Understanding the Lived Experience of Ancient Roman Gardens

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Understanding the Lived Experience of Ancient Roman Gardens

By

Devlin Daley

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Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for
Honors in the Department of Classics

UNION COLLEGE

March 2019
ABSTRACT

DALEY, DEVLIN: Understanding the Lived Experience of Ancient Roman Gardens

ADVISOR: Angela Commito

My research takes a psychologically influenced approach to the study of archaeological remains to explore the experiential nature of ancient gardens in the Roman domus and villa of the Campania region of southern Italy. I argue that significant factors of spatial and social theory drove the intended experience in space and in the curated environment of the garden. I focus on the architecture of these spaces, such as peristyles and reflecting pools, from which walking paths and movement through space can be reconstructed. I also dive into understanding the remains of horticulture, including different plants and trees that would have grown naturally or been planted by the owner of the home for either pleasure or production. Both the domus and the villa share characteristics that allowed a visitor to have a unique experience in the household garden, influenced by what it contained within each component space. Through wall paintings, mosaics, literary texts, and archaeological remains, it is possible to piece together the whole story of these gardens and understand why they existed. The evidence provided by The House of the Faun and the Villa A at Oplontis allow for us to conclude that gardens are heterotopias of illusion or utopias about the experience inside them. My research brings in social theory and spatial theory to further tell the story of why gardens in the modern day are safe havens or retreats. I merge two disciplines together, archaeology and psychology, to expand the story of the lived experiences of Roman gardens.
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

“The greatest gift of the garden is the restoration of the five senses.”

- Hanna Rion

Ancient Roman gardens are a historical representation of the social status of the homeowners. Each garden differs in terms of size, location, structure, and experience. When stepping foot into a garden, each participant is going to have a different view and interpretation of what it means to them. As a researcher, we can look at the remaining architectural structure, the physical horticulture as revealed by plant and seed remains, and the visitor’s movement through space to understand the experience that the owner was trying to create. In addition to these three bodies of evidence, in order to understand more deeply the experience of being in an ancient garden, I will apply spatial theory to explain the specific interaction that may impact an individual's journey through the garden. Gardens are a physical space for retreat and relaxation as well as removal from the day-to-day life in the ancient world. By looking at the examples of The House of the Faun in Pompeii and the Villa A at Oplontis, we can experience the Roman garden through the archaeological record. These spaces provide evidence that gardens were in fact “heterotopias and utopias” where individuals could go to express an aspirational version of themselves.

Roman gardens contain many integral aspects that can distinguish them from other classical gardens. There are composed of living physical structures, such as plants and trees, but also architectural structures, such as walls and wood barriers. Delving deeper into the gardens in

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1 Rion 1911, 237
2 Foucault 1986, 24
the different lifestyles of homes will help create the holistic understanding of the key elements contained in a Roman garden. After doing an analysis of the House of the Faun and Villa A at Oplontis, it is possible to identify some structural basics that are relevant in discussing all Roman gardens. Through understanding the difference between the Roman domus and the Roman villa, it can be seen that some of them are loud and luxurious while others tend to have a lower profile and significant functionality. Before exploring these gardens in greater detail, general terminology must be defined so that all readers will understand the framework of my argument.

I am choosing to focus on the Bay of Naples region because the preservation of the evidence is superior due to the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius. Many archeologists and researchers were inspired by early investigations of this area, which has provided a long history of research.

Terminology and Definitions

A garden may be defined as “a) a plot of ground where herbs, fruits, flowers, or vegetables are cultivated; b) a rich well-cultivated region, c) a container (such as a window box) planted with usually a variety of small plants.”\(^3\) However, a second definition states also that it can be considered “a) a public recreation area or park usually ornamented with plants and trees; b) an open-air eating or drinking place; c) a large hall for public entertainment.”\(^4\) Elizabeth Macaulay-Lewis has recently elaborated on her own definition of a Roman garden. She defines it as “a bounded space where plants, and often water features, were fundamental elements; it was typically enclosed by the architecture of a villa, house, or residence, or was closely associated


with architecture.” This definition gets closer to how I interpret the Roman garden; however, it is missing the importance of the social aspect.

My definition of an ancient Roman garden is a compilation of all the definitions listed above. Specifically trying to create a new definition of gardens was a challenge. If you ask someone to describe a garden and what is inside of it, many will discuss the factor of green space, such as grass, trees, and other plants, in addition to the serenity and peaceful nature. I would begin to define garden as an open space, used either for productivity, pleasure, and/or business. These elements are classified by wealth and location. What we think of as green grass with vegetation, grown for relaxation, does not even begin to scratch the surface of Roman gardens. Many of the Roman gardens are concrete or wood in structure with beautiful views or crashing waters that set the scene for the experience of the individual. Although many of the examples of Roman gardens would have contained plants and other sources of greenery, it is not to the extent that we think of in modern day.

Common modern conceptions of gardens are guided by our preconceived notions of what a “typical” garden is as child. Children are brought up, recognizing elements that would make up a garden. Those elements in a modern context are then associated with the word garden. Bridging the variety of definitions together, I start to define gardens, in the domus and villa examples, as a plot of land curated by the layout of the home with influence of the owner for the purpose of entertainment and social interaction. The influence of the owner relates to the strategic placement of plants, trees, statues, and fountains to create a space different from the gardens crafted by other domus and villa owners. Each unique experience is heavily impacted by

5 Macaulay-Lewis 2017, 88
these choices made by the owner which therefore influence the overall lived-in experience in the
garden.

Roman gardens hold a different value than the gardens most Americans think of in the
modern world. Americanized gardens, also referred to as modern gardens in this context, have
been primarily researched by understanding the different green spaces that can be found in urban
areas. The size of the space, the accessibility, and the safety inside the green space are all factors
that play into the goal of improving mental health and wellness. The World Health Organization
defines green space as “parks and sports fields as well as woods and natural meadows, wetlands
or other ecosystem.”\(^6\) This green space, which is more valuable to habitants of bustling cities as a
retreat for relaxation and rest, is defined in many modern research papers by the benefits of
gardens in urban areas. In addition to the mental health benefits of being able to calm the mind,
there is a biological factor to the horticulture in the gardens. For example, “trees produce oxygen,
and help filter out harmful air pollution, including airborne particulate matter. Water spots, from
lakes to rivers and fountains, moderate temperatures.”\(^7\) These factors improve the overall quality
of life via biological means for both humans and animals. A recent study, focused on the
American obesity epidemic, looked at the exercise, well-being, and social factors associated with
positive green space in urban environments. It concluded that “urban green spaces are spaces that
allow for health-promoting activities, such as physical activity or rest and relaxation, to take
place. In this way, they have a direct relationship with the quality of life of urban dwellers.”\(^8\)
The space mentioned above reduces the likelihood of obesity because the “accessibility of green

\(^6\) Urban green spaces. (2016, August 04). Retrieved March 22, 2019, from https://www.who.int/sustainable-
development/cities/health-risks/urban-green-space/en/

\(^7\) Urban green spaces. (2016, August 04). Retrieved March 22, 2019, from https://www.who.int/sustainable-
development/cities/health-risks/urban-green-space/en/

\(^8\) Lee et al. 2015, 132
spaces influence not just the likelihood of physical activity being undertaken but also its frequency.”

However, the aspect that is the focus of both the modern gardens and the ancient Roman gardens is sociability. Jordan Lee and colleagues delve into the social aspect of gardens, concluding that it “could help reduce social isolation, generate social capital, and lead to greater personal resilience and wellbeing. This seems to be particularly important for elderly population groups. Interestingly, in a few studies, social factors (e.g., neighborliness) had a greater influence on the frequency of use of urban parks than the physical features of the park.” The social aspect of gardens is so important for understanding the way in which people in a society interact with one another. The garden space, especially in the ancient world, takes the individuals out of their reality and pulls them into a greater and larger universe. They are pulled out of everyday life and allowed to interact in a manner of who they aspire to be with the other visitors of the house.

In another definition provided by John R. Clarke and Nayla K. Muntasser in their analysis of the excavations that occurred at Oplontis, “gardens are living artifacts and reflect, perhaps more than any other cultural artifact, the particularities of a place: the geology, soils, microclimates, and the often highly conservative cultural practices that have proven successful over time for agricultural cultivation.” This quote describes the interactions that occur within a garden as important evidence in addition to the physical remains. The variety of soils and agriculture tells us one story about the individuals that may have walked and/or lived there. Additionally, there is a focus on the cultural practices, and those would include interactions or performances of the individuals who were visiting with the homeowner. These two put together

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9 Lee et al. 2015, 132
10 Lee et al. 2015, 132
11 Gleason, 2014, 959
tell us a more whole story about the lived experience in the garden. In a review of the book by Elisabeth MacDougall “Ancient Roman Villa Gardens”, Bettina Bergmann highlights this issue. She delves into the definitions of hortus, villa urbana, and villa rustica to help supplement what the other contributors will add to their own definitions. Hortus is defined “originally as a plot for the cultivation of vegetables which then became the peristyle pleasure gardens.”\textsuperscript{12} She goes on to say that the “villa urbana could include, supplant, or omit the villa rustica and is sometimes difficult to distinguish from the grand estates, or horti, in Rome.”\textsuperscript{13}

Garden in this thesis will be defined as an area within a home that provides a retreat from everyday life and includes horticulture, statutes, pools, and pathways that provide a lived experience to each individual. Furthermore, it is also important to define the two garden contexts studied in this thesis: the domus and the villa. The domus will be defined as “the classic, grand, single-occupancy residence”\textsuperscript{14} that is located in an urban setting. The domus additionally will focus on “architectural factors simultaneously fulfilling a practical function- letting light, air, and water- and a symbolic one- giving dignitas to the home, in a society in which so much turns on social standing.”\textsuperscript{15} Villas will be defined as originating as “rustic farmhouses”\textsuperscript{16} in the countryside “as Rome expanded and victorious generals gained enormous wealth from their military conquests, ostentatious establishments, modeled in part on the palaces of conquered Hellenistic kings, became the norm for those Romans of the late Republic who were in the top social, economic, and political tier”\textsuperscript{17}. These residences would then transition further into

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{12} Bergmann, 1989, 387 \\
\textsuperscript{13} Bergmann, 1989, 387 \\
\textsuperscript{14} Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 132 \\
\textsuperscript{15} Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 83 \\
\textsuperscript{16} Gazda, 2014, para. 64 \\
\textsuperscript{17} Gazda, 2014, para. 64
\end{flushright}
ostentatious and massive villas acting as “vacation retreats for the rich and famous”\textsuperscript{18}. There also is a productivity factor for each home; the domus is more for display and showcasing wealth whereas the villa is for rural productivity and agriculture; both however can be simple or luxurious, depending on the owner and family. However, I am utilizing both homes to tell the complete story of the Roman garden. Previous research has defined these spaces as two different places whereas I am combing them to represent the Roman garden as a whole. There are pieces of evidence from both examples that help us understand gardens for archeological remains as well as the social experience that individuals have throughout the journey of the homes.

\textit{Social Context}

Another valued idea concerning Roman housing is how the houses were bought and who owned them. Who was responsible for the purchasing of the house and who actually lived in the house? If a home was purchased, the new homeowner is adopting and adapting a previously existing garden. However, if a home was inherited, the owner has more options and control over his/her own garden starting anew. One perspective explains that villa owners “whether born to wealth or nouveaux riches, aspired to meet the expectations of their peers and betters and, if possible, to exceed them in the amenities offered by their own properties.”\textsuperscript{19} Researchers understand that this competition drives the value of the items in the house as well as the social desirability to live in the villa or the domus. Another issue pertains to the difficulty of identifying a “typical” domus or villa owner. Ascribing gender, for example, is complex, since, “while most of the owners of Campanian villas named by ancient authors are men, a significant number are women. Roman women could and did acquire property by purchase or inheritance. We have only

\textsuperscript{18} Gazda 2014, para. 64
\textsuperscript{19} Gazda 2014, para.72
to recall that Varro addressed the first book of his treatise on agriculture to his young wife, Fundania, who apparently needed advice on how to cultivate the estate she had bought so that it would be profitable (Varro, *De re rustica* I.1).\(^{20}\) In many cases, houses played a more important role socially for men pursuing public ambitions. For example, “a man of rank (princeps) needs housing to fit his social standing (dignitas). A house may even play an active part in enhancing his standing […] which was thought to have brought its builder (novus homo) votes in the consular elections.”\(^{21}\) The home plays a vital role in establishing placement in Roman society at large so much so that a “Roman’s social standing depends partly on the volume of social activity, with focus on his home, [therefore] he is bound to bring aedificatio (the construction of residential buildings) to the aid of his standing.”\(^{22}\) This status of the home and the political standing of its owner are valued in both the urban and rural settings. The gatherings in the home, both the domus and the villa, are defined by the number of visitors and guests hosted but also by the size and scale of the space located inside the home. According to Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, “hospitality and large scale admission of visitors not only justify but necessitate opulent building; conversely, opulent building both makes possible and encourages ample flow of visitors.”\(^{23}\)

One ritual that would have significant influence on the interaction in the home becoming public rather than private would be the *saltuatio*. This “traditional ritual of morning greeting”\(^{24}\), lends way to understand the social relations between client and patron. In the home, there were benches placed for clients to wait for the patrons to come and greet them. During the *saltutatio*, the “public figure not only received his dependents and friends but conducted business of all

\(^{20}\) Gazda 2014, para.73  
\(^{21}\) Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 4  
\(^{22}\) Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 4  
\(^{23}\) Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 4  
\(^{24}\) Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 12
sorts.”

