

THE TRICLINIUM-GROTTO OF JULIA FELIX:  
THE GROTTO IN ROMAN DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

THE TRICLINIUM-GROTTO OF JULIA FELIX:  
THE GROTTO IN ROMAN DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

By  
MICHELE GEORGE, B.A.

A Thesis  
Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies  
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements  
for the Degree  
Master of Arts

McMaster University

September 1986

MASTER OF ARTS (1986)  
(Classical Studies)

McMASTER UNIVERSITY  
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: The Iriclinium-Grotto of Julia Felix: The Grotto  
in Roman Domestic Architecture

AUTHOR: Michele George, B.A. (University of Toronto)

SUPERVISOR: Professor Katherine M. D. Dunbabin

NUMBER OF PAGES: x, 163

## Abstract

Grottoes were incorporated into private domestic Roman architecture in the Republican era, and the popularity of the form continued into the Imperial period. As places of refuge from the strains of public life, artificial and structurally altered natural grottoes equipped with nymphaea provided a cool and refreshing escape for the Roman aristocrat. Chapter 1 summarizes the physical evidence for the role of the grotto in the Classical and Hellenistic Greek world, and examines the association of the grotto with the god Dionysus. In Chapter 2 the motif of the grotto in Roman literature is briefly discussed, with emphasis on references to decorated grottoes. The majority of the chapter considers the construction, decoration and function of the grotto-nymphaeum, an architectural type which appears in many Republican and early Imperial villas. Chapter 3 examines the triclinium and its changing role in the Roman house plan, a role which reflects a wider movement in the evolution of domestic Roman architecture. The arrangement and decoration of outdoor and nymphaea triclinia are considered in this context. The nature of the stibadium and its Dionysiac and secular connections are also discussed. Chapter 4 is devoted to an examination of the triclinium-grotto of the praedia of Julia Felix at

Pompeii, in which the elements of grotto, nymphaeum and triclinium are combined and fully integrated into the fabric of domestic architecture.

## Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Katherine M. D. Dunbabin, for her constant assistance and guidance in the writing of this thesis. Thanks are extended to Professors A. G. McKay, M. Miller and C. Williams for invaluable aid given while work was in progress. Appreciation is also due to Professor W. Slater for the generous use of his computer and word processing knowledge. Finally, I would like to thank the members of my family and my friends, who have supported my efforts.

M. G.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction and Discussion of Terminology	1
Chapter 1 The Grotto in the Classical and Hellenistic Period	7
Dionysus and Grottoes	16
Chapter 2 <u>Grotto-Nymphaea</u> of the Republican and Early Imperial Period	23
A. Natural Caves with Architectural Additions	28
B. Rooms Cut into Natural Rock	36
C. Completely Artificial Structures	37
General Discussion	45
Chapter 3 <u>Triclinia</u> and <u>Nymphaea-Triclinia</u> at Pompeii and Herculaneum	51
Dionysiac <u>Stibadia</u>	69
Chapter 4 The <u>Triclinium</u> -Grotto in the <u>Praedia</u> of Julia Felix	78
Conclusion	93
Excursus I - The Location of Dionysiac Cult Activity	96
Excursus II - Imperial Grottoes	102
Illustrations	106
Notes to text	137
Bibliography	158

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Figure 1: Nymph Relief (Blümel, Abb. 109)
- Figure 2: Plan and Sketch, Cave of Pan, Thasos (Baker-Penoyre, fig. 7)
- Figure 3: Sketch, Cave of Herakles, Delos (Plassart, fig. 188)
- Figure 4: Model from Locri (Arias, fig. 24 - taken from Sear, Plate 1, fig. 2)
- Figure 5: Model from Locri (Arias, fig. 26)
- Figure 6: Model from Locri (Arias, fig. 27 - taken from Sear, Plate 1, fig. 3)
- Figure 7: Model from Locri (Arias, fig. 23 - taken from Sear, Plate 1, fig. 1)
- Figure 8: Model from Locri (Arias, fig. 29 - taken from Sear, Plate 2, fig. 1)
- Figure 9: Black-Figure oinochoe with Maenad (Bérard, Plate 4, fig. 10)
- Figure 10: Hope Krater (Bérard, Plate 10, fig. 34)
- Figure 11: Plan, Grotto-Nymphaeum, Boville (Lugli, fig. 1)
- Figure 12: Section, Grotto-Nymphaeum, Boville (Lugli, fig. 1)
- Figure 13: Photo, Grotto di Matromania, Capri (Sear, Plate 11, fig. 1)
- Figure 14: Plan, Grotto di Matromania, Capri (Mingazzini, fig. 1)
- Figure 15: Section, Grotto di Matromania, Capri (Mingazzini, fig. 2)
- Figure 16: Plan, Grotto dell'Arsenale, Capri (Mingazzini, fig. 3)



- Figure 17: Plan, Large Grotto-Nymphaeum, Villa of Cicero, Formia (Lugli, fig. 6)
- Figure 18: Section, Large Grotto-Nymphaeum, Villa of Cicero, Formia (Lugli, fig. 7)
- Figure 19: Section, Large Grotto-Nymphaeum, Villa of Cicero, Formia (Lugli, fig. 7)
- Figure 20: Plan, Small Grotto-Nymphaeum, Villa of Cicero, Formia (Lugli, fig. 3)
- Figure 21: Section, Small Grotto-Nymphaeum, Villa of Cicero, Formia (Lugli, fig. 3)
- Figure 22: Plan, Grotto-Nymphaeum, villa at Sant'Antonio (Lugli, fig. 2)
- Figure 23: Section, Grotto-Nymphaeum, villa at Sant'Antonio (Lugli, fig. 2)
- Figure 24: Plan, Grotto-Nymphaeum, Minori (Neuerburg, fig. 47)
- Figure 25: Plan, Grotto-Nymphaeum, House VIII.ii.28, Pompeii (Noack and Lehmann-Hartleben, Tav. II, fig. 28)
- Figure 26: Plan, Portico with Triclinia, Murecine (de Vos, p. 258)
- Figure 27: Plan, House of the Stags (IV.21), Herculaneum (de Vos, p. 275)
- Figure 28: Plan, House of the Golden Cupids (VI.xvi.7), Pompeii (NSA 1907, p. 550, fig. 2)
- Figure 29: Plan, House of Menander (I.x.4), Pompeii (de Vos, p. 91)
- Figure 30: Plan, House of the Skeleton (III.3), Herculaneum (de Vos, p. 267)
- Figure 31: Plan, House of the Silver Wedding (V.i.1), Pompeii (de Vos, p. 207)
- Figure 32: Plan, House of Paquius Proculus (I.vii.1), Pompeii (NSA 1929, Vol. V, fig. 20)

- Figure 33: Plan, Villa of Diomedes, Pompeii (Jashemski, fig. 492)
- Figure 34: Reconstruction, Caupona (II.ix.7,) Pompeii (Jashemski, fig. 261)
- Figure 35: Plan, House of Cornelius Tages (I.vii.11), Pompeii (NSA 1927, p. 33, fig. 9)
- Figure 36: Reconstruction, Nymphaeum-Triclinium, House of Cornelius Tages (I.vii.11), Pompeii (Soprano, fig. 31)
- Figure 37: Plan, House of Octavius Quartio (II.ii.2), Pompeii (La Rocca and de Vos, p. 241)
- Figure 38: Photo, Nymphaeum in Biclinium, House of Octavius Quartio (II.ii.2), Pompeii (Sear, Plate 38, fig. 2)
- Figure 39: Plan of Nymphaeum-Biclinium and Euripus, House of Octavius Quartio (II.ii.2), Pompeii (Salza Prina Ricotti, fig. 2)
- Figure 40: Plan, Nymphaeum-Biclinium, House of Octavius Quartio (II.ii.2), Pompeii (Salza Prina Ricotti, fig. 3)
- Figure 41: Plan, Choregic Monument of Dionysus, Thasos (Daux, fig. 13)
- Figure 42: Plan, Sanctuary of Dionysus, Pompeii (Elia, 1979, fig. 1)
- Figure 43: Reconstruction, Sanctuary of Dionysus, Pompeii (Elia, 1979, fig. 2)
- Figure 44: Plan, Praedia of Julia Felix (II.iv), Pompeii (Rakob, Abb. 2)
- Figure 45: Section, Portico and Triclinium-Grotto, Praedia of Julia Felix (II.iv), Pompeii (Rakob, Abb.4)
- Figure 46: Plan, Triclinium-Grotto, Praedia of Julia Felix (II.iv), Pompeii (Rakob, Abb.3)
- Figure 47: Section, Triclinium-Grotto, Praedia of Julia Felix (II.iv), Pompeii (Rakob, Abb. 5)

Figure 48: Photo, Triclinium-Grotto, Praedia of Julia Felix  
(II.iv), Pompeii (Neuerburg, fig. 48)

## Introduction

In the Greco-Roman world the motif of the grotto was popular in art and literature as a place of mythological events and rural pleasures. The grotto evoked a distant pastoral landscape populated by gods, nymphs and other semi-divine fantastic creatures, where spring reigned eternally and the myths of the gods were re-enacted for the pleasure of the audience. The dark side of the grotto, as the entrance to the Underworld and home to a number of malevolent beings, was also common in literary and artistic depictions.

The grotto also played an important role in religious worship, most notably of the nymphs, and in mystery cults such as Demeter-Kore at Eleusis. But it is in the myth of the god Dionysus that the grotto had greatest prominence, and in this association in the Hellenistic era grottoes enjoyed especial popularity.

In Republican Italy the grotto, in a natural or man-made form, was included in the architecture of large villas as a place in which the harried aristocrat might escape the pressures of the urbs. Here, in a grotto refreshed by a nymphaeum, well-deserved otium could be enjoyed in a setting which was at once rustic and sophisticated in its appointments. In the early Imperial period grotto-nymphaea

were incorporated into the domestic architecture of the middle class, and held a special place in the garden, which itself was enjoying a new prominence. Small nymphaea which imitated grottoes were integrated into outdoor triclinia and combined with decorative and sculptural elements to create an environment which was conducive to relaxation.

These strands were brought together to produce a form unique in private architecture, the triclinium-grotto. An indoor triclinium in the praedia of Julia Felix at Pompeii (II.iv) unites these elements in the creation of a rustic ambience. At the same time the disposition of the room and the use of varied decorative effects common in Campania evokes the idyllic Nilotic and Dionysiac worlds. In this way the triclinium-grotto reflects movements in the domestic architecture of the early empire and an eclectic contemporary taste for both the exotic and the familiar.

### Terminology

In Greek both the words πήγη (Doric πάγα ) and κρήνη (Doric κράνα) are used for springs, fountains and wells, with little apparent distinction.<sup>1</sup> The word νυμφαῶν<sup>2</sup> denotes a cave or shrine of the nymphs. In Homer the cave of the nymphs on the shore of Ithaca is

...ἄντρον ἐπήρατον ἠεροειδές,  
ἵρὸν νυμφῶων αἶ νηιάδες καλέονται (Odyssey 13.103-104)

In the Phaedrus of Plato Socrates describes a resting place with a plane tree and spring as a  $\text{ἱερὸν Νυμφῶν}$ , an identification based on the  $\text{ἀγάλματα}$  at the place.<sup>3</sup> From this passage it would seem that a sacred precinct of the nymphs was not restricted to caves, for nymphs could reside in outdoor springs as well. In the Dyskolos of Menander a shrine of Pan is described as a  $\text{νυμφαῶν}$ ,<sup>4</sup> an identification which doubtless arises from the association of that divinity with the nymphs. In Plutarch's Life of Alexander the boy warrior and his tutor Aristotle frequent a  $\text{νυμφαῶν}$  near Mieza, where they studied in solitude.<sup>5</sup> In Plutarch's era, the site contained stone seats and shady walks. Strabo uses  $\text{νυμφαῶν}$  to refer to the  $\text{ἄντρον}$  of Homer's Ithaca, and to a 'kind of sacred cave' in Syria.<sup>6</sup> Longus, writing in the Roman era, uses the same term in describing an  $\text{ἄντρον Νυμφῶν}$  in his novel.<sup>7</sup> Thus, in the Classical era, the word  $\text{νυμφαῶν}$  could denote a place sacred to nymphs or their associates. The presence of water is a common feature but does not seem essential. Moreover, such places, which originally may have had a purely religious function, were also used for various contemplative activities such as teaching and philosophical discussion.

The first use of the word in Latin occurs in the elder Pliny's Natural History in which he refers to a shrine of the nymphs at Corinth as a nymphaeum, apparently

transliterating the Greek.<sup>8</sup> Other references in Latin are of a later date, starting in the second century A.D., and these seem to assign the term to monumental facade fountains.<sup>9</sup>

In Roman literature, a different set of words is used. A cave of the nymphs is called antrum Nympharum by Vergil,<sup>10</sup> but the word nymphaeum does not appear in any literary context. The words antrum, spelunca and specus are used, with no apparent distinction, to describe caves of the nymphs and other mythological creatures, and caves in a pastoral landscape.<sup>11</sup> But Juvenal also uses spelunca for the altered cave of Egeria, and likewise Seneca uses the phrase manu factae in describing the speluncae of the villa of Servilius Vatia.<sup>12</sup> Seneca also alludes to artificial grottoes when characterizing the typical features of luxurious Roman villas:

...quo longiores porticus expedierint, quo altius turrets sustulerint, quo latius vicos porrexerint, quo depressius aestivos specus foderint...

(Dial. XII.9.2)

All these words, then, may be part of the mythological or poetic landscape, or may refer to artificial grottoes.

A passage from the elder Pliny introduces another term. In discussing the properties of pumice, he refers to

...erosa saxa in aedificiis, quae musaea vocant, dependentia ad imaginem specus arte reddendam.

(Nat. Hist. XXXVI.154)

Thus, musaeum, rather than nymphaeum, is used to describe

what is clearly an artificial grotto; however, the word is not used extensively. It can be seen, therefore, that aside from the use of nymphaeum to describe facade fountains in the second century A.D., no clear distinction in terminology emerges from the ancient sources.

Scholars have attempted to resolve this problem by creating their own set of terms using different criteria. P. Mingazzini has divided the extant fountains by function<sup>13</sup> and thus has established three general categories. To monumental public fountains he applies the term nymphaea, in correspondance to its use from evidence of the later empire. He uses musaea for natural grottoes which have had some degree of artificial alteration. For all artificially constructed fountains he adopts Seneca's term of specus aestivus and subdivides them into those which are half-buried, those above ground and those which form the integral part of a building. Luigi Crema follows a similar course in the use of nymphaea for monumental fountains, but he groups<sup>14</sup> all others under the heading musaea.

N. Neuerburg, however, rejects divisions based on ancient terminology because of the uncertain meanings of these references, and because such divisions fail to<sup>15</sup> consider architectural typology. Instead, he groups natural and rock-cut grottoes together and regards rooms decorated like grottoes as "room nymphaea". Of this group,



those which have an exedra or apse at the back are called "exedra nymphaea."

The objections of Neuerburg to the strict observance of ancient terminology are valid for this study, as it is in part concerned with the evolution of an architectural type, the grotto-nymphaeum, and its incorporation into residential architecture. For the purposes of this study, then, the term nymphaeum will indicate only a fountain, natural or artificial, and of non-specific use. The term grotto-nymphaeum will be used for all room-nymphaea, natural or artificial, which have a fountain. The designation "triclinium-grotto" will refer to the combination of the grotto-nymphaeum and triclinium forms.

## CHAPTER 1

### The Grotto in the Classical and Hellenistic Period

Caves were places of habitation and burial in Greece from as early as the Neolithic period. On Crete alone<sup>1</sup> eighty-seven such caves have been identified. In the Minoan period twenty-four grottoes have been clearly identified as cult sites and twenty-one are believed to have<sup>2</sup> been sanctuaries at some point in their history. Among the most famous Cretan grottoes are those dedicated to Artemis-Eileithya at Amnissos, to which Homer refers in the Odyssey,<sup>3</sup> and the caves of Zeus on Mount Dikte and Mount Ida. The cave at Amnissos exhibits the characteristics of cult grottoes of this period. Natural stalagmites fill the interior and a prominent central one is believed to have been venerated as a cult idol. Pottery and votive offerings<sup>4</sup> were also found on the floor of the cave.

During the Classical period cave sanctuaries flourished throughout Greece. The list of gods honoured at such cult sites includes Zeus, Artemis, Apollo, Hermes,<sup>5</sup> Aphrodite, the hero Herakles and Pan and the Nymphs. Often the shrine consisted of little more than dedicatory plaques inserted into natural rock niches. A typical example is the shrine of Eros and Aphrodite located on the north slope of the acropolis in Athens.<sup>6</sup> Niches in the cliff face held

votive offerings, and numerous cult objects such as figurines, reliefs and phalloi were discovered at the site. Beneath these niches were plaques which held dedicatory inscriptions to the deities.<sup>7</sup> The shrine was east of a sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite and, as its excavator suggests, the two shrines were probably used contemporaneously for different rituals.<sup>8</sup> In some examples niches, altars and thrones for cult statues were carved into the rock, as in the cave of Pan at Vari.<sup>9</sup>

A large number of grottos were dedicated to nymphs, sometimes individually, but more often in a triad, and often in association with the god Pan. According to Herodotus, the cult of Pan was revived in Greece following the intervention of the god in the battle of Marathon.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, although many of the caves of Pan may be dated from the Bronze Age through to the Geometric Age, in most examples in Attica a break occurs between the Geometric and Classical ages.<sup>11</sup> Typically these shrines were natural caves with little or no architectural additions. Altars, dedicatory plaques and statue bases have been found, as well as votive offerings such as figurines, pottery and stone and clay votive objects.<sup>12</sup>

Several fine marble reliefs from cave shrines have also been preserved. The extant examples date from the fourth century. One such relief from Megara (fig. 1)

13

depicts Hermes who leads three nymphs in a dance. In front of them stands a rustic altar and nearby Pan plays the syrinx. A mask of the river god Achelooos in profile is set up at the right frame. In the lower left corner two adults and two children stand watching the scene; they may be the family of the man who dedicated the relief. The grotto setting is indicated by heavy scalloping on the upper edge and overhanging rocks suspended from the top. Other examples differ in complexity, but a grotto setting and the presence of nymphs and/or Pan and Hermes are common elements. In an example from a grotto on Mount Parnes a lion-head spout which empties into a basin is depicted on the relief but is actually pierced so that water may flow through it.<sup>14</sup> Thus, the sculptural decoration was somehow incorporated into the channelling of the natural spring.

This kind of embellishment of water sources was most common in the spring houses of Classical Greece. Often these structures contained votive offerings to the nymph of the spring, such as in the spring house of the Asklepieion at Athens.<sup>15</sup> Fountain houses were designed to allow the most efficient channelling of the water source. Usually, walls were built up against the rock face from which springs flowed; spouts and catch-basins were added to control the water's flow. Alternatively, where the water source was at a lower level, a small structure was built with a platform

over the well to facilitate access to the water.<sup>16</sup>

A number of caves designed for cult feasts were found at Isthmia.<sup>17</sup> Two, located at the east end of the temenos of Poseidon, were side by side and each was entered by a small staircase. Both were equipped with dining couches and had shallow depressions in the floor and in one carbonized wood was found. Two other caves were found on the upper edge of the theatre. Both had couches and a cult niche cut into the wall. The west recess had a barrel vault carved out of the natural rock. The east recess had an area for food preparation, and similar facilities, along with cooking vessels and hearths, were found in a small court in front of the caves. Both sets of caves went out of use in the early or mid fourth century

<sup>18</sup>  
B.C. Their excavator, Oscar Broneer, rules out a secular function because of their small dimensions, and believes that their proximity to the sanctuary recommends a cult function. Poseidon, as the patron deity of Isthmia and god of the sanctuary, was most probably worshipped here.

There is no indication of this kind of architectural alteration to natural grotto shrines until the fourth century. At Thasos, however, an artificial grotto was constructed on a rock cliff of the acropolis.<sup>19</sup> (fig. 2) A semi-circular shrine was shaped out of the rock and a pediment built on the exterior. Relief panels of the type

previously discussed were placed on this pediment. An inscription dedicated to Pan was also found in the 'cave'. These can be dated to the fourth century B.C., but there is no clear indication that the construction of the grotto is of the same date.

In the third century there are examples of caves dedicated to Hermes and Herakles which received architectural additions. At Thera a natural cave beside the Gymnasium of the Ephebes was made into a rectangular room, by the addition of a back wall built in regular courses.<sup>20</sup> A niche was also added in one of the natural walls of the cave.

On the island of Delos another natural cave dedicated to Herakles was enlarged architecturally in the second half of the third century.<sup>21</sup> (fig. 3) The grotto was surrounded by an enclosure wall to the north, south and west; the east side was bordered by the wall of the cave. The upper courses of the walls are notched to carry ten large granite blocks which, resting against each other, create a double pitched roof. This roof, however, covered only the entrance; the majority of the interior was hypaethral. A door was put into the west wall, and a terraced area was also created in front of the entrance. The remains of a marble statue which had a tree trunk covered with a lion skin indicate that the grotto was

22

dedicated to Herakles. The alterations made to this grotto differ from those at Thasos and Thera as here no regular masonry walls were part of the construction. Instead of regularizing a natural grotto, the changes strove to maintain a rustic, primitive effect.<sup>23</sup>

There is evidence from the Hellenistic period which attests to the existence of artificial grottoes with secular as well as cult functions. Strabo describes the Paneion of Alexandria as a

...ὕψος τε χειροποίητον στροβιλοειδές,  
ἐμπερὲς ὄχθῃ πετρώδει (XVII 795C)

In this line χειροποίητον is proof of the artificiality of the structure. An artificial grotto-nymphaeum seems to be described in the papyrus fragment of an epigram of the Hellenistic period.<sup>24</sup> The poem is dated to the last quarter of the third century B.C., and was written for Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III. The poet describes a structure resembling a niche made of polychromatic stone, fluted columns, and a decorative frieze. It contained a basin which collected water flowing from springs, and held a statue of Arsinoe III herself flanked by nymphs.

