14 M. Ciaraldi and J. Richardson, "Food, ritual and rubbish in the making of Pompeii", in G. Fincham *et al.* (eds), *TRAC 99* (Proceedings of the ninth annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Durham 1999), Oxford, 2000, pp. 74–82; Robyn Veal, *pers. comm.*; M. Robinson "Domestic burnt offerings and sacrifices at Roman and pre-Roman Pompeii, Italy", *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany*, 2002, vol. 11, pp. 93–9.
15 See Schoonhoven, *Metrology*.
16 See above, n. 3.
17 See above, n. 3; also H. M. Parkins, "The 'consumer city' domesticated? The Roman city in élite economic strategies", in H. M. Parkins (ed.), *Roman Urbanism. Beyond the consumer city*, London, 1997, pp. 83–111; F. Pirson, "Rented accommodation at Pompeii: the *Insula Arriana Polliana*", in Laurence and Wallace-Hadrill, *Domestic Space*, pp. 165–81. See D. Robinson, "Re-thinking the social organisation of trade and industry in first century AD Pompeii", in A. MacMahon and J. Price (eds), *Roman Working Lives and Urban Living*, Oxford, 2005, pp. 88–105 for more information on property speculation and rental in Pompeii.
18 See R. I. Curtis, *Garum and Salsamenta: production and commerce in materia medica*, Leiden, 1991, for a discussion of the production of *garum* and related fish products. Dr Andrew Jones, University of Bradford, identified the fish remains. For a useful comparison also see A. I. Wilson, "Commerce and industry in Roman Sabratha", *Libyan Studies*, 1999, vol. 33, pp. 29–52.
19 Plin., *HN* 9.169–171.
20 App., *B Civ.* 1.50; Vell. Pat. 2.16.1–2; Plin., *HN* 3.70.
21 See above, n. 3; M. Burns, "Pompeii under siege: a missile assemblage from the Social War", *Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies*, forthcoming, for more information on the Sullan attack on Pompeii.
22 See A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*, Princeton, NJ, 1994, pp. 103–16, on "housefuls".
23 R. Ling, *The Insula of the Menander at Pompeii, vol. 1: the structures*, Oxford, 1997, pp. 105–32, documents the construction and function of the agricultural courtyard of the House of the Menander (I.10.4).
24 See above, n. 3.
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26 G. Fiorelli, *Descrizione di Pompei*, Naples, 1875, p. 81; R. Laurence, *Roman Pompeii. Space and society*, London, 1994, p. 42.
27 "Say hello to profit!" (in the entryway of (VII.1.47)); see A. Maiuri, *Pompeii*, Novara, 1960, pp. 114–40.
28 See above, n. 3 and n. 25.
29 G. P. Carratelli and I. Baldassarre (eds), *Pompei, pitture e mosaici*, vol. 4, Rome, 1993, pp. 5–47.
30 H. Mouritsen, *Elections, Magistrates and Municipal Elite. Studies in Pompeian epigraphy*, Rome, 1988, uses the epigraphic record to demonstrate the continued participation of the Pompeian upper class in political life after the AD 62 earthquake. Cf. Franklin, Ch. 33; Jongman, Ch. 32.
31 See Pirson, "Rented accommodation"; Ling, *Insula of the Menander*, vol. 1, p. 250.
32 J. L. Franklin, Jr, *Pompeis difficile est: studies in the political life of imperial Pompeii*, Ann Arbor, MI, 2001; H. Mouritsen, *Elections*.
33 See Ciaraldi and Robinson, "Food, ritual and rubbish".
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CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

ROOMS WITH A VIEW

Residences built on terraces along the edge of Pompeii (Regions VI, VII and VIII)

Rolf A. Tybout

The layout of many a modern European city has been conditioned by the demolishing of its ramparts in the later nineteenth century. The age-old stone girdle, once untied, created virginal soil that was soon to be occupied by broad boulevards or park promenades. Often lofty residences were built to embellish their borders and supply a young bourgeoisie with elegant dwellings befitting its growing need for self-representation. Further outward extension in subsequent decades provided ample space for socio-economic zones to accommodate socially different groups of an ever more rapidly growing urban population. Changes in armament and military tactics were a prerequisite for these developments, but social shifts conditioned the patterns in which municipalities chose to organize the new public space. Thus the city, breaking out from its inveterate boundaries, marked the breakaway from the pre-industrial era in a double sense.

Though there is nothing really comparable in Greek and Roman antiquity, we may turn to late republican Pompeii to find at least some similarities. In the course of the first century BC, the southern and western sides of the city wall were allowed to be covered by buildings (Map 3): from the Porta Marina eastwards to the Triangular Forum (VIII.2) and northwards to the Porta Ercolano (VII.16 and VI.17, better known as *Insula Occidentalis* VII and VI). Pompeii was built on a prehistoric lava bed (cf. Sigurdsson, Ch. 4). The precipice along its edge provided a site for massive substructions supporting elegant multi-tiered houses, built to offer a commanding view over the Sarno valley or the Bay of Naples with Capri and the Sorrentine peninsula. These developments were conditioned by a shift in the political situation rather than in the art of war. After the Social War and the final defeat of Sulla's opponents, the seats of war moved outside Italy. The absence of foreign enemies and the foundation of a colony ensuring permanent Roman control from 80 BC (at the latest) removed the need to maintain a complete urban defense system.