This social context provided a place for visitors to attend social activities and gatherings. This domestic space needed to distinguish the difference between the public and private nature of the home. The patron provided a “suitable context for the differentiation of public activities from those of more private nature, and for the activities for persons from the full social spectrum: from members of a public figure’s peer group and his circle, through lesser amici (friends), to humbler dependents, tradesmen, and slaves.”

A variety of individuals who would visit the home allows me to allude to the space being more public than private. This public versus private nature of the home allows my research to be able to look at large public gardens to conclude on the evidence for the private Roman gardens. The salutatio is a more public affair inviting many different individuals into the space, similar to the way a modern garden would be open for anyone to visit.

**Literature Review**

To understand the entirety of a Roman garden, one must understand the parts that make up the whole. Each detail is described thoroughly in *Gardens of the Roman Empire* (2018), edited by Wilhelmina Feemster Jashemski. The authors who contribute to this volume touch on a variety of subjects including the differences between the Roman villa and the Roman domus, the archeological structures of a villa, and a diverse selection of evidence of these structures and remains. The contribution by Jashemski delves deeper into understanding the garden as an immersed experience rather than just appreciating the physical nature of the space. A variety of authors compile evidence that displays the literary sources as well as paintings and mosaics to help illustrate how the gardens were displayed. In chapter one, Eric Morvillez examines the

25 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 12
26 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 12
domus and how the garden would function as part of the home. He defines important
terminology and walks the reader through each space, while providing examples of ancient 
examples. Kim Hartswick focuses on the villas and the general structures that are included inside
that contribute to the experience when visiting.

In *The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum, and the Villas Destroyed by Mt. Vesuvius*
(1979), Jashemski studies gardens in the cities covered and destroyed by the eruption of
Vesuvius. This book was one of the first contributions to the study of plant remains and was the
seminal book for this line of research. Jashemski focused on two major cities ruined, Pompeii
and Oplontis. Her study of excavations at these two sites provides an explanation for the
different kinds of remains that existed. She uses physical evidence of plants and trees to explain
the types of horticulture, as well as the presence of sculpture that would help us understand the
influence contributed by the garden owner’s interest in gods and deities to the garden itself.
Jashemski also uses case studies of different sites in order to help locate the influence that would
have made these statues, structures, and paintings significant to the cities and the owners of the
gardens themselves. Many of the images used in this thesis are taken from these two volumes.

After tying together the physical structures, literary evidence, and artistic craftsmanship
of mosaics and paintings, there is a psychological explanation for the experiences gained by each
individual person. Katherine von Stackelberg’s book *The Roman Garden: Space, Sense, and
Society* (2009) views space and time as theories which influence how a Roman would have
interacted with what the garden contained. Her review of the different theories can be applied to
my use of spatial theory. Von Stackelberg details the layouts of the different gardens and how
that would have influence which would lead to individuals understanding the status of the owner,
his political stance, and his access to resources. She then explains theories, both social and
spatial. Each of these theories plays a role in the psychological impact that the participant would be encouraged to gain from the experience. The lived experience is gained through understanding the physical aspects of the garden, such as the architecture and plants, in cohesion with the spatial analysis.

Additionally, to observe the excavation of the Villa A at Oplontis, I will be utilizing research from Clarke and Muntasser. Their compilation of research takes into consideration the reconstruction done by other archeologists as well as the landscape and remains to reconstruct what was there before the eruption of Vesuvius. Looking at two chapters in particular, “Villas on the Bay of Naples: The Ancient Setting of Oplontis” and “Wilhelmina Jashemski and Garden Archaeology at Oplontis”, there is a focus on the architecture as well as the root cavities, plants and pots, and other surface remains. These factors help tell the story of paths taken by visitors, purposeful displays by the owners, and the space that allows for social interactions to occur.

Social and spatial theory will help us understand the interactions that occur in life, and that will help explain what happens inside the gardens. First, I will be using the modern day description of urban green space to explain how ancient garden may have influence the space that we have today. By looking at the modern examples, we are able to see how individuals use these spaces both for relaxation but also to have social interactions with other individuals. Next, I will use Henri Lefebvre’s spatial theory to describe the spatial practices, representations of space, as well as the space of representations. These three concepts define why space is created and organized the way that it is. He also touches on the importance of this space being produced in the way the owner does to be conducive and influential in the experience within the garden. von Stackelberg furthers this theory by applying emotional ties to the space in the ancient Roman sense. Finally, Michel Foucault focuses on the theories of space that provide evidence for
heterotopias and utopias evolving by the categories that our spaces are set up in. Each space has a specific utilization that is influenced either by being real or unreal. Heterotopias of illusion are focused on the space being unreal and removing the individual into another place. They try to create an illusion of being a utopia and can help explain the way that individuals lay out their gardens to be experienced but also how individuals interact in the garden.

Structure of the Thesis

In my introduction, I have defined what a garden is in the ancient world with influence from a variety of other definitions. In chapter two, I will explain the Roman domus and the archeological evidence that is represented by previous excavations. I will discuss in detail the House of the Faun and the evidence of the physical structures that are contained within the home. In chapter three, I will provide further evidence about the importance of gardens through the archeological remains at the Villa A at Oplontis. This chapter will focus on the plant remains, root cavities, and other horticulturally concentrated evidence. In chapter four, I will apply social and spatial theory to the understanding of the Roman garden. I will focus on the influence of the sociality of the space and how it pulls individuals out of the everyday world and into a utopian space. I will conclude by bringing together the social and the physical evidence to describe the lived-in experience that the Roman garden would have created. The utopian feel of the gardens created an out-of-reality experience for those interacting with each other and with the garden. I am adding to the current research by describing how gardens in the ancient world functioned as a space of utopia or heterotopia of illusion. Furthermore, I suggest that ancient Roman gardens may have had more influence on the way modern day gardens are experienced than previous research has showed.
CHAPTER TWO: DOMUS: THE HOUSE OF THE FAUN IN POMPEII

The Roman domus can be defined in an urban context with an extremely luxurious cost of living. My focus for this chapter will be on an urban example, the House of the Faun, in Pompeii. It would be important for the owner of a domus and his or her family to have expensive and luxurious gardens in order to be able to host and entertain large groups of people. Additionally, it was important to the heads of these households to show off to their guests not only their luxurious lifestyle but also their family name. A garden in the Roman domus, “whether connected to the house or separated from it, was seen from an economic and familial point of view. It was not meant only for pleasure or for luxurious living but for daily life- a vital element in the economy of the family.”27 The garden would display their wealthy status by including specific structures and architecture. It would give way to the shape and space personifying the personality of the owner. This chapter will delve into the different rooms found inside a domus and the function that the garden served as the centerpiece to the domus.

There is a distinction to make about private or public space in a Roman house. It can be said that “we are dealing rather with a spectrum that ranges from the completely public to the completely private, and with an architectural and decorative language that seeks to establish relativities along the spectrum.”28 For example, “the pattern of Roman social life admitted numerous and subtle grades of relative privacy, in which, it must be apparent, greater privacy represented not a descent but an ascent in privilege.”29 The greater privacy correlates with

27 Morvillez 2017,19
28 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 17
29 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 17
greater social prestige, and since we are able to “see” privacy in the archaeological record, we are able to use it as an index of the relative social importance of spaces within the house. This is an important aspect to consider when looking into the different rooms and their relationships to the garden. Do the rooms off the garden elicit activity for private affairs? Are they bedrooms or meeting rooms? The bedrooms were meeting rooms but only for those who are given intimate access by the owner. Dining rooms were also meeting rooms, and in addition, the atrium, the tablinum and the garden were also included. The home would include rooms like the triclinium, a dining space which would be “private relative to the main circulation and open reception areas; yet the cubiculum is private relative to the triclinium, and this a place not only for rest but for reception of intimate friends and the conducting of confidential business- and even for emperors conducting their notorious trials intra cubiculum.”  

There are a variety of access points given to the visitors as well as to the house hands of the home that would indicate the level of status. Many of the slaves and housemaids entered through the back of the home, out of sight from the visitors in the garden. I will be taking this idea of public versus private into consideration when discussing the layout of the House of the Faun, and particularly the role of the garden in this spectrum.

Another distinction to include would be the scale. Scale in this case is defined as how many different public spaces there are and the “largest reception room in a house.” By offering a variety of decorating techniques, such as mosaics and paintings, rooms can be transformed from the “language of actual public spaces in the domestic context that the architect and decorator can evoke in the visitor the feel of something more than a private house.” This can also be referred to as allusion, making an indirect comment relating to something else. Quite

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30 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 17  
31 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 17  
32 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 17
often, this is done through paintings, mosaics, and other art forms but can be found in the structural aspects of the home as well. I will be taking into consideration the size and the space taken up by the garden and how that also might influence a visitor’s interpretation of the owner’s status.

**Peristyles, Porticoes, and Atria**

The first key feature of the Roman domus that is described vividly in Jashemski’s *Gardens of the Roman Empire* in the chapter by Morvillez titled “The Garden in the Domus” is the peristyle (FIG 2.8). The peristyle consisted of a “court open to the sky in the middle; the open part, which was surrounded by columns, was larger than the impluvium in the atrium, and was frequently decorated with flowers and shrubs.”

Around the garden, a shaded roof hung where plants and other shrubs also lived to provide a natural ambiance. It was created to act as both an area of leisure and for aesthetics, and the owner had the liberty to fill it with additional items such as fountains and statues. These gardens required attention from the owner, “who affirmed there his cultural and sometimes religious preferences with inclusion of pools, fountains, water jets, and statutes, inscriptions, altars, etc.”

The owner was able to create his own space, expressing himself and his personality by laying out the garden in his own way. He “chose floors, walls, and ceilings of surrounding porticoes.” Although peristyles are an expensive style of gardens to upkeep, they help us get a clear view of the scope of structures and horticulture that would exist. Peristyles were designed to be visually pleasing but offer little structural support for the house itself. The peristyle was said to be associated with “the column, an architectural

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33 Smith 2013, 426
34 Morvillez 2017, 20
35 Morvillez 2017, 20
feature with public associations.”

The porticoes created the surrounding structures of the garden. They acted as the walls even though they are not structurally solid. “Porticoes were designed as simple post-and-lintel systems with columns or pillars supporting horizontal architraves.” A post-and-lintel system is one “in which two upright members, the posts, hold up a third member, the lintel, laid horizontally across their top surfaces.” Porticoes, part of the peristyles, were transitional spaces between open, unroofed space and enclosed, roofed space. They were associated with public buildings, and therefore associated with wealth, luxury, and authority. The portico represented an entrance into the garden, acting as both a barrier and a means of access. It served as a transitional zone between the enclosed rooms of the house and the open-air garden, as well as distinguished the garden from a natural landscape. The family would want to show their distinction and did so by building these intricate enclosures for their gardens. They also elevated their porticoes to have a better view of the garden. These spaces held different meaning; for example, “an elevated portico could act as a viewing platform and a transitional space between the domus and the more independent garden.” Symbolically, “cities built on high ground were natural places to site houses in relation to distant landscapes or to use water as decoration, when gardens were difficult to build within the constraints of an urban environment.” Either the garden existed naturally in the environment and the house had been built around it, or the garden had been constructed to improve the value of the domus.