However, little physical evidence remains of such artificial grottoes.<sup>25</sup> The cave of Pan at Thasos provides evidence for the construction of artificial grottos but does not give a firm date. From Locri Epizephyri in southern

Italy comes the first physical datable proof for artificial grottos. Eight models of grotto nymphaea (figs. 4-8), along with herms and female busts, were found in a natural grotto.<sup>26</sup> The models depict a variety of architectural and decorative schemes and give a tantalizing glimpse of the life-size structures which must have inspired them. Five of the models are miniature grottoes which appear to function as fountains.<sup>27</sup> Lion-head spouts protrude on either side of the arched cave opening and basins are placed below to catch the flow of water. Of these five, three have arched openings with apse-shaped interiors and are decorated on both the interior and exterior with shell and moss texturing.<sup>28</sup> (figs. 4-6) Another has a cave-like interior and fern decoration on the outside.<sup>29</sup> The fifth is composed of three receding concentric arches decorated with stalactites.<sup>30</sup> (fig. 7) Each arch has two lion-head spouts and a basin in the centre. The remaining three models represent grottoes which have undergone significant architectonic additions. One has an exterior pediment with a frieze, and sculptural decoration at the framing sides,<sup>31</sup> while the other two have rocky cave-like exteriors.<sup>32</sup> Of these two models, one has a lower frieze course which resembles that on the Castalian spring at Delphi (fig. 8);<sup>33</sup> both have several interior niches which contain individual fountains.



Among the objects found in the grotto are herms with three female heads; the heads seem to be embedded in the grotto or set up against it.<sup>34</sup> This could be a depiction of the cult statues of the nymphs of the cave. In some examples one or more skyphoi are embedded below the heads to receive offerings; in another a thyrsos occupies this space on the shaft. Other herms have figural reliefs; most common is Pan in a grotto with his syrinx. Various pastoral elements are also included, such as cymbals, thyrsoi, altars, bulls and goats. Another pastoral commonplace, which was also found on the Attic reliefs, is the river god. P.E. Arias had identified this river god with the Caruso river, which flows near the site, and has thus named the site the "Grotto Caruso".<sup>35</sup> The landscape in these reliefs corresponds too to the Attic examples: a grotto setting is embellished with shrubbery and rocky outcroppings. On one relief the grotto is represented by the same receding concentric arches which were used on one of the models.<sup>36</sup> On another relief the grotto is indicated by a rectangle with a scalloped cornice,<sup>37</sup> which is similar to the architectonic grotto models.

In addition to the herms, female busts and other votive figures were found.<sup>38</sup> Among them were musicians playing the flute, cymbals and crotala, silenci bearing horns of plenty, Paniskoi and female dancers. Many of these figures are traditionally identified with the cult of

Dionysus. However, in the Classical period Pan became a member of the Dionysiac thiasos and subsequently many of these figures appear with both gods.<sup>39</sup> Both gods are rural deities and characters of the pastoral landscape, and thus a conflation between the cults is easily explained.

The votive figures and reliefs found in the grotto at Locri indicate that it was devoted to nymphs, and perhaps to the god Pan as well. A continuation of the tradition of the Classical cults of Pan and the nymphs is shown by the pastoral relief herms and the grotto location for the cult. The models must be votive offerings and, thus, just as representations of cult statues possessed religious significance,<sup>40</sup> so too did representations of shrines. What cannot easily be ascertained is the degree of artificiality in the models. They may be grottoes with natural springs which have been adapted and made more functional or they may be springs around which a completely artificial grotto has been built. The water source may even have been supplied by entirely artificial means such as a piping system. It is also impossible to discern how realistic the models are or which, if any, depicts the Grotto Caruso itself.<sup>41</sup> However, the clearly functional elements on the models, such as basins and lion-head spouts, would seem to indicate that they are representations of actual nymphaea, and similarities with large-scale fountains, such as the

Castalian spring at Delphi (see above, p. 13), reinforce this. Moreover, elements such as the frieze and fountains recall the description in the Hellenistic papyrus cited above (p. 12), and suggest that such artificial grotto-nymphaea did in fact exist in this era.

### Dionysus and Grottoes

The god Dionysus had a special connection with caves in myth and literature from the Homeric period. In the Iliad and the Homeric Hymns the story is related of the god's childhood in a cave in the care of the nymphs of Nysa.<sup>42</sup> The same story is represented on a sixth-century vase of Sophilos, a fifth-century krater from Spina and a fourth-century silver alabastron from Thessaly.<sup>43</sup> Authors down through the Roman era tell the same tale. Pausanias tells of a grotto in Brasiaie which was displayed as the childhood home of Dionysus.<sup>44</sup> Diodorus describes in detail the magical cave in Nysa in which Dionysus was hidden, and Philostratus describes the scene of the birth of Dionysus in a cave full of ivy, berries, vines and stalks.<sup>45</sup>

The association of Dionysus with grottoes extends to other aspects of his myth. An archaic cista of Kypselos at Olympia, described by Pausanias, depicted Dionysus reclining at a symposium in a cave surrounded by trees, vines and

46  
 fruits. The scene is common in Greek art and is reflected in cult activity, as the grotto became identified as the location for the celebration of the Dionysiac mysteries. A black-figure oinochoe (fig. 9) of the fifth century shows a maenad who dances and pours a libation before a mask of Dionysus; a grotto setting is indicated by an undulating line at the top of the vase.<sup>47</sup> Apollonius Rhodius tells of Dionysus' return from India and of his sacred rites and dances before a cave with nymphs at Callichorus in Paphlagonia.<sup>48</sup> Oppian tells how the nymphs danced in the baby's cave and made noise with the τύπανα and κύμβαλα to disguise the cries of the divine infant.<sup>49</sup> In the paeon to Delphi of Philodamus Dionysus is described as living in a cave, and in the Roman era two sources connect Dionysus to grottoes: Pacuvius speaks of saxa Bacchi, and Macrobius links the rites of the Delphic oracle with speluncae Bacchicae.<sup>50</sup>

Dionysus was also associated with caves in his chthonic aspect. The date of the inclusion of Dionysus in the Eleusinian pantheon is not clear, but his association with annual rebirth and fertility makes this connection comprehensible. As Henri Metzger has shown, Dionysus does not appear in a clearly Eleusinian context until the fourth century.<sup>51</sup> However, several earlier pieces of evidence also connect the god with the Underworld.<sup>52</sup> The interpretation

of a fourth century vase, the Hope krater (fig. 10), indicates a chthonic role for Dionysus. On the vessel a figure emerges from a grotto, which is indicated by an undulating line, and vegetation is sketchily indicated by a single branch.<sup>53</sup> Dionysus observes from the side. The cave is a place of rebirth and fertility in several cults, and evidence indicates that the disposition of cult statues in sacred grottoes on a temporary basis was a common ritual.<sup>54</sup> While the precise role of Dionysus on this vase is disputed,<sup>55</sup> his chthonic nature is clearly demonstrated. Through the Hellenistic period Dionysus increasingly became a god of the Afterlife. The grotto continued to be a place of passage from this world to the next. Plutarch, in the de sera numini vindicta, describes the chasm of Lethe, the place from which souls ascend to the heavens, as a Bacchic grotto.<sup>56</sup>

Dionysiac motives were especially popular in Ptolemaic Egypt; the Ptolemaic dynasty tried to legitimize its rule by claiming divine ancestry from Dionysus and popularized this through propaganda. Their predecessor Alexander the Great was also descended from Dionysus; the Macedonian royal house traced its ancestry to Herakles and Deianira, who was the daughter of Dionysus in one version of the mythological geneology.<sup>57</sup> The Ptolemaic house also claimed ancestry from the god; Arsinoe, mother of Ptolemy I,

came from a branch of the Macedonian royal family, and thus shared its divine genealogy.<sup>58</sup> Thus, the god played a special role in the propaganda of the Ptolemaic dynasty.

The most famous piece of propaganda connecting the Ptolemaic family with Dionysus is the procession of Ptolemy II, Philadelphus. This is recorded in Athenaeus, who reproduces the work of Callixenus of Rhodes.<sup>59</sup> The procession was part of a penteteric celebration and is dated to 279-275 B.C. Its purpose was to demonstrate the bounty and security of life under the king. Divinities and cosmic personifications, such as Zeus, Athena, Alexander and the morning and evening star, and infantry and cavalry were featured in the parade, but the event was dominated by a Dionysiac procession. Personifications of Dionysiac figures began the parade, which featured scenes from the life of the god. Carts bore depictions of his childhood and triumphal return from India. One of these floats carried a Dionysiac grotto:

τὴν τετράκυκλον, μήκος οὔσαν πηχῶν ἕλκοσι δύο,  
 πλάτος δεκατεσσάρων, ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἐλκομένην πεντακοσίων.  
 ἐφ' ἧς ἄντρον ἦν βαθὺ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν κισσῶ καὶ μύλῳ.  
 ἐκ τούτου περιστερὰ καὶ φάσσαί καὶ τρυγόνες καθ' ὅλην  
 ἐξέπταντο τὴν ὁδόν, λημνύσκους τοὺς πόδας δεδεμέναι  
 πρὸς τὸ παδίως ὑπὸ τῶν θεωμένων ἀρπάζεσθαι.  
 (Deip. V:200 b-c)

The presence of vegetation (κίσσος, μύλος) has already been noted from chthonic vase paintings of the late classical

period as characteristic of the Dionysiac grotto.<sup>60</sup> The bounty of the god is reinforced by the fountains of milk and wine. The presence of the grotto in the procession cannot, however, be used to support the view that the Dionysiac cult followers celebrated their rites in a grotto.<sup>61</sup> The parade as a whole was a secular event designed to display the wealth of the royal house to the populace. The Dionysiac elements were chosen from both the mythological and cultic aspects of the god, and, as E. E. Rice points out:<sup>62</sup>

...they appear to be removed from any narrow ritual context within a particular cult celebration, and are instead recombined into an anomalous amalgam of Dionysiac worship.

This popularization of Dionysus is also evidenced in two other displays of the Ptolemaic kings. Callixinos describes a pavilion (σκηνή), built inside the enclosure of the citadel at Alexandria, which was equal to the parade in ostentation and extravagance, and may well have been erected for that occasion.<sup>63</sup> Both are dominated by Dionysiac motives, for the pavilion contained columns decorated as thyrsoi, and ἀντίτρα holding scenes of Dionysiac symposia made up of characters derived from the three dramatic genres; between them, niches (νύμφαι) held Delphic tripods, the prizes for theatrical performances.<sup>64</sup> Moreover, the structure seemed to function, in part, at least, as the location for the celebratory feast, which recalls the role of the sacred feast so fundamental to Dionysiac worship.

Ptolemy IV built a barge for pleasure-boating on the Nile, a <sup>65</sup> θαλαμηγός . Such craft had a long tradition in dynastic Egypt and were used to convey pharaohs during religious festivals and lesser officials on state business. The barge of Ptolemy IV was two-storied and contained architectural elements such as peristyles, proscenia, columns and even a tholos temple to Aphrodite. Among the many rooms was an οἶκος Βακχικός, which held thirteen dining couches and a row of columns. An ἄντρον , built against the starboard wall, had a stone exterior of real jewels and gold, and contained statues of the royal family in Parian marble. <sup>66</sup> Here, as in the pavilion of Ptolemy's ancestor, the Dionysiac cave appears in close association with feasting and with no suggestion of cult worship.

In these Hellenistic examples, then, mythological Dionysiac elements, such as the grotto, are paired with the ritual symposia, but the specific cult significance has given way to a laicization of the sacred feast, and its location. The Dionysiac grotto motif became part of the Ptolemaic emphasis on wealth, extravagance and merry-making, and passed from the realm of myth to that of popular fashion. This is not to deny the existence of sincere Dionysiac cult feasting in this period, but to suggest that the use of the motif by the Ptolemaic rulers indicates that feasting in a grotto had a secure place in the secular



sphere.

## CHAPTER 2

### Grotto-Nymphaea in the Republican and Early Imperial Periods

The cave in Roman literature is the setting for magical events and the home of fantastic mythological creatures. There are two main spheres in which the cave plays a role. In its chthonic aspect, the cave is the gateway to the Underworld and the home of some of its inhabitants. Vergil's description of Avernus in the Aeneid is a darkly evocative example:

spelunca alta fuit vastoque immanis hiatu,  
scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris,  
quam super haud ullae poterant impune volantes  
tendere iter pennis: talis sese halitus atris  
faucibus effundens supera ad convexa ferebat.  
(VI.237-241)

Cerberus, the canine guardian of Hades, also lives in a cave.<sup>1</sup> It is also the place of oracles; the Sibyl at Cumae pronounces from a cave, as does the oracle of Jupiter Ammon<sup>2</sup> in Propertius.

The south coast of Italy, full as it is of natural grottoes, provides homes for many exotic and often fearsome mythological beings. The Scylla and the Cyclopes dwell in caves, and the son of Vulcan, the fire-breathing Cacus, also inhabits a cave.<sup>3</sup>

The aura of mystery surrounding grottoes makes them ideal settings for romantic encounters. Dido and Aeneas,

Peleus and Thetis, Horace's Pyrrha and Propertius' primitive  
 man and woman have secret meetings in caves.<sup>4</sup>

The grotto is most popular, however, as part of the  
 pastoral landscape. Theocritus firmly established the cave  
 as an element in the peaceful countryside of his Idylls in  
 the Hellenistic period. In his work the cave is the home of  
 nymphs, Polyphemus the Cyclops as lover and the shepherd  
 Menalcas.<sup>5</sup> In his Eclogues Vergil adopts the motif; the  
 Vergilian Menalcas holds a musical contest in a cave and his  
 Polyphemus also dwells in such a place.<sup>6</sup> Caves are also  
 part of the bucolic landscape of Vergil's Georgics.<sup>7</sup>  
 Catullus, Propertius<sup>8</sup> and Ovid include the motif in their  
 pastoral imagery. As part of this topography, the cave is  
 home for a variety of mythical creatures.<sup>9</sup> Nymphs are  
 especially common in this context, as are the Muses, who  
 grant inspiration to poets from caves.<sup>10</sup>

As part of the pastoral landscape, caves are also  
 conspicuous in the landscapes of Roman wall painting. In  
 this medium, too, they provide the setting for myths or may  
 merely be part of a country landscape without figures.<sup>11</sup>

In some literary works Roman poets seem to describe  
 or refer to grottoes with artificial decoration, or grottoes  
 which may be completely man-made themselves. Propertius  
 contrasts the simplicity of his house with the opulent  
operosa antra which are fed by the Marcius liquor.<sup>12</sup>

Clearly the poet refers here to an artificial grotto equipped with a nymphaeum. Propertius also describes the home of the Muses:

hic erat affixis viridis spelunca lapillis,  
 pendebant cavis tympana pumicibus,  
 orgia Musarum et Sileni patris imago  
 fictilis et calami, Pan Tegeae, tui  
 (III.iii.27-30)

This description recalls the nymph reliefs of the classical age (above, p. 8-9), but the affixis viridis...lapillis must refer to a grotto which has undergone artificial decoration.

Ovid also reveals a familiarity with artificial grottoes in his descriptions of the caves that dot his poetic landscape. This takes the form of oblique references, such as an emphasis on the natural character of a cave:

...speluncae similis, nativo pumice tectus  
 (Meta. X.692)

The use of nativo here implies that an artificial corollary exists, and would be known to his readers. Caves of Heracles and Omphale are described as "antra...tofis  
 13  
 laqueata et pumice vivo", and clearly have artificial decoration, yet Ovid insists upon "pumice vivo", perhaps to retain a touch of naturalism in what otherwise must be taken as artificial effects. In describing a cave of Ceres as a "structura exesi pumicis asper" Ovid uses language  
 14  
 which implies man-made construction. In describing a cave of Diana at Gargaphie he again alludes to artificial

grottoes by emphasizing the naturalism of the grotto in his story:

cuius in extremo est antrum nemorale recessu  
 arte laborum nulla; simulaverat artem  
 ingenio natura suo; nam pumice vivo  
 et levibus tofis nativum duxerat arcum.

(Meta. III.157-162)

In other instances Ovid openly acknowledges the artificiality of his setting:

est specus in medio, natura factus an arte,  
 ambiguum, magis arte tamen.

(Meta. XI.235)

Passages such as these reflect in literature structures which in fact existed. In Italy in the second and first centuries B.C. nymphaea were built in rooms of private villas. Grottoes, natural or artificial, were popular features of both urban and suburban villas. They were places of contemplative solitude and may also have been used as shrines and triclinia. Several literary sources confirm the popularity of the form. Strabo, writing about Formia, describes the metamorphosis of natural grottoes into luxurious dwellings:

...ἀνέφυγε τ' ἐνταῦθα σπήλαια ὑπερμεγέθη,  
 κατοικίας μεγάλας καὶ πολυτελεῖς δεδεγμένα (V.233)

Seneca tells of passing by the villa of Servilius Vatia, near Cumae and Acheron, and seeing

...speluncae duae magni operis cuius laxo atrio  
 pares, manu factae, quarum altera solem non  
 recepit, altera usque in occidentem tenet.

(Ad Lucil. LV .6)

Seneca also alludes to such structures in describing

...specus saxis penitus...non manu factis.  
(Ad Lucil. XLI .3)

Pliny the Elder's reference to the practice of decorating rooms cut from rock to resemble the interior of caves has already been discussed (above, p. 4). He also refers to the embellishment of caves in describing a plane tree in Lycia, which had a hollow eighty-one feet wide decorated like a cave:

...ac ne quid desit speluncae imagini, saxea intus  
crepidinis corona muscosos complexa pumices,  
(Nat. Hist. XII.9)

The archaeological remains of such structures in the Republican and early Imperial period demonstrate that grotto-nymphaea were in vogue some time before the era in which Seneca and Pliny wrote. Structurally, the rooms divide into three major categories: natural caves with architectural alterations, rooms cut into natural rock and enlarged architecturally to imitate caves, and completely artificial structures designed to imitate caves. Several characteristics are common to all three categories: rectangular shape, barrel-vaulted roof or ceiling, and a niche or semicircular apse at the back resembling a grotto. Various decorative elements may be present, such as marine mosaics in the actual fountain basin, alternating curvilinear and rectilinear niches in the side or back

walls, and engaged Doric colonnade and cornice in the side walls. In some examples, this latter decorative feature is taken a step further and executed in a three-dimensional fashion; colonnades are placed in the room, thus creating lateral naves in the style of a basilica.

#### A. Natural Caves with Architectural Additions

One of the oldest examples from the first group, dated to 150-120 B.C., is found under the city walls at Boville.<sup>15</sup> (figs. 11, 12) It is a subterranean room of peperino blocks, which is entered by a flight of seventeen steps, five of which are in the room itself. The interior, which measures 5.95 by 4.55 m.,<sup>16</sup> was apse-ended and paved with opus signinum. The walls were partially plastered to provide waterproofing. A corbelled barrel vault roofs the room. It is composed of blocks of different sizes which are carved in the appearance of natural rock and pebbles and sealed with mortar. A dentillated moulding supports a Doric cornice at the impost of the vault; both were covered with a layer of white glue in imitation of marble. A niche in the apse was framed by an arch, and water from a natural spring flowed out into a trench.

Despite its discovery under the city walls, this nymphaeum was probably not a public fountain; the quality of

its decorative elements suggests instead that it was part of a private residence.<sup>17</sup> However, the same design was used for public nymphaea in the Republican period. At Arpino a grotto, also with a natural spring, was made into a public fountain.<sup>18</sup> The natural rock walls were regularized vertically and finished. The back wall is flat, with a basin to contain the water. This area is closed off by a low wall in opus incertum. In front a portico was built, perhaps in an effort to monumentalize or formalize access to the fountain. Four columns on conglomerate blocks were apparently joined by an arcade; part of a small arch is still attached to one of the columns. Above the portico there are traces of opus signinum, which may have been part of a reservoir to augment the natural water supply.

The same plan was also used in a different context in the Sanctuary of Fortuna at Palestrina. The so-called Cave of the Sortes was a grotto with a natural spring which was altered architecturally.<sup>19</sup> A niche was put in each side at floor level. At the back the pavement was covered with a marine mosaic, which was closed off by a marble border and kept continually covered by a layer of water. The interior was made to resemble a grotto by the addition of artificial concrete stalactites.

Both the date and function of this structure are disputed. It is built in opera quadrata, which places it in



the second century B.C., but the presumed Sullan construction of the rest of the complex distorts the issue. The use to which this room was put has also caused controversy. P. Mingazzini identifies it as a nymphaeum, on the basis of the complex hydraulic system and marine mosaic decoration.<sup>20</sup> He claims that it cannot be the Grotto of the Sortes because the presence of so much water would harm the wood of the sacred ark. Giorgio Gullini, in contrast, defends its identification as a cult place by pointing to the numerous dedications to the goddess Fortuna found there.<sup>21</sup> He acknowledges the structural similarity to a nymphaeum, but attributes this similarity to the sacred origins of nymphaea as sanctuaries to the nymphs.

Two grottoes on the island of Capri were altered architecturally in the Julio-Claudian period. The so-called Grotto of Matromania (figs. 13-15) on the southeastern side of the island was a naturally vaulted cave<sup>22</sup> which was converted into a rectangular apsidal hall. The cave is entered through a narrow ramp approximately 9 m. long; the interior of the regularized room was 11 m. long by 6 m. wide. The walls were constructed of a framework of cemented rough calcareous rock and tufa to a thickness of 1.15-1.3 m. A facing of gray reticulate tufa is preserved on the lower section of the walls. The wall runs along the natural wall of the cave on one side; on the other side

it runs past the cave wall and forms the party wall of another rectangular room. Small depressions (15 cm. wide) are visible on the wall and served some purpose in construction. (cf. fig. 15.) Five niches (1 m. high, 40 cm. wide) were put in the upper portion of the west wall beneath the spring of the vault. They must have served some decorative purpose and perhaps were painted or covered in mosaic. Similarly, ten holes 4 cm. wide out of an original twelve remain in the same wall 30 cm. from the pavement. They are filled with wedges of tufa and might have held a marble facing.