However, to explain this radical alteration of the city silhouette as the result of historical developments beyond the horizon of a provincial town is only one side of the coin. Releasing the walls for private building is hardly conceivable without an official municipal decision, though nothing of the sort is preserved. The gradual disappearance of the walls from sight implies the fading out of a long-standing

hallmark of the original inhabitants' civic identity.[1] It is surely no coincidence that wall sections were incorporated in the foundations of two public buildings erected after the settlement of Sulla's veterans: the temple of the new city goddess Venus, built over the south-west section of the old city wall in a prominent position (cf. Small, Ch. 13), and the amphitheater occupying the opposite southeastern edge (cf. Parslow, Ch. 14). These two buildings, the conspicuous cornerstones of a re-founded Pompeii, belong to a set of impressive monuments ideologically bound up with Sulla's victory and the city's new status as a Roman colony.[2] The transformation of the city wall is yet another reflection of this major shift in the city's history: of the Pompeians' submission and subsequent peaceful integration into the Roman order,[3] and perhaps also of veterans adapting to a post-military stage of life.

The history of the exploration of the terrace houses is indicative of the paradoxical vicissitudes that befell Pompeii in its second life: of progress in scholarship, opportunities missed, and knowledge sunk into oblivion from its rediscovery up to our times (cf. Laidlaw, Ch. 39).[4] Both the western and southern city edge attracted the attention of Bourbon excavators. They generally focused on upper levels that were relatively accessible on account of their being covered only by a thin layer of ash. Single finds rather than architectural complexes attracted attention. Many of the former, including large excised fragments of wall painting, now belong to the collection of the Museum in Naples; their provenance is often unknown. On the other hand, some activities were documented in written reports stored in archives that were to lie idle for centuries. During the nineteenth century, only a few houses were known. Starting in 1883, an entire *insula* (VIII.2) and the southernmost section of the *Insula Occidentalis* were excavated. The results were published in articles scattered throughout various periodicals and were generally not noticed by mainstream architectural research. Systematic surveys of VIII.2 were undertaken in the 1910s and 1920s by F. Noack, and continued after his death in 1931 under K. Lehmann-Hartleben. Their *Baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen am Stadtrand von Pompeji*, published in 1936, was a major breakthrough. As the first publication of a complete *insula*,[5] it sheds light on the architectural history of individual buildings as parts of an interwoven complex of private and, occasionally, public buildings. Its ample attention to architectural development as an indicator of social change foreshadows modern scholarly interests, though its then-fashionable paradigm of progressive social decline in the course of the first century AD should now be considered obsolete (cf. Jongman, Ch. 32).

The *Insula Occidentalis* did not enjoy an equal fortune. The ruins were afflicted by the bombardment of Pompeii in 1943, and suffered from earth slides after World War II. Excavations were started in the late 1960s and consolidated by partial restorations in the early 1970s, but did not result in publications except for some brief preliminary reports.[6]

Among the dwellings on the west side, the House of M. Fabius Rufus (VII.16.22) takes pride of place (Figure 26.1).[7] The vast four-story complex originated from several separate houses that were unified only in the last years of Pompeii's existence. A redecoration in the Fourth Style was left unfinished in AD 79. The house's nucleus was an apsidal reception room on the second floor decorated with paintings representing Apollo, Dionysus and Venus and offering views over the sea through three large windows; a garden with a small fountain facing the central window added to the otiose ambience (cf. Dickmann, Ch. 27 for similar settings in Herculaneum). Little

is left of the wall paintings belonging to the earlier habitations. The back wall of a small room in the dark inner section of the southern part of the house has an interesting painting that should be assigned to the beginning of the second phase of the Second Style (*c*.50–40 BC) (Figure 26.2; cf. Strocka, Ch. 20).[8] Its symmetrical architectural composition includes two receding walls at both sides, creating the illusion of two levels of depth separated from each other by a row of four fluted columns with Corinthian capitals. A figure of Venus wearing diadem and necklace, with a cupid seated on her shoulder and touching her chin, peeps through the partly opened wings of a monumental door with lavish bronze work, as if she just opened it to enter the colonnaded forecourt of her temple. In earlier paintings of the Second Style, Venus and other deities were represented as statues; our wall is the first to show the goddess as a living figure, still conceived of as a part of the illusionistic architecture, but foreshadowing the divine actors represented in the context of the mythological central pieces of the Third and Fourth Style. Another new motif, unknown so far from any other Roman wall painting, is the "broken door," with its left and right wings depicted at either side of the central entrance. Evidently, this is a product of pictorial imagination; as such it is typical of the advanced Second Style, in which a more or less convincing illusion of structural unity gave way to ever more fictitious architectural ensembles. The idea of cutting a door in two may have been inspired by the related motif of the "broken pediment," for which there are models in late Hellenistic architecture.

Lying in areas closed off to the general public and only partly explored, the terrace houses are generally glossed over in Pompeii guides and handbooks on Roman architecture. In spite of their particularly interesting building type they are little

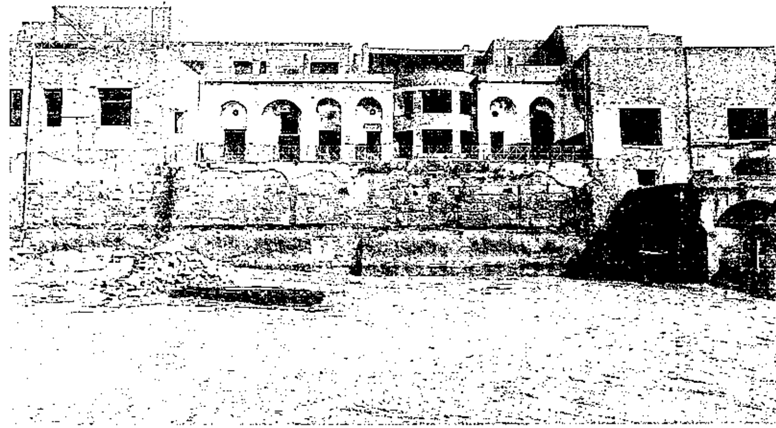


Figure 26.1 House of M. Fabius Rufus (VII.16.22): view from the west; ICCD N 49327.