36 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 20
37 Morvillez 2017, 33
39 Morvillez 2017, 37
40 Morvillez 2017, 37
When looking at the homes as a whole and seeing the different rooms that branch off the garden, it is clear that each home is very similar in spatial layout (FIG 2.1). For example, there would be an atrium, the “most important room in the house, and among the wealthy was fitted up with much splendour and magnificence. In the houses of the wealthy, it was distinct from the private apartments, and was used as a reception room, where the patron received his clients, and the numerous visitors who were accustomed to call every morning to pay their respects or solicit favours.” The open impluvium would allow strong air circulation. Additionally, when it rained, the rainwater that flowed through the ceiling would provide an additional water source in cases of droughts. The atrium was also the room where the family wealth and ancestry were shown off, including wax figurines representing deceased family members. From the atrium, there would normally be bedrooms or other rooms for activity or conversation or mingling between visitors of the home. The entrance of the atrium is in the front of the domus “while the peristyle is in the back and in the pars urbana, one has to pass through the peristyle to get to the atrium.” As an esteemed visitor would be led through the rooms of the home, they would be led to the peristyle as mentioned above. Those visitors of low status or who did not know the family would not even make it past the atrium. The peristyle around the garden would be a segue to dining and reception rooms or private rooms that would have entrances only from this pathway.

*Reflecting Pools and Spraying Water*

Water was one of the primary components that existed in Roman gardens. It provided an aesthetically pleasing component by means of pools and fountains. It would also have served as part of the lived-in experience. There was a vocative narrative, or a story being told, created by

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41 Smith 2013, 426
42 Morvillez 2017, 30
water in addition to the liveliness and storytelling aspect of the gardens. Each garden had art and statutes that would elicit specific emotions of the owner that would tell the visitor stories of their life. The way the garden had come to life with the way in which water hit the fountain or the pool and the sounds of the different people interacting displayed a story of the garden and its layout. It helps take the individual out of the real world and into a utopia, further discussed in chapter four. The wealthy Roman people found the reflecting waters important in the overall story. People being able to glance at themselves in the reflection and have time to think provided a space of solitude for a moment. The water provided a central focus to the garden itself. Most pools were located in the middle of the space, encouraging people to gather around to look at their reflections and contemplate about their life, status, family and friends, but also their participation in the home they were invited into. The importance of the waters relates to the “pools, fountains, water jets, and nymphaea [as the] wealth [in the] Roman Garden because the passion for water displays never diminished from the early empire through Late antiquity.”  

The water can tell us more about the cleanliness of the house, but it also acts in several other ways for viewing pleasure. “Water basins are the focal points of entrance halls and reception rooms or from doorways of other rooms facing into courtyards.” The still water gave the visitors something to gaze into and try to reflect on their experience in the garden. Often, statues were placed in a way by the owner so that when a visitor looked at their reflection in the water, they were also able to view the reflection of the statues. However, still water was not the only powerful motive for the owners.

Spraying or jetting waters also gave sound to the gardens, but added a practical factor of irrigation and watering plants. For example, a water garden occurred “when the planted areas

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41 Morvillez 2017, 45
44 Morvillez 2017, 45
reduced to elevated islands, and divided into symmetrical beds by canals and some accented with fountains.\textsuperscript{45} These different sets of water works included “the simple central vertical and lateral jets whose stream fell typically into elongated basins, water jets directly inserted into the garden to irrigate as well as to be enjoyed, rims of pools pierced by conduits, and even pipes emerging from shafts of columns.”\textsuperscript{46} The variety of sprays, in both pressure and size, gave different sounds to the gardens. This provided a relaxing aspect to the garden experience. The Roman wealthy chose the fountains or the irrigation patterns for specific representations. “Fountains in the form of stepped pyramids or of stairs often were positioned at the edge of pools\textsuperscript{47}, which would also be surrounded by the mythological sea creature sculptures or nymphs they chose. These creatures would either represent themselves or would help tell the story of the garden. It would additionally help tell the story of the journey the owner wanted to create for the visitor. They also “dominated their immediate surroundings with their visual and aural enticements so that the plantings and even the architecture played supporting roles in these theatrical performances.”\textsuperscript{48}

Although the statues had a significant water focus, including nymphs and other aquatic life, the focus was not on keeping the plants watered and hydrated. In fact, it was the case that for most of the gardens, the higher content of water that existed, the fewer plants existed and the more paintings of plants were displayed.\textsuperscript{49} This would have been important in very hot climates in order to cool the space for the individuals who are visiting the space. The size of the pool would also influence the inviting nature of the home.

\textsuperscript{45} Morvillez 2017, 52
\textsuperscript{46} Morvillez 2017, 53
\textsuperscript{47} Morvillez 2017, 55
\textsuperscript{48} Morvillez 2017, 45
\textsuperscript{49} Morvillez 2017, 56
The House of the Faun

Gardens of luxurious status held significant importance in terms of their physical structure but also the sounds and reflection of water that occurred. The style of the domus gardens allowed for large gatherings or for small meetings/business. They were also a place where the owner could go and have some quiet contemplation. For example, “guests enjoyed the close hand plantings, fountains, and decorative accoutrements; couches could have been arranged symmetrically on either side of a pool.”\(^{50}\) The experience of the pitter patter of water hitting the edge of the marble as visitors gather to reflect by the pool is a practical utilization of the space. In order to analyze the structures and plants of a domus more deeply, researchers excavated and discovered structural and plant remains, specifically at the House of the Faun. The House of the Faun was “built by the wealthy Samnites in the second century B.C.”\(^{51}\) It was given this name because it is said that “the statuette of the dancing faun found in the atrium had been a garden decoration which had been carried into the atrium for protection at the time of the eruption.”\(^{52}\) The basic layout of the domus, diagrammed in FIG 2.1, “has two atria and two peristyles which furnished light and air, it likewise occupied an entire city block.”\(^{53}\)

Jashemski describes clearly the experience one would have as they entered the home. She states:

As one entered the principal atrium of this stately house, an impressive vista met the eye. Through the window of the tablinum at the rear of the atrium there was a fine view of the peristyle garden surrounded by its portico of twenty-eight Ionic columns. To the beauty and fragrance of flowers was added the music of the fountain playing in the summer sun. Beyond the garden one might look into the great reception room (exedra) at the rear of the peristyle and, through the great

\(^{50}\) Morvillez 2017, 58
\(^{52}\) Jashemski 1993, Vol. II,145
window of this room, glimpse the paintings in the still larger peristyle garden beyond.\textsuperscript{54}

This vivid imagery allows the reader to visually walk through the domus and imagine the sights they would see as a guest. Jashemski goes on to further introduce the House of the Faun by detailing the mosaic “showing Alexander the Great and the Persian King Darius in battle; at the entrance was a carefully executed Nile mosaic.”\textsuperscript{55} Depicted in FIG 2.6, it is clear to see that the art tells a story and is well preserved. In the structural layout, the wealth is displayed in more ways than just walking through as a guest. The owners of the home also relished in the luxury of their home; “the four dining rooms in this house, one for each of the seasons with lighting and exposures suited to the season, looked out to the peristyle gardens. Unlike the majority of inhabitants of Pompeii, the occupants of this house had their own bath, a luxury that made it unnecessary for them to use the public baths. Adjacent to the bath was an unusually large kitchen.”\textsuperscript{56} The layout described above exemplifies the facets of a luxurious home that would not be found in other homes or villas. Looking into the two peristyles at the House of the Faun will help us further understand their significance in the domus.

The above description by Jashemski features the first peristyle at the House of the Faun (FIG 2.8). The first peristyle “is the key to the house’s design, in both practice and theory.”\textsuperscript{57} It “dominates the house not only visually and functionally, but it also commands the design, determining the locations and dimensions of other major parts.”\textsuperscript{58} It is claimed that the first peristyle is a functional and principal unit of the home that shapes the surrounding structures of the house(letter a in FIG 2.1). When looking at FIG 2.5,“the garden in the first peristyle was

\textsuperscript{54} Jashemski 1993, Vol. I,19-20
\textsuperscript{55} Jashemski 1993, Vol. I, 20
\textsuperscript{56} Jashemski 1993, Vol. I,20
\textsuperscript{57} Dwyer 2001,332
\textsuperscript{58} Dwyer 2001,332
enclosed… and in the middle of the garden was a delicately carved base on a marble fountain from which water jetted into a shallow pool."  

There are remains of a fountain in the center of this space in the view of FIG 2.5. This would serve as the focal point and would allow for plant organization. There was “a large window, almost the entire width of the Alexander mosaic, [that] made possible a beautiful vista from the entrance of the house to the rear of the large peristyle garden.”

In the latter portion of the house, there was a second large peristyle that would have previously functioned as a kitchen (letter c in FIG 2.1). “The garden was enclosed by 43 stuccoed columns. A wooden fence was attached to the outside of the columns.” When one walked through the back towards the rear wall, they would come upon “two middle columns of the south portico where there was a marble puteal (well water head), and beside it a marble table supported by a winged sphinx with the feet of a dog.” Depicted in FIG 2.2, the south side of the house also held “another cistern opening between the two south columns on the east, one with a puteal between the two north columns on the east, and a fourth, closed with a lid with a ring, between the fifth and sixth columns from the north on the west side.” The flow of water to the back of the home and around the edge of the garden. In this second, more utilitarian peristyle, there were multiple points of water access, which makes sense, given that it was likely here that washing and other water-related activities occurred here. At the very back of the house, beyond all the peristyles and atrium, there is “a small elevated area in the north portico of the large peristyle perhaps serving as a small stage for dramatic readings or musical programs.”

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60 Jashemski 1993, Vol. I, 34  
One feature of the house that is unique and detailed is the atrium (FIG 2.4). There are two styles of atrium in the House of the Faun. The physical remains and the horticultural remains tell the story of the functionality of the space as a whole. The tetrastyle atrium (FIG 2.9), given its name because it contains four columns supporting the roof, is “considered a more private area of the house.”\(^\text{66}\) It is “connected with the service corridor and its dependent rooms, suggesting that it was intimately concerned with practical matters.”\(^\text{67}\) The intimate nature of this space reflects the differences between the two atria themselves. It would reveal that the “tetrastyle atrium would appear as ordinary cubiculum doors when closed.”\(^\text{68}\) This atrium “had its own street entrance and corridor added in the late 1st century B.C.E.”\(^\text{69}\) This would reveal that the entrance was for individuals who the homeowner would not want the slaves to be seen. This was their corridor would be hidden to the visitors eye and they could enter from the side of the house where nobody could see. The Tuscan atrium (FIG 2.10), which belongs to the “first phase of the house as we know it”\(^\text{70}\), is the first space a visitor would enter and pass through to get to the first peristyle.

Movement Through Space

The House of the Faun has many similarities to the general domus structure including the peristyles, porticoes, and the atriums (FIG 2.3 & FIG 2.7). The domus covered “an entire city block” and is “lavishly laid out with two atria and two peristyles which furnished light and air.”\(^\text{71}\) These spaces function as described above in the House of the Faun but then additional rooms and

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\(^{66}\) Dwyer 2001, 334  
\(^{67}\) Dwyer 2001, 334  
\(^{68}\) Dwyer 2001, 334  
\(^{70}\) Dwyer 2001, 334  
\(^{71}\) Jashemski 1993, Vol. I,19
their locations off of the garden can provide another interpretation. At the initial entrance of the house, there is the fauces, or the entryway that provided a viewpoint to the back end of the furthest garden (number 1 in FIG 2.3). This gives a perspective to the visitor of openness, allowing an interpretation that the horticulture must be short and/or wrap up the various columns. This would mean that the plants and shrubs would be short in stature so that they would not block the view of the entire home and specifically into the atrium from the entrance. The first peristyle garden measured “19.20x24.00m.” Then, attached to the garden are a variety of different rooms including four different triclinia and the tablinum. The triclinium (number 6 in FIG 2.3) functioned as “the dining-room of a Roman house” and was “evidently intended to be used in summer, which were open towards the north, and had on each side a window looking into a garden.” This definition comes from describing the House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii. As visitors looked into the garden as they dined, they would be refreshed with the presence of the natural beauty, almost as though they were eating outdoors. This space was made to be more public, for conducting modest business and for dining. Having four of these would have provided plenty of space for entertainment and allowed guests not to feel crowded.

The tablinum (number 3 in FIG 2.3) functioned as “a recess or room at the further end of the atrium opposite the door landing into the hall, and was regarded as part of the atrium. It contained the family records and archives.” This room would serve as a public space that would have shown the wealth and status of the family. Any access to these rooms would be coupled with guidance from a slave or the homeowner himself. The public and open nature of these spaces curated a garden that would have had fountains and running water as explained

72 Smith 2013, 1157
72 Smith 2013, 1157
75 Smith 2013, 426
above. The fountains found here would have had similar luxury as the fountains found in the Villa A at Oplontis, which will be the focus of chapter three. In the garden, there were “fragments of two statuettes of Greek marble; a seminude Bacchus and a seminude Paris lacking arm and head.”\textsuperscript{76} Interestingly, these statutes would represent the owner and how he wants his image to be portrayed to the visitors of the garden.