At the back of the room are two podia, placed one on top of the other to create a receding double exedra. There were seven steps leading up to the first level, which was 1.4 m. from the pavement and was perfectly circular. The second level podium was oval and faced with reticulate, with the exception of an area of smooth natural rock, 1 m. wide, which may have been faced originally. At the back of the apse a set of stairs ran perpendicular to the axis of the room. They led to a small natural cavity in the rock in which water seeping from the rocks collected; the water gushed out over the steps and into a trench at the sides or in the middle of the room. This seems to be the only water source; there is no evidence of any other water arrangements. A pillar placed at the entrance to the

grotto is thought to have resisted the flow of water.

The Grotto of Matromania was extensively decorated. A thick layer of plaster creates a socle which runs along the length of the room. Fragments of coloured glass and calcareous incrustations remain on the plaster. The apse itself appears to have been covered with alternating panels of multi-coloured glass paste into which were set colourful glass vessels, and bands of marine-life incrustations, such as mussel and conch shells. Artificial stalactites were also present. Thus, although the cave was transformed into a rectangular apsidal hall, the appearance of a natural grotto was sought after in the decorative elements.

The date of the construction in the grotto falls in the late Augustan or early Tiberian period.<sup>23</sup> Two phases of construction are indicated by the manner in which the revetted walls lean against the lower podium; it would seem from this that the walls were built after the additions to the apse. The building techniques are not substantially different, and the interval between the phases was probably brief. Initially, then, the room was a grotto-nymphaeum with structural modifications made to its apse; the decision to regularize it into a rectangular hall was made at a later date.<sup>24</sup>

A small room was contiguous to the central grotto. (fig. 14, Room 'b')<sup>25</sup> Its east wall extended past

the natural cave wall to form a wall for the smaller room. In construction techniques and decoration it is like the large grotto; the socle of the back wall was covered with concretions imitating marine life and above this were panels of glass paste. A coloured cornice ran along the walls above the plaster level.

A third room was built to the east (fig. 14, Room 'c'), but differs in function and design.<sup>26</sup> It too has a natural vault formation, but this was not extended with the addition of a masonry vault. Moreover, although the remains of an artificial water system can be found, unlike the other two rooms, the area has a wall at the entrance with a door. It does not appear to be a nymphaeum of the same type as the others; it has been suggested that it was place of meditation or shelter.

The grotto received its name from dedications found there to Mithras,<sup>27</sup> and initially it was believed that this cult activity could be dated to the Tiberian era. However, historical evidence suggests that the Mithraic cult was not well-liked by Tiberius and that it did not gain a foothold on Capri until after the Julio-Claudian period.<sup>28</sup> The room was designed as a nymphaeum and only later was it adapted for cult use.

The Grotto dell'Arsenale (fig. 17), on the south-east side of the island of Capri, is a larger cave which

was also altered architecturally, but to a much lesser extent.<sup>29</sup> The grotto faces the sea and is 4-5 m. above sea level. A long rocky entrance 19 m. long leads to the interior hollow, which is circular and measures 18 m. long by 22 m. wide. The natural walls of the cave were not changed, except for the addition of a low podium of gray plastered tufa (0.45 m. high and 0.40 m. wide) which runs along the bottom of the wall. It is interrupted on the east side (fig. 16, 'b') by a small natural rock cavity which was covered with reticulate tufa, and on the west by a low brick niche (fig. 16, '1') (6.7 x 4.5 m.) which is three steps down from the floor level and which collected water drained off from the fountain.

The natural vault of the cave does not seem to have been altered architecturally, but remains of glass and tesserae indicate that it was decorated. In the western area at the spring of the vault were found six square holes with traces of plaster; these probably carried decoration of some type as well. Furthermore, when the grotto was originally excavated traces of a colourful pavement of alternating gray, red and black squares were found.

Two other hollows (not shown on plan) to the east of the central grotto contain no Roman remains but the smoothness of the walls and floor suggests that they were faced at some time.<sup>30</sup> As well, traces of an artificial

water system were also found (dotted lines on plan). Thus, when a natural water source was not available, an artificial system was constructed.

The Grotto dell'Arseuale is dated to the Tiberian era on the basis of its similarity in construction, hydraulic system and decoration to the Grotto at Sperlonga.<sup>31</sup> But the ownership of both this nymphaeum and the Grotto of Matromania is not clear. Maiuri points to the similarity in description between this grotto and the site of the famous incident recorded in Tacitus and Suetonius in which Sejanus saved Tiberius from a falling rock (Ann. IV.59; Vita Tib. 39) and, from this, seems to suggest Imperial ownership.<sup>32</sup> However, he also suggests that it belonged to a private villa, no longer extant, located above the Gardens of Augustus.<sup>33</sup> For the Grotto di Matromania too he proposes Tiberian ownership.<sup>34</sup> Mingazzini identifies the Grotto di Matromania as a summer retreat and the Grotto dell'Arseuale as a triclinium.<sup>35</sup> Whether or not these were the private haunts of the emperor is not clear. The twelve villas which Tacitus records Tiberius built on Capri have been identified;<sup>36</sup> however, it is possible that these grottoes were also built by the emperor as free-standing nymphaea. It is equally possible, however, that they belonged to private villas.<sup>37</sup>

## B. Rooms Cut into Natural Rock

The second major category of nymphaea includes those which were cut out of natural rock, or which were built from a natural rocky overhang and enlarged with construction.<sup>38</sup> A Hellenistic example of this is found above the Greek theatre at Syracuse.<sup>39</sup> A rectangular, barrel-vaulted fountain room with a basin was cut into the rock. At the back there was one niche, and at the sides there were two larger and smaller niches also hollowed out of the living rock. The wall had a Doric frieze cut out of the rock which ran along the entire length, and above this there were holes for the insertion of decorative elements, such as marble or painted panels.

In the Republican period at Rome this type of nymphaeum is best exemplified by the remains of public fountains. At the Sanctuary of Fortuna at Palestrina there were five public nymphaea which are cut out of the supporting wall of the lower terrace.<sup>40</sup> Of these five, only three remain, and of these only one provides enough information to present an approximate restoration. The design and decor of this fountain are rather simple. A deep semi-circular niche rises at ground level; in its pavement is a basin. Water entered the room through a hole at the top of the vault. The niche was made of tufa blocks carved to resemble a natural grotto. There was no other

discernible decoration. The area in front of the fountain was paved with three large tufa blocks which were covered by earthenware. N. Neuerburg suggests that this indicates that the fountain was fronted by a colonnaded portico, perhaps in the same manner as the public fountain at Arpino.<sup>41</sup>

In the Villa of Hadrian at Tivoli are the remains of a nymphaeum of this type located behind the Piazza d'Oro, which belonged to a private villa of the Republican period.<sup>42</sup> Of this room, only a semi-circular exedra built against a hill and a section of wall with a door or window are still visible. However, the evidence indicates that the room was a nymphaeum, and it differs little in design or decoration from other examples. At the back of the room is an apse which has three niches, one semi-circular and two rectangular. The central niche alone was equipped with a water system; an opening for a tube was found in its basin. This basin and the vault of the apse were faced with pumice stone, as was the socle. The central niche held panels of decoration which is no longer extant; the flanking niches retain traces of mosaic and shell decoration. The walls of the room also appear to have been decorated with mosaic.

### C. Completely Artificial Structures

The third type of nymphaea, those which are totally artificial in construction, was especially popular in the



Republican period and is best exemplified in private villas.<sup>43</sup> The essential elements of these nymphaea differ little from those which were built from natural grottoes. They are generally barrel-vaulted, rectangular rooms, with apse and/or niche in the back which contains a fountain. Two of the earliest examples of this type of nymphaeum may be found at Tivoli. At the villa of Signori Reali there is a simple rectangular exedra with a fountain in a barrel-vaulted, rectangular room which is faced in opus signinum.<sup>44</sup> Stone slabs closed off the flow of water from the rest of the room. There is a similar room in the so-called Villa of Brutus, dated to 120-80 B.C.<sup>45</sup> The design is the same, but in this room there are Doric semi-columns and frieze on one of the walls.

Of a slightly later date is the Sullan villa, which is also at Tivoli.<sup>46</sup> It was found beneath the north-west side of the Courtyard of the Library of Hadrian's villa. Here too the same plan is followed, but two semi-circular niches flank a central rectangular niche. There is also a rectangular niche on each of the side walls. As in one of the small grottoes in the Grotto dell'Arsenale, an artificial system furnishes water for the fountains where no natural source is present. All three niches at the back, and a niche in one of the side walls, have apertures for water pipes, and a complex hydraulic system of channels and

cisterns can also be seen behind the room. There are traces of mosaic on the vault, and the walls and pavement were covered with marble. This nymphaeum is especially interesting because at some point in its history it became a shrine; an altar base was placed in the middle of the room. This change underlines the religious origins of the grotto-nymphaeum, and the close connection between its use as a place of meditation and relaxation, and for religious worship.

The most elaborate example of an artificial grotto-nymphaeum is the so-called 'Doric Nymphaeum' at Castelgandolfo, which is dated to ca. 50 B.C.<sup>47</sup> The extant evidence is in poor condition but it indicates the complexity of the original structure. The room was rectangular with a barrel vault. In place of an apse at the back there is a rectangular exedra which imitates a small, barrel-vaulted room. This exedra is partly cut out of the rock of the cliff to which the nymphaeum is attached. It extends almost to the height of the vault and contains two semi-circular niches which flank another semi-circular niche located in the upper zone. Water channels in the form of cascades fall from the narrow wall-spaces which flank the exedra. The lateral walls of the room held six arched rectangular niches, and beneath these were placed a row of eleven niches; there is no alignment between the two rows.

This low row of niches rises above a low platform which runs like a walkway along both sides of the room.

The architectonic decoration of this room is particularly elaborate. A series of consoles were originally placed between the upper row of niches and in the corners of the room were rectangular pilasters bearing composite capitals of an unusual type. These elements supported a triglyph and metope frieze and a Corinthian cornice. Above this was a plain plastered surface and a border of Ionic dentils and ovals was located at the impost of the vault. At the back of the room the cornice continues, rising obliquely over the lower niches and meeting a straight cornice which runs above the upper niche and architrave. In addition, there are traces of painting on the walls and plastered vault.

Several small nymphaea at the Sanctuary of Fortuna at Palestrina which are dated to the same period, if not slightly earlier (100-50 B.C.), have similar, though less sophisticated, architectonic decoration. <sup>48</sup> Two small nymphaea under the stairs between the lower terraces have slender pilaster strips flanking the entrance; two others near the base of the ramp and two more beside the stairs of the upper terrace have pilaster strips and a crowning moulding at the entrance.

In this same period appear nymphaea in which the

architectonic decoration of the type in the Doric nymphaeum is executed in three-dimensional fashion. In these examples the carved pilasters and architraves on the side walls are fully formed and create lateral naves in the manner of Roman basilicas. On the middle terrace of the "Villa of Brutus" at Tivoli are the remains of the apse of such a pseudo-basilical nymphaeum.<sup>49</sup> The room was divided into three naves by a row of columns which apparently were Doric. The central nave ended in the apse; the side naves ended in small niches or arched doorways which flank the apse. The room was barrel-vaulted, and the initial section of an architrave is still visible; however, neither the number of columns nor the size of the room is clear. In the apse two of three original springs were found; the central one was a rectangular fountain whose water flow came from a tube above the cornice of the apse.

At the "Villa of Cicero" at Formia there are two pseudo-basilical nymphaea located on a terrace which faces the sea. The larger of the two (figs. 17-19) has a small vestibule 4.38 m. x 1.60 m. and three interior naves, of which the central one is the largest at 6.95 m. x 1.75 m.<sup>50</sup> Two rows of four Doric columns create the division and all three areas are roofed with barrel-vaults. An apse with a low fountain was located at the back of the central nave; the lateral naves end in a blank wall with doors between

them and the central nave. The room was extensively decorated, but much of this decoration is dated to the middle of the first century A.D., a hundred years after the date of construction. It includes fourth-style wall painting in the apse, stucco geometric patterns on the vault and a tricolour mosaic pavement.

The small nymphaeum (figs. 20, 21) measures 6.88 m. x 7.35 m. and is almost square in shape.<sup>51</sup> Its interior is less clearly ordered; the naves are only indicated by four Doric columns which are placed near the corners. The lateral naves are barrel-vaulted, while the central nave has a cross vault. A square niche in the centre of the back wall measures 3.7 m. wide and contained a fountain. It had a marble socle above which was marine and mosaic decoration; the central vault also bears traces of marine decoration executed in stucco.

A variation on this plan can be seen in three other nymphaea of the late Republic and early Imperial eras. In the Villa Gavotti at Grottaferrata the remains of a pseudo-basilical nymphaeum indicate that the naves were separated by columns on top of which rested low arcades.<sup>52</sup> A better-preserved example is the nymphaeum of the Villa of Sant'Antonio at Tivoli, which is dated to the latter half of the first century B.C.<sup>53</sup> (figs. 22, 23) Similarly in this room lateral naves are created by pilasters which carry an

arcade. However, the naves act more as spatial extensions of the central nave than as functional areas, since they are not wide enough to permit walking. The Grotto of Paris at San Vittorino also has arcades on pilasters which separate the naves.<sup>54</sup> In this nymphaeum the lateral naves extend past the central apse and communicate with it through a small arched opening. Corridors are also located above the naves, but their function is not clear. They did not meet, but one did connect with another passage which led to a well.

The extent and variety of architectonic and architectural features of the pseudo-basilical nymphaea demonstrate a desire to expand, or indeed alter, the effects of grotto-nymphaea. The popularity of architectonic decoration, exemplified particularly by the Doric nymphaeum at Castelgandolfo, culminates in the pseudo-basilical nymphaea. While they are clearly derived from grotto-nymphaea, they retain only the general shape of the room, the presence of a spring and marine decoration. The extensive use of architectural features may be seen as an attempt to combine the interior effects of other, more public, building types, such as basilicas, with the contemplative isolation of a cave.

Grotto-nymphaea continue into the first century A.D. At Minori there is an example from a villa dated to the first half of the first century A.D.<sup>55</sup> (fig. 24, Room ix)

The room is barrel-vaulted but differs from republican examples in that it lacks an apse, and it has a porch or vestibule. The nymphaeum itself consists of an opening in the back wall containing a staircase of seventeen steps (fig.24, xii). The water flowed into three basins which were connected with tubes. One basin lies across the back width of the room, while the other two line the side of the room. The walls of the side basins are articulated by five rectangular recesses which resemble buttresses. The wall of the back basin had four brick pilasters which carried an arcade. The central arcade thus created was paralleled by an arch in the entrance. The vault had stucco decoration and some third-style wall painting between the transenna and the back wall. The room faced onto the peristyle of the house, and a large pool of the same width is in direct line to it.

Only one grotto-nymphaeum has been found at Pompeii. On the lower terrace of house VIII.ii.28 is an apsidal barrel-vaulted nymphaeum which fits the architectural pattern of artificial grotto-nymphaea (fig. 25, Room x).<sup>56</sup> The room is connected to the rest of the house by two staircases and measures 5.25 m. long and 2.25 m. wide; a service corridor runs behind the apse and contains a reservoir which supplied the fountain. The nymphaeum itself at the north end is a semi-circular barrel-vaulted niche

which held a stairway of five steps flanked by two ramps. Atop each of these was a small niche-shaped window, the one above the staircase higher than the other two. Water flowed down the staircase into a basin beneath which stretched across the width of the room. The basin is closed off by a low wall, 0.76 m. high, in the shape of the pulpitum of a theatre, with two rectangular recesses flanking a central circular recess. The room bears traces of substantial decoration. The walls of the room were originally faced with plaster and the vault was made to resemble a grotto. The niche was decorated in red and green plaster, pumice and mosaic, and the basin wall had a Nilotic frieze. The room is dated to ca A.D. 60, and overlooks the Sorrentine peninsula.

#### General Discussion

Most grotto-nymphaea have simple water systems consisting of a spout which rises up in a basin or flows from the wall into a basin. In rock-cut nymphaea, such as the one at Syracuse, the opening is not furnished with a spout but flows freely from the rock, in imitation of a natural grotto. The seepage of natural grottoes is imitated in the nymphaeum in the villas of Sant'Antonio and Brutus at Tivoli and in the villa at Grottaferrata, in which water emerges from two holes in the apse and falls in drops over



the decorative cornice. In the villa at Minori water flowed from a statue of a nymph; this method of channelling water through a statue is a common feature of nymphaea at Pompeii and Herculaneum.<sup>57</sup> In the villa of Brutus at Tivoli the water tube is placed high in the niche, thereby mimicking the effect of a natural cascade. Similar effects are sought in grotto-nymphaea of the first century A.D.; however, more complicated arrangements are found. Stairways which formed water cascades appear in the nymphaeum niche. In the Grotto di Matromania there are two sets of steps set in the natural cavity, and at Minori and Pompeii a staircase, of seventeen and five steps respectively, was set in the nymphaeum niche.

In their decorative elements grotto-nymphaea display a high quality. As previously quoted, Pliny the Elder describes the cavity of the Lycian plane tree as fitted with "muscosi pumices" in a way which seems to indicate a decorated vault (above p. 27). It is also implied that more elaborate embellishments, such as "marmorum nitor, picturae varietas" and "laquearium aurum", are typical of speluncae. In several poetic passages, too, references are made to decoration which in fact reflects the decoration in real grotto-nymphaea. The home of the Muses in Propertius is a "spelunca" which is "affixis viridis ... lapillis", reminiscent of the mosaic decoration common to grotto-nymphaea.<sup>58</sup> Ovid tells of antra of Heracles and Omphale

which are panelled with tufa and pumice,<sup>59</sup> and in describing the home of Achelous the poet depicts an interior which resembles very closely the typical grotto-nymphaea decor:

pumice multicavo nec levibus atria tophis  
 structa subit: molli tellus erat umida musco,  
 summa lacunabant alterno murice conchae.  
 (Meta, VIII. 562-564)

Although the home of Achelous is not actually referred to as a cave, in details like the use of tufa and pumice and the shell panelling it in fact recalls the rows of shell decoration of grotto-nymphaea, especially those in the Villa of Cicero.<sup>60</sup>

An effect resembling the interior of a natural grotto was sought in the decoration of the vault and fountain niche in rough rock and artificial stalactites and stalagmites, and in the addition of plaster incrustations in the shape of marine life. In the nymphaeum at Boville the vault, which is constructed of the same material as the walls, was modelled to resemble a grotto. In most examples, however, special kinds of volcanic stone were applied to the ceiling vault and nymphaeum niche to achieve a grotto effect.<sup>61</sup> Yet elegant and refined decorative elements, such as marble revetment, mosaic, glass paste and painted plaster, were also used in conjunction with these naturalistic effects. In the nymphaeum at Syracuse and in

the villa of Signori Reali at Tivoli opus signinum was combined with volcanic stone in the nymphaeum niche. Painting and stucco were combined with volcanic stone in the large nymphaeum of the villa at Formia and in the villa at Minori. Both rooms also have floor mosaics. Mosaic and painting were also combined with modelled stone in the grotto-nymphaeum at Pompeii and in the smaller nymphaeum at Formia.

The addition of architectonic elements such as Doric friezes, pilasters and mouldings, further distance the decoration from natural grotto interiors. This is not a late development; architectonic features are present in the earliest example from Boville, which has both decoration which imitates a natural grotto and dentils and a Doric cornice. In the Doric nymphaeum at Albano modelled stone was used only to fill in space between the complex architectonic elements. Other nymphaeae such as those in the Sullan villas at Tivoli retain the interior effects of a grotto only in the marine decoration of the niches. Thus, while grotto-nymphaeae fulfilled a desire for a touch of rustic life, they also reflect the taste for elegance and luxury which served as proof of sophistication in the Roman world.

As an architectural form, grotto-nymphaeae were used in both public and private contexts. At Arpino the form

served the practical function of a public fountain. The duality of function of the grotto-nymphaeum as a place of cult activity and as a source of fresh water is demonstrated in the sanctuary of Fortuna at Palestrina, where it served both a practical and sacral function. In two instances, the Sullan villa at Tivoli and the Grotto di Matromania on Capri, grotto-nymphaea were transformed into sacella later in their history.

In a secular context such rooms exhibited a diversity of function. They may have been used as triclinia in the hot summer months; portable couches could be moved in seasonally or for special meals. In describing the Lycian plane tree Pliny the Elder relates that an aristocrat of consular rank, one Licinius Mucianus, held a feast inside its hollow. It may be inferred from this that such banquetting inside decorated artificial grottoes was commonplace, as it is the natural accoutrements of the hollow, such as tori frondis, which Pliny sees worthy of emphasis. However, this function is not recommended for all grotto-nymphaea; at Minori, for example, large pools occupy much of the interior space.

However, the primary function of the form seems to be as a place of otium and refuge from urban life. A vignette from Appian's Bellum Civile dramatically illustrates this. Appian tells of a hapless aristocrat, a

victim of proscription who possessed an ἔπαυλις equipped with an ἄντρον τε καλὸν καὶ βαθύ.<sup>62</sup> In describing the murder scene Appian relates that the man was ἀναψύχων κατὰ τὸ ἄντρον in the cave when his assassins arrived; an attempt by a loyal slave to hide his master and substitute himself before the knife proved futile. So fine was this cave that Appian identifies it as an object of envy and probable cause of his persecution.

Seneca's description of Vatia's speluncae suggests that they were designed for seasonal use and that both were positioned to provide the greatest comfort in extremes of temperature. Indeed, the placement of existing grotto-nymphaea seems to be designed to provide beautiful vistas to the occupants. The Grotto dell'Arsenale on Capri and the grotto-nymphaeum at Formia open onto the sea, the Doric nymphaeum overlooks Lake Albano, the nymphaeum in the Villa of Sant'Antonio at Tivoli is opposite a waterfall of the Anio River, and the Pompeian nymphaeum of house VIII.ii.28 faces away from the rest of the house and out to the Sorrentine peninsula.<sup>63</sup> In their fine decoration, cooling water effects and panoramic views, grotto-nymphaea recreated the rustic beauty of natural caves and provided a haven from the pressures of urban life.

