as the house has very few roofed rooms, which actually also brings into question whether the building was a private house at all.

The distribution of the houses with a peristyle is illustrated in Figure 8.1. They are found throughout the excavated area of Pompeii, excluding a few insulae such as VIII,5 and IX,4 – which are dominated by bath complexes – and insulae in the southeast part of Pompeii that are dominated by large gardens. All of the peristyle types, and by association the economic statuses that they represent, can be found throughout the excavated area of the city. There is a slight concentration of houses reflecting higher economic status on the west and north sides of the city. The east-west division of the city, however, is problematic, as the unexcavated areas are only on the east side. Nonetheless, the map indicates that wealthy homes were unequally distributed in the city: the northern side seems to be richer than the south. This is confirmed by Figure 8.2, where the houses are divided according to streets. Its division shows that the lower middle and middle class houses are more numerous on the south side, and elite houses are more numerous on the north side.

The houses with a peristyle are mainly situated along the main streets, such as the *Via dell'Abbondanza*, *Via Stabiana* (and *Via del Vesuvio*), *Via Consolare*, *Via della Fortuna* (and *Via di Nola* and *Via delle Terme*), and *Via Stabiana*. These streets belong to Laurence's category of those that had the highest occurrence of

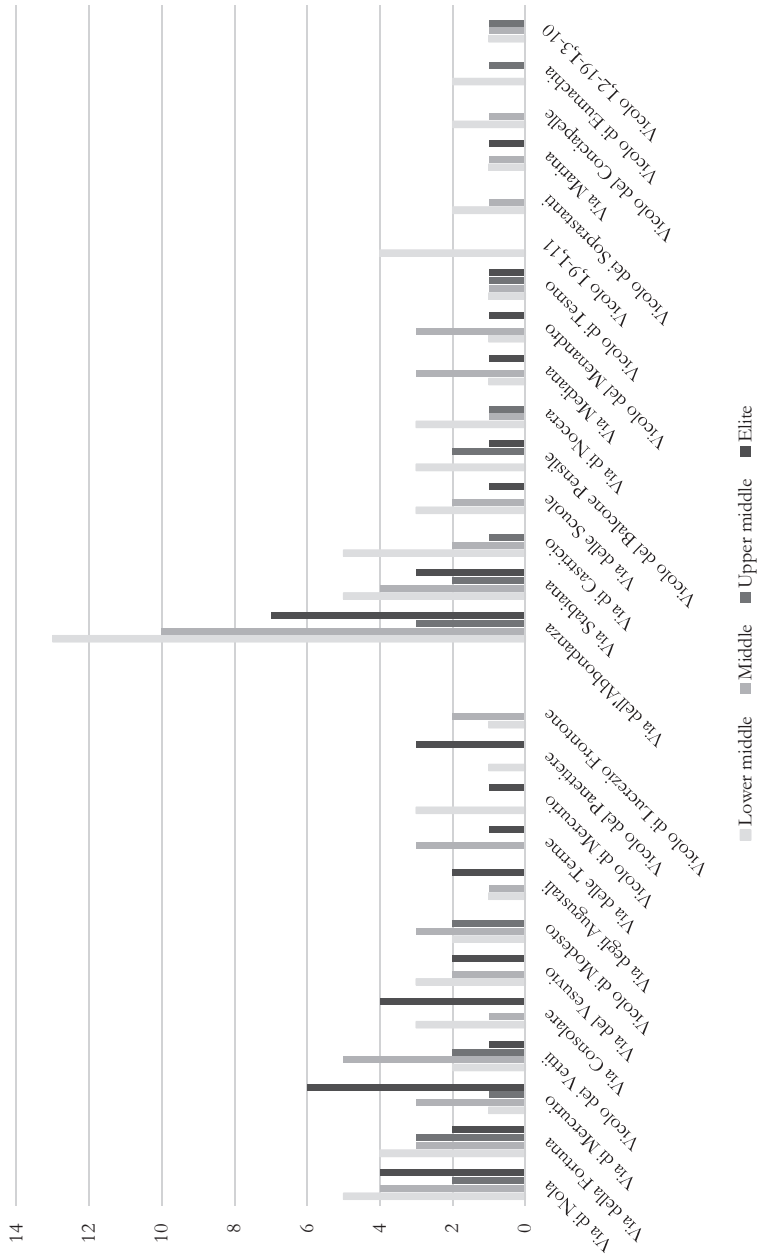


Figure 8.2 Distribution of houses with a peristyle, according to their streets. The chart includes only the streets that had more than two houses featuring a peristyle. The houses are divided according to their economic status, as defined in Section 6.1 and Figure 8.2. The displayed ranking is between the houses with a peristyle, not all of the houses of Pompeii. The streets on the north side of the city are shown on the left, and the streets on the south side are on the right.