Figure 26.2 House of M. Fabius Rufus (VII.16.22): Second-Style painting at back of room (71) (*c*.45–40 BC); Fourth-Style painting in front; ICCD N 45226.

known to tourists and scholars alike. Nevertheless, the development of the better-known houses on the southern edge can be sketched in broad outlines.[9] Already in the second century BC, during the long period of peace in Italy after the Second Punic War, the *pomerium* inside the wall was built over to enlarge the modest dwellings aligned to this boundary.[10] Their back parts were largely expanded with terraces that covered the wall without hampering the latter's defensive potential. These one-level houses generally featured a large *atrium*. Relatively little room was left for the back premises adjacent to the terraces on the sun-side and already yielding a view over the Sarno river, perhaps through colonnades built in perishable materials. In spite of this prospect and the fact that they had respectable *atria*, these medium-range dwellings could not compete with the lofty residences of the Samnitic upper echelon such as the House of the Faun (VI.12.2) or the House of Pansa (VI.6), which offered ample space for peristyles with gardens, for a great variety of private dining and other reception rooms, and for storage and workforce provisions.

This situation changes in the first century BC, when one or, more often, two lower-level stories are built on massive substructures and eight of the original nineteen

houses[11] are united to form four (nos. 12/13, 14/16, 29/30 and 36/37), yielding a total of fifteen houses. Surface area was often doubled or tripled, causing the number of rooms to equal or even surpass that of the Samnitic mansions (e.g., thirty-five to forty rooms in no. 29/30; about fifty in no. 36/37). The pre-existing ground floor was generally rebuilt and slightly extended backwards, so as to cover the entire surface up to the outward edge of the city wall; it could now be wholly reserved for the *atrium*/*tablinum* and its annexes, while lower levels were assigned other functions. The first floor was generally the *bel-étage*, featuring a series of elegant private reception rooms with segmental or barrel vaults, at once a structural necessity and an aesthetic device still rare in private houses at the time. The houses in their new shape offered all sorts of refined amenities esteemed by the urban elite: bathrooms, marble lintels and moldings, wall paintings, mosaic and *opus signinum* floors, sometimes even a nursery fish-pond or a grotto-*triclinium*, features desired by owners of large villas (and hitherto unknown in town-houses). Lower stories were accessible either via vaulted corridors along the left or right sides of the houses or, where the steep hillside did not permit, by a staircase. There can be no doubt that these reconstructions, which hid large parts of the city walls, took place already in the late republican period.[12] A considerable number of wall paintings of the mature Second Style were found scattered over the south and west terrace houses. The typologically identifiable walls or fragments belong to the mature phase of this Style, and should not be dated prior to *c*.50 BC.[13] This implies that two or three decades may have elapsed after the arrival of the colonists before domestic terraces began to be built on a large scale, following the example of the temple of Venus Pompeiana erected during the second quarter of the first century BC (cf. Ling, Ch. 9; Westfall, Ch. 10; Small, Ch. 13). Indeed, the city wall was only gradually covered; lower-level extensions of some smaller houses (nos. 26 and 28) were realized as late as the Julio-Claudian period.

The picture becomes much more differentiated in the imperial period. Some houses are modernized without further extensions, while others climb farther downhill by the addition of another terrace. Upper stories, occasionally present in the first century BC, now become the rule, yielding a total of five main levels in some cases.[14] Three large (nos. 12/13, 14/16 and 29/30) and six small houses (nos. 1, 3, 5, P, 26 and 28) probably continue to exist as single-family dwellings. The remaining six houses are split up into apartments, let or sold[15] for living (on the lower stories) or commercial purposes (at the ground level). This tendency appears to have intensified after the earthquake of AD 62, as it did in other parts of the city. In the early imperial period the enormous six-storied Sarno bath complex (nos. 17–21) was built at the southwestern corner (cf. Koloski-Ostrow, Ch. 15), together with the adjacent *palaestra* (no. 23) that occupies a third of the *insula*'s surface.[16] Its top three floors contained apartments for several families.

The urban terrace house-type built on steeply sloping ground or pre-existing city walls is best attested at Pompeii, but is also known elsewhere.[17] The hills of Rome, for example, and especially the Palatine as the center of elite habitation in the late Republic, induced architects to find special solutions similar to those that enabled the walled edge of Pompeii's steep lava bed to be used as building-ground. Elements both of the *atrium* house and of the Roman villa manifest themselves in the terrace house, which consequently should be considered a typically Roman creation. The result of this reciprocal influence is a peculiarly mixed building type, which might

be called a "reduced urban villa." Janus-faced, they looked like a traditional *atrium* house from the street, while providing most amenities of a suburban villa in their back premises, partly situated on lower levels.