## CHAPTER 3

### Triclinia and Nymphaea-Triclinia at Pompeii and Herculaneum

The term triclinium generally refers to dining rooms, or more specifically rooms with three κλίνας<sup>1</sup> or dining couches. Vitruvius gives some details on the construction and decoration of triclinia.<sup>2</sup> He says that their length should be twice their width, and their height half the combined length and width. Triclinia were designed with seasonal use in mind - triclinia hiberna faced the west, to catch the sun, triclinia verna and autumnali faced the east, to provide coolness, and triclinia aestiva faced the north.<sup>3</sup> Vitruvius advises a simple decorative scheme for winter triclinia consisting of black panels above the dado set off with yellow or red strips.<sup>4</sup> He discourages the use of fine wall paintings or mouldings in these rooms, because of the damage from hearth smoke and lamp soot, and recommends plain, undecorated ceilings.

Guests dined reclining at an angle on couches draped with cushions and coverlets. The couches, which had a slight downward incline, were arranged in a U formation; the central couch was called the lectus medius, the couch to its right the lectus imus and the couch to its left the lectus summus. Triclinia generally seated seven to eight people, and the Roman saying "septem convivium, novem vero convicium"

indicates that this was the size of a civilized dinner party.<sup>5</sup> There were notable exceptions: Athenaeus records the existence of τετράκλινοι, ἐπτάκλινοι and ἑννεάκλινοι and Augustus is reported to have held a banquet for twelve.<sup>6</sup> Tables were placed in the space between the couches; square tables were replaced by round in the Imperial period. Many extant examples from Pompeii had jets of water in the centre to facilitate frequent hand-washing, an essential rather than a nicety for the Roman, who did not use cutlery.

The crescent-shaped sigma couch was an alternative to the rectangular model. The latter was more popular in the Republic and early empire and this is reflected at Pompeii, where only one sigma couch has been found.<sup>7</sup> The sigma, which gained in popularity in the second century A.D., held seven or eight people, as revealed in two epigrams of Martial:

...septem sigma capit, sex sumus, adde Lupum.  
(X.48.6)

...accipe lunata scriptum testudine sigma,  
octo capit; veniat quisquis amicus erit.  
(XIV.87)

Servius, in commenting on Aeneid I.698, states:

Antiqui stibadia non habebant, sed stratis tribus  
lectis epulabantur.

demonstrating, therefore, that sigma couches were popularly called stibadia.

From the second century B.C. Hellenistic architecture exercised a significant influence on domestic Roman architecture. The addition of Hellenistic porticoes and peristyles to the traditional Italic house created a profound change in house plans, and saw a shift in focus away from the central atrium.<sup>8</sup> The interior of the house was opened up to the outside, thus fulfilling the function of the old atrium in providing light and air. This change also produced a new interface between the garden and the house. Horti were common in wealthy Italic houses and usually occupied the place behind the tablinum, thus maintaining the axuality so characteristic of Italic architecture. With the advent of the portico this green space was opened up to the interior of the house, providing vistas for the rooms behind. In houses too small for gardens, limited porticoes of one or two sides closed off an area of an open court; garden scenes were painted on the remaining solid walls.<sup>9</sup> This combination of garden and peristyle was unique to Roman architecture, for in Greek architecture peristyles generally surrounded paved courts, not gardens, and rooms were grouped around the portico rather than set in a linear fashion at one end.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, in the Republican era the Hellenistic portico was incorporated into the existing plan and both Italic axuality and horti were retained.



The position of the triclinium in the house plan reflects this change. In the Italic plan the triclinium was placed off the atrium and thus received light and ventilation. With the addition of the portico, it usually faced out toward the garden and provided diners with beautiful vistas to enhance their dining experience. In the villas of Pliny the Younger the views provided by the triclinia are spectacular indeed. In the Laurentine villa one triclinium provided a view through folding doors (or large windows).

... a fronte quasi tria maria prospectat; a tergo cavaedium porticum aream porticum rursus, mox atrium silvas et longinquos respicit montes.

(Ep. II.xvii.5-6)

Another triclinium in a upper storey in another part of the villa had no sea exposure but overlooked the garden. Similarly the triclinia in his Tuscan villa are placed with an eye to the view:

valvis xystum desinentem et protinus pratum multumque ruris videt, fenestris hac latus xysti et quod prosilit villae, hac adiacentis hippodromi nemus comasque prospectat.

(Ep. V.vi.19)

Another triclinium in a cryptoporticus was built for summer use:

...saluberrimum adflatum ex Appenninis vallibus recipit; post latissimis fenestris vineas, valvis aequae vineas sed per cryptoporticus quasi admittit.

(Ep. V.vi.29)

In the houses of Campania this movement can be

demonstrated in a number of wealthy houses. Triclinia which open off garden-peristyle complexes occupy various positions in the house plan. In the portico of the triclinia at Murecine south of Pompeii five (and perhaps a sixth) triclinia were arranged around a peristyle.<sup>11</sup> (fig. 26) In some houses the garden-peristyle was appended to the rear of the plan and opened off the tablinum. Thus, in the House of the Stags at Herculaneum (IV.21) (fig. 27) the tablinum opens up onto a garden; another suite of rooms along the back open up onto the garden on the other side.<sup>12</sup> The triclinium is in the centre of these rooms and is on the same axis as the tablinum. This axuality is emphasized by a decorative pediment set above the triclinium entrance.

In the House of the Golden Cupids at Pompeii (VI.xvi.7) (fig. 28, Room O) a similar axuality between garden and triclinium may be observed.<sup>13</sup> The triclinium is set at the end of a garden-peristyle and the central apse-ended pool of the garden is set on the same axis. The entrance of the triclinium is lent an aspect of theatricality by means of several steps set in the portico in front of the triclinium, along the same axis. These steps are flanked by pilasters of the same height as the rest of the portico, while pilasters attached to plinths with Corinthian capitals are higher than the rest of the colonnade and support a pediment in an arrangement akin to

that in the House of the Stags. This triclinium had a second garden vista; a window in the south wall opened up onto another much smaller garden (fig.28, Room P).

In other houses the triclinium has a view on the cross axis of the garden. In the House of Menander at Pompeii (I.x.4) (fig. 29) the large triclinium (Room 18) opens off the side of the garden's far end.<sup>14</sup> The columns of the portico have uneven intercolumniations so that rooms located alongside the garden had an unimpeded view. In the case of the triclinium two columns were removed to keep the wide entrance of the room open to the garden.

Water was another important element in Roman gardens. Following the construction of an aqueduct in the Augustan era at Pompeii, fountains, pools, and canals were integrated into the vegetative and architectonic elements of the garden.<sup>15</sup> Nymphaea such as the niche-fountain type already encountered in the grotto-nymphaea were especially favoured. In some houses the triclinium opened onto or was in clear view of a nymphaeum. In house V.iii.11 at Pompeii a triclinium opened onto a garden; at the other end of the garden was a nymphaeum-biclinium complex.<sup>16</sup> In the House of the Centenary (IX.viii.6) at Pompeii a nymphaeum was placed at the back of the large garden-peristyle; between the two is a triclinium.<sup>17</sup> In the House of the Skeleton (III.3) (fig. 30) at Herculaneum a triclinium and nymphaeum were

similarly placed in opposition to each other.<sup>18</sup>

In many houses in Campania permanent triclinia of brick were found set up in the garden.<sup>19</sup> Such garden triclinia provided a cool place to dine in the warm Mediterranean evenings. Varro records that the Romans

Ad focum hieme ac frigoribus cenitabant, aestivo tempore in propatulo.<sup>20</sup>

Garden triclinia are found in both private houses and public establishments in Pompeii. Some were built in corners or against a garden wall; others held a free-standing position in the centre of the garden. In arrangement they are much like indoor triclinia, consisting of three couches in a U formation with tables in the centre. Columns, four to six in number, were usually set around the couches and supported a vine pergola which provided shade for the diners. The decor of these triclinia is generally simple, although the columns were often plastered and painted.

Often too garden triclinia were placed in close association with water elements. This association created a refreshing atmosphere in which to feast, and also served an aesthetic function, as pools and fountains in tandem with sculpture formed an entire decorative programme in many aristocratic gardens. In the House of the Silver Wedding at Pompeii (V.iii.1) (fig. 33) a triclinium located in the centre of the long side of a rectangular garden (6) faced a rectangular pool in the garden's centre.<sup>21</sup> The pool, rather

than following the axis of the garden, is axial to the triclinium, and this position was clearly dictated by the position of the triclinium. In the House of Paquius Proculus at Pompeii (I.vii.1) (fig. 32) a garden triclinium was located near a small water basin, and another apse-ended rectangular pool was positioned to the north of the couches.<sup>22</sup> Similarly in the luxurious Villa of Diomedes (fig. 33) at Pompeii a large apse-ended pool with articulated sides lies directly in front of a garden triclinium (13); an indoor triclinium ('a') lies on the same axis facing the pool from the interior of the house.<sup>23</sup>

A number of garden triclinia have complex arrangements in which a nymphaeum is integrated into the triclinium arrangement. In the garden of House II.ix.7 (fig. 34) at Pompeii, which was a caupona, two highly decorated nymphaea were set at the end of the lectus imus and lectus summus of the triclinium.<sup>24</sup> The fountains face each other and thus diners reclining on the side couches would therefore all have a view of a fountain. The wall of the nymphaea facing the lectus medius had garden scenes, and the triclinium itself was decorated with garden paintings. Other arrangements brought the water elements into closer contact with the couches. In the House of Sallust (VI.ii.4) a rectangular pool takes the place of a table between the couches, and water was channelled through a small lion

25

statue.

In the House of Neptune and Amphitrite at Herculaneum (V.6-7) a nymphaeum is combined with an open-air triclinium located not in a garden but in a courtyard.<sup>26</sup>

The house did not have a garden or peristyle, but instead took advantage of the open area of the courtyard for outdoor dining. The triclinium is located in front of the nymphaeum, which is set into the wall and is composed of two rectangular niches flanking a larger semi-circular niche. The face of the wall around the niches is highly decorated in glass-paste mosaic laid out in three registers, and three theatrical masks sit at the top of the whole. The interior of the niches have shell and marine life concretions in imitation of a natural grotto, thus following the same decorative tradition as the republican grotto-nymphaea. A richly detailed mosaic depicting Neptune and Amphitrite occupies part of the wall behind the lectus summus. The dining couches are set very low, and barely rise above the floor surface. In the centre there is a column decorated in relief which had a water jet. Although the nymphaeum is not exactly aligned with the triclinium, the two were clearly designed to form a single unit, as the water from the fountain was channelled into the water-jet of the column.

In three aristocratic houses at Pompeii nymphaea were integrated architectonically into the garden

triclinium. In these examples architectonic, decorative and water elements were combined to create a luxurious dining area. In the House of the Ephebe, also known as the House of P. Cornelius Tages, (I.vii.10) (figs. 35, area 23; fig. 36), a garden triclinium and a nymphaeum were so closely associated as to form a single unit.<sup>27</sup> The nymphaeum is set against the back wall of the garden, which opens up behind the tablinum, and the large triclinium is set directly before it; a large vegetable garden occupied the other half of the garden.<sup>28</sup> The nymphaeum is styled after a lararium,<sup>29</sup> a type common in Campania, and has a statue of a nymph bearing a shell with fruit, from which water flowed.<sup>30</sup> From here it went down a staircase of five steps, the last of which actually formed a shallow basin, and into a rectangular pool at the foot of the niche. The water was then channelled beneath the lectus medius of the triclinium and emerged again from a fistula set in the rectangular triclinium table.

The triclinium is typical of outdoor dining places, composed as it is of three couches, and having four columns set at the corners of the couches which supported a vine pergola. A low shelf is built into the inner walls of the couches and served as a resting place for dishes, as the table was too low to be functional and also had a fountain. Two half-columns attached to the ends of the couches and

pergola columns probably acted as statue bases. The lectus imus and summus measure 4.40 m. in length, and the table between them 0.45 x 0.88 m.

The lectus medius was transected by a channel, thus breaking the couch into two pieces, each 2.30 m. in length. This channel played no part in the hydraulic system, since water was piped into the table fountain from beneath, yet it is positioned on the axis of both the nymphaeum and the table and thus makes the nymphaeum and triclinium complex the focal point of the garden. Moreover, while the channel did not actually carry water from the nymphaeum through to the triclinium, its presence creates a spatial link between the two architectonic elements, thus making them a single unit. The focal point thus created would also serve as an attractive vista for the indoor triclinium, which opened onto the garden. This room is somewhat off the axis of the nymphaeum-triclinium complex, but through its wide doorway had an extensive view of it. A base situated in the garden between the lectus summus of the outdoor triclinium and the area between the couches of the indoor triclinium held a statue of a bronze ephebe (from which the house takes one of its names) which was converted into a lampadophoros.

This garden nymphaeum-triclinium complex was highly decorated. The nymphaeum itself, as mentioned above, was of the aedicula type which imitates a lararium. Two half-



columns flank the niche and a pediment rises above. The interior cupola of the niche takes the form of a half-shell and had stucco relief and a painting of a hunt scene. The front frieze of the pediment was also decorated with a painted relief scene of Diana and two deer; the east side of the frieze has traces of a painted scene of a four-footed animal pursued by a putto, but nothing of the west pediment decoration is now extant. The wall beside the nymphaeum was painted with garden scenes which create the illusion of the continuation of the portico on the north side.<sup>31</sup> The bottom of the rectangular basin was painted blue with fish, and the columns of the triclinium were plastered and painted sky-blue.

The interior walls of the lecti themselves were decorated with a continuous Nilotic landscape frieze, which begins at the front end of the lectus imus and runs along the inner face.<sup>32</sup> The frieze is typical of Nilotic landscapes and depicts pygmies engaged in various activities, such as spinning, sacrificing and reclining at dinner. The Egyptian location is indicated by the presence of exotic animals, such as crocodiles and ibises, and by architectural elements such as a pylon, obelisk and thatched houses. Aside from the purely aesthetic enjoyment that such a landscape provided, it was also an evocation of the idyllic life with which fertile Egypt was credited by the

Romans, and it brought a touch of the exotic to the triclinium.

A statue of Venus and a herm were found in the garden and, as noted above, statue bases were also set at the ends of the couches. It is apparent that much care went into the design and decoration of this part of the house. The garden nymphaeum-triclinium in the House of P. Cornelius Tages, therefore, had its own place as the focus of the garden, but was also part of the larger decorative programme within the garden itself.

In the gardens of two other houses in Pompeii a variation on this theme of nymphaeum-triclinium appears. Instead of the triclinium having merely a close association with the nymphaeum, the water element is incorporated into the couch arrangement itself, creating a nymphaeum-biclinium. In House V.iii.1 a nymphaeum built against the back wall of the garden has two dining couches extending out from it and thus occupies the place of the lectus medius in the couch arrangement. <sup>33</sup> The biclinium is open to the sky and did not have a vine pergola above it. Water flowed from a statue (no longer extant) in the niche and down a stairway of seven steps into a basin which occupies the place of a table between the two couches. There is also a water jet in centre of the basin, and small drains in the sides of the lecti channelled off excess water. Two sides of the basin

are rectilinear, but the back and front are concave, thus matching the curve of the nymphaeum niche. Both the lectus imus and summus are 3 m. in length and are attached to walls, one formed by an adjoining room, the other being the exterior garden wall of the house.

The nymphaeum in this biclinium received most of the decoration. It too is an aedicula type, with flanking half-columns and an arch above the triangular pediment which appears at the front and on both sides. Rough acroteria are placed on top. The niche itself was plastered and painted sky-blue at the back, as was the gable of the pediment. The arch was red with a yellow outline, and the half-columns were candy-striped in red, white and blue. Small half-columns somewhat like plinths are set before them up to the level of the stairs; these have an egg frieze at the top. The basin was faced with pumice, but was otherwise not decorated. The back wall has traces of a landscape painting with a serpent and a stork. The effect created by the whole was visible from an indoor triclinium located at the other end of the garden.

There is another nymphaeum-biclinium complex at Pompeii, in the House of Octavius Quartio, otherwise known as the House of Loreius Tiburtinus (II.v.2).<sup>34</sup> (figs. 37-40) The entire house is luxuriously decorated, but it is in the garden, which occupies almost twice its area, that an

extensive and costly decorative programme appears. Here too a nymphaeum is integrated into the biclinium and occupies the place of the lectus medius. The biclinium (fig. 37, 'k'; fig. 40) is not located in the garden itself but in a narrow area, set off on one side by a portico, behind the house proper and before the garden. A narrow canal, a euripus, runs down the width of this area, and the biclinium is located at one end and faces on to it. The euripus is set on the cross-axis of the house; another euripus runs along the length of the garden, and is on the main axis of the house. The biclinium thus faces the cross-axial canal and is exposed to the extent of the large garden through the portico on the side of the lectus summus. Only one column of the portico is actually alongside the couch; another was set at the end of it, and so a good view of the garden could be had. Water flowed from a statue of Telamon into a basin below (0.925 x 2.40 m.; 1.40 m. deep); this was in turn connected to the canal through an arch which acts as a bridge over the canal. The basin occupies the place of a table between the couches, which measure 3.22 m. long by 1.56 m. wide (lectus imus) and 2.80 m. long by 1.60 m. side (lectus summus).<sup>35</sup> The lack of either a table or shelf in the couches for the diners has led Eugenia Salza Prina Ricotti to seek an explanation in the letters of Pliny the Younger.<sup>36</sup> In describing his Tuscan villa he tells of the

garden triclinium in his hippodrome:

In capite stibadium candido marmore vite protegitur; vitem quattuor columellae Carystiae subeunt. Ex stibadio aqua velut expressa cubantium pondere sipunculis effuit, cavato lapide suscipitur, gracili marmore continetur atque ita occulte temperatur, ut impleat nec redundet. Gustatorium graviorque cena margini imponitur, levior naucularum et avium figuris innatans circumit.

(Ep. V.vi.36-37)

Salza Prina Ricotti suggests that a table of water on which the evening's dishes floated may well have been used in the house of Octavius Quartio as well. Pliny's description of the water system in his villa suggests that this kind of complex mechanical control existed and would allow the basin in the centre of the biclinium of Octavius Quartio to be filled and kept stable. Seneca describes a similar mechanism:

...euripos subito aquarum impetu implet aut siccatur.  
(Ad. Luc. XC.15)

The nymphaeum-biclinium was lavishly decorated, in keeping with the rest of the house. The nymphaeum is another aedicula type with two columns in antis topped by a pediment with a tile roof. The columns are of gray marble and have composite capitals, which, along with the bases, architrave and sima, are of white marble. The gable of the pediment is of yellow marble, while the antae are painted mock cipollino and the columns plinths are painted with foliage. The interior niche is faced with pumice and

decorated with a coarse mosaic which imitates the outline of the nymphaeum and has marine animals on its 'frieze' course; the statue base is painted in mock yellow marble. The interior of the basin is faced with opus signinum and painted blue. The surface level of the couches was painted red, and the lectus summus bears the signature "Lucius pinxit", perhaps of the artist who painted the wall paintings of Narcissus and Pyramus and Thisbe.

In houses such as these great effort and expense was given to create garden nymphaea-triclinia and biclinia which join together many elements of the garden to form a single architectural unit. The variety of the decor and the quality of materials which went into these complexes reveal a concern for aesthetic values and the demonstration of sophisticated taste. Many of the architectonic and decorative elements, such as niches in imitation of grottoes, and artificial water cascades continue aspects first seen in the republican grotto-nymphaea. However, these nymphaea-triclinia have a totally different context, that of the garden, and as such reflect the emphasis on the garden in the domestic house plan of the late republic and early empire and the architectural changes which developed from this.

The role of the sacred feast in the cults of various deities is not to be under-estimated. Often these feasts

were held in sacred gardens designed to evoke the blissful  
 afterlife.<sup>37</sup> Inscriptions record the erection of tabernae,  
aedificia and diaetae in funereal gardens, and it is likely  
 that these structures functioned in part as triclinia.<sup>38</sup> In  
 Petronius' Satyricon, Trimalchio asks that a depiction of  
triclinia with a full dinner party be included on his  
 tomb.<sup>39</sup> One funereal triclinium survived from Pompeii.  
 Located on the Via dei Sepolcri (no. 23), it includes three  
 couches with a round table in the centre.<sup>40</sup> The whole is  
 fronted by a pediment and surrounded by a walled enclosure.  
 A small altar is set before the table, and the ashes of the  
 deceased were probably buried between the altar and the  
 entrance. An inscription identified the deceased and the  
 freedman who dedicated the tomb. The triclinium was  
 substantially decorated; the couches were red and had  
 paintings of animals and foliage, and the walls of the  
 enclosure were painted.

Wall paintings which depict banquets in a garden or  
 Nilotic setting are also identified as sacred in character  
 by P. Grimal.<sup>41</sup> Yet, the existence of sacred feasts and  
 funereal triclinia does not necessarily lend a religious  
 character to every garden triclinium. Grimal would see a  
 religious undercurrent in every garden triclinium:<sup>42</sup>

Si bien qu'un simple dîner dans un jardin devait  
 leur apparaître comme plus ou moins semblable à des  
 'agapes' que l'on voit représentées sur bien des  
 paysages purs, ou les convives sont installés sous

un velum entre un tombeau et la statue d'un dieu.  
Et les actes les plus simples (ou qui nous semblent  
tels) de la vie quotidienne se transfigurent et se  
chargent d'un symbolisme imprévisible pour nous.