doorways, every 0–5 meters. Almost 70 percent (156) of all houses with a peristyle are on streets that belonged to this category. Laurence's next group, with doors every 6–10 meters, has 42 houses with a peristyle. All of the peristyle types (Chapter 5) and socioeconomic categories (Fig. 8.1) are clearly present in both groups. However, in the next group – with doors every 11–15 meters – the number of elite and upper middle class houses is low: two of each. On the other hand, these groups are smaller than the lower middle and middle class, which partly explains this. In the last group, with doors spaced greater than 15 meters apart, the absence of the two highest groups is clear; the *Casa degli amanti* is the only house belonging to these groups on a street where the doorways are so far apart. Nevertheless, this group has only eight houses with a peristyle.⁶

Two conclusions can be made from these distribution patterns. First, the wealthier Pompeians seem to have preferred to locate their houses on somewhat busier streets. These streets probably offered a larger audience for social display, which may have been one factor that favored these locations. Second, the availability of land was apparently not a major factor when constructing large and decorated peristyles. The large (the opulent and large full) peristyles are numerous on the west side of the *Via Stabiana*, where the city is densely built, whereas the not-so-densely built southeast corner of Pompeii does not feature many of these types of houses with a peristyle.

What outside influences might have affected the Pompeian peristyles? The wealthiest Pompeians preferred a large garden with four porticoes. Was this adopted from the example of the *villae*, or perhaps from Rome? The archaeological evidence for houses and their peristyles in Rome is very scarce – particularly so before 79 CE. It is thus impossible to conclude on this basis that they were a model for the Pompeian peristyles. The neighboring *villae* in the area of Vesuvius had a few similar peristyle gardens, but the timeline is problematic. The first example of this type of peristyle in the Roman world is the southern peristyle of the *Casa del Fauno*, and therefore it would be logical to see it as a model for other peristyles. Yet, the evidence is so sporadic that it is not reasonable to assume that it was actually the first private peristyle garden of the Roman world. It can be speculated that peristyle gardens had their precedents in Greek and Hellenistic private architecture, but here we stumble on the problems regarding the evidence for gardens. It is almost non-existent, making the connection with Pompeian peristyle gardens very speculative.⁷ In general, an open courtyard is such a common feature of ancient Mediterranean public and private architecture that prototypes for peristyles exist all around the sea, and it is almost impossible to define where the idea of a peristyle was developed and how it was spread. Yet, this is an area that needs further examination.

Fountain niches, sculpture collections, large paintings, and multiple fountains appear only very occasionally in the largest peristyles of Pompeii, but they are much more frequent in the medium-sized pseudo-peristyles. The owners of these decorative elements were positioned mainly in the economic middle class. The rareness of multiple or large decorative items in the top peristyle indicates that this was not a commonly adopted method of display in the upper class, and it was likely a means of display innovated by the middle class.

The evidence supporting the top-down model of influence is very thin, and the model does not seem to work well in Pompeii. However, it is still likely that some ideas moved from the upper class to the lower classes in Pompeii, and the imitation peristyles are one possible example of this. The imitation peristyles aim to create the impression of the basic idea of the top peristyles: creating a space with four colonnades, or at least an illusion of it. On the other hand, it is possible that the imitation peristyles took their model from somewhere else – and perhaps this same model inspired the Pompeian upper class. Be that as it may, these peristyles likely were imitating something – whether it was the Pompeian elite or other buildings of the Roman world.

Pompeian archaeological material tells us mostly about the relative wealth of homes, and connecting social, political, legal, or ethnic statuses with the houses has proven to be difficult. In a few cases a house owner can be very likely identified, and occasionally with not such a high level of certainty. The cases are so few that not much can be said on their basis about what type of peristyles were typical for a certain social group. However, these few cases do not conflict with the assumption that the socio-political elite had ostentatious peristyles; likely the social elite were among the wealthiest peristyle owners, but it cannot be said that all of the wealthiest peristyles were owned by the social and political elite of the city.