Travelling further backward in the house, the next garden would be surrounded by the triclinium as well as views of the end of the house. This second peristyle garden (labelled at 15 in FIG 2.3) would have taken up a significantly larger portion of the house, measuring at “32.00x35.00m long with a portico measuring at 4.00m wide.”\textsuperscript{77} From the previous description, it can be understood that the garden would have had guests standing or sitting and watching the performances from inside the garden. The intimate aspect of the space provides a layer of privacy to the garden and the experience itself. Finally, the last rear wall held “two large niches with aedicula facades; at least one of these was a lararium.”\textsuperscript{78} The lararium “was a place in the inner part of a Roman house, which was dedicated to the Lares, and in which their images were kept and worshipped. It seems to have been customary for religious Romans in the morning, immediately after they rose, to perform their prayers in the lararium.”\textsuperscript{79} Inside the lararium at the House of the Faun was found “a statuette of a Genius, and below in front of these niches, two bronze candelabra, two terra-cotta lamps, two bronze tripods, and a carbonized branch of laurel with the bones and eggs of a dove that had made a nest in a laurel tree.”\textsuperscript{80} During a couple excavations, bone remains were found. Some seemed to be too small to identify but others can give us clues as to the livestock that may have lived here. In another finding, “the skeletons of

\textsuperscript{76} Jashemski 1993, Vol. II,146
\textsuperscript{77} Jashemski 1993, Vol. II,145
\textsuperscript{78} Jashemski 1993, Vol. II,146
\textsuperscript{79} Smith 2013, 667-668
\textsuperscript{80} Jashemski 1993, Vol. II,146
two cows were found in a stall in the House of the Faun”, noted as “one of the most elegant homes in Pompeii.”\textsuperscript{81} Perhaps it had to do with animals escaping in fear of the eruption or the fact that “animals tended to be more common in the ancient city than most people realize.”\textsuperscript{82} This would mean that bones of animals and those of humans were found in the same spaces. The fact that there are cows in this luxurious home is an important factor in correcting assumptions that there were strict boundaries between luxury and productivity. From this discussion, there is an overlap between the luxurious and productivity of the domus that has not been previously discussed. The luxury that comes from the home is perhaps related to the same way the villas use the productive nature of their land to grow crops and vegetation to sell to make money or to use as a food source.

\textit{Interpretations and Conclusions}

The public and private aspect of the house varies as we travel through the different rooms. Areas are sectioned off for private entrance only such as the kitchen and the baths whereas the triclinium and the atrium provided a public space for entertainment and/or business. The functionality of the rooms relates to the general domus definitions but the placement of the rooms off of the garden gives different contextual meaning. Between the spraying and jetting waters and the remains of the different fountains, we are able to understand what the owner wanted the visitors to experience. The porticoes acting as transitions between the peristyles allows for individuals to recollect their experience and then move into another space. The reflections in the fountains allow for individuals to look deeper and remove themselves from the immediate life and focus on what they would aspire to be. It could also be a time for individuals

\textsuperscript{81} Jashemski 1993, Vol. I,216  
\textsuperscript{82} Jashemski 1993, Vol. I,216
to think about their interactions with the owner and the influence that the owner has on their visitation to the home. The gardens in the domus serve as central locations in between the rooms of the home. The large size of the gardens provided a space for individuals to take a step back from the small interactions they would have with the other visitors and listen to the water hit the fountain stone or hear the spraying jets hit the sides of the pool. These water sounds the openness of the garden as well provided individuals with an opportunity to have peace and tranquility for a moment. Although gardens were an area of production in terms of conversations with the owner, they also had influence on the lived experience. The gardens are placed in a strategic way so that there is space in between the enclosed and tight rooms and the open and lively aspect contrast with the garden. The tightness of the enclosed space would allow for more intimacy and heightened volume of voices and when transitioning to the open space would allow for the tightness to be released. It is almost as though the intimacy factor gets lesser and the individuality experience increases. The large open space near the gardens and pools allows for reflection, relaxation, and rejuvenation of oneself which would not work as well in tight rooms. There is clear influence of the garden in terms of looking at the domus in its entirety. This space privatizes the public interactions that occur in the home but also the space that is provided to retreat and relax after business has been conducted between the owner and the visitor.

Looking forward onto the next chapter, I will be delving into the physical remains such as the plants and other horticulture at the Villa A at Oplontis and how the evidence in that space alludes further to the importance of the Roman garden in the ancient world.
CHAPTER THREE: VILLA: VILLA A AT OPLONTIS

A Roman villa can be defined as “a dwelling outside the city walls, and it is possible that historically the term originally meant only rural property in the ager (landed property).”\textsuperscript{83} However, in this thesis, from chapter one, villas will be defined as originating as “rustic farmhouses”\textsuperscript{84} in the countryside which would develop after the third century B.C. after military war generals had surfaced to the top of their social and economic class. These residences would then transition further into ostentatious and massive villas acting as “vacation retreats for the rich and famous.”\textsuperscript{85} Away from the inner city, the garden focus switches from being ostentatious to being purposeful. Many of the gardens in villas are both a place of peace and relaxation as well as a means of producing vegetables and other foods. These gardens served “economic as well as sociopolitical needs—land, together with its livestock and agricultural produce, had formed the basis of aristocratic wealth for centuries.”\textsuperscript{86} Most gardens in Italy up until at least the 3rd century BCE were used for purpose and not for pleasure; after the Roman military conquests of the Greek Hellenistic world, pleasure gardens came to fruition.Originally, the gardens in the villas served as a “get-away” from the urban lifestyle in terms in both the political and social realms. Our evidence for villas in rural contexts is limited because of the problems of preservation and discovery. Many of the villas were residences of the elite, and each had an owner with his or her own personal preferences for what experience they wanted to create for their visitors. However, there are elements of commonality, which will be the focus of this chapter.

\textsuperscript{83} Hartwick 2017,73
\textsuperscript{84} Gazda 2014, para. 64
\textsuperscript{85} Gazda 2014, para. 64
\textsuperscript{86} Gazda 2014, para. 63.
Evidenced by excavations of villas in the Campania region surrounding the Bay of Naples, “almost every physical component of villas and the activities they both accommodated and framed had the potential for displaying an owner’s wealth and power.” There were a variety of ways to achieve this goal, including views from the home, expensive statues, heated baths, and other additional amenities that would become standards for exquisite villas. Owners of these villas were earning profit off of the lucrative nature of their property, which included harvesting and producing commodities such as wine and olive oil. Owners used these profits to construct and beautify their gardens and to increase their vast estates and properties. This earned money is a significant aspect as to why they were able to afford the lavish goods that they had in their houses. The lavishness of their houses increased the influence of the experience their guests were able to have as well. All in all, a significant portion of money and wealth was earned from the productive nature of their land, leading them to a profitable life in many different senses. The factors of wealth stemmed from the productive nature of their estates where they could turn their land over for profit. In the case of many of the elite homes, a large number of slaves provided “the daily working and the processing of the produce, such as wine, oil, or more exotic foods to serve at showy banquets.” In addition, “[e]laborate saltwater fish tanks, constructed and maintained at great expense along the seacoast adjacent to villa properties, allowed proprietors to collect and raise exotic species, while lakes, lagoons, and streams on villa properties yielded oysters and other seafood for the table.”

One important site for the study of gardens in ancient Roman villas is Oplontis, located in the modern district of Torre Annunziata near Pompeii on the Bay of Naples. Here there is one

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90 Jashemski 1987,34.
villa in particular, Villa A or the Villa of Poppaea (FIG 3.1 & FIG 3.2), with gardens, all of which has been exceptionally well-preserved from the eruption of Vesuvius. Campania, the surrounding region, was considered a hospitable environment for both the residents and the crops. Pliny the Elder describes it as follows:

in what terms to describe Campania… with its blissful and heavenly loveliness, so as to manifest that there is one region where nature has been at work in her joyous mood! And then again all that invigorating healthfulness all the year round, the climate so temperate, the plains so fertile, the hills so sunny, the glades so secure, the groves so shady! Such wealth of various forests, the breezes from so many mountains, the great fertility of its wheat and vines and olives, the glorious fleeces of its sheep, the sturdy necks of its bulls, the many lakes, the rich supply of rivers and springs flowing all over its surface, its many seas and harbors and the bosom of its lands offering on all sides a welcome to commerce, the country itself eagerly running out into the seas as it were to aid mankind.\(^91\)

It is clear from this literary reference that this area was lucrative to those who owned land on this coast. All aspects of profit are mentioned by Pliny the Elder including climate, animals, water supply, and horticulture. In unison, all those factors made villas a vibrant meeting space. The houses here served not just as profitable land for the owners, but also as entertainment spaces. Many of the owners of villas in Campania would rely on the garden experiences in their residences to demonstrate their status to their guests. For example, “[l]eisurely walks and conversation in formal gardens populated by statues and surrounded by colonnaded passageways ornamented with paintings, [and] hunting in wooded areas on villa grounds”\(^92\) were a few examples of shared experiences. Heated competition between villa owners over the special statues and other ornamental pieces in their gardens occurred and were conversational pieces. Each garden, along with its component parts, would be unique to the owner.

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\(^{91}\) Gazda 2014, para. 114-115., citing Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, Book III

\(^{92}\) Gazda 2014, para. 68-73.
Villa A at Oplontis

Villa A (FIG 3.1) is also known as Villa of Poppaea after a painting that was found there labelled with “the family of Poppaea, Nero’s second wife.” Villa A had many remains that can be used to understand the lavish lifestyle that many villa owners would have lived. This villa will be used as a case study representing a typical villa and the activities that would have taken place in the home and garden based on excavations.

Villa A was situated at ground level and the southern side faced the sea, with an “integral part of the view toward Vesuvius and the adjacent fertile plains and wooded hills.” However, “those approaching the Villa from the road would have seen the large north garden dotted with sculptures and bordered by colonnaded porticoes running along this facade of the Villa, a vista that also recalls some of the topographical wall paintings.” Villas were constructed to take advantage of their surrounding environment, including “healthful climate; the breezes from the mountains and the seas; and the lakes, rivers, woods, and fertile land that could exploited for incomes and for food to supply the table.” All sides of the house would have allowed guests a glimpse into the potential experiences inside the villa and across the landscapes. The crop election of the owner was influenced by what already existed in the wild, natural space. Additionally, they would choose horticulture that would flourish in the garden space. Visitors would have been immersed into the porticoed garden from various entrances of the home with “peristyle courts extended out from the building’s core, framing the formal gardens.” The owner would have curated their own space to influence the paths that a visitor would have taken

93 Gazda 2014, para. 68-73.
95 Gazda 2014, para. 76-81.
96 Gazda 2014, para. 82-84.
97 Gazda 2014, para. 76-81.
to get from one side of the house to the other. Owners would alter the natural space by adding their own plants, paintings, and statues, which would give their influence to their own home.

One of the reasons why Villa A is so important to the study of Roman gardens is the state of preservation of the painted walls as well as the detailed sculptures and the swimming pool that would have been included to show the owner’s elite status. Sculptures found throughout the Villa “form one of the most extensive collections of statues, busts, and other marble ornaments known from the villas of Campania.”98 In addition to the marble sculptures that surround the water swimming pools, there were windows in the surrounding rooms that looked into the garden. Also, there were pools that reflected the images of the statues or fountains so they could be viewed from all angles of the garden:

At the southwest corner of the east garden is a cluster of day rooms, with strong evidence for a matching suite at the northwest corner. The most spacious of these rooms had large windows with views of the garden surroundings. Along the west side of the pool, an enfilade of successive roofed and unroofed spaces, visually connected by large unglazed windows, offered a playfully contrived viewing experience of painted garden imagery within open-air viridaria containing live plants. Colonnaded porticoes also bordered the other large garden areas on the south and north.99

There is a clear emphasis on the importance of viewing the garden from all the different rooms of the home. Windows provided a space to glance into the garden and view where the individual was next to be guided through the journey of the owner’s home. The pool, the unroofed spaces, and the large windows alluded to the idea of openness and spaciousness that it similar to the House of the Faun example. Even if the individuals were not viewing live plants, there were images of plants and other horticulture that would influence the importance that the gardens played in the experience of the home.