He goes on to assert that mythological statuary contributed  
43  
to this effect:

...il est probable en revanche que, le plus  
souvent, dans les parcs, on ne devait plus guère  
demander aux statues du thiasse que d'être belles, et  
les dîners en plein air de Pline ne devaient guère  
plus lui sembler que plaisants. Toutefois, les  
analogies sont trop évidentes pour avoir échappé aux  
Romains, et entre les deux domaines, le religieux et  
l'esthétique (ou simplement le plaisant), on devine  
des transitions multiples.

While the symbolism of such decoration and the tradition of  
the sacred feast cannot be ignored, it is impossible to  
determine the shadings of religious significance. In fact,  
the eclectic taste which dominates garden decoration, a  
taste which combines Dionysiac, Isiac, Nilotic and  
traditional mythological themes, recommends rather that  
these motives are used in a generalized way. Grimal also  
refers to a "zone indé<sup>44</sup>cise entre ce qui est religieux et ce  
qui n'est plus que banal". This zone must be  
acknowledged but cannot be fully perceived by the modern  
sensibility.

#### "Dionysiac" Stibadia

The στῦβαδεῖον, or stibadium in Latin, is another term



associated with the cult place of Dionysus. The word is derived from στῦβός, which means a bed of straw or rushes,<sup>45</sup> but could also mean a pallet for soldiers. Stibadeion is also used in these two senses, and both words have religious connotations. A number of inscriptions found in funerary contexts attest to the use of the stibadeion as a place of burial.<sup>46</sup> The stibadeion is also the place of sacred feasting of the Iobacchi and associated with the Dionysiac cult. Charles Picard has identified structures on Thasos, Delos, at Pergamon and Tenos as 'stibadeion-buildings' which he asserts were places of Dionysiac worship.<sup>47</sup> The precincts share architectural similarities and connections with theatrical festivals.

At Thasos a third-century platform, 10 x 9 m., with four steps, has a screen of four Doric columns in front of a small room.<sup>48</sup> (fig. 41) Against the back wall of the interior is a sigma-shaped bench which once held statues of Dionysus flanked by personifications of four literary genres - Tragedy, Comedy, Dithyramb and Nocturnal Serenade. The names of actors and musicians associated with each genre were listed on the back of the bench. But Picard asserts that this was much more than a choregic monument. He points to the absence of a choregic dedication and the presence of two altars in front of the structure. These altars, a bothros and a bomos type, are earlier than the 'stibadeion',

and are not aligned with it. The bothros type bears an inscription dated to the fourth century, which records the existence of a cult of Dionysus and Agathos Daimon. Picard also points to the presence of the sigma as clear proof that the 'stibadeion' was cultic, rather than choregic, in use. No other choregic monument has such a bench. Picard also characterizes the statuary as representative of a cult banquet of the god and his entourage.

At Delos a rectangular niche of the second century B.C., which was part of a large precinct of Apollo, bears similar features.<sup>49</sup> It is of moderate size, and is closed on three sides. While no couch is present, it had a bench which held statues of Dionysus and two papasilenoi, votive and other Dionysiac objects. There is evidence for Dionysiac cult activity in association with Artemis from the archaic period, and Picard suggests that the site once contained a Dionysiac temple. Hence, the theatrical and cult aspects of Dionysus were merged in the Hellenistic period. Furthermore, a relief and ex-voto of Agathos Daimon connects the cult with the chthonic fertility aspect of the god. Picard asserts that this chthonic aspect is more primitive and thus earlier than the theatrical connection.

At Pergamon a similar situation existed.<sup>50</sup> Near the theatre a moderately-sized rectangular room facing west contained a drain for libations and traces of an offering

table; a storage room contained cult objects, as indicated by an inscription. Other inscriptions of the Roman period record that the cult association of Dionysus gathered on the theatre terrace, and that one Aristarchus donated a stibadeion to the thiasos.<sup>51</sup> However, the cult statue inside was of Attalus II rather than Dionysus. Picard explains this by suggesting that the cult was taken over by the Hellenistic ruler, but that the Dionysiac element came first. He also identifies a structure on Tenos, previously identified as a fountain, as a 'stibadeion'.<sup>52</sup> It is also a rectangular niche, 10.85 m. x 4 m. wide, and held a sigma and three platforms Picard deems suitable for statuary. He cites these features and the lack of a hydraulic system as evidence against its identification as a nymphaeum. Moreover, the ivy leaf motif, symbol of Dionysus, is visible on the socle and six inscriptions mentioning Dionysus were found in the area; Picard also sees another choregic connection in some inscriptions referring to Dionysiac technitae.

In Picard's argument the only connection between the term stibadeion and the structures he cites is the inscription of Aristarchus from Pergamon. However, this inscription is of Roman date and was not found near the niche but was reused in a Byzantine wall to the west of the theatre terrace. Picard does not explain why a stibadeion

would be required in the Roman period if one from the Hellenistic age already existed. Without clear epigraphic evidence between the structures and the term Picard's identifications must remain speculation.

Part of Picard's thesis asserts that the word stibadeion retained its sacral reference in the Roman era. To support this he refers to two Latin inscriptions which record the restoration of stibadia:

Pontius daduchus spirarches Liberis patris  
stibadium restituit loco suo  
(CIL VI 2251)

Achilleus spirarches Liberis patris stibadium  
restituit loco suo  
(CIL VI 2252)

However, while the word is clearly used here in a cultic context, no indication is given about the design of these structures.

The remains of a Dionysiac sanctuary at Pompeii date from the Hellenistic period and contain a bench resembling a sigma couch, but the building is otherwise unlike the stibadeia of Picard.<sup>53</sup> The temple is Doric prostyle tetrastyle, 14.45 m. x 8.3 m., with an east/west orientation. (figs. 42, 43) There is a small ramp at the front, and the intercolumniations of the porch columns were partially walled up. The cella had a bench (4.5 m x 1.45 m.) against the back wall, which probably served as a platform for cult statues. In the centre of the cella is

another bench (2.85 m. x 1.40 m.), faced with red plaster, which had pottery fragments and must have had some cult function.

The sanctuary is clearly identified as Dionysiac by the pedimental decoration, which consisted of relief sculpture of a reclining Dionysus and Ariadne.<sup>54</sup> In front of the temple porch and flanking the ramp are two triclinia which face each other. They are of brick and opus incertum and are covered in red plaster. Each measures 0.25 m. high (at the lowest slope) and 7 x 5.6 m. and each is equipped with a round mensa 1 m. in diameter. In front of the ramp and between the ends of the outer couches is an altar 1.20 m. long, 0.80 m. wide and 0.45 m. high. A sacrificial trench fig. 42, 'A') 0.30 m. deep was marked off by a short wall (0.45 m. high), which was also plastered in red, and contained fragments of pottery and ash and a circular hearth was revealed at the bottom. A small tufa bench in the shape of a sigma couch (3.85 m. in diameter, 1.05 m. high) was attached to the south side of the porch. A base for a sundial was placed on the top of the back of the bench in a somewhat off-central position.

Two inscriptions found at the site indicate that it was built circa 290-190 B.C. One inscription on the altar in Oscan records its dedication by an aedile, Maras Atinius; another two aediles, Oppius Epidius and Trebius Mezius

dedicated the ramp.<sup>55</sup> The triclinia, tables, sigma, sacrificial trench and walling of the porch intercolumniations date from the Roman rather than the Oscan period of the city.

The Dionysiac temple at Pompeii was excavated after publication of Picard's article and thus he does not include it in his argument. However, other authors have drawn connections between the Pompeian Dionysiac sanctuary and the 'stibadia' of Picard. Olga Elia, in her publication of the Dionysiac sanctuary, sees a similarity in the cultic feasting of the Hellenistic 'stibadia' and the triclinia in the Pompeian shrine, and thus calls the Dionysiac temple a stibadium.<sup>56</sup> However, she does not explain the architectural dissimilarities between the Doric prostyle tetrastyle temple and the niche structures of Picard. There is also no choregic association in the Pompeian sanctuary, nor do any inscriptions name it as a stibadium. Thus, the name cannot appropriately be applied in this case.

Elia argues for an active cult of Dionysus, from the Oscan era to the town's demise in A.D. 79. In another article she identifies and analyzes three wall paintings which depict Dionysus seated before a tholos with other divine figures and motives such as a griffin, torch and situla; these she interprets as signs of Dionysiac cult activity in Pompeii.<sup>57</sup> Among supporting evidence for her

thesis Elia points to the frieze in the Villa of the Mysteries and the Dionysiac sanctuary as manifestations of the influence of a powerful Dionysiac thiasos. Elia identifies the structures in the paintings as stibadia; however, several objections to her argument may be raised. The building, which Elia characterizes as an "adyton, <sup>58</sup>antro o recesso", is actually merely a tholos temple. Moreover, Elia does not attempt to reconcile the architectural differences between this building type and the one Picard terms a stibadium, nor with the Doric prostyle tetrastyle temple type of the Pompeian Dionysiac sanctuary. Furthermore, the tholos is a common architectural motif of the sacro-idyllic Campanian landscape genre; its presence in any given painting does not necessarily indicate specific cult activity, but rather the fantasy landscape of the mythological figures pictured therein. <sup>59</sup> The validity of Elia's argument about a Pompeian Dionysiac thiasos is not of relevance here; however, her identification of both the Dionysiac shrine and the structure in the wall painting as Dionysiac stibadia does not take into account obvious architectural differences and thus weakens that argument.

Picard asserts that both stibadia and triclinia were sacred places; the stibadium of Pliny the Younger's Tuscan villa refutes this assertion. Pliny describes the arrangement at the end of a hippodrome in the garden:

In capite stibadium candido marmore vite protegitur;  
vitem quattuor columellae Carystiae subeunt.  
(Ep. V.vi.36)

Pliny's stibadium is clearly a garden triclinium of the type common at Pompeii. Moreover, the comment of Servius Aen. I.698 previously mentioned makes it clear that stibadium was also used for secular sigma couches with no religious connotation. Thus, Picard's argument against laicization of the term is not supported.



## CHAPTER 4

### The Triclinium-Grotto in the Praedia of Julia Felix

The praedia of Julia Felix (II.iv), located just west of the amphitheatre at Pompeii, was a private residence which, after the earthquake of A.D. 62, was converted into lodgings and public baths.<sup>1</sup> (figs. 44-48) The building (or part of it) was leased by the Iuvenes Venerii Pompeiani, a club for aristocratic youths designed to prepare them for military and civil service careers.<sup>2</sup> An inscription found by the entrance to the public rooms (n. 6 on plan, fig. 44) outlines the rooms for lease:

In praedis Iuliae Sp.f. Felicis locantur balneum  
venerium et nongentum, tabernae, pergulae, caenacula  
ex idibus Aug(ustis) in idus Aug(ustas) sextas,  
annos continuos quinque. S(i) Q(uinquennium)  
D(ecurrerit) L(ocatio) E(rit) N(udo) C(onsensu)  
(CIL IV.1136)

The public area of the estate was entered from the Via dell'Abbondanza and contained a pool, latrine (n. 37) and essential rooms for a bath: calidarium (n. 42), tepidarium (n. 41), frigidarium (n. 39) and laconicum (n. 29). The restaurant was entered from the north (n. 7) and had a bar to the right of the entrance and a triclinium with couches to the left.

The private area within the residence was entered separately from the Via dell'Abbondanza (n. 3). This part

of the house is composed of three major areas - the garden on the east, a portico and suite of rooms on the west, and, at the south end of this, a group of rooms positioned around a central atrium (n. 93).

The garden, which occupied almost two-thirds of the entire complex, is rectangular and has on the south and east sides the supports for a vine pergola. The east wall is articulated with ten curvilinear and rectilinear niches, and the pergola supports are aligned with these niches. Inside the niches were raised planting beds,<sup>4</sup> and the semi-circular niches were decorated like natural grottoes. In the south end a small room opened beyond the back wall. Although no longer extant, the room was identified as a shrine to Isis and contained wall paintings of the Egyptian goddess, as well as Anubis, Serapis, Fortuna and a sacrificing genius.<sup>5</sup> Also found here was a bronze tripod with Priapean figures and a silver statue of Harpocrates.

A euripus with three bridges runs down the centre of the garden; of the four pools thus created, two had sides articulated with convex alcoves, one had rectangular alcoves and another had both. These alcoves were used as fish hatcheries.<sup>6</sup> Among the statuary found in the garden was a figure of Pan in marble and a terracotta of Pittacus of Mytilene, one of the seven sages. A fountain in the shape of a shell with a crab was also found here.<sup>7</sup>

The west side of the house is occupied by a row of rooms which open off a portico. This portico was probably built after the earthquake of A.D. 62 and consists of a line of fluted marble pilasters with Corinthian capitals (see fig. 45). A sloping canopy covered with tiles covers the portico. A suite of five rooms occupies most of the space along the portico and these rooms are exposed to the garden through the pilasters of the portico. Niches in the wall between the colonnade and the rooms held glazed terracotta statues of Pero and Micon, a bearded old man, vases in the shape of ithyphallic clowns and marble statuettes of Heracles and satyrs.<sup>8</sup> Behind the row of rooms ran a barrel-vaulted service corridor.

The central room (Room 83) in the series of five along the portico was a triclinium-grotto (figs. 46-48). The room opens onto the cross axis of the garden and reveals the pool, vine-pergola and row of grotto niches through two pilasters which frame the scene, and another positioned right in the middle of the entrance. The portico in front of the entrance to this room has a raised roof. The room (figs. 46, 47) measures 16' x 16'<sup>9</sup> and had a barrel vault. Three dining couches occupy most of the interior, with a lectus medius 4.15 m. long and 1.15 m. wide, and lecti summus and imus 3.55 m. long and 1.20 m. wide. An area of 0.73-0.80 m. was left between the end of the couches and the

10  
 entrance. A narrow channel (0.30 m. wide) was left between the couches and the three walls. A basin 0.55 m. wide, 1.70 m. long and 0.40 m. deep occupied the place of the table between the couches. A shelf 0.30 m. wide runs above the basin and serves as a depository for dishes, since there is no place for a table.

A rectilinear niche with barrel vault, 1.20 m. wide, 1.33 m. high and 1.40 m. deep, in the centre back wall contained a stairway of eleven steps; the stairway was supported by the vaulted service corridor behind. Water, supplied by three cisterns located above the vault of the service corridor,<sup>11</sup> flowed down the steps into the canal which ran between the wall and the couches. It was then channelled into a water spout in the triclinium basin, and from there it flowed into the central euripus.

The nymphaeum is flanked by two smaller curvilinear niches 0.60 m. wide, 1.10 m. high and 0.33 m. deep; set 0.50 m. above these are two square shallow depressions 0.50 m. sq. (fig. 47) A rectangular parapet, 1.0 m. high and 1.20 m. wide, located above the nymphaeum, hides the barrel vault which covers the water cascade. Above this is a rectangular opening 1.16 m. wide, 1.00 m. high, set 1.25 m. above the nymphaeum. This provided the only interior lighting for the room.<sup>12</sup> A plaster cornice marks the spring of the vault. The vault of both the room and the nymphaeum were decorated

in imitation of a natural grotto, and a Nilotic landscape frieze was found on the walls above the socle.

In this triclinium-grotto can be seen a combination of elements common in Pompeian garden architecture and the grotto-nymphaeum tradition of late republican villas. The room itself is a nymphaeum-triclinium of the type discussed above, yet it is located not in the garden but in a room which opens onto the garden. The disposition of the four main areas of the house - public baths, garden, portico and its ensuite rooms, rear atrium and its ensuite rooms - was determined, as in any house, by the available area. In the praedia of Julia Felix the garden and portico form an extended link between the northern and southern cluster of rooms and therefore provide an axis for the house. The line of the portico, the central euripus and the lengthened pergola and row of niches accentuate this axis. The triclinium-grotto, by contrast, is in line with the cross axis of the garden; this is stressed by the alignment of nymphaeum cascade, pilaster, and bridge across the euripus which all carry the eye through to the pergola and central niche on the other side.

By its position in the portico it is clear that the triclinium-grotto is the central and dominant element. The room is larger than the others, and has a wider entrance to provide a vista to the garden. The roof section in front of

this room is raised, thus granting it a focus and monumentality unique in the portico. A similar emphasis occurs in the House of the Golden Cupids at Pompeii (VI.xvi.7) already discussed (above p. 55-56).

The creation of a cross axis to capitalize on a garden view has been previously discussed in relation to the House of Menander at Pompeii (I.x.4) (above p. 56). In this example two columns of the peristyle were removed to provide a clear view from the triclinium. In the praedia of Julia Felix, however, a pilaster positioned directly in front of the entrance is left intact. The reasoning behind this, whether structural or aesthetic, is not immediately clear; however, the placement of the pilaster serves to strengthen the cross axis and thus to unite the other elements along the same line, the interior water cascade and the exterior bridge and pergola-niche. Moreover, because of this careful placement, the pilaster would not necessarily impede the view of diners; those reclining on the side couches would have a clear line of vision between the central and framing pilasters, while the position most likely to be hindered, in the centre of the lectus medius, may well not have been used, due to its proximity to the water cascade.

The scene thus created through the pilasters is much like paintings of garden scenes, as in the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta and in the House of Lucretius Fronto at Pompeii

13  
 (V.iv.a). Such scenes depict shrubs and flowers, and often architectural elements, such as fountains and fences. This scene, with its pool, pergola and garden niche, reflects the inspiration and common taste for such garden scenes.

Structurally the room follows the tradition of the grotto-nymphaea of the republican period. The barrel-vaulted room with rectangular and semicircular niches in the side and back walls is fully integrated into the house and in its combination with the triclinium is given a specific function. In this example, therefore, there is the added element of a window, located above the nymphaeum niche (see fig. 47); although providing only weak lighting,<sup>14</sup> its presence demonstrates an attempt to adapt the grotto-nymphaeum to the practical needs of a triclinium. The conceit of the grotto-nymphaeum of aristocratic villas as places for otium and respite from urban life is incorporated into domestic urban architecture.

The nymphaeum in the triclinium-grotto of the praedia is of the simple, rustic type found in the republican grotto-nymphaea such as Boville and the nymphaeum behind the Piazza d'Oro at Tivoli (above, p. 28, 47; 37). It is a semicircular niche cut into the back wall (fig. 48), and as such is in contrast to the aedicula type so popular at Pompeii in this era. Thus, it lacks the colourful and

highly-wrought architectonic elements, such as pediments, columns and acroteria present in the nymphaea-triclinia-biclinia. However, the simplicity of the nymphaeum design is offset by the extravagant water display created by the cascade. The stairs are set at such a steep angle that half of them are not visible from the triclinium.<sup>15</sup> The steepness of the angle results in a powerful rush of water which is very different from the republican grotto-nymphaea, with their small water spouts, and doubtless had a more dramatic effect. Variation in the water flow was produced by two flat sloping panels which lie alongside the staircase and would have created an effect different from the cascade. A similar arrangement was also in place in house VIII.ii.28 at Pompeii (above, p. 44-45).

The combination of nymphaeum and triclinium was common at Pompeii, and various arrangements were tried. As in numerous other examples, in the praedia a basin occupies the place of a table and a shelf is provided in its stead. The water jet in the basin would preclude the possibility of the basin functioning as a table, as Salza Prina Ricotti reconstructs for the House of Octavius Quartio (above, p. 65-66). Nymphaea-triclinia and biclinia incorporated the water element into the couch arrangement in different ways (above, p. 59-67). In the triclinium-grotto of Julia Felix the lectus medius is not sacrificed, as in the biclinia



cited above or as in the House of Cornelius Tages, in which the couch is cut in half (above, p. 61). Instead, water flows down the steps and falls into a narrow canal between the wall and couches, thus creating a central cascade and a river of water around the diners. Water reappeared as a jet fountain in the central basin, thus providing a link between the nymphaeum and the diners. The effect produced by the placement of these three water elements must have been cool and refreshing, as the couches were surrounded by water on both sides, and the view outside filled also with the garden euripus.

A variety of decorative techniques were used in the triclinium-grotto. Although structurally the rooms are similar, the triclinium-grotto lacks the complicated architectonic features of grotto-nymphaea and has only a plaster cornice; instead, a more naturalistic grotto effect is sought. However, rustic effects and sophisticated architectural elements are combined in the manner of the grotto-nymphaea. Both the ceiling vault and the interior of the niche are treated to resemble a natural grotto, by means of pieces of limestone inserted into plaster and painted an ochre colour. The niche is entirely lacking in the elegant stucco relief, painting and mosaic decoration used in the aedicula nymphaea at Pompeii (above, p. 61, 64, 66). However, the steps of the water cascade are not

decorated in the same rustic way but are faced with white marble. Similarly, alongside the grotto effects of the vault a Nilotic frieze covers the walls of the room,<sup>17</sup> and below this runs a socle of opus signinum. The curvilinear niches are painted blue and the rectangular niches in the side wall are faced with marble; the triclinium couches, too, are faced with a fine white marble, and the basin is faced with opus signinum. A similar combination of effects was used in the niches in the garden; the semicircular niches only were covered with pumice, and in each there is a row of blue paste tesserae around the sides and top.<sup>18</sup> The niche directly across from the triclinium has two rows instead of one in each side.

The juxtaposition of rustic and elegant decorative elements is in keeping with the approach reflected in the architectural elements of the triclinium-grotto itself. A rustic setting, a grotto, is combined with a nymphaeum to serve as the location for dining, a most civilized activity in the sophisticated Roman world.

On the walls above the socle, to a height of 1.27- 2 m., was a Nilotic frieze.<sup>19</sup> The frieze was apparently bordered by a red strip and patchy traces of blue background and fragments of the red band remain in various parts of the room. Two fragments of the scene with figures are extant. One, preserved to a maximum dimension of 16.9 m. high and

1.93 m. wide, begins above the rectangular niche in the north wall and extends to the right, covering the corner where the north and east walls meet and ending in a vertical red band by the entrance. The scene on the north wall contains an area of land with a reed hut and enclosed garden; a watery area beneath has a boat with three passengers, one who dances and another who gestures in response. Beneath this scene is the torso of a pygmy armed with a stick and shield; to the right is a duck and to the left, a crocodile. On the east wall, preserved to a maximum dimension of 16.9 m. high and 0.65 m. wide, is a patch of land with a palm tree and a crocodile in nearby water. A much smaller piece, preserved to a maximum height of 0.35 m. and a width of 0.66 m., on the south wall to the bottom right of the rectangular niche, depicts a clump of lotus with the rear of a hippopotamus visible in the midst.