Can we talk about the middle class when we talk about the Pompeian peristyles? Owning an architectural peristyle likely did not make a large impression among the other peristyle owners, but on a broader level – comparing the owner's status with the other inhabitants of Pompeii, or the entire Roman Empire – it would place these individuals safely in the economic middle class, or likely even in the upper middle class. However, we cannot state that all of the peristyle owners of Pompeii belonged to the economic group situated between the rich and poor. Some of them may have been among the wealthiest Romans – but demonstrating this is beyond the available source material. The material, on the contrary, suggests that the top political elite of the Roman world were not featured among the Pompeians. It is possible that the discovery of additional sources in the future will change this view, but even in that case the possible number of persons with a senatorial background in Pompeii would still remain very low, because if it was significant it would have likely been visible already in the sources. Consequently, even the wealthiest Pompeians who were eminent in some arenas of local life, such as politics and social standing, likely did not belong to the top Roman elite.

Was there something shared in common within the group of Pompeian peristyle owners, other than a loose standing between the rich and the poor? The connection with business activities exists in all of the peristyle groups, and there was apparently no need to hide it. However, the connection is not so strong that we could state that business activities were the common identity marker for this group. It was likely a part of every peristyle owner's income, but the individual house owner's role in it remains unclear – were they primarily just renting the space, or were they more actively involved in the commercial tasks?

This study was not focused on the ancient middle class as a sort of heterogeneous group, but rather was about the ancient middle classes – in plural as is suggested by the title of Mayer’s book. The Pompeian peristyle owners were a diverse group with various needs, means, and goals, as I have demonstrated repeatedly. However, they do have one thing in common; they belong to a group situated somewhere between the top elite – those that are often at the center of Roman literary sources – and the lowest social groups, who sometimes might not even be clearly identifiable in the archaeological sources. The peristyle owners were likely aware of their position, and usually seemed content enough to display their status without the need to mask themselves as another (higher) social group.

A peristyle is only one part of the Roman and Pompeian house, and it is only one smaller part of ancient life as a whole. Our understanding of the sub-elites in the ancient world requires much more scholarly work, and this study hopes to offer one starting point for such. My reconstructions and analyses offer a body of comparative material that will hopefully be useful when we reach deeper into the Roman social strata, for example for a study of other types of gardens or houses, which would be hugely beneficial for our understanding of both Pompeian and Roman society as a whole.

Notes

- 1 The peristyles that were possibly used only for architectural purposes: nn. 2, 4, 31, 32, 35, 36, 41, 48, 53, 58, 69, 75, 76, 77, 90, 91, 92, 93, 116, 119, 129, 132, 140, 143, 145, 154, 167, 172, 184, 192, 198, 200, 204, 211, 212, 236.
- 2 See, for example, the *Casa della Regina Carolina* Project (see Barrett, Gleason & Marzano 2020) and the website of Gardens of the Roman Empire (<https://roman-gardens.github.io/home/>).
- 3 See Flohr 2017, 55 on this matter.
- 4 See e.g. Raimondi Cominesi 2018, 712–715, 719–727.
- 5 *Casa del Criptoportico* (I,6,2), *Casa dei Quadretti teatrali* (I,6,11), *Casa dell'Efebo* (I,7,11/19), *Casa detta di Trebius Valens* (III,2,1), *Casa del Toro* (V,1,7), *Casa di L. Caecilius Lucundus* (V,1,26), House V,2,15, *Casa di Sallustio* (VI,2,4), House VI,5,4, *Casa dell'Argenteria* (VI,7,20/22), *Casa della Fontana piccola* (VI,8,23/24), *Casa dei cinque scheletri* (VI,10,2), *Casa di Sirico* (VII,1,25/47), *Panificio di Terentius Neo* (VII,2,3), *Casa delle Quadrighe* (VII,2,25), *Casa delle Nozze di Ercole* (VII,9,47), House VII,14,9, *Casa di Ma. Castricius* (VII,16,17), House VIII,2,29–30, *Casa di M. Epidius Sabinus* (IX,1,22/29), *Casa di Marcus Lucretius* (IX,3,5/24), House IX,5,14–16, *Casa di Polibio* (IX,13,1–3).
- 6 On the occurrence of the doorways, see Laurence 1994, 88–103.
- 7 On the gardens in Greek houses, see Bonini 2006. Dickmann (1999, 158) interprets the peristyle as a sign of influence coming from the Hellenistic *poleis*.



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