Already the second century BC saw the development of the villa as a new architectural type befitting the lifestyle of Roman grandees.[18] The suburban villas built at the same time outside the walls of Pompeii, of which the Villa of the Mysteries may be the most famous example, probably served as an immediate model for several components of the terrace houses. Roman villas and their gardens are characteristically embedded in the landscape, with multiple vistas created where possible, preferably of sea and shoreline.[19] Often their physically and functionally heterogeneous parts are distributed over different levels, interconnected by colonnades, sloping terraces, steps and corridors. Differences in height lead to extensive use of basements, retaining walls and vaulted substructions, the latter mostly featuring cisterns and sometimes cryptoporticoes, not to mention all sorts of façade elements to cover up differences in the appearance of the building volumes. Similar experience, but on a much larger scale, was gained in the construction of terrace sanctuaries such as that of Fortuna at Praeneste (mid-second century BC).[20]

Terrace houses offered additional benefits when compared to their counterparts in the inner city. Foremost among these extras were stunning views from elegant private reception rooms, generally located on the lower levels. Another major advantage offered by their peculiar layout has so far gone unnoticed but becomes evident if we turn to recent insights on the use of social space in the Roman elite house.[21] In Roman upper-class residences, architectural space was structured according to social function. With due allowance for the flexible use of space and to uncertainties in the ancient nomenclature of specific rooms (cf. Allison, Ch. 17),[22] two major distinctions can be made. The first is between the area open to a more general public, especially the lower-status dependents of the *dominus* (especially the *vestibulum*, *fauces*, *atrium*, *tablinum* and peristyle) and the area of reception rooms (*oeci*, *triclinia*, *cubicula*, etc.) to which only invited guests (*amici*, *familiares*) had access. Roughly speaking, the division is between *negotium* and *otium*, the Roman elite house being at once the nucleus of the *dominus*' socio-political life and his refuge from it. Individual rooms occupy their place on a hierarchical scale, both by function and in the house as a whole, ranging from public to private and from elegant to plain. Transitions between the two areas may be fluid. The second distinction is between these two family-and-reception quarters on the one hand, and servile areas, transitory corridors, kitchens, storerooms etc. on the other. The latter were mostly assigned a marginal location reflecting their low status. These main groups were set off from each other by means of differences in room types; contrasts were enhanced by variation in architectural and painted decoration (or the reduction of these to a basic level in the utilitarian area; see Figure 20.1). Wall painting by its sheer variety in formal schemes also allowed for subtle distinctions within each of these areas, marking the more or less privileged status of one room relative to other rooms, yet unifying the whole domestic space by means of a common formal vocabulary.

In most town houses the three vital functional areas (public, invitation-only and service) had to be located mostly on the ground level. In the case of the terrace houses, however, the addition of new stories enabled owners to create a vertical separation of functionally different parts of the household. With few exceptions, there

is a neat division between "public" space concentrated on the ground floor and directly accessible from the street, and private reception rooms located on the first floor; floors further downwards either offered additional space for representation or were, more often, assigned specific utilitarian functions. The humble rooms were situated below ground level and were always tucked away in the dark inner areas near the city wall. Leading privileged guests through winding stair-wells or long vaulted corridors to elegant rooms invisible to the average visitor—then suddenly presenting them with a landscape panorama—may have been considered by owners a major charm of their houses.

Discussion of one particular house may add concrete form to these general outlines. Clearly the residences in their re-designed shape of the first century BC represent the new architectural type in its purest form. Therefore, the focus will be on this period in the following example. The House of Joseph II (VIII.2.38–39) (Figures 26.3, 26.4 and 26.5), immediately adjacent to the Triangular Forum, was built in the third quarter of the second century BC.[23] In its original shape the main room was a large Tuscanic *atrium* (b) with tufa *impluvium* and travertine door-lintels. The *atrium*'s prominence was stressed by engaged tufa half- and quarter-columns on plinths, crowned with Corinthian capitals articulating the small wall surfaces left free by the openings or doors to the surrounding rooms and *alae* (g, h). The house was symmetrically designed, with the entrance area and *tablinum* (r) on axis at opposite ends of the *atrium*. Two corridors (q, t–u) flanking the *tablinum* gave access to the back premises, which already in this early stage must have enjoyed a panoramic view. Presumably an open colonnade gave access to a narrow terrace, which may have been connected with a somewhat larger lower terrace built over the city wall by steps on the west side.

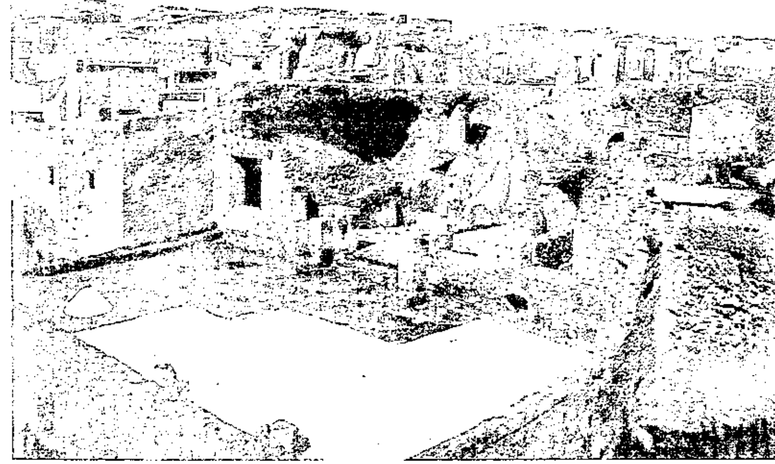
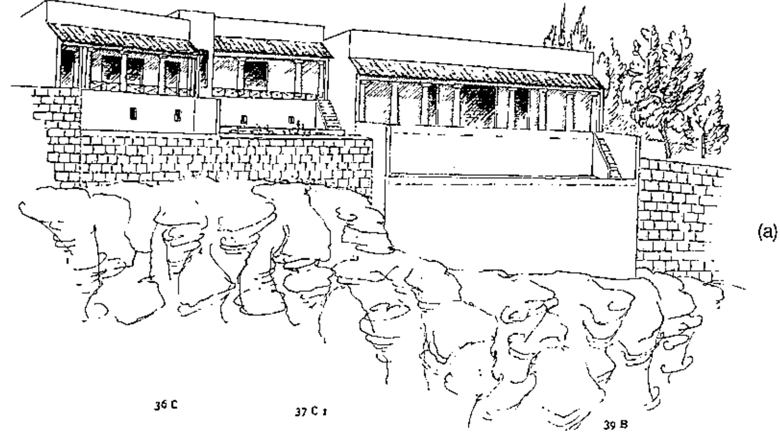