The presence of Nilotic scenes on the front of the basin of the grotto-nymphaeum of house VIII.ii.28 has already been noted (above, p. 44-45). In the House of Cornelius Tages there was a Nilotic frieze on the inner face of the dining couch walls (above, p. 62). V. Tran Tam Tinh cites this frieze along with the outdoor nymphaeum-triclinium itself and several objects found in the house to suggest that Cornelius Tages was an Isiac devotee.<sup>20</sup> Cornelius Tages was a wealthy merchant who may have made his

fortune in Egypt, and who had a taste for things Egyptian. As well as the Nilotic frieze, two figures of Isis were found on the walls of a room north-west of the prothyron; two lamps, which Tinh suggests were used in the cult ritual, were also found. Tinh also identifies the water arrangements in the nymphaeum-triclinium as an imitation of the Nile flood:<sup>21</sup>

...le système d'écoulement et d'endiguement de l'eau venant des fontaines qui produisait une sorte d'inondation artificielle autour du triclinium.

Tinh sees a similar function for the large euripus in the House of Octavius Quartio.<sup>22</sup> He points in particular to the decorative elements in the garden, such as statues of pharaohs and Egyptian deities.<sup>23</sup>

Helen Whitehouse, however, points out that in the scenes on the triclinium of Cornelius Tapes

...the emphasis seems to be equally on religious piety (the numerous shrines and scenes of offering or sacrifice) and the good life: included here are two scenes of outdoor banquets, one at a semi-circular couch in the open, the other under an awning.<sup>24</sup>

The arrangement of the nymphaeum-triclinium in this garden seems ill-suited to an imitation of the Nile in flood. No provision for such a function is apparent, nor recommended by the arrangement of the water elements. Similarly, scholars question Tinh's assertion that the euripus of the House of Octavius Quartio was used for a similar function. Salza Prina Ricotti points out that statues of Dionysiac

figures, Heracles and the Muses were also found along the side of the euripus and have no Isiac connection.<sup>25</sup>

An Isiac sacellum was found in the south end of the garden of Julia Felix; however, this cannot be used to identify the Nilotic frieze in the triclinium-grotto as Isiac in nature. While it is true that Nilotic scenes are found in the Temple of Isis at Pompeii, they are also found in contexts completely lacking in Isiac connections.<sup>26</sup> This suggests that the genre held a special attraction for the Romans, depicting as it did a fertile and exotic land which enjoyed an eternal summer. Egyptianising elements in Pompeian house and garden decoration are incorporated into the general ars topiaria, which included other mythological figures; Dionysus and his entourage are especially popular in this context. Figures from philosophy are also used to suggest a reflective atmosphere. All these elements were found in the praedia of Julia Felix and were part of a decorative programme designed to create a relaxing ambiance.

The association of Dionysus with grottoes and the importance of the sacred feast seem felicitously combined in the triclinium-grotto. However, as shown in the excursus, there is insufficient evidence to prove that Dionysiac thiasoi celebrated their rites in grottoes, natural or artificial. A passage in Athenaeus suggests a possible solution. Quoting Socrates of Rhodes, he describes the

scandalous antics of Marc Antony on a visit to Athens:

...μετὰ ταῦτα διατρίψαντα περίοπτον ὑπὲρ τὸ θέατρον κατασκευάσαντα  
 σχεδίαν χλωρῆ πεπυκασμένην ὕλη, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν Βακχικῶν ἄντρων  
 γίνεται, ταύτης τύμπανα καὶ νεβρίδας καὶ παντοδαπὰ ἄλλ' αθύρματα  
 Διονυσιακὰ ἐξαπτήσαντα μετὰ τῶν φύλων ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ κατακλινόμενον  
 μεθύσκεσθαι.

(Deip. IV.148 b-c)

Socrates of Rhodes' description of the structure is far from precise, but it may be reconstructed as a frame or scaffold (σχεδία) covered over (πεπυκασμένην) with foliage (χλωρῆ, ὕλη) and decorated with Dionysiac paraphernalia (αθύρματα Διονυσιακά). It is not clear how this arrangement resembled an ἄντρων Βακχικῶν. The σχεδία of Antony also recalls the σκίας of Dionysus in the procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus. This too was covered with foliage and decorated with Bacchic objects.<sup>27</sup> Structurally, both recall the outdoor triclinia with a vine pergola so common at Pompeii, and, furthermore, it is suggested by Socrates of Rhodes that this sort of makeshift structure was a common setting for Dionysiac feasting. This brings into question the sense of antron in this context, for if an antron often took this form, the search for natural or artificial grotto shrines to the god might well be in vain. Antron here may refer only to a cave-like effect created by the enclosure of foliage. In this case, then, any outdoor pergola-triclinium could be turned into a place for Dionysiac cult feasting by

the addition of appropriate decorations. Thus, the same structure could serve a secular and cultic function.

The triclinium-grotto of the praedia of Julia Felix, then, was likely not designed exclusively for cult activities. In fact, despite the Isiac and Dionysiac associations of the Nilotic frieze and the grotto setting, these elements demonstrate not cult activity, but a preference for decorative elements which represent bounty, a gentle climate, freedom from cares and the exotic appeal of the Nile.

### Conclusion

The triclinium-grotto of the praedia of Julia Felix illustrates many aspects of Greco-Roman taste and Roman architecture in particular. The grotto in this context is far removed from the cave shrines of the pre-classical and classical periods. Simplistic in design and decoration, they functioned purely as places of worship. The triclinium-grotto is much closer to the grottoes of the Ptolemies. The laicization of the grotto and its evolution into a place of secular as well as sacred feasting underlines an important aspect of classical religion. The sacred feast was an integral part of much ancient worship, yet it is impossible for the modern sensibility to assess the degree of religiosity at such events. Religious functions at which large quantities of wine and food were consumed may seem to us devoid of significance, but nonetheless held great meaning to the practitioner. The laicization of the grotto by the Ptolemies may reflect this, and in fact represent a shift in emphasis rather than the wholesale removal of religious connotations.

This is especially true in the case of Dionysus, who came to represent the eternal and bountiful Afterlife and whose motives were used to symbolize the pleasure of the



feast as well as its sacred aspect. When such motives are encountered, therefore, great care must be exercised in attempting to identify cult or even more broadly religious associations. In fact, the more secular and generalized use of Dionysiac motives militates against firm identification of cult function when specifically cultic evidence, such as inscriptions, is lacking.

Similar caution must be exercised when attributing a sacred function to the triclinium-grotto, for despite the existence of funereal and cult triclinia the essential daily activity of eating was certainly not constantly charged with religious feeling. Triclinia may have been decorated for special cultic meals and thus on these occasions dining became a sacred feast. However, it seems logical to suppose that the ordinary decorative elements were not charged with significance, but that it was the addition of special decoration which distinguished the sacred feast. But again, the essential distinction is carried in the mind of the worshipper, who on a daily basis may view a Dionysiac statue in the garden in purely aesthetic terms, while on a sacred day perceive it with its full cult significance.

Such distinctions must remain unknown to the modern era; therefore, it is advisable to acknowledge the existence of such possibilities and consider instead the physical evidence at hand and what it alone reveals. The triclinium-

grotto illustrates the tendency in domestic architecture of the early empire to open up the interior of the house to the garden and to create a visual and spatial relationship between the two. It also reflects a preference for combining the triclinium and nymphaeum forms to create a single unit, in which the water element and the diners were brought into closest possible proximity. Perhaps most importantly, though, the triclinium-grotto illustrates the contemporary taste for simplistic, rustic and traditionally "Italic" effects, such as imitation grotto decoration, in tandem with the sophisticated genre decoration, such as the Nilotic frieze, which reflects the urbane tastes of the still-expanding cosmopolitan empire.

## Excursus I - Location of Dionysiac Cult Activity

Although the grotto figures prominently in the myth of Dionysus, the role of the grotto in the Dionysiac mysteries is not clear. Pausanias tells of a cult image of Dionysus which was taken from a σπήλαιον Διονυσοῦ and put on display in a town of Argos.<sup>1</sup> In Livy's famous account of the Bacchanalia of 186 B.C. he mentions mysteriously abditū specus as the place where opponents of the revellers were taken for punishment.<sup>2</sup> Athenaeus, quoting Socrates of Rhodes, records that Marc Antony erected a σχεδῶα in Athens which resembled a Bacchic grotto.<sup>3</sup>

From inscriptions of the Hellenistic and Roman periods comes proof that cults of Dionysus celebrated their secret rites in structures built expressly for this purpose. However, because of the fragmentary nature of many of the inscriptions and the lack of correlating physical evidence, confusion exists concerning the nature of such buildings. Some inscriptions use only general words to describe the sacred precinct. An inscription from Magnesia commemorates the bequeathing of money to the ἱερός οἶκος and at Erythrae it is recorded that the priest built the ἱερός οἶκος.<sup>4</sup> At Callatis the thiasos decided to build a νῆος for Dionysus.<sup>5</sup> The word βακχεῖον is also used, as at Thasos and Malko-Tirnaro, to refer to the place of sacred rites;

however, the same word is also used to refer to the thiasos itself, as in an inscription from Megara.<sup>6</sup>

Attempts have been made to establish the structural character of Dionysiac sanctuaries. From inscriptions and other sources it is known that their architectural arrangement could be sophisticated. At Cyzicus an acolyte donated a κάγκελλος which obviously must have been part of a larger building,<sup>7</sup> and at Pergamon a πρόπυλον was donated. A dedication from Acmonia attests to the erection of an ἑξέδρα and προσκευμένην διαίτην by the devotees.<sup>8</sup>

The word μέγαρον appears in several inscriptions, and scholars have sought to identify it as a specifically Dionysiac structure and to establish its architectural features. In an inscription from Abdera one C. Cassius Sextus, an ἀρχιβούκολος<sup>9</sup> of the cult, donated a μέγαρον to his fellow worshippers. Pausanias records that there was a μέγαρον to Dionysus near Mantinea in Arcadia.<sup>10</sup> Another inscription from Thessalonika attests to the construction of an altar by certain members of the cult; the first sacred title is partially destroyed but was restored to ἀρχιμαγ(αρ)εὺς<sup>11</sup> by L. Robert. Robert and the original editors of the inscription believed it to be a Mithraic dedication,<sup>12</sup> but F. Cumont has persuasively argued that it is Dionysiac in nature.<sup>13</sup> Among the other titles mentioned, some are present in other clearly Dionysiac contexts.<sup>14</sup>

However, the architectural nature of the megaron is in no way made clear from the epigraphic evidence. M. Nilsson and P. Boyancé assert that the megaron is a grotto, partially because of the term πατήρ σπηλλέου<sup>15</sup> which occurs in the inscription from Thessalonika. Cumont suggests that they are artificial grottoes because the inscription from Abdera was found on a pediment. However such an inscription could be attached to any type of structure. J. Bousquet, the original editor of the inscription, considered the nature of the building from which it came but found no determining evidence on the stone itself.<sup>16</sup> The word megaron (magaron) commonly means 'central hall' or 'bedroom', but it also may be used to describe a sanctuary.<sup>17</sup> More specifically it is the term used for the caves of sacrifice in the Eleusinian cult and for the chamber of the oracle in the temple at Delphi.<sup>18</sup> The title πατήρ σπηλλέου by itself cannot be used as proof that the thiasos gathered in a cave; it may only reflect religious language, referring to the mythological role of the cave in the life of Dionysus. Thus, the question of whether the megaron was a natural or artificial grotto or indeed a grotto at all cannot be proven from such epigraphical material.

Evidence from Callatis documents the existence of a thriving Dionysiac thiasos from Hellenistic to Roman times. The oldest inscription, which is dated to the third century

B.C., commemorates the construction of a νόος which is described as

...ἀλέαν εἰς τὸ θύρωμα κοῦλαν καὶ φαλύδας

The nature of this structure has been considered by P. Festugière, Boyancé and D. Pippidi.<sup>19</sup> Festugière proposed that there was an arched canopy over the entrance which led into a vaulted nave.<sup>20</sup> This interpretation was based on the use of the word φαλύς in an inscription from Doura Europos as discussed by F. Cumont.<sup>21</sup> In this instance φαλύδες referred to vaulted niches ("niches cintrees"). However, Boyancé disputes this view, pointing out that in Plato's Laws (974D) φαλύς<sup>22</sup> clearly means a subterranean vault.

Pippidi adopts Boyancé's position in his consideration of three other documents from the thiasos of Callatis. The first, dated to 19-12 B.C, was set up

...εἰς τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τοῦ μυχοῦ τόπον

The editors of the inscription interpreted this as the interior of a temple which they suggest must have been like the Baccheion of the Iobacchi at Athens.<sup>23</sup> Boyancé and Pippidi, however, assert that the μυχός was a cave or subterranean structure like the basilica of the Porta Maggiore.<sup>24</sup> The next inscription discussed by Pippidi commemorates the dedication of a πρόθυρον for the ἱερόν of Dionysus and reward of a wreath to its donor. The key words in this document are

...εἰς τὸ κατὰ αἰδίου...το πρόθυρον τὰς αὐλάς

Pippidi suggests that the νόος of the first decree and the μυχός of the second are the same structure which, in turn, was only one part of a larger ἱερόν mentioned in the third decree. Pippidi further suggests that this structure was an artificial grotto, a proposal which he supports with a fourth stele from Callatis from the first century A.D. This inscription commemorates the dedication of an ἄντρον to the <sup>25</sup> thiasos by the daughter of a certain Apollonios.

While Pippidi does not suggest that such structures were canonical for the Dionysiac cult he points to the existence of a grotto of Liber Pater at Mactar in North Africa which was identified by G. Picard as analogous to the atron of Callatis. Using the grotto at Mactar as a model Pippidi reconstructs the prothyron at Callatis as a vestibule which stood before a central hall ( ἄυλά ) around which were grouped rooms of various function, with the <sup>26</sup> ἄντρον-μυχός occupying the most important position.

Pippidi turns for support to an inscription of the second century A.D. from Torre Nova in Italy, which records ἄντροφυλακες among the functionaries of a Bacchic <sup>27</sup> thiasos. The inscription was from a statue base of the priestess of the thiasos, Agrippinilla, and thus does not reveal anything about the nature of the location of the secret rites. Many of the titles, such as γαλακτοφόρος and

κλισταφόρος, refer to the carrying of symbols sacred to the Dionysiac cult, and suggest that a procession was involved in the holy rites. Franz Cumont has suggested that it was the duty of these devotees to carry a model of the grotto of the god's childhood as in the parade of Ptolemy Philadelphus.<sup>28</sup> But the designation does not prove that they worshipped in a grotto; it more probably refers to the symbolic role of the grotto in the Dionysiac myth.

Pippidi attempts to reconstruct a Dionysiac sanctuary using only highly symbolic religious language, and his somewhat labyrinthine argument depends upon highly specific definitions of words such as ἔσπον and νόσ which have a much more general application in Greek than he acknowledges. It is clear from the epigraphic evidence that in the Hellenistic period Dionysiac rites were celebrated in sanctuaries dedicated to that god. However, the extant material does not provide adequate information about the nature of such sanctuaries, and firm conclusions cannot be drawn. Other evidence from the period, such as the votive models from Locri, does suggest that artificial grotto-nymphaea did exist; however, there is no reason to identify such structures with the Dionysiac cult. In fact, the ritualistic nature of much of the material argues against a literal interpretation.



## Excursus II - Imperial Grottoes

The combination of grotto, nymphaeum and triclinium is exemplified in three famous Imperial grottoes. The grotto of Tiberius at Sperlonga, the Bergantine nymphaeum at Castelgandolfo, and the Canopus in Hadrian's villa at Tivoli all utilize a grotto setting, natural or artificial, and demonstrate the popularity of the grotto as an architectural motif. They have not been included in this thesis for two reasons. First, the focus of this paper is on the use of the grotto in private architecture, and while Imperial models doubtless exerted considerable influence on private architecture, Imperial architecture has its own set of circumstances. A larger scale, higher cost and, most important, a broader and more exalted vision than is granted the private citizen may be exercised by the Imperial house. Secondly, although the following examples share similar features, each has its own particular influences which may not extend to the private domain, and its own problems of interpretation which go far beyond the scope of this thesis.

### 1) Grotto of Tiberius at Sperlonga

This is a natural grotto with two inner recesses, one of which had been regularized to form a rectangular room with side niches which opened onto a circular area with a

low bench. The other recess, which stood at a slightly higher level, had two niche-shaped recesses. The inner room had mosaic and shell decoration, and the outer circular area was faced with pumice. The podium of the other recess also had pumice facing. The grottoes looked onto the sea, but a large pool, circular at the end near the grottoes and rectangular at the other end, was built in the natural inlet. Three dining couches positioned around a small rectangular pool were located in the middle of the rectangular end of the large pool, like an island. Pisciculture was clearly one function of the pools; pieces of several colossal statue groups of Odysseus, Polyphemus and Scylla were also found and one of these (Scylla) may have stood on a podium in the centre of the pool, although their precise arrangement within the grotto is disputed.

For further references see:

G. Iacopi L'Antro di Tiberio a Sperlonga (Rome, 1963)

Salza Prina Ricotti op. cit. p. 130-149

## 2) Bergantine Nymphaeum at Castelgandolfo

A natural grotto on the west bank of Lake Albano was made regular by the addition of walls and a barrel vault. Curvilinear and rectilinear niches are found in the side

walls. There are two interior areas, a small circular recess with a low bench and a larger irregularly-shaped area with two smaller rectangular recesses. One in the side wall is roofed by a cross vault; the other has two rectangular niches in the side and an apsidal recess which lies at a lower level. This was roofed by a cupola and contained a basin. A large circular basin also stood in the area before the large recess. The vaulting was covered in pumice and traces of polychrome mosaic remain around the large pool. The walls between the top of the niche and the spring of the vault were also decorated in mosaic. Remains of sculptures of Polyphemus and Scylla were also found. Ownership of the grotto is attributed to Domitian, who had a villa nearby.

For further references see:

Neuerburg *op. cit.* p. 158-159, fig. 16, 180

Lugli *B. Comm*, 1913, XLI, p. 89-148

### 3) Canopus/Serapeum in Hadrian's villa at Tivoli

In the villa of Hadrian at Tivoli there is an example of the use of the grotto after the time period covered in this thesis. A semicircular room roofed by a segmented half-dome has a wall articulated by alternately semicircular and rectilinear niches; the former held statuary, the latter steps for water cascades. Thus, it

resembled the facade-nymphaea which gained popularity in the second century A.D. In the centre at the back there was a vaulted corridor which had alternately curvilinear and rectilinear niches in the sides. At the end of the corridor was an apse with a niche-nymphaeum. Within the domed area was a semi-circular bench with a water-channel which runs beneath the bench and emerges at the foot of the curve, thus leading to its identification as a triclinium. The whole was fronted by a portico of four Ionic columns and it stood at the end of a long euripus, which was surrounded by Nilotic and mythological figures.