98 Gazda 2014, para. 76-81.
The viewpoints that were experienced outside the home, or the initial thoughts one may have had about the house, set up in visitors a mindset of expected experiences to occur while visiting the house. However, once entering the house, and journeying through the layout of the villa, an individual would be able to see all the various aspects of the garden including the plants, sculptures, and other physical structures as one space. This would definitely affect the difference between the expectation of their experience versus reality of experience, both related to experience. Influenced by the selection of the above materials, Villa A showed luxury and openness due to the open roofs and large windows. There is an importance of being able to see in and view what is on the inside, including the statues and live plants, hanging and surrounding the garden itself. With all the day rooms surrounding the garden from all sides, visitors would be able to relax and take in the different reflections, positively reflecting the openness mentioned above by the physical windows and ceilings. Although this interpretation comes from my viewpoint, the evidence shows that there is a relationship between the expectation and the lived-in experience. The relationship would have met the expectations of the individual because the gardens allowed for an openness and an experience similar to what was discussed in the domus chapter. In fact, “the architecture of Villa A consists of an original domus-like core with an atrium, dining and other reception rooms, and smaller rooms.”

Jashemski’s Research of Villa A

The area of Campania was well preserved because of the eruption of Vesuvius. Researchers and excavators have been able to understand Villa A in a more holistic sense because the entirety of the villa was covered and preserved by the ash. This section will explain the different structural aspects of the garden as well as evidence of specific types of plants found

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100 Gazda 2014, para. 76-81
during the excavation. Specifically, Wilhelmina Jashemski in the 1960’s “focused on recording the extensive and often extraordinary garden surfaces visible once the lapilli were cleared.”¹⁰¹ In her work, she originally looked at soil contours, which were “typically the first features encountered after the overlying lapilli layer is removed, and their preservation is one of the unique aspects of garden archaeology in the Vesuvian region.”¹⁰² These give us the shape and the format of the gardens, which come in a variety of different forms. In Oplontis at Villa A, there were different kinds of surfaces, including “cultivated garden beds, contouring of the garden surface for irrigation, the accumulation of earth along fences and around large shrubs, and compacted earthen walks, engineered for water flow and good drainage”¹⁰³, pictured in the (FIG 3.3). Similar to the domus, discussed here in Chapter Two, Jashemski excavated peristyle gardens found in both the south and the north of the villa. However, in these peristyles, there are clear pathways on which visitors walked or through which water ran for irrigation. In the south garden, with a matching path in the west, a compacted earth path appears to run parallel to the colonnade between the two rows of root cavities(FIG 3.4). In the center was a slightly raised area, in which no root cavities were found. Jashemski notes that the edging around the raised area was “somewhat serpentine.”¹⁰⁴ In the north garden(FIG 3.3 &FIG 3.6), “the central walk is edged by bands of slightly raised soil with root cavities (B) separating the walk from the wide, uncompacted, cultivated soils of planting beds to either side (D).”¹⁰⁵

These various walking paths help explain the foot traffic that would have existed in these gardens to get from one area to another of the villa. The ground compacted by the footsteps compared to the raised beds surrounding these areas was preserved throughout the various

¹⁰¹ Gleason 2014, para. 944-946
¹⁰² Gleason 2014, para. 960-961
¹⁰³ Gleason 2014, para. 960-961
¹⁰⁴ Gleason 2014, para. 960-961
¹⁰⁵ Gleason 2014, para. 960-961
gardens in Villa A. These patterns may have corresponded with statues, fountains, views, and paintings but most of the research looks these aspects independently of one another. The raised beds would have been perhaps from the open walks that occurred rather than the water that would have ran down the paths. There is a clear uneven surface that would not have existed if water had been able to smooth it out. The rough nature indicates that individuals walked along this path, perhaps as it was wet but made it more uneven in its remains. Looking at the root cavities and the raised versus compacted beds gives a good sense of the pathways and routes of the gardens.

*Root Cavities and Plant Remains*

Root cavities have been used as one of the main ways to understand what would have been planted or placed in these gardens. The south and north peristyle gardens (FIG 3.4), when they were excavated, had two rows of cavities (FIG 3.3 & FIG 3.5 & FIG 3.7 & FIG 3.8). There were an exceptional number of flowerpots found “buried in the ground with root cavities emerging from them that could be cast. One row of thirty-seven findspots is matched with the columns of the south peristyle, each findspot containing two planting pots.”¹⁰⁶ In the villa gardens of the elite, these plants were individualistically chosen to influence the experience of visiting the garden. In the north garden, “sixty-one smaller root cavities within these edges were as small as 1.1 cm in diameter and appeared to be of woody plants, while eleven larger cavities, up to 21–23 cm, were spaced at irregular intervals and suggested small trees.”¹⁰⁷ There was a clear distinction found between the different sizes and functions of the cavities(FIG 3.9 & FIG 3.10& FIG 3.11). Some cavities that were on the sides of the main walkway could be explained

¹⁰⁶ Gleason 2014, para. 996.
¹⁰⁷ Gleason 2014, para. 967-1008.
as having held four fountains composed of marble centaurs, the remains of which have also been excavated (FIG 3.12). The statues would not be determined which base they belonged two but “the group comprises two centaurs and two centaurettes, all of blue-veined white marble, about 90 cm high, all originally outfitted as fountains”\(^{108}\) (FIG 3.12 & FIG 3.13), but no water pipes were identified near the location. In addition to these statues, there were remains of two or three other marble statues found on the largest cavity in the entire plot of Oplontis. Hundreds of shrubs flanked the walkways and served as the pathway barrier. There is a flow through the space that shows a clear transition through the garden.

Although not described by Jashemski in her research, it seems as though the analysis of her excavation would give way to telling a story of the journey. In a later chapter, I will delve into trying to understand time, space, and sense as a function of experiences in the garden, influenced by physical plants and structures in the garden itself. It seems as though the raised bed compared to the trenched path follows the line of statues and is surrounded by the shrubs. Clearly, the owner guided the visitor through experiences and interactions in a specific way. Jashemski also looked at the pool garden, in FIG 3.2, labelled as area 96, of the utmost importance in understanding Roman garden history. Behind each piece of sculpture along the pool, one or more cavities were found, along with varying amounts of carbonized material. Approximately half the plants could be identified, if only tentatively. Moser and colleagues, compiling the previous research of many other archeologists, looked at soil samples that were collected in both the northern garden and the enclosed garden (FIG 3.22- Northern Garden (27), Enclosed Garden (200)). The enclosed garden in FIG 3.2 would be represented by number 20 and the northern garden would be in the upper left hand corner. Their research represents both the remains found in the garden as well as those that would have made up the structure of the physical architecture.

\(^{108}\) Gleason 2014, para. 967-1008.
They sampled “charred woods” from the stratigraphy and were able to distinguish the different woods used to make the structural aspects of the garden. According to their results, “[t]he favourite timber for building was coniferous wood: the beams of the villa were made of *Abies* and *Picea*, while the poles were made of *Cupressus sempervirens*. Timber of *Pinus sylvestris* group was used for the planking which probably covered the wall of the hexagonal room. *Abies* was also used for the doors, windows, pivots and hinge.”\(^{109}\) The coniferous wood would grow straight up so it would functionally serve the purpose of either planks or posts. The gardens, however, had a diversity of plants. As the authors describe:

> The identified taxa from the charcoal fragments which were found in the two garden soil samples [northern and enclosed] do not represent a homogeneous group of plants: some of them are typical ornamental plants, while others seem to be considered more as wild trees, and yet others are climbing weeds. This makes their interpretation difficult. Are they really the plants which were growing in the gardens as ornamentals, or can their presence being explained in a different way? Considering the identified taxa one by one is indeed necessary.\(^{110}\)

First, *Populus* and *platanus orientalis* (oriental plane) remains were found in the northern garden. These remains were found in the root cavities and in mosaics and paintings, cited from Jashemski in the research by Moser et al. Another remain was cypress, found in a root cavity along the northern end of the swimming pool of the villa(FIG 3.14). However, the base of these trees seemed to have been too large for this garden, and perhaps during the eruption, nearby trees outside the garden were burned and fell into the garden. Finally, the last example of remains, found in the enclosed garden, is *Laurus nobilis*, found in many examples of literary and wall painting evidence. The above plants are described as ornamental or decorative but many other remains comes from plants that were cultivated for food.. These include “sweet cherry, plum,

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\(^{109}\) Moser et al. 2012, 400  
\(^{110}\) Moser et al. 2012, 404
almond and peach, which were used both as fruit trees and ornamentals.”\textsuperscript{111} These food plants, supplemented by many additional taxa, show the vast carbonized materials that would help us understand the kind of plants used by the villa owner to create a luxurious, individualized semi-natural space.

It is vital as a researcher, however, to take this evidence with a grain of salt. These charcoal samples provide information about the villa that suggests the nature of the plants and trees, either cultivated or wild. “Regarding timber for building, the data confirms the massive use of silver fir and suggests that this tree was more widespread in southern Italy during the past than today...The use of cypress confirms that its good technical properties were well-known by the Romans, that it has been used as timber for building.”\textsuperscript{112} Interestingly, the researchers conclude that “the presence of both wild trees showing a small wood diameter and climbing weeds together with ornamental trees seems to indicate that the gardens were totally neglected”\textsuperscript{113} at the time of the Vesuvius eruption. The remains provide significant evidence for the existence of certain plants and trees. However, they tell us little about the owner’s mindset behind planting and/or purchasing them. The plants appeared to be laid out with a symmetry that corresponded to the layout of the themed statuary(FIG 3.8).\textsuperscript{114} These root cavities help give a hint at what plants and other statues would have surrounded the garden even though the remnants are not preserved in full and complete form.

\textsuperscript{111} Moser et al. 2012, 405  
\textsuperscript{112} Moser et al. 2012, 406  
\textsuperscript{113} Moser et al. 2012, 406  
\textsuperscript{114} Gleason 2014, para. 967-1008.
**Plant Potters**

Plant potters are a type of physical remains that help us understand the selection and placement of types of plants that enabled villa owners to personalize the garden space and make it feel like their own property. The “ancient sources describe the use of perforated ceramic vessels in a technique of propagation called aerial or air layering, in which the pot was slipped over the branch of the parent tree or shrub, packed with rich soil, and left for two years until the branch took root in the soil.”\(^{115}\) (FIG 3.15) Either the pot was kept intact and soil and seeds were planted inside, similar to modern day gardening, or the pot was broken into pieces. The south peristyle, as mentioned above, had many cavities that had rooted pots inside when excavated(FIG 3.16). “In the southernmost row, planting-pot fragments were embedded in nearly all the root cavities, indicating that the plants had been established and planted in the pots and had successfully matured beyond them. These pots held shrubs or small fruit trees set over a half meter into the soil, a depth commonly used for trees in the area today.”\(^{116}\) (FIG 3.17)

An interesting assemblage of small pots was uncovered in the small south peristyle that had a circular planter inserted between the square outer pool and a second, smaller circular one with a small jet fountain (FIG 3.19). Five terracotta pots 13–14 cm high with a bottom hole and three to four side holes were found; most of the pots had been perforated after firing (FIG 3.18). These were only partially buried in the shallow soil of the planter and would not have obscured the view of the fountain.\(^{117}\) Planting in the pots promoted healthy growth because the dry season would cause plants to die easily. The pots provided control over watering and helped keep the plant or tree healthy. Around the colonnade however, there were fully intact pots that may have had holes for stakes in the soil. “The soil in the two angled pots had two tiny cavities—cavities

\(^{115}\) Gleason 2014,Para. 1027-1029.  
\(^{116}\) Gleason 2014,Para. 1027-1029.  
\(^{117}\) Gleason 2014,Para. 1032.
left probably not by roots but by stakes used to guide the plants up the columns. The effect would have been of vines climbing the columns, a living version of the vine-covered columns and pilasters seen in the Villa paintings.\textsuperscript{118}

Looking back at the variety of potted plants, it is clear that some are meant to be permanent plantings while others are placeholders for growth before being gardened. As Jashemski continued to study the variety of pots found either in fragments or whole, she viewed them as either ad hoc planting pots or purpose-made planting pots, which varied across the empire. The presence of planting pots does not necessarily mean that the plants in the pots were local:

Although Pliny the Elder suggests that potted plants were traded across considerable distances, the evidence from pottery kilns and archaeometry throughout the Roman world suggests that most pots were locally made and used. Typological study also suggests variations within a region that cannot convincingly be matched elsewhere. However, this need not suggest that only local plants were grown in these pots. It is possible that imported shrubs and trees arrived in nurseries where they were propagated and transported for local use in planting pots made locally. Two plant nurseries have been located at Pompeii, and a third has recently been documented in Egypt; however, we have much to learn archaeologically about plant trade and nurseries.\textsuperscript{119}

The figures and the table demonstrate the four different types of purpose-made pots and focuses on where one would find them across the empire (FIG 3.20& FIG 3.21). “Villa A provides a crucial source of evidence for the use of both purpose-made and reused forms of \textit{ollae perforatae} in garden cultivation.”\textsuperscript{120} Although most of the plant remains were preserved by carbonization and, in some cases, by sealing off the organic remains from any kind of decay. Mineralized remains are also known. It is difficult for many researchers to study the remains in depth due to the living rituals of the inhabitants prior. Gleason delves into the discussion by examining Jashemski’s work:

\textsuperscript{118} Gleason 2014, Para. 1027-1029.  
\textsuperscript{119} Gleason 2014, para. 1027-1029.  
\textsuperscript{120} Gleason 2014, para. 1034-1036.
Prior to the eruption, the inhabitants of the area engaged in the same ways of handling plants that are preserved at other archaeological sites in the Mediterranean—burning of food waste, use of mulch piles, compost, fecal matter from latrines and stables, etc. The challenge in the Vesuvian region is to identify what remains are preserved by the eruption and what remains pre-date the eruption. Archaeobotanist working with the publications of Jashemski’s team have not been able to readily distinguish the source of the remains in all instances. The following discussion digs into her fieldbooks to provide more specifics on her findspots, sampling, identification, and interpretation. These are necessarily preliminary, but point to the kind of additional data that may be obtained from a close reading of her fieldbooks.¹²¹

Although there is good evidence preserved by the eruption of Vesuvius, there is also a significant factor that individuals also inhabited the space afterwards. Similar to the example of the cows perhaps running away and coming to the House of the Faun for refuge, some of the remains of the plants and other archaeobotany would be affected by wind and/or burning of materials. We can take a deeper look at the evidence that remains based on the fieldbooks and physical remains from Jashemski’s work but the source of all the remains she finds may not be specifically localized to the Villa A at Oplontis.