Figure 26.3 House of Joseph II (VIII.2.38–39): view from the south; Noack and Lehmann-Hartleben, *Baugeschichtliche*, Taf. 32.1.



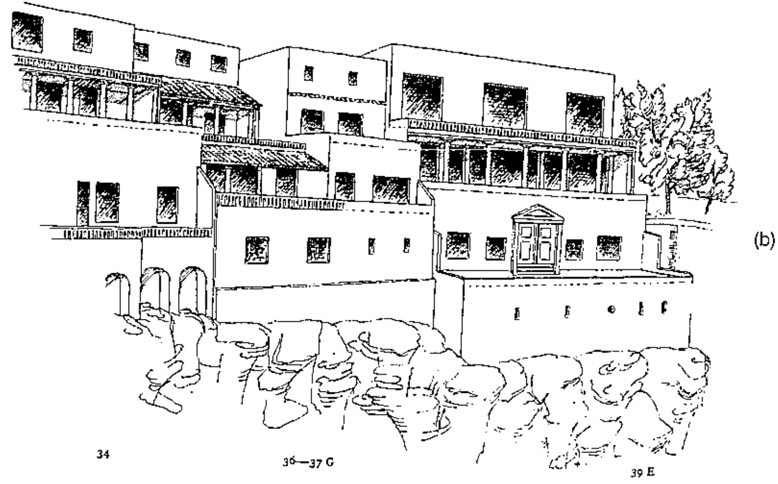
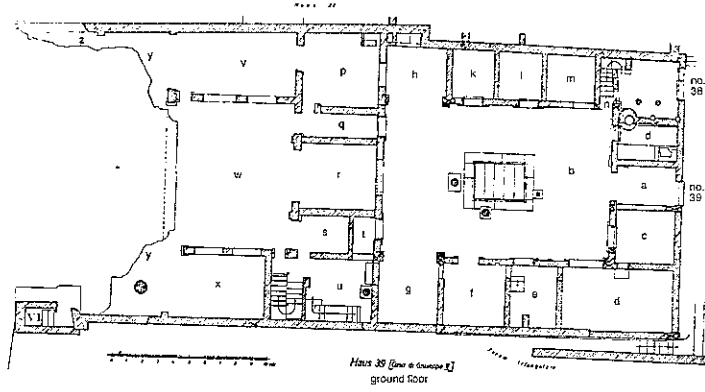
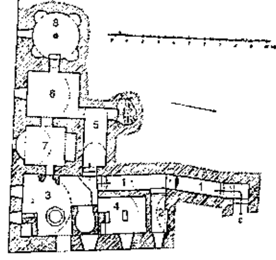


Figure 26.4 House of Joseph II (VIII.2.38–39) and adjacent houses: view from the south as reconstructed by Lehmann-Hartleben. (a) mid-first century BC; (b) mid-first century AD; Noack and Lehmann-Hartleben, *Baugeschichtliche*, Taf. 21.





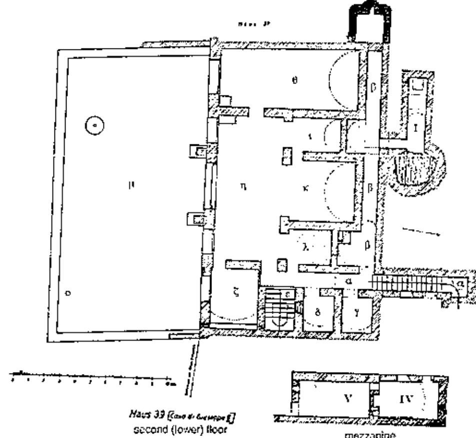


Figure 26.5 House of Joseph II (VIII.2.38–39): plan of the successive stories; after Noack and Lehmann-Hartleben, *Baugeschichtliche*, Taf. 3.

In the first century BC, the house was expanded by the reconstruction of the *tablinum* area and the addition of two lower stories. The *tablinum* now opened onto a spacious room (w) flanked by two oblong rooms (v, x) connected to it by doors and windows. The southern part is not preserved; it was probably built from light materials in order not to overload the vaults of the lower story. A colonnade, as reconstructed by Lehmann-Hartleben (Figure 26.4a), opened up to a view over the Sarno. This symmetrical suite of large rooms is, in all probability, a reception area accessible to the same broad category of visitors who were allowed to enter the *fauces*, *atrium* and *tablinum* located on the same axis. The central room (w) was either open (substituting for a proper peristyle) or, more probably, roofed to resemble a basilica like the *oecus Aegyptius* from the House of the Mosaic Atrium in Herculaneum (IV.1–2).[24] As in the *atrium* (c-f, k-m), small lateral rooms (p, s) may have provided more private space when necessary, e.g., to conduct business of a confidential nature or for rest.[25] Room (u) was transformed into a twofold stairwell giving access to the second (lower) storey, with one stair leading directly to the latter's reception area and the other, presumably a "servants-stair," to the back corridor and adjacent utilitarian rooms.