For further references see:

S. Aurigemma Villa Adriana,  
Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato. (Rome, 1961)

H. Kähler Hadrian und Seine Villa bei Tivoli,  
(Berlin, 1950)

Rakob op. cit. p. 191f.; Abb.8, 9.no. 9

ILLUSTRATIONS



Figure 1 - iymph Relief

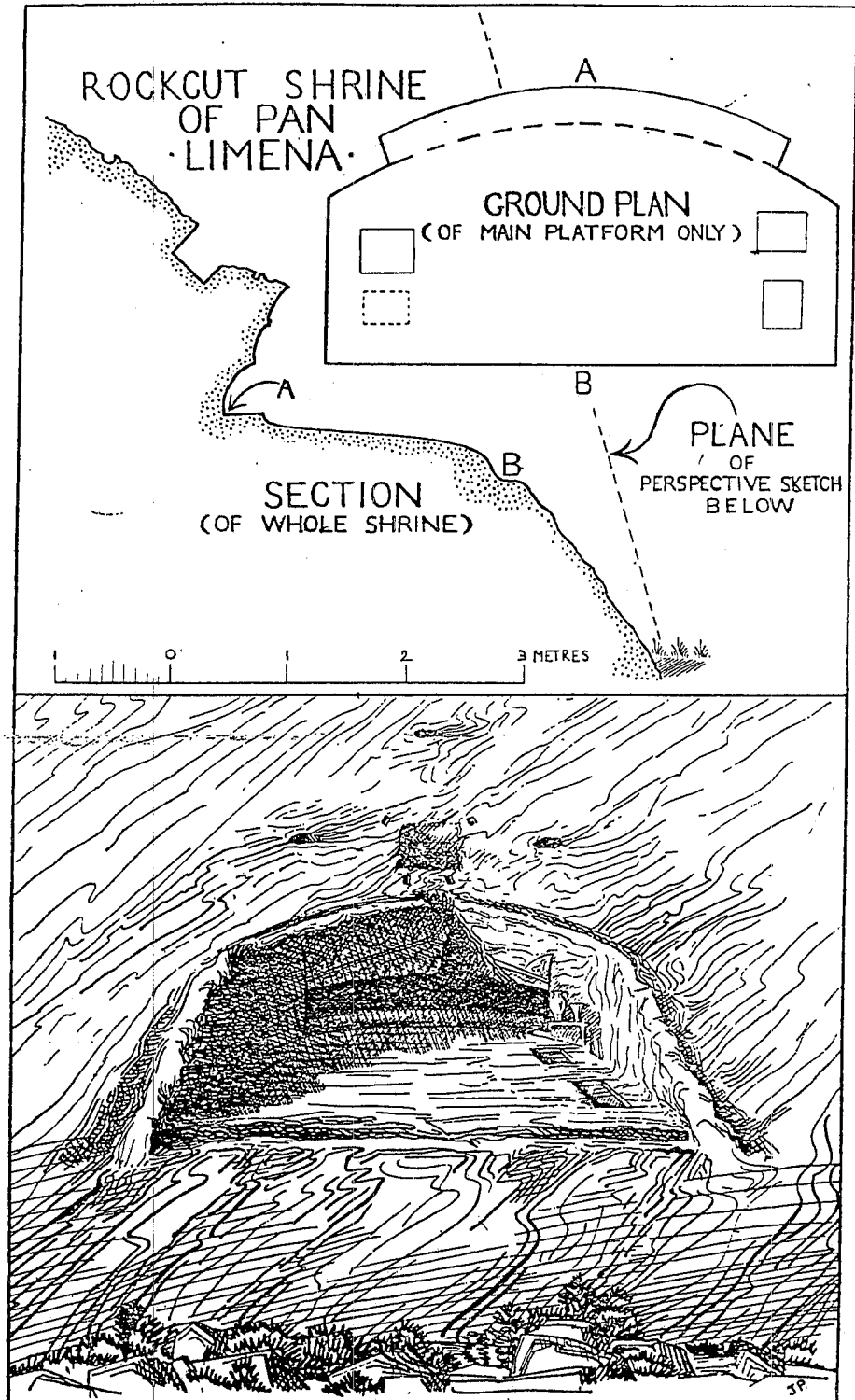


Figure 2 - Cave of Pan, Thasos

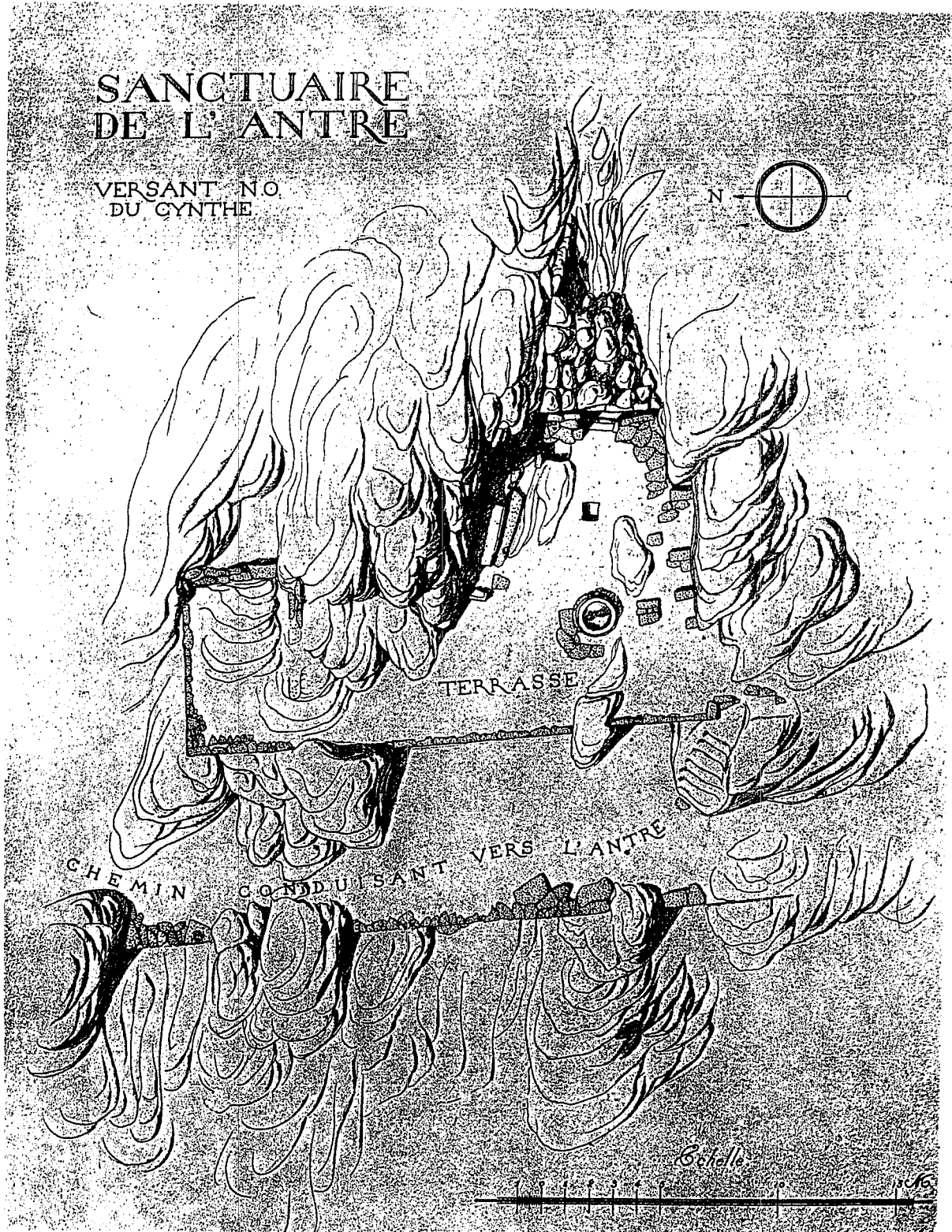


Figure 3 - Cave of Herakles, Deles





Figure 4

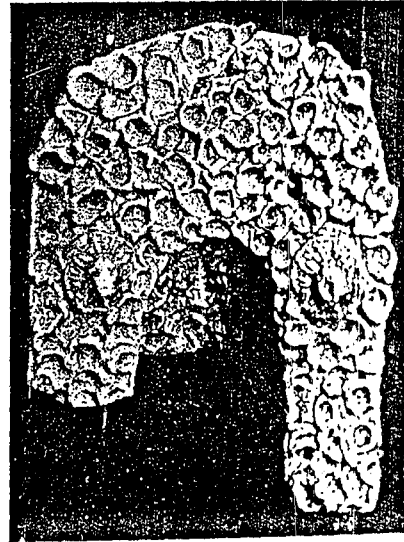


Figure 5

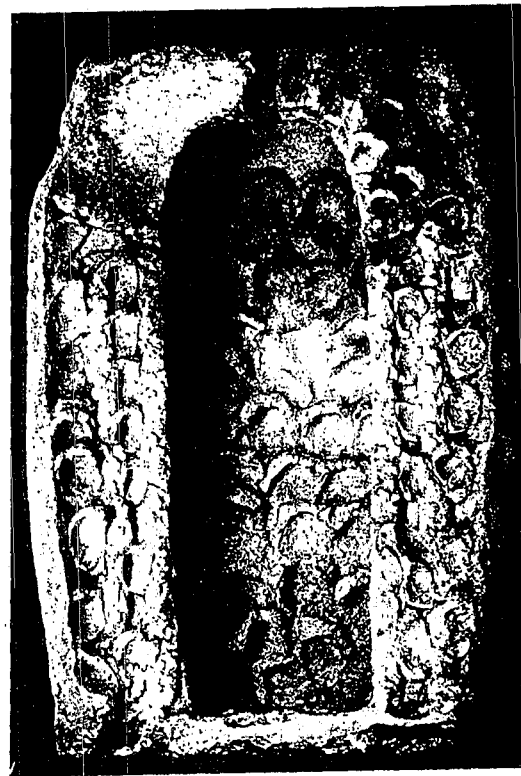


Figure 6



Figure 7

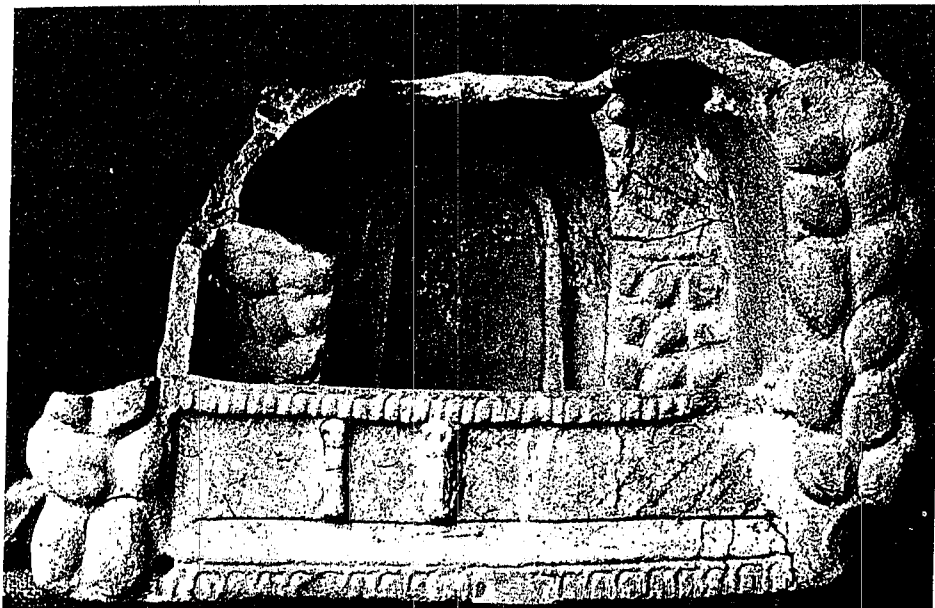


Figure 8

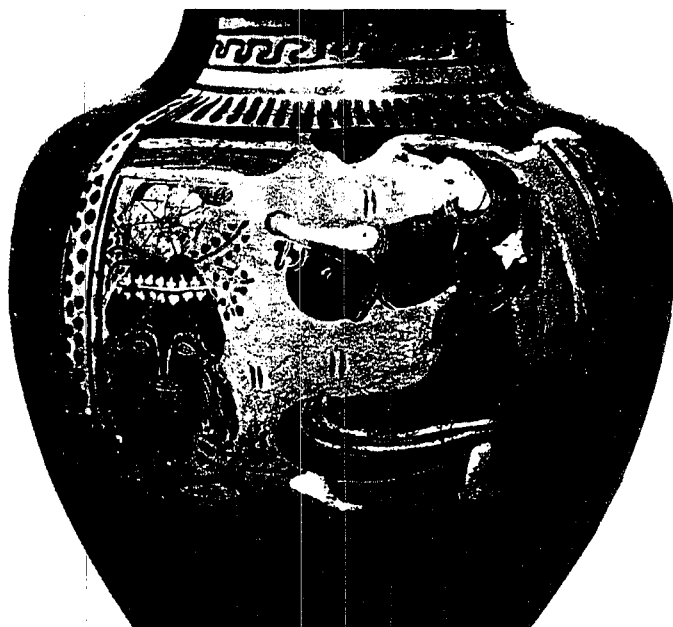


Figure 9 - Black-Figure oinochoe

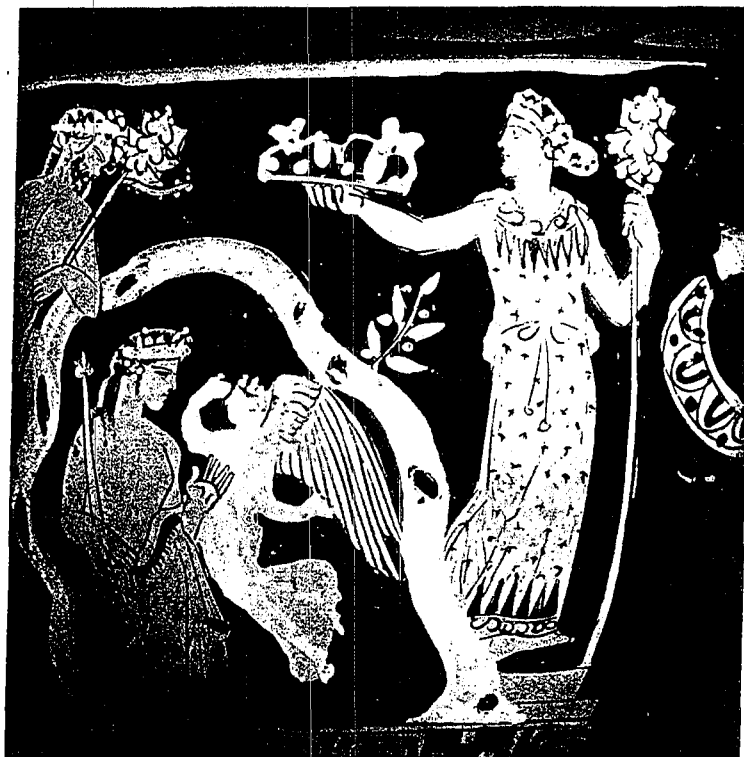


Figure 10 - Hope Krater

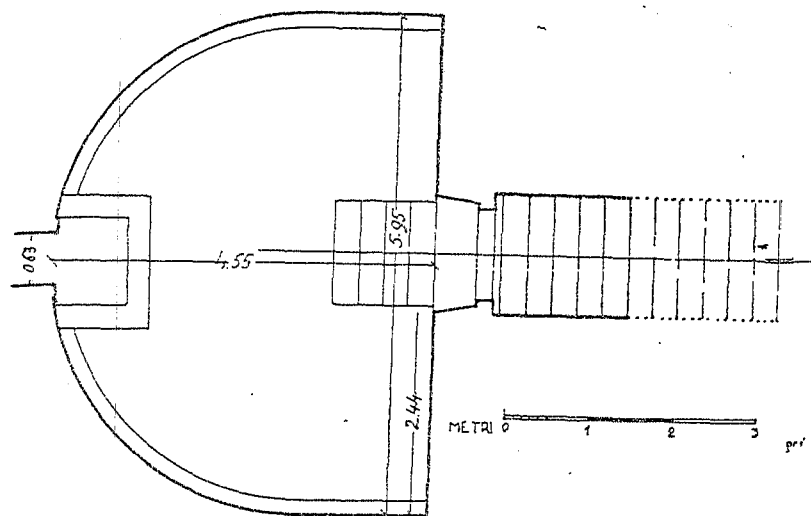


Figure 11 - Plan, Grotte-nymphaeum, Beville

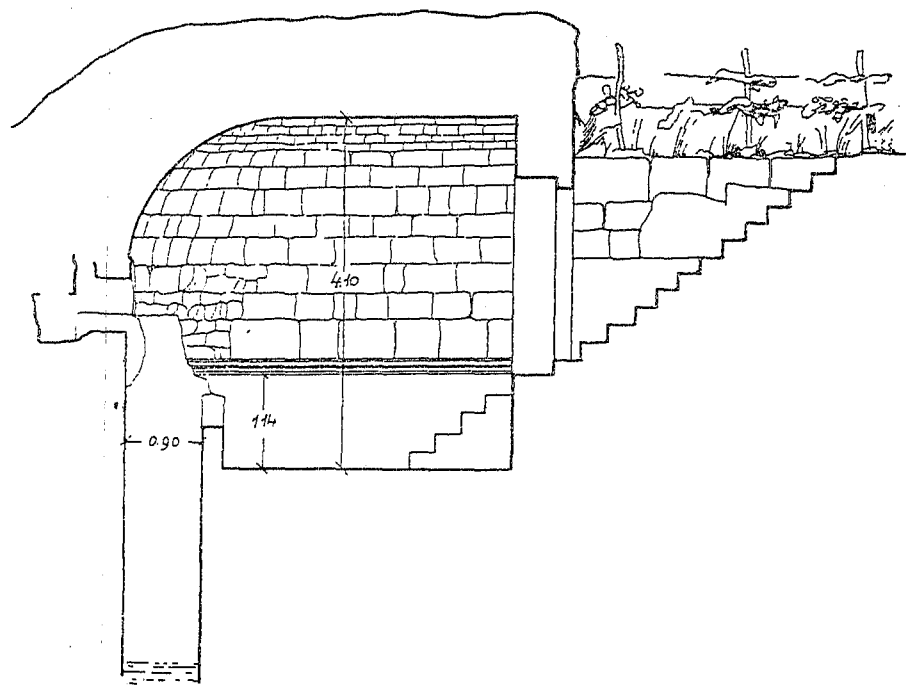


Figure 12 - Section, Grotte-nymphaeum, Beville

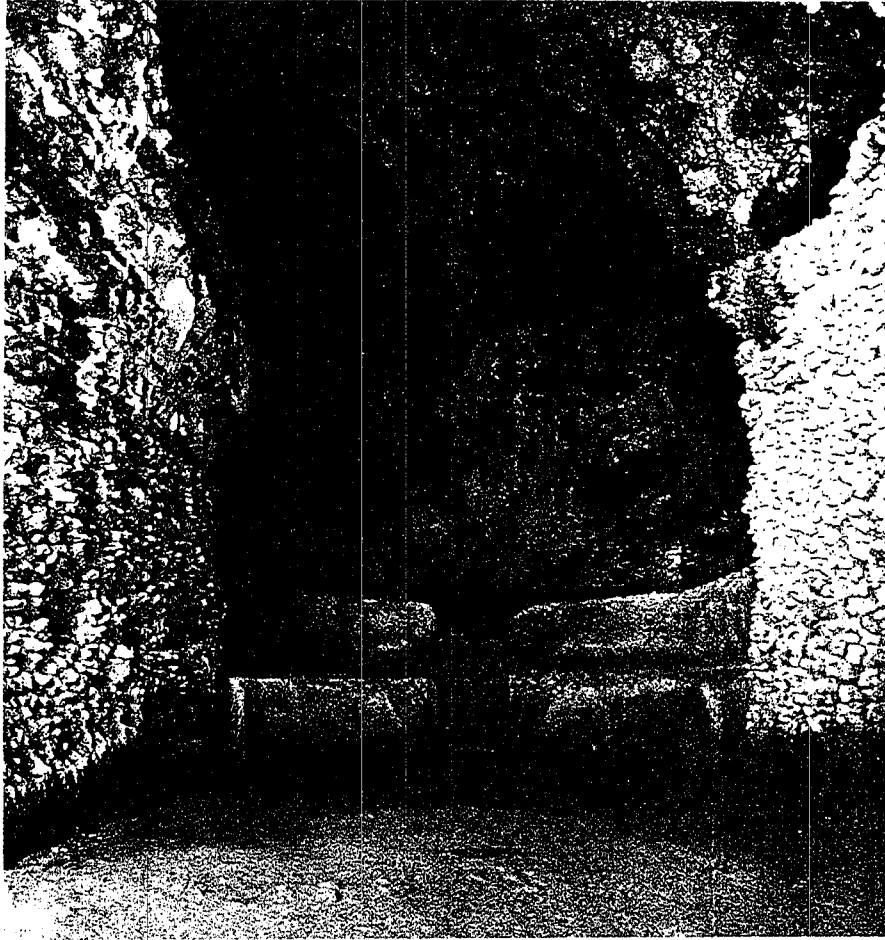


Figure 13 - Photo, Grotte di Matremania, Capri

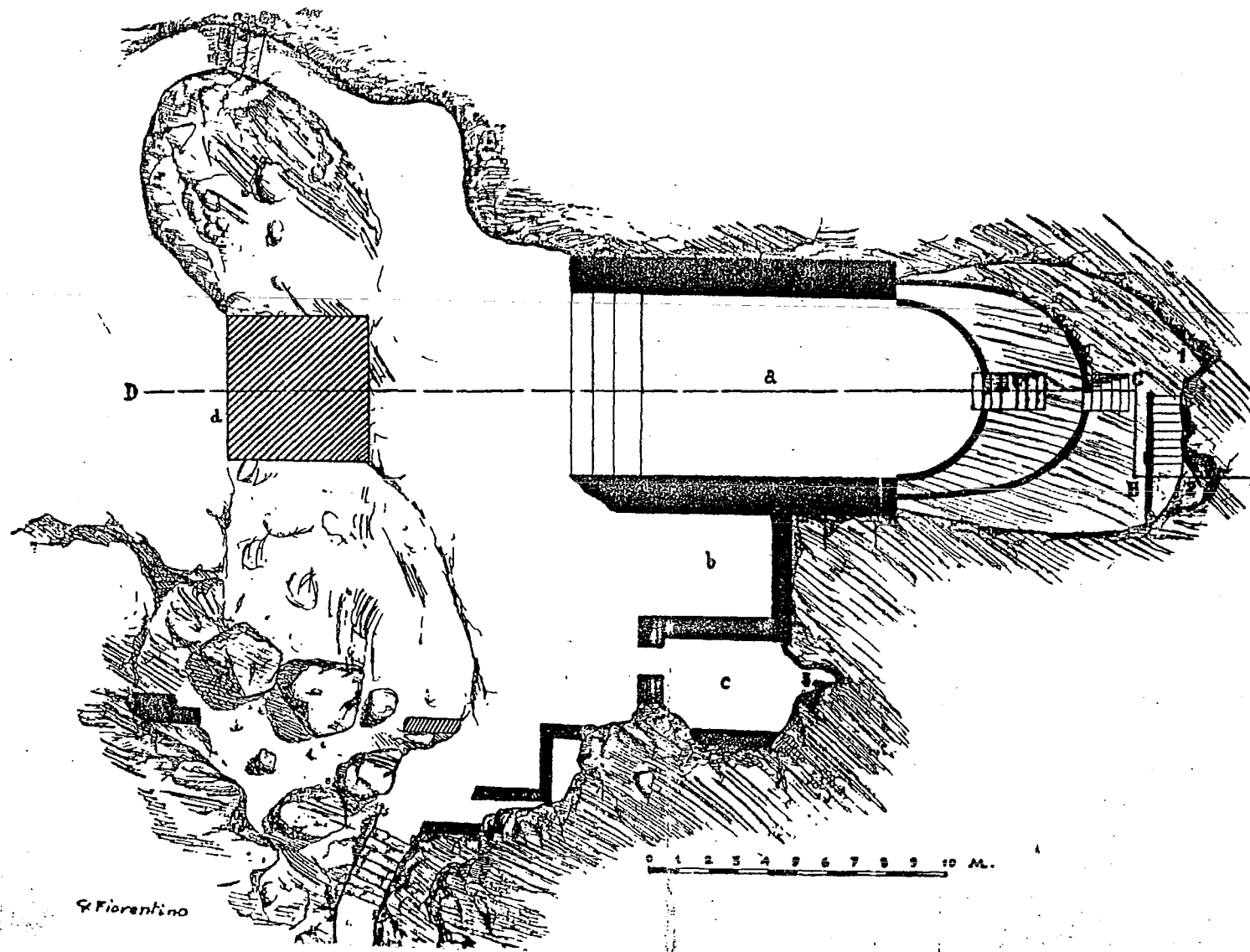


Figure 14 - Plan, Grotto di Matromania, Capri

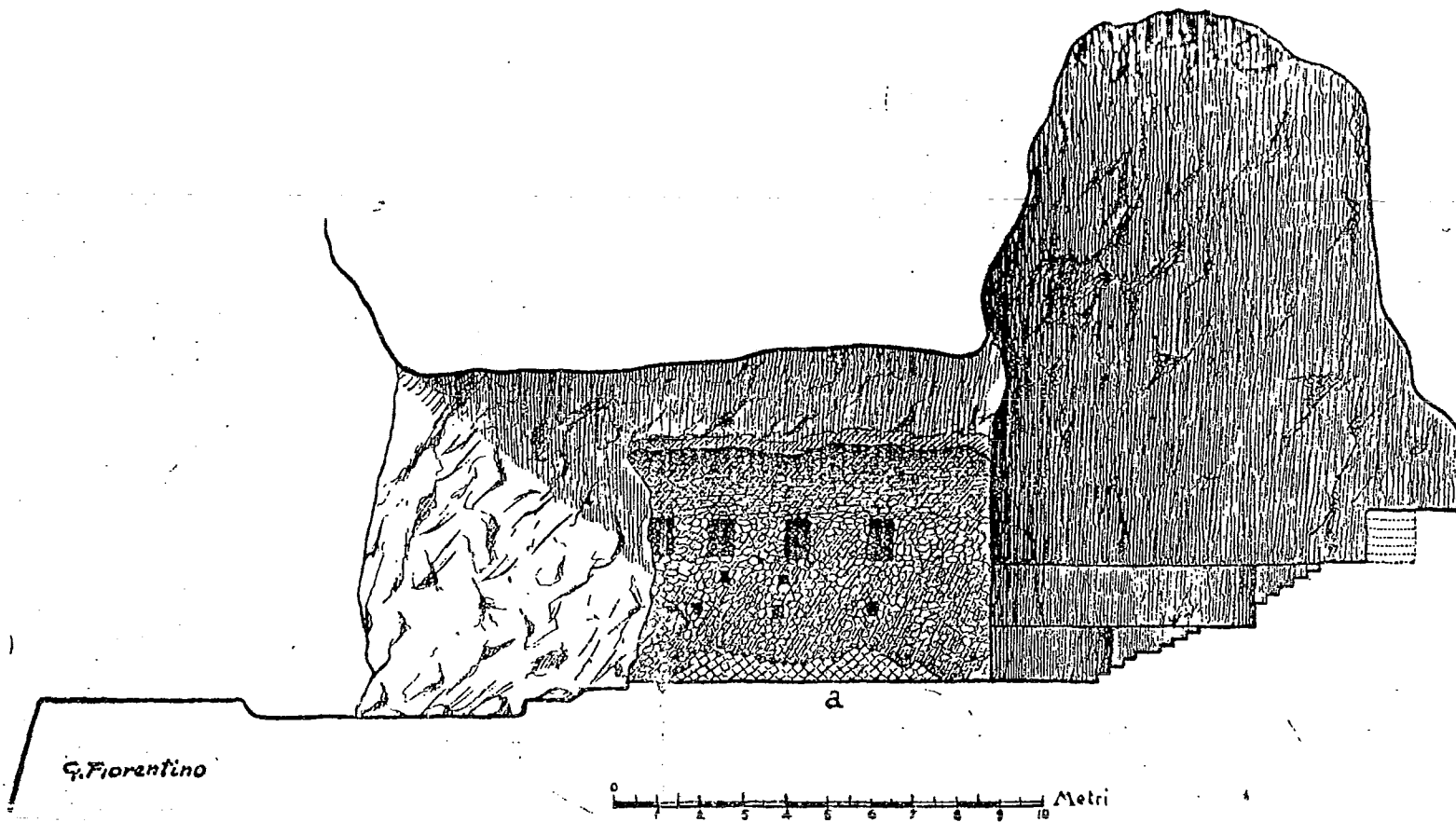


Figure 15 - Section, Grotto di Matromania, Capri