Interpretations and Conclusions

Villa A at Oplontis allows us to look at the physical remains, such as the plants, root cavities, and the plant pots, to understand the natural versus the cultivated horticulture that would have existed. Owners were selective in their choices to fit what they would want to represent their family status. The slaves and other household workers would function as productive labor for harvesting the crops for money the owner could then put towards the villa. Finally, similar to the House of the Faun, the physical structures, including porticoes and peristyles, are identical to each other. The lucrative nature of the villa and domus comes from the wealth put into the home by the owner, either through productivity or through the inherited space.

¹²¹ Gleason 2014, para. 1054-1058.
The discussion presented in the House of the Faun chapter is relevant to the Villa A at Oplontis example as well. The various statutes and the horticulture play a part in the openness that exists in the home to provide a space of reflection and contemplation. The garden spaces take the individual out of the reality of his/her life and puts them into a clear mindset or almost unreal situation. Again, the pools and statues surrounding them and the various horticultural examples provide this space for inner reflection. However, the specific plant remains that were excavated and the root cavities that were examined help us understand the vastness of the plants that were in the garden. Much larger trees inhabited the garden and sometimes the trees previously existed without the owner having planted them. There is a biological influence of having the trees and plants but it also provides a liveliness to the garden, rather than just the openness of the space itself. The horticulture and the paintings that are placed into the garden by the individual owners are shown through the various large windows surrounding the garden in the rooms. Having this perspective and view of the garden from the minute you enter the home, immediately has an impact on the lived experience and the individuals interacting with the garden. The variety of plants and the kinds of pots show the efforts of the owner in choosing what goes into the experience the visitors will have. Similar to the owners at the House of the Faun, the way in which individuals enter the different rooms affects the experience they will have in the home itself. The slaves who enter from the side entrances of the home are hidden from the public eye while those who are invited in as guests, friends, or clients may enter from the front. Entering from the front, individuals get the full journey and are influenced by the owner to have an experience. The similarities of the two homes tell us that perhaps the gardens in these two contexts – domus and villa – are more similar than previous research has shown. We
draw a distinction between the two gardens but maybe it is important to look at the evidence in the two different types of homes to tell the whole story.

There is a shared experience in the Roman garden that tells us the importance of going and visiting or being invited to these gardens. Not only is it a chance for the owner to show off the garden and other rooms in their home, but it is a chance for the individual visiting to have an unreal experience. They are taken out of their everyday life and placed into a space where they are able to reflect and become their best self in the garden. This experience is shared in both examples at the House of the Faun and the Villa A at Oplontis. It can be understood that Jashemski was a groundbreaking pioneer who spearheaded the excavations and research of pollen, plants, and pots in Oplontis. However, her research extends deeply only into the physicality of the garden. In contrast, my research applies a social and spatial theory to the experience provided by the research presented already. The following chapter will look at both the domus and the villa, and argue that the experiences visitors would have as they walked through the gardens in both types of residences reflect how these spaces were intended to serves as a utopia or a heterotopia of illusion.
CHAPTER FOUR: SOCIAL AND SPATIAL THEORY
IN THE CONTEXT OF ANCIENT AND MODERN GARDENS

One may be asking: why are you researching Roman gardens in both the villa and domus if you are saying that are the same? In understanding the space that is created in these gardens, we are able to further perceive what would have been ancient Roman experience and interaction in the garden. Understanding the interactions and social relationships developed in the gardens enables us to learn more about the elite expressions of status and the ancient attitudes towards nature. It is true that “from the time of the late Republic, Rome was ringed by huge gardens. Inside the city, within this necklace of large gardens, there was a varied multiplicity of other gardens: gardens at baths, gardened walkways, window boxes, temple groves, roof gardens, gardens in taverns and small inns, and the courtyard gardens of houses.”  

Additionally, “outside the city, there were also funerary gardens. Everyone in Rome, even the poorer inhabitants of insulae, had access to gardens of various kinds, and many (not excluding all of the comparatively less well-off), had their own gardens, facilitated by the Augustan urban water programme of c. 30 bc onwards.”

It is important to discuss the gardens of Rome because these variety of gardens shows the complexity that existed and the social meaning of these spaces. It is clear that gardens were important to the Romans because they exist from as small as window boxes to as large as courtyard gardens of homes. A paper by F.M.A. Jones focuses on the fact that gardens existed in antiquity in the way that we would expect them also to exist in modern contexts. Jones connects

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122 Jones 2014, 782
123 Jones 2014, 782
research about the physical existence of gardens to the cognitive aspect. Experience in the garden is described as followed for guests:

Returning to the house, we should observe that the whole house is not all equally 'inside'. Many pass the front door without being allowed in. Some, clients, are allowed in as far as the atrium for the salutatio. Some, more intimate, are allowed in as far as the tablinum to discuss matters with the owner, or as far as a cenaculum to eat dinner with the host and with other guests. The most intimate part, and to which the closest intimates—or grandest guests—are invited, is the garden. The most public part is the atrium, not only frequented by the clients who attended the salutatio, but also visible—in a glimpse, at least—through the narrow entryway from the street.  

There is an intimacy involved in visiting the garden and being invited further and further into the home after entering the front entrance. Also, there is an “open-air quality” to the garden in that “the garden has plants, a fountain or fountains, air-movement, wetness and dryness, and smells. It is subject to seasonal variation both in terms of how it looks and how it feels to be there.”

Penelope Allison dives deeper into understanding the relationship between social behavior and domestic space. Domestic space functions as “a fundamental center of social behavior, an ideal place from which to commence an analysis of social behavior in the Roman world more broadly.” Allison supports her argument by stating the different ways to describe social behavior through culture explained by ancient authors, epigraphy, and material evidence. Using this previous research of understanding interactions and the legitimate evidence to support reconstructions of domestic space, I will be applying psychological influence to spatial and social theory and practice to understand the lived experience in the domus and villa gardens.

124 Jones 2014, 800
125 Jones 2014, 801
126 Allison 2001, 182
Understanding and Defining Green Space

After looking at the physical structures of the domus and the horticultural remains of the villas, I am now able to tie together the purpose of why it is important to have gardens at all. During the salutatio, as mentioned in the introduction chapter, the private nature of the home is in fact more public due to people being invited for client business by the patron. Other friends or clients would conduct business in the public space of the atrium whereas only more esteemed visitors would be invited into the bedrooms or other more private spaces. The individuals are greeted and invited into the home by the owner. However, the public nature of the space allows me to be able to compare the modern public garden to what is considered the ancient private garden. In modern America specifically, there is a focus on the fact that gardens provide a mostly peaceful place to relax and rejuvenate mental and physical energy. Research in psychology has focused on the importance of “green spaces” and the value they provide in terms of mental wellness. In one study by Daniel Pope and colleagues, green space was evaluated both by access in living near the space and in terms of how safe people felt while in the space. They concluded that “four attributes of green space were significantly associated with reduced psychological distress, suggesting the importance of not only having access to green space but being able to feel comfortable and use those green spaces (e.g. for relaxation and recreation) to improve mental well-being.”\textsuperscript{127} This study was based in the United Kingdom and focused on the ability of the majority of the participants to have access to a green area.

Another study, focused on four other major European cities, focused on “time spent in green spaces by purposeful visits and perceived mental health and vitality...and to what extent gender, age, level of education, attitude towards natures and childhood nature experiences

\textsuperscript{127} Pope et al. 2015, 37
Although it is possible for us to focus on accessibility, it is also important to look at time spent in the garden and what that does for our mental health. In a self-report measure, participants were asked about how many times they visited the green space as well as the duration of their visit. Participants were also asked about their psychological attitudes towards green space including, but not limited to, “How important it is for you that near your home i) there is green space for physical activity, social activity, relaxation, and/or walking and biking path to work or school?” The results demonstrated that “more hours of visiting green spaces was positively associated with a higher score on self-reported mental health and vitality in the pooled data, as well as the data for the four individual European cities.” In addition, “more visits were correlated with low perceived stress levels and for women, lower depressive symptoms.” From the modern day research, it is clear that mental health is influenced by time spent in gardens and green space. This in turn affects the overall well-being of an individual. This perspective is interesting to apply to the ancient Roman homes and relate spatial theory to an overall lived-in experience.

In the urban setting, it would be understood that there may be a lack of green space or plotted gardens due to the industrial nature of buildings. A modern take on trying to understand the relationship between mental health and urban green space falls in line with previous research. Daniel Nutsford and colleagues concluded from their New Zealand population that “decreased distance to useable green space within the larger neighborhood was associated with decreased anxiety/mood disorder treatment counts in an urban environment.” The less distance that it takes to get to the garden, the more likely an individual is to go to the space, and therefore more

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128 Van den Berg et al. 2016, 8
129 Van den Berg et al. 2016, 10
130 Van den Berg et al. 2016, 12
131 Van den Berg et al. 2016, 12
132 Nutsford et al. 2013, 1005
likely to increase their mental health. One aspect that needs to be researched is the aspect of private gardens in urban settings. This research would be directly related to our study of both the domus and the villa gardens. Due to the private nature of having to be invited by the owner of the home and then walked through in a specific direction provided a very specific interaction with the garden itself. For example, in the domus, being led through the first peristyle garden and ultimately doing business or having dinner in the triclinium, would force a visitor to look at the mosaics and paintings in one way. Similarly, in the villa, the plants and trees provided an outline pathway for visitors to follow, distinguishing where or where not visitors were allowed to go. Although these two experiences have different focuses, one would be able to say that the owner influences the individuals rather than the individuals choosing their own experience to have in the garden.

However, there is an aspect of active participation that explained mental concentration on the lived experience. In the previous chapters, there was a focus on the jetting waters and fountains that provided a space for the visitors to contemplate and to listen to the rhythm of water hitting the marble pools. In a sense, focusing on the sounds and sights of the gardens allowed for each individual to create a unique experience. These spaces are more likely to facilitate the creation of individual experiences because each person brings their unique perspective forward and interacts differently with the sounds and sights. Although there is very little research on the psychological distress that Romans were facing, one can imagine that it may have existed at some level with their business relations and family affairs. Perhaps, visiting the gardens of their business partners provided a distraction with the calming pitter patter of water or seeing his/her reflection in the pool allowed for self-pondering. This experience would provide something that is out of our own realm and brings the individual into a place of almost an unreal
experience. There is a sense that the visitors are able to be someone else they would not be at their own home and aspire to be someone greater than themselves. We are able to delve a little deeper into the different theories that help us understand what considerations may have affected the owner’s choice of layout related to horticulture or structure.