The symmetrically designed nucleus of the second lower story is a large central *triclinium* (κ) flanked by two smaller *cubicula* (ι, λ); (ι) directly communicates with (κ) to form a two-room suite of a type frequently found in elite habitations of the time.[26] The central hall (η) in front of these rooms also communicates with the two other elegant rooms on this floor (ζ, θ). On the outside terrace (μ), the broad central door is accentuated by two columns and was, perhaps, crowned by a pediment; together with two relatively small windows on each side it forms a rhythmically articulated symmetrical façade, stressing the distinguished place of the central *triclinium* (κ). The southern part of the second floor is certainly the house's most privileged area, used only by the *dominus* and his family and offering him a choice of five chambers in which to entertain specially invited guests. Each room enjoyed a splendid view over the Sarno Valley through its own framed opening. Limiting the size of a landscape view by an architectural frame that creates a quasi-pictorial image adapted to the "visual cone" thought to underlie human visual faculty, was considered a special effect by contemporary Romans, as noted in Cicero's deliberations with his architect Kyros, and reported to his friend Atticus.[27]

The remaining rooms of this floor serve utilitarian purposes and are situated in the darker back part, along the vaulted corridors (α) and (β). Between the ground floor and the second story are five *mezzanino* chambers (I–V; II and III are located above (ι) and (λ), which have lower vaults than the central *triclinium* (κ)) accessible only by ladders. They were storage rooms, perhaps also used as servants' sleeping rooms.[28] A bath-complex and a bakery occupied the third and lowest floor: the cupola room (8) is the *frigidarium*, originally featuring a central fountain, (6) the *apodyterium*/*tepidarium* and (7) the *caldarium*, adjacent to *praefurnium*/bakery (3).

Due to several reconstructions in the course of the first century AD, this spacious house lost much of its grandeur, especially on the ground floor. The precise implication of many alterations, which defy detailed enumeration, remains unclear. The passage from *atrium* (b) to *tablinum* (r) was walled up, the *atrium* was bereft of its colonnade, the lateral *cubicula* were converted to storerooms, and in the northwest corner a shop (at no. 38) was built in with a door accessing the *atrium*. The construction of steps

in (e), (n) and (u) points to the existence of an upper story now completely lost. Possibly it consisted of lodgings for the occupants of the ground floor, which was apparently used for commercial purposes. The two lower floors seem to have been left intact to a large degree and may have continued to function as a luxurious residence, with some new utilitarian facilities built in.

Might the architectural modifications of the terrace houses reflect developments in the socio-political situation? First come reconstructions in the course of the first century BC, which result in large elite residences grown out of modest habitations. The decision to build over the wall can probably be connected with the city's new colonial status, but this does not imply that the dwellings on the city edge were mainly inhabited by the veteran newcomers. Some members of the new mixed elite acquired pre-existing houses that could be expanded to meet the representative demands befitting a member of the new political aristocracy. Political peer rivalry was a feature especially typical of the late republic, even on an urban level; this was the time when municipal charters were issued obliging the *decuriones* to maintain private dwellings of a considerable minimum size.[29]

A further shift took place in the early imperial period, at least in *insula* (VIII.2), which—from a homogeneous residential district removed from the tumult of the main streets—developed into a more crowded quarter of socially and functionally mixed character. Some houses retained, and partly augmented, their former grandeur. But they now neighboured houses sheltering large apartments as well as commercial establishments surmounted by modest lodgings, as well as vast public utilitarian buildings (e.g., the Sarno Baths) that included autonomous living units of varying size and status. Recent research has shown that changes such as these cannot be considered the result of an ever-increasing decline of Pompeii's leading class, allegedly culminating in a crisis and a take-over of power by a plebeian "mercantile class" in the city's last decades. Instead, a stable elite constantly cared for its structural renewal by incorporating new families to compensate for demographic fluctuations; no rigid distinction between income from landed property and from commercial activities can be made (cf. Jongman, Ch. 32).[30] As to *insula* (VIII.2), it now featured a much broader choice of living accommodation, including a new category: large apartments with (part of the) grand rooms-cum-view once built for multi-tiered luxury houses. Far from pointing to the social decline of some "class," such housing likely met the demands of well-off families (freedmen or others belonging to the subdecurional level) who could dispense with, or simply could not afford, a complete *atrium* house. At the same time, housing at the top of the scale surpassed everything Pompeii had seen before. A telling example is the appointment of the palatial House of M. Fabius Rufus (VII.16.22) on the western edge, which testifies to the unprecedented wealth of individual *domini* even in the post-earthquake years.[31]

The broadening spectrum of housing conditions, which can also be observed in other parts of the city (cf. Jones and Robinson, Ch. 25),[32] apparently reflects the increasing social mobility (on all levels) that took place in the course of the first century AD. More individuals belonging to lower status groups were in the position to live on their own in smaller apartments, while a growing number of those higher on the scale could afford to strive for, and occasionally attain, the standards set by the nearby villas of Roman grandees.