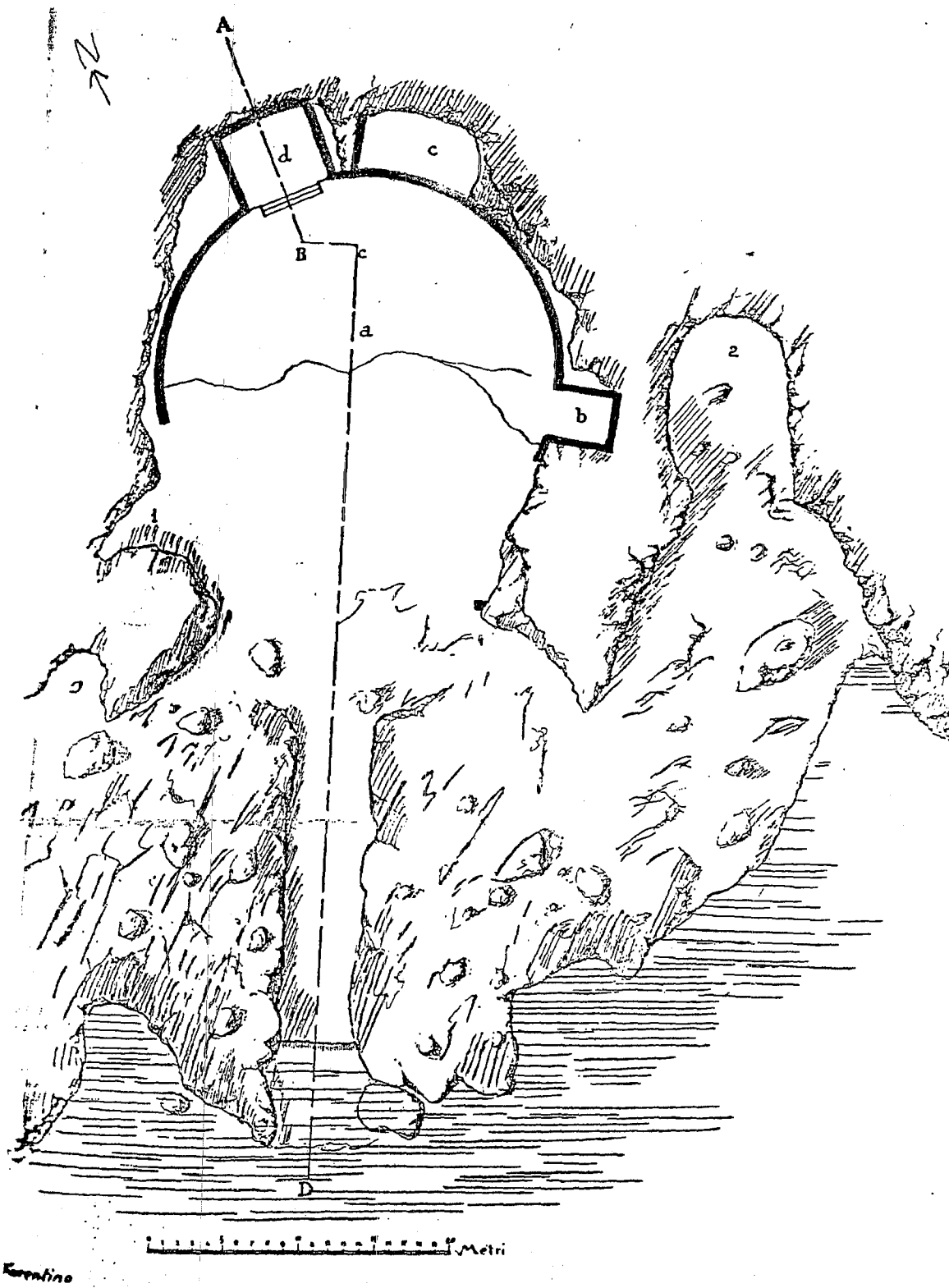


Figure 16 - Plan, Grotte dell'Arsenale, Capri



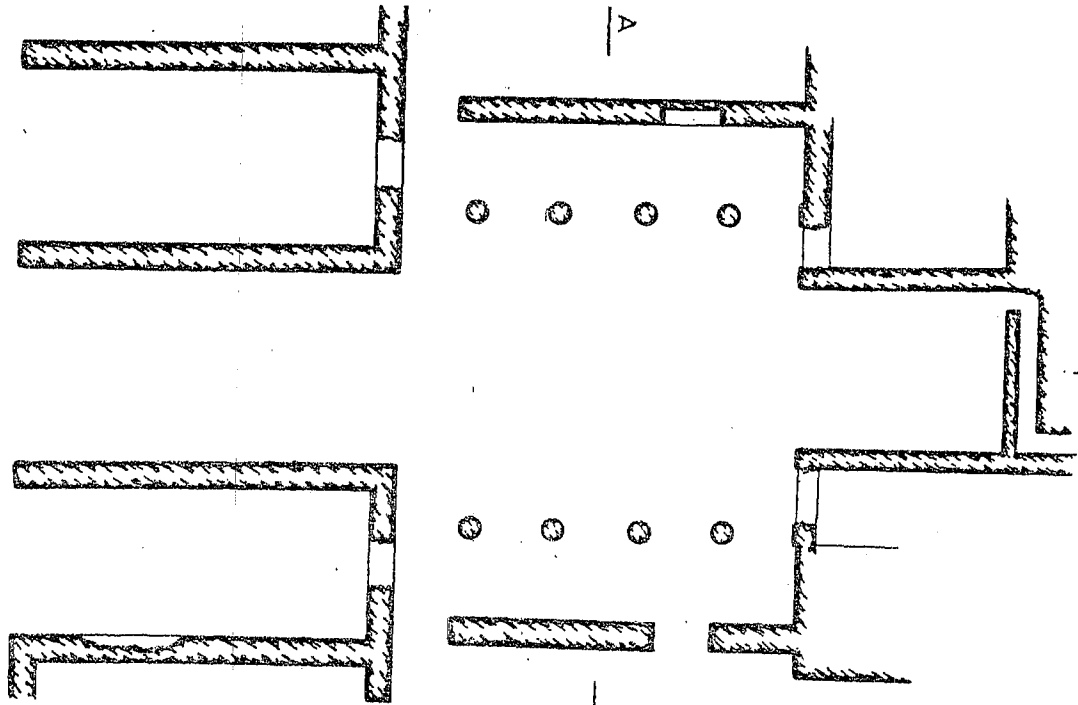


Figure 17 - Plan, Large Grotto-Nymphaeum, Villa of Cicero,

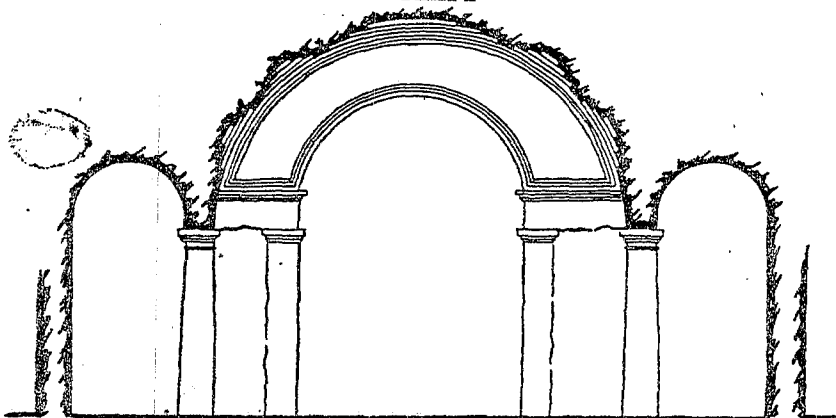


Figure 18 - Section, Large-Nymphaeum, Villa of Cicero, Formia

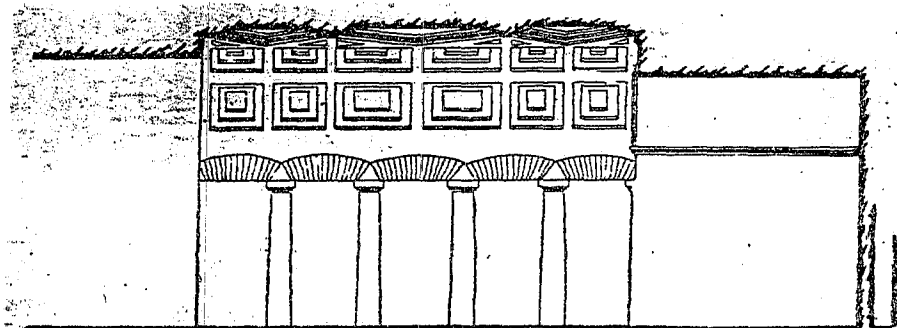


Figure 19 - Section, Large Grotto-Nymphaeum, Villa of Cicero, Formia

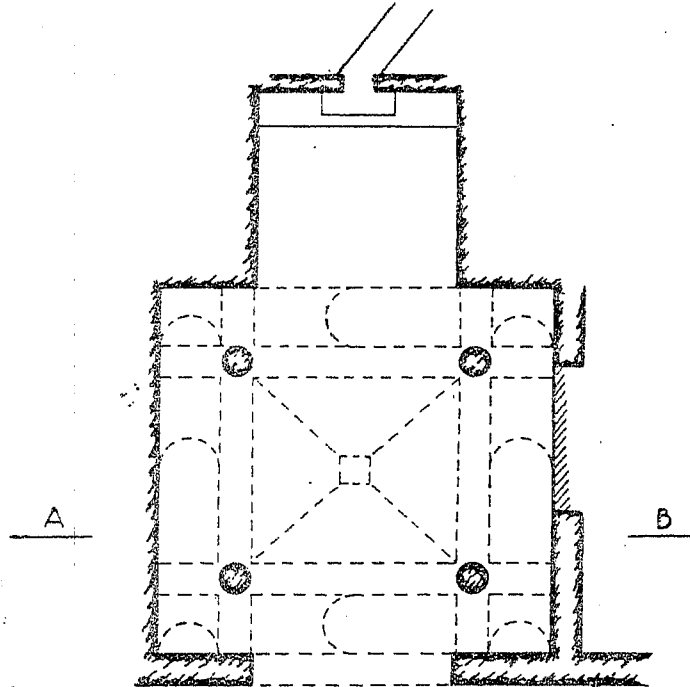


Figure 20 - Small Grotto-Nymphaeum,  
Villa of Cicero, Ferma

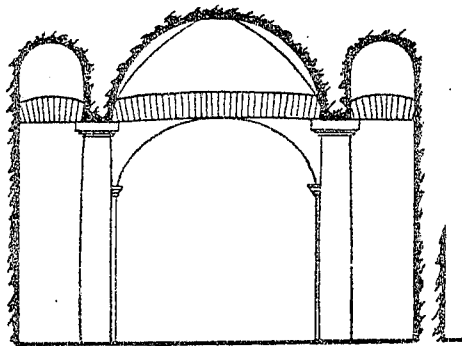


Figure 21 - Small Grotto-Nymphaeum,  
Villa of Cicero, Ferma

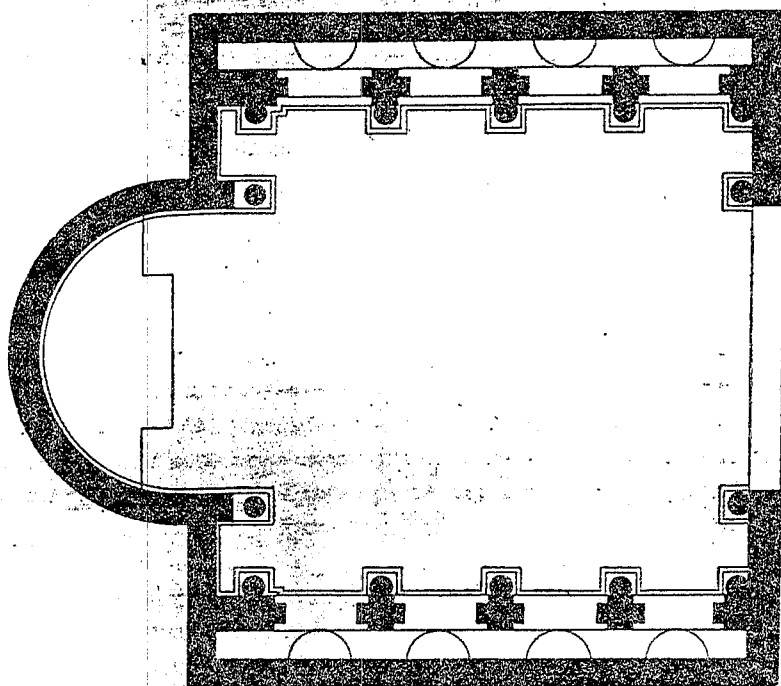


Figure 22 - Plan, Grotto-Nymphaeum,  
Villa at Sant'Antonio

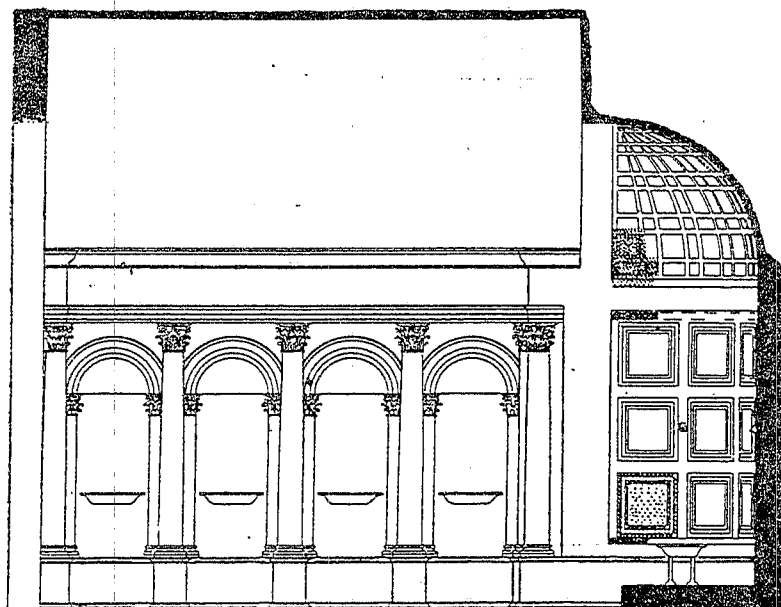
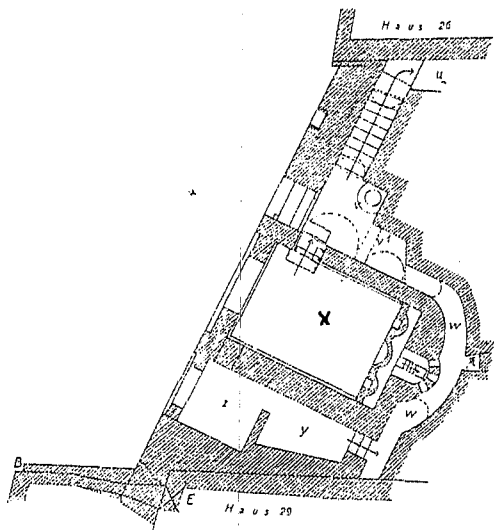


Figure 23 - Section, Grotto-Nymphaeum,  
Villa at Sant'Antonio





Haus 28  
Untergeschoss

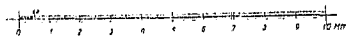


Figure 25 - Plan, Grotte-  
Nymphaeum, House VIII.ii.28  
Pompeii

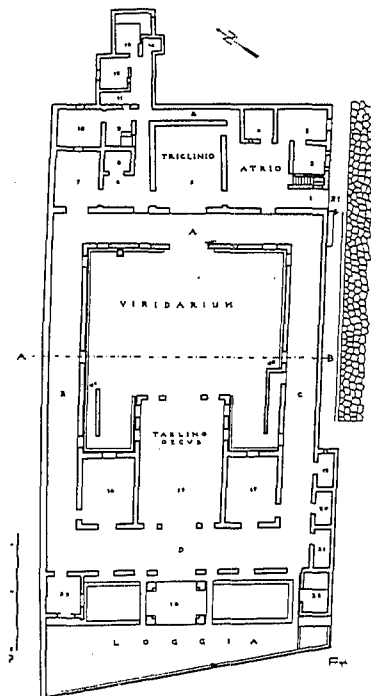


Figure 27 - Plan, House of  
the Stags, Herculaneum

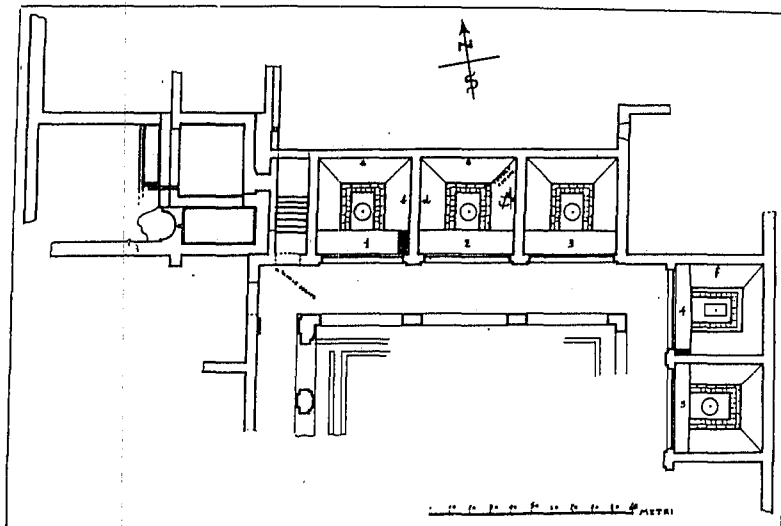


Figure 26 - Plan, Portico with  
Triclinia, Murecine