_Spatial Theory: Lefebvre_

There are several theories about space that can explain the reasoning behind interactions that occur within the garden setting. First and foremost, there is spatial theory produced by Henri Lefebvre in the late 1960s. Lefebvre focused on the “three ‘moments’ or faces that form the core of his theory of the production of space: the triad of perceived, conceived, and lived space.” Additionally, he looked at “the ‘translation’ of this triad into ‘spatial terms,’ resulting in the second triad of spatial practices, representations of space, and spaces of representation.”

Andrew Merrifield explains Lefebvre’s theory in terms of spatial practices, corresponding to perceived space, “structure daily life and a broader urban reality and, in so doing, ensure societal cohesion, continuity and a specific spatial competence.” Representations of space, comparable to conceived space, is consistently focused in “the discursively constructed space of professionals and technocrats such as planners, engineers, developers, architects, urbanists, geographers and those of a scientific bent.” It can be considered the “dominant space in any society and is 'tied to the relations of production and to the "order" which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to "frontal" relations.” Lastly, representational space, commensurate with lived space, “is space experienced through the complex symbols and

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133 Stanek, L. 2011, 81
134 Stanek, L. 2011, 81
135 Merrifield 1993, 524
136 Merrifield 1993, 523
137 Merrifield 1993, 523
images of its 'inhabitants' and 'users'. This space 'overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects.' Overall, Merrifield concludes that “relations between conceived-perceived-lived moments are never stable and exhibit historically defined qualities, attributes, and interconnections.”

Although Lefebvre focused his research and conclusions in the 1970’s, it is relatable to the ancient Roman world when discussing production of space and social relations in the space. His research, according to J.W. Freiberg & Gerald Moore has a focus on “several core Marxian concepts, such as exchange and use value, to the problematique of space, and he reflects on the possibility of establishing a “socialist space” as a “space of differences.” The production of space can be defined in two different ways Lefebvre states: one way meaning that “humans as social beings are said to produce their own life, their own consciousness, their own world.” It is curated by nature in that humans are driven by their social world and the importance of produced outcomes. Humans create labor for themselves that produces outcomes and therefore creates a space. There is an emphasis on the difference between “production in space to production of space because of the growth of the productive forces themselves and because of the direct intervention of knowledge in material production.” Being able to produce the space itself has significance if there is a social aspect to the experience. Human are a social species and so we produce social space into which to produce social actions. The space that is created is a product of social actions as well. Space is also a social unit, since “it involves assigning more or less appropriated places to the social relations of reproduction, namely, the biophysiological relations between the sexes, the ages, the specified organization of the family, and to the

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138 Merrifield 1993, 523
139 Merrifield 1993, 524
140 Freiberg & Moore 2009, 185
141 Lefebvre 1984, 68
142 Freiberg & Moore 2009, 186
relations of production, namely, the division of labor and its organization.”  

Space is created by the people who are involved in the particular area and connects with actions and behaviors in that environment. The space that is fostered is a product of knowledge between individuals and “it is inherent in the relation of property (the ownership of land, in particular), it is also linked to the productive forces that fashion this land. Space is permeated with social relations; it is not only supported by social relations, but it also is producing and produced by social relations.”

This conception of space is definitely supported in the experiences of the Roman gardens in both the villa and the domus. As each individual interacts with the owners and the other guests, they are creating an experience that will leave a different mark. They will have a productive goal or topic, striving to be achieved through social dialogue, which can be fostered by the space created by the owner. In every case, “each society is born within the framework of a given mode of production, with the inherent peculiarities to this framework molding its space. Spatial practice defines its space, it poses it and presupposes it in a dialectical interaction.” Although this seems to be a very abstract concept, social space “has a history that begins from a natural base: indeed, nature is always and everywhere characterized by particularities (climates, topologies, etc.).” Understanding that nature, such as the plants and trees curated by the owner, may enhance the conversations and dialogues between people, the social space of the garden itself drives the productive mode of the individual through interaction. From Lefebvre’s perspective on social space, there are a triad of productive models that allow us to develop social space. As he furthered his research, Lefebvre focused on how this model would

143 Freiberg & Moore 2009, 186
144 Freiberg & Moore 2009, 186
145 Freiberg & Moore 2009, 187
146 Freiberg & Moore 2009, 187
affect capitalism, economics, and politics, but I do think that spatial theory holds relevant significance to my garden research.

Space Theory: von Stackelberg’s adaptation of Lefebvre

Another psychological theory discussed by Katherine von Stackelberg is her review of the research about social space and space theory. Relating to Lefebvre’s theory, but adding on with minor theories to support her general conclusions, von Stackelberg supports that there is a reason for the space created and produced. She also believed that there are two major aspects that must be accommodated by the Roman garden: “it has to be flexible enough to avoid, or at least minimize, the city/countryside binary and has to be able to recognize the sensual effect of the garden on the occupant.”

The garden represents a space that is shaped by the location as well as the items located within the garden itself. A variety of influencers change the functionality of this “global space, an empty void only in its initial conception; the governing rules of a society are quickly brought to bear on it.”

The territory in which the owners produced and utilized garden space allowed for them to defend their ownership this personal property. It is seen from the inception of the garden, that with influence from societal norms and culture, open space can transform to produce meaningful space. There is a cognitive development where “important signifiers lie in perceptual, not physical difference; mental models of a given space override material and geophysical characteristics.”

Up until this point, my research has considered the physical importance, but now, we are integrating the personal, emotional and cognitive experience. Lefebvre inspired much of this

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147 Von Stackelberg 2017, 50
148 Von Stackelberg 2017, 50
149 Von Stackelberg 2017, 51
research because of his focus on the lived experience in the environment. According to von Stackelberg, the lived experience was “a framework that looked beyond the static and bounded concept of space and considers it in terms of movement.” Each individual would bring forward their own perceived notion towards their interaction with the garden. These notions are shaped largely by the aspects of that person’s identity, such as their age, gender, and connection to the owner. Each experience is individualized even though the physical garden spaces remain the same. The idea that who you are as an individual is influencing your interaction with the garden further denotes that individual experience is unique. Unique individuals are have unique experiences. That interaction would be influenced further by the other guests, the conversation created between guests, noises of the outside world, and the sights inside the garden. The power of the experience is leveled through “an especially immersive and powerful effect on their occupant through their synaesthetic demands on the body… this power is often described in terms of seduction of the senses but it can also express forms of temporal, societal, and political coercion.” For example, in the House of the Faun, the mosaic that lies on the floor provides a visual stimulation for the visitors of contemplating historical value. The large mosaic stops individuals and brings their attention to the floor, where the Nile is represented with a variety of animals (FIG 2.6). This allusion to the Nile and therefore to Egypt reflects the cosmopolitanism of the owner. Again, the closeness of the animals show their potential interactions and the horticulture that surrounds them. The mosaic of Alexander and Darius found at the House of the Faun also has representations of aspirations. Alexander, “is not idealized here in the otherwise frequent form: with long curls and full, soft features as the incarnation of Zeus, the sun-god Helios or Apollo […]. His head appears rather more gaunt, with tautly shaped cheeks, marked by

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150 Von Stackelberg 2017, 51
151 Von Stackelberg 2017, 51
suggested or deeply-carved wrinkles and with short hair barely covering his ear.”¹⁵² Again, Alexander is being depicted as someone he aspires to be and this in the home sets the same example. This space is where you can be an aspirational version of yourself unlike out in the real world.

Additionally, the sounds of the pattering water on the marble pool and the noise from the slaves in the surrounding corridors would enhance the experience in the space. Perhaps, it would also allow individuals to hear the Nile mosaic, allowing for it to come alive. In the Villa A at Oplontis, the visual stimulation from the scenery as well as the variety of plants and pots would spark conversation with the owner and other guests. The political agenda or other social concepts that would be discussed would be influenced significantly, according to this theory, by the nature of the overstimulation of the senses. Being able to have subtle influence by strikingly beautiful plants and arts may influence the client in their experience and therefore in their doing business with the patron. Playing into the sound, sight, touch, and taste of each individual guest, experiences in the garden are both enhanced and diminished by sensory experiences.

**Heterotopias and Utopias: Foucault’s Theory of Space**

Michel Foucault added onto the existing theories and Katherine von Stackelberg stated in her summarization that “the recognition that space, in addition to being defined through its location and content, is also a product of time and therefore of history.”¹⁵³ Foucault focuses on the fact that our environment is inclusive and not separated into small relational categories. Foucault speaks on the other spaces such as heterotopias and utopias. Each category relates to a real space or an unreal space. Utopias are “sites with no real place. They are sites that have a

¹⁵³ Von Stackelberg 2017, 52
general relation of direct or inverted analogy with the real space of Society. They present society itself in a perfected form, or else society turned upside down, but in any case these utopias are fundamentally unreal spaces.”\textsuperscript{154} Heterotopias on the other hand are “—places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society— which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted.”\textsuperscript{155} These two different categories of sites influenced the space, dividing factors from being real or from being unreal. Foucault goes on further to define heterotopias into crisis heterotopias or heterotopias of deviation. Crisis heterotopias are “privileged or sacred or forbidden places, reserved for individuals who are, in relation to society and to the human environment in which they live, in a state of crisis.”\textsuperscript{156} This would include groups of people like “adolescents, menstruating women, pregnant women, the elderly, etc.”\textsuperscript{157} Additonally, heterotopias of deviation focus as “those in which individuals whose behavior is deviant in relation to the required mean or norm are placed.”\textsuperscript{158}

Although these factors may be far-fetched in understanding the ancient Roman gardens, there is a relationship that would lead my research to say that gardens are heterotopias of illusion. Between the mythical creatures displayed in the garden fountains to the cognitive experience created through understanding familial remains and artifacts of the owner, gardens offer a space for historical, mythical, and fictional representation of real-life experience. von Stackelberg states that gardens are “heterotopias of deviation since they encourage encounters

\textsuperscript{154} Foucault 1986, 24  
\textsuperscript{155} Foucault 1986, 24  
\textsuperscript{156} Foucault 1986, 24  
\textsuperscript{157} Foucault 1968, 24  
\textsuperscript{158} Foucault 1968,25
that diverge from the social norm.”\textsuperscript{159} Although this is true, I believe that gardens enhance an individual’s experience with the social norm and with reality. Gardens are spaces in which social norms are enacted. Since the encounters that occur within the garden help solidify the already existing social relationships, it seems to be feasible to say that the gardens are operating simultaneously as heterotopias – real places – but also as utopias – imagined places. The existing relationships would include client and patron, father and child, host and guest, and free and slave, just to name a few. Visitors are able to play out fantasy versions of themselves and inspirationally create and change relationships with others they would want to have, comparable to an illusion. Private and often elite encounters between invited guests create a divide between the public experience outside in a forum and the business that would be conducted in such a space as a domus or villa garden. There is a double up of both the real heterotopia and the unreal utopia that is defined in this space. Gardens as a space of rejuvenation and relaxation also align with the heterotopia and utopia comparison. Being able to believe that one is having an experience in another location would define it as a heterotopia of illusion, and the feeling of it being unreal as a utopia. Additionally, there is divide even within the home as slaves and house workers are sectioned off to their own rooms so as not be seen by the visitors and guests. Restricting them divides them by social class, physical means, and even experience of social relationships between elites and the poor.

An interesting perspective by Foucault looks into Persian gardens in understanding that there is symbolic representation which tells us more than just what we experience in the first interaction. Foucault’s perspective as follows:

The traditional garden of the Persians was a sacred space that was supposed to bring together inside its rectangle four parts representing the four parts of the world, with a

\textsuperscript{159} Von Stackelberg 2017, 52
space still more sacred than the others that were like an umbilicus, the navel of the world at its center (the basin and water fountain were there); and all the vegetation of the garden was supposed to come together in this space, in this sort of microcosm. As for carpets, they were originally reproductions of gardens (the garden is a rug onto which the whole world comes to enact its symbolic perfection, and the rug is a sort of garden that can move across space). The garden is the smallest parcel of the world and then it is the totality of the world. The garden has been a sort of happy, universalizing heterotopia since the beginnings of antiquity (our modern zoological gardens spring from that source).\textsuperscript{160}

The descriptors above can be directly related to the gardens of ancient Rome. There are influences from the different rooms that surround the space and what that means to representation of the home. Having rooms for meeting and relaxing create a very different feeling than rooms that are specifically just entryways. The latter would represent wanting to move individual guests through the house rather than indulge them in long conversation. The center of the garden had water or a fountain there as the focal point, similar to both the domus and the villa examples researched in the previous chapters. The important space would have been this pool as a place for visitors to surround and reflect into the water, understanding their individual experiences in the garden itself. More time was to be spent in the garden area than in the small side rooms. Visitors would have time to listen to the water hitting the base of the pool through fountains and seeing the landscape in the distance. Each individual experience in the garden is carried throughout the home and into the different rooms with the visitor. The overall experience is guided by the individual interactions in each garden and room. Iwan Sudradjat makes a very interesting conclusion that “gardens are attempts to recreate an ideal, utopian nature. In doing so, they mirror the beliefs of their contemporaries. Foucault defines the gardens as heterotopias of illusion in this sense such that he saw the Persian rug as a “sort of mobile

\textsuperscript{160} Foucault 1986, 25-26
garden” that enabled the garden’s cosmic symbolism to be carried into rooms and houses.«[161] I would agree with Foucault that the gardens represented in the ancient world have a way of creating an illusion that the space is somewhere it is not. This illusion has an effect on the individual interaction and the way in which people are brought out of their everyday life into an unreal experience.