NOTES

1 On the Greek city wall, first built in the fifth century BC, see Chiaramonte, Ch. 11; also E. La Rocca, M. De Vos and A. De Vos, *Guida archeologica di Pompei*, Verona, 1976, pp. 85–90. The symbolic meaning of Pompeii's walls is emphasized by R. Laurence (*Roman Pompeii. Space and society*, London, 1994, p. 138), who, however, does not take into account their altered function in the first centuries BC/AD. The use of *spolia* from the walls to serve as filler for the foundations of terraces seems hardly compatible, for this period, with Laurence's view of the walls as symbols of sanctified city boundaries. It should be noted, however, that some Samnian and Campanian cities at about the same time replaced their old polygonal walls with new fortifications built in typically Roman *opus quadratum*, thus "making a visible statement about their new, Romanized, cultural identity" (K. Lomas, "The idea of a city: élite ideology and the evolution of urban form in Italy, 200 BC–AD 100," in H. M. Parkins (ed.), *Roman Urbanism. Beyond the consumer city*, London, 1997, p. 34, with refs).

2 See Laurence, *Roman Pompeii*, pp. 20–7, R. Ling, *Pompeii: history, life and afterlife*, Stroud, 2005, and P. Zanker, *Pompeji. Stadtbild und Wohngeschmack*, Mainz, 1995, pp. 68–85 for convenient surveys.

3 There seems to have been some initial contention between the Pompeians and the newcomers (Cic., *Sull.* 60–61), but recent research has shown that the latter were integrated into rather than excluded from the new political organization: Laurence, *Roman Pompeii*, pp. 22–3, with refs, notably H. Mouritsen, *Elections, Magistrates and Municipal Elite. Studies in Pompeian epigraphy*, Rome, 1988, pp. 85–9.

4 For the following see: F. Noack and K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen am Stadtrand von Pompeji*, Berlin, 1936, VII–X; A. Allroggen-Bedel, "Die Malereien aus dem Haus Insula Occidentalis, 10," *CronPomp*, 1976, vol. 2, pp. 144–83; G. Cerulli Irelli, "Le case di M. Fabio Rufo e di C. Giulio Polibio," in *Pompei 1748–1980. I tempi della documentazione*, Rome, 1981, pp. 22–3; V. Kockel, "Archäologische Funde und Forschungen in den Vesuvstädten II," *AA*, 1986, pp. 507–16; V. M. Strocka, "Pompeji VI 17,41: Ein Haus mit Privatbibliothek," *RM* 1993, vol. 100, pp. 321–51, esp. pp. 321–2.

5 It is indicative of the slow pace of Pompeian studies that only recently have other publications of a Pompeian *insula* appeared: M. Bonghi Jovino *et al.*, *Ricerche a Pompei: L'insula 5 della Regio VI dalle origini al 79 d.C.*, 2 vols, Rome, 1984; R. Ling *et al.*, *The Insula of the Menander at Pompeii*, Oxford, 1997, vol. I; 2002, vol. 4; 2005, vol. 2; 2007, vol. 3; F. Coarelli and F. Pesando, *Rileggere Pompei: L'insula 10 della Regio VI*, Rome, 2006.

6 Survey in Kockel, "Funde II," pp. 507–16, with references. Some of the activities have not even been documented at all: see the disconcerting statements reported by V. M. Strocka, "Pompeji VI 17, 41," p. 322, n. 8. Cf. Foss, Ch. 3 for the bombardment.

7 Cerulli Irelli, "Le case"; A. and M. De Vos, *Pompei, Ercolano, Stabia*, Rome-Bari, 1982, p. 224; A. Barbet, *La peinture murale romaine. Les styles décoratifs pompéiens*, Paris, 1985, pp. 242–7; Kockel, "Funde II," pp. 508–13.

8 Room 71: G. P. Carratelli and I. Baldassarre (eds), *Pompei, pitture e mosaici*, Rome, 1998, vol. 8, pp. 1106–12, nos. 317–24; Cerulli Irelli, "Le case," p. 31 figs 17/18 and p. 140 fig. 3; Kockel, "Funde II," pp. 511–12; R. A. Tybout, *Aedificiorum figurae. Untersuchungen zu den Architekturdarstellungen des frühen zweiten Stils*, Amsterdam, 1989, pp. 262–3 and pl. 68. Only the upper part is visible; the lower part is now covered (or destroyed?) by a later wall erected immediately before it for unknown reasons. The latter is presumably a Fourth-Style wall imitating the architectural scheme of its predecessor.

9 Noack and Lehmann-Hartleben, *Baugeschichtliche*, pp. 161–88; cf. De Vos, *Pompei, Ercolano, Stabia*, pp. 56–9; Zanker, *Pompeji*, pp. 80–2.

10 Recent excavations have shown that Regions VII and VIII were built in the second century BC, replacing fourth-century houses which in its turn substituted pre-existing settlement presumably of the second half of the seventh century BC: P. Carafa, "What was Pompeii before 200 BC? Excavations in the House of Joseph II, in the Triangular Forum and in the House of the Wedding of Hercules," in S. E. Bon and R. Jones (eds), *Sequence and Space in Pompeii*, Oxbow Monograph no. 77, Oxford, 1997, esp. pp. 25–9; P. Carafa and M. T. D'Alessio, "Lo scavo nella Casa di Giuseppe II (VIII, 2, 38–39) e nel portico occidentale del Foro Triangolare a Pompei. Rapporto preliminare," *RStPomp*, 1995/1996 [1998], vol. 7, pp. 137–53.