Lastly, gardens represent the most underrated space in antiquity because of the simplicity that was taken for granted. These spaces are quite complex from just the surface level of evidence that is represented. The interactions that occur within the garden have a narrative to each individual that develops through their journey. The simple nature of the evidence that I evaluated in the previous chapters is furthered understood by adding spatial and social theory. These theories tell us more about the heterotopias of illusion and utopias that are represented in the interactions of the visitors. This can be even translated into modern day where the long walks we take in the woods or the textbooks readings that we do in the garden help us rest and rejuvenate. The business of gardens functions as a “happy” space in real life that takes us out of the larger world and brings us into another paradise.

Interpretations and Conclusions

From this analysis, we are able to understand the space of the garden through the means of social interactions and mental well-being. The modern day focus that we have on mental and physical well-being in gardens inspired me to wonder whether or not this also happened in the ancient setting. Green space is valued in a modern urban setting and has many valuable factors to retreat and get away from the city life. Urban dwellers in ancient Rome have this space in their

[161] Sudradjat 2012, 31
home but also use the rooms on the side to provide a break or downtime for rest. There is a
desire to bring the garden with all of its healthful power into the enclosed spaces of the house.
Space theory examines that the perceived space, representation of space, and spaces of
representation influence the social outlet’s productivity. Additionally, understanding that gardens
are heterotopias of illusion or utopias is influenced by the social representation of the lived-in
experience. This is influenced by the art and sculptures located inside the garden. There is a
mental escape into an unreal world even though the space exists in real time. Our modern
environment is inclusive of sounds, smells, sights, and tastes that are also exemplified in the
ancient Roman context.
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

After analyzing two different styles of Roman homes, both with elite status, I would conclude that these homes have significant influence on the visitors that come through. The House of the Faun, the domus example, represents the physical space that draws a pathway, indirectly dictating the way in which one should walk through the space. The garden creator wants to lead the visitor on a very specific path to control and maximize the experience in their created utopia or heterotopia of illusion. The layout of the rooms off the garden itself reflects and enables the socialization that was supposed to occur. The slaves and house workers remained hidden while the visitors and guests laid in the dining spaces, showing the power dynamic and the social factors distinguished by class. One would be able to hear the sounds and see the sights of a variety of horticulture and landscapes, influencing a calming and relaxing aura in some senses, and taking them out of their reality. In the instance of the Villa A at Oplontis, the villa example, similar patterns lie in the walkways and the blooming horticulture. However, there is a strong impact of the plants, pots, and root cavities that help explain to archeologists and excavators later that there was importance and value in the chosen plants. This again helps explain the owners influence, choosing the specific plants and other horticulture on a space that creates a heterotopia of illusion where individuals can go and can imagine themselves as better than they are. The similarities of these two homes sparked my interest in exploring whether the value of these garden spaces could be understood through psychological frameworks, like modern day garden spaces have.
Psychological studies suggest that the green space in modern urban areas is powerful in increasing physical, mental, and social health. People are able to take in more oxygen, get more exercise, and are even more likely to participate in other outdoor activities. Those who visit the space also can relax, rest, and center themselves in a mental capacity, allowing for increased productivity in their jobs and overall lives. Finally, the social factor is influenced by having interactions with people who are different from them. Engaging in conversations and dialogues with individuals that one may never interact with in another environment enhanced experience in the gardens. How could these theories transfer back into further understanding ancient Roman “green” spaces?

From studying the space, the plants, and the art and literature of the homes, I could deduce that in fact the same theory could be applied. The spaces allowed for a lived-in experience, where the sounds and interactions influenced the importance of the garden to the individual. From the minute, they walked into the space, each individual experience differed with their perceived expectation of the interaction to the reality. The space that was conceived and the space that was lived interaction in line with the influence of the different rooms, murals, and plants. This allowed for a relationship to be developed within the space. In both cases with the two different homes, there is an expectation for what will happen from what one sees that then is impacted by the people that are in the same space at the same time. Production of the garden is done in a specific manner that is cultivated for producing an influential lived-experience for this interacting with the garden. Further evidence would be needed to make more conclusive statements about why owners put and placed furniture where they did, the specific path that they followed, and if there was dialogue that was purposely conducted to influence the interaction. I would state that the garden, even though it was sometimes more structural than it was “green”,
provided an outlet for individuals to have physical, mental, and social relaxation needed to escape, alluding to the heterotopia of illusion or utopian idea. Between the modern-day spaces and the ancient gardens, there are vast similarities that allow me to conclude that gardens had a significant impact on the individuals that visited them. The plants, either natural or curated, created conversation that would spur into social interactions between different groups. 

Depending on how individuals got to the home in the first place, there would be physical energy exerted into walking through the home, mentally interacting with the pattering water in the fountains and pools, and socially conversing with the homeowner and/or other guests. Ancient gardens had a major influence on the business aspect on the Roman social world, as well as positive impact on their productivity in the urban city. 

From the beginning of this thesis, gardens have been supported with evidence that they are a physical space for retreat and relaxation as well as removal from the day-to-day life in the ancient world. By looking at the examples of The House of the Faun and the Villa A at Oplontis, we can experience the Roman garden through the archaeological record. These spaces provide evidence that gardens are in fact heterotopias of illusion and/or utopias where individuals go to express an aspirational version of themselves. There is an almost unreal perspective that allows us to be taken out of everyday life and enhances our reality. The experiences that are made in the garden by the layout of the physical buildings, the narrative that is told by the waters and the fountains, and the influence of the entertainment and social interactions between the owners and the visitors, tell us more about the lived-experience created by the owners. 

Additionally, both the Roman villa and domus are evidence that ancient gardens have influenced the experience that individuals have in modern gardens. These private gardens can be compared to the modern public day gardens because by the interactions that are held, the visitors
have similar experiences, set up by the owner. By looking at the different factors that are placed within the ancient garden, such as plants, trees, and other horticulture, we can further understand the importance of the green space. The way that the paths are created display a specific way that the owner wants the individual to interact with the garden. We see this in modern day with lining brick or stone paths with small plants, influencing the way in which someone would walk. The running water that is often found in gardens, such as streams or rivers, impacting the relaxing people may do. Many individuals seek out running water as a way of clearing the mind. We are removed from the bustling city and the stress of daily life to be able to soak in the calming sights and sounds of the modern-day garden. When we are relaxing and enjoying the garden space, we are seeking the best version of ourselves to center ourselves and to take a break from reality.
APPENDIX OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1
Layout for the House of the Faun
(Jashemski, 1993, 145, FIG. Plan 50 Pompeii. Region VI, insula xii)
Figure 2.2
Rear garden openings at the House of the Faun
(Jashemski, 1993, 146, FIG. 158)
Figure 2.3
Photography and layout of the House of the Faun
(Jashemski, 1979, 21, FIG. 26)
Figure 2.4
House of the Faun view from the atrium towards the peristyle
(Jahesmski, 1979, 19, FIG 23)
Figure 2.5
View of the first peristyle at the House of the Faun
(Jashemski, 1979, 20, FIG. 24)

Figure 2.6
Mosaic of the Nile with mongoose, hippopotamus, Egyptian cobra, Sheldrake, and songbirds pictured.
(Jashemski, 1979, 20, FIG.25)
Figure 2.7
Another analysis plan of the House of the Faun
(Dwyer, 2001, 332, FIG. 3)
Figure 2.8
First peristyle at the House of the Faun
(Dwyer, 2001, 333, FIG. 4)

Figure 2.9
Tetrastyle atrium at the House of the Faun
(Dwyer, 2001, 335, FIG. 7 & FIG. 8)
Figure 2.10
Tuscan atrium at the House of the Faun
(Dwyer, 2001, 336, FIG. 9 & FIG. 10)
Figure 3.1
From the North Garden at the Villa A soil contours
(Gleason, 2014, para. 960-961, FIG 6.6)
Figure 3.2
Overall plan of the rooms at the Villa A at Oplontis
(Jashemski, 1987, 53, FIG. 33)

Figure 3.3
North garden with root cavities and raised beds pictured
(Jashemski, 1987, 54, FIG. 34)
Figure 3.4
Layout of the South Peristyle Garden at Villa A
(Gleason, 2014, para. 962, FIG 6.8)
Figure 3.5
Image by Jashemski of the root cavities at Villa A
(Gleason, 2014, para. 963-967, FIG 6.9)

Figure 3.6
Image by Jashemski of the North Garden at Villa A raised beds
(Gleason, 2014, para. 963-967, FIG. 6.11)
Figure 3.7
Image by Jashemski of the root cavities at Villa A
(Gleason, 2014, para. 963-967, FIG. 6.10)
Figure 3.8
Detailed layout of cavities where statues existed
(Gleason, 2014, para. 968-969, FIG 6.13)
Figure 3.9
Raised soil contours and cavities in east garden, view north
(Gleason, 2014, para. 968-969, FIG 6.15)

Figure 3.10
Contours of east garden, view south
(Gleason, 2014, para. 968-969, FIG 6.14)
Figure 3.11
Another view of the contours of east garden, view south
(Jashemski, 1987, 57, FIG 40)
Figure 3.12
Four statues standing at the Villa A at Oplontis
(Jashemski, 1987, 56, FIG 37)

Figure 3.13
Scattered statues surrounding the swimming pool at the Villa
(Jashemski, 1987, 56, FIG 38)
Figure 3.14
Swimming pool at the villa
(Jashemski, 1987, 57, FIG 39)
Figure 3.15
Pot with tree from aerial layering
(Gleason, 2014, para. 1027-1029, FIG 6.24)
Figure 3.16
Flower pots from the south peristyle garden
(Gleason, 2014, para. 1027-1029, FIG 6.25)
Figure 3.17
Pot with remnants holes from stakes
(Gleason, 2014, para. 1030-1031, FIG 6.27)
Figure 3.18
Flower pots with holes from the south peristyle garden
(Gleason, 2014, para. 1032, FIG 6.28)
Figure 3.19
Fountain surrounded by green plants
(Gleason, 2014, para. 1032, FIG 6.29)
Figure 3.20
Drawings of plant pots found in the garden
(Gleason, 2014, para. 1034-1036, FIG 6.30)
**TABLE 6.1.: Four types of *ollae perforatae.***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pots purpose-made for plant displays and cultivation above ground</th>
<th>Very rarely identified outside Pompeii; due to their utilitarian character, also rarely well documented in the Vesuvian region. [91]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Purpose-made pots with holes made before firing.</td>
<td>Usually found partially or completely buried in garden soils and planters. More than 850 examples from the Roman era are known from Britannia to Arabia. [92] By definition, they have a hole in the bottom, and up to three smaller holes in the body of the vessel. Holes vary in size. The pots are typically between 8.5–18 cm in height. The majority of the pots from Oplontis are of this type.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Reused amphorae, usually cut in half, with both sides in use.</td>
<td>These are used for larger shrubs and trees and are found buried in the ground, although they were evidently used above ground, as a detail from cubiculum M at Boscoreale demonstrates (FIG. 6.31). Holes are drilled or gouged in as needed. The pot from pool area 98 is of this type.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Smaller reused vessels with holes drilled post-firing.</td>
<td>These range in size and shape from pots, such as those discussed above, that are the size and shape of purpose-made pots with the holes perforated after firing, to bowls and other small vessels adapted for use as pots. A large number were identified at Petra, Jordan, in garden contexts, as well as in surface debris and rubbish contexts. [93] A diverse assemblage of reused pots has been published by Barat and Morize as comparanda for extensive findings of <em>ollae perforatae</em> at Richebourg. [94]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Figure 3.21  
Related to FIG 3.20, plant pot types explained  
(Gleason, 2014, para. 1034-1036, TABLE 6.1)
Figure 3.22
Northern and Enclosed Garden, represented in red dots
(Moser et al., 2013, 399, FIG 2)
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