11 Including the houses south of the forum not situated on the edge, and consequently without terraces or a panoramic view.

12 *Contra* L. Richardson, jr, *Pompeii. An architectural history*, Baltimore, MD, 1988, p. 231: "none of the terraces built over the city walls will have been republican," which lacks compelling arguments and neglects the presence of Second-Style wall paintings.

13 A relatively complete set of Second-Style paintings (*c.*40–35 BC) is preserved in a house at the center of the *Insula Occidentalis* (VI.17.41): Strocka, "Pompeji VI 17, 41"; Carratelli and Baldassare, *Pompei, pitture e mosaici*, 1996, vol. 6, pp. 10–43, nos. 1–73. The Second-Style wall in the House of Fabius Rufus (VII.16.22) discussed above (Figure 26.2) should probably be dated somewhat earlier (*c.*45–40 BC). For the (fragments of) Second-Style walls without vistas, i.e., the schemes with colonnades fronting a closed back wall, those reproducing masonry or marble veneer, and decorations in two zones or with simple linear patterns, see E. Heinrich, *Der zweite Stil in pompejanischen Wohnhäusern*, Munich, 2002, pp. 112–13 nos. 64–7 (House VI.17.41); pp. 113–14 nos. 68–70 (VI.17.42: House of the Golden Bracelet); pp. 123–7 nos. 88–92 and p. 145 nos. 126–7 (VII 16.12–15: House of A. Umbricius Scaurus); p. 127 no. 93 and pp. 152–3 nos. 143–4 (VII.16.16–17: House of M. Castricius); pp. 127–30 nos. 94–130 (VII.16.22: House of M. Fabius Rufus); pp. 130–2 nos. 98–9 and p. 153 no. 145 (VIII.2.1: House of Championnet); p. 132 no. 100, pp. 145–6 no. 128 and p. 154 no. 146 (VIII.2.34–35: House of the Mosaic Doves); pp. 132–3 no. 101 and p. 156 no. 149 (VIII.2.38–39: House of Joseph II); pp. 154–5 nos. 147–8 (House VIII.2.36–37). Walls including complex architectural vistas are exclusively found in private reception rooms, mostly situated on the lower floors (see below): Heinrich, *Der zweite Stil*, pp. 56 (with n. 665), 59 (with n. 690), and 65; this confirms the argument of R. A. Tybout, "Malerei und Raumfunktion im zweiten Stil," in E. M. Moormann (ed.), *Functional and Spatial Analysis of Wall Painting. Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress on Ancient Wall Painting*, BABesch Suppl. no. 3, Leiden, 1993, pp. 38–50, based on four other Second-Style complexes.

14 The presence of a *mezzanino* occasionally adds up the number of levels to six.

15 There is no compelling evidence for the suggestion of Noack and Lehmann-Hartleben, *Baugeschichtliche*, p. 184, that a considerable part of the *insula* (near the Triangular Forum) fell into the hands of one speculator who converted houses to let them out in apartments.

16 A. Koloski Ostrow, *The Sarno Bath Complex*, Rome, 1990.

17 For the following, see Noack and Lehmann-Hartleben, *Baugeschichtliche*, pp. 188–236. For building on walls, e.g., in Rome and Formia, see pp. 168, 189–90, 204. In Herculaneum, parts of the House of the Mosaic Atrium (IV.1–2) and the House of the Stags (IV.21) both large houses with seaside views, were built on the city's former ramparts: J. R. Clarke, *The Houses of Roman Italy, 100 BC–AD 250. Ritual, space, and decoration*, Berkeley, CA, 1991, pp. 21, 235–50; Dickmann, Ch. 27; Figure 27.5.

18 For surveys see J. D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples*, Cambridge, MA, 1970; H. Mielsch, *Die römische Villa. Architektur und Lebensform*, Munich, 1987.

19 Clarke, *Houses of Roman Italy*, pp. 19–23, with references; B. Bergmann, "Painted perspectives of a villa visit: landscape as status and metaphor," in E. K. Gazda (ed.), *Roman Art in the Private Sphere. New perspectives on the architecture and decor of the domus, villa, and insula*, Ann Arbor, MI, 1991, pp. 49–70.

20 H. Lauter, "Bemerkungen zur späthellenistischen Baukunst in Mittelitalien," *JdI*, 1979, vol. 94, pp. 390–459, esp. 390–415.

21 A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*, Princeton, NJ, 1994, pp. 1–61; J.-A. Dickmann, *Domus frequentata. Anspruchsvolles Wohnen im pompejanischen Stadthaus*, Munich, 1999; R. A. Tybout, "Roman wall-painting and social significance," *JRA*, 2001, vol. 14, pp. 33–56, esp. 42–53 (for further literature see pp. 33–4, nn. 2, 4 and 6).

22 P. M. Allison, "How do we identify the use of space in Roman housing?" in Moormann, *Functional and Spatial Analysis*, pp. 1–8; M. George, "Repopulating the Roman House," in B. Rawson and P. Weaver (eds), *The Roman Family in Italy*, Oxford, 1997, pp. 299–319; L. Nevett, "Perceptions of domestic space in Roman Italy," in Rawson and Weaver, *Roman Family*, pp. 281–98; E. W. Leach, 1997, "Oecus on Ibycus: investigating the vocabulary of the Roman house," in Bon and Jones, *Sequence and Space*, pp. 50–72. E. W. Leach, *The Social Life of Painting in Ancient Rome and the Bay of Naples*, Cambridge, 2004. See also n. 25 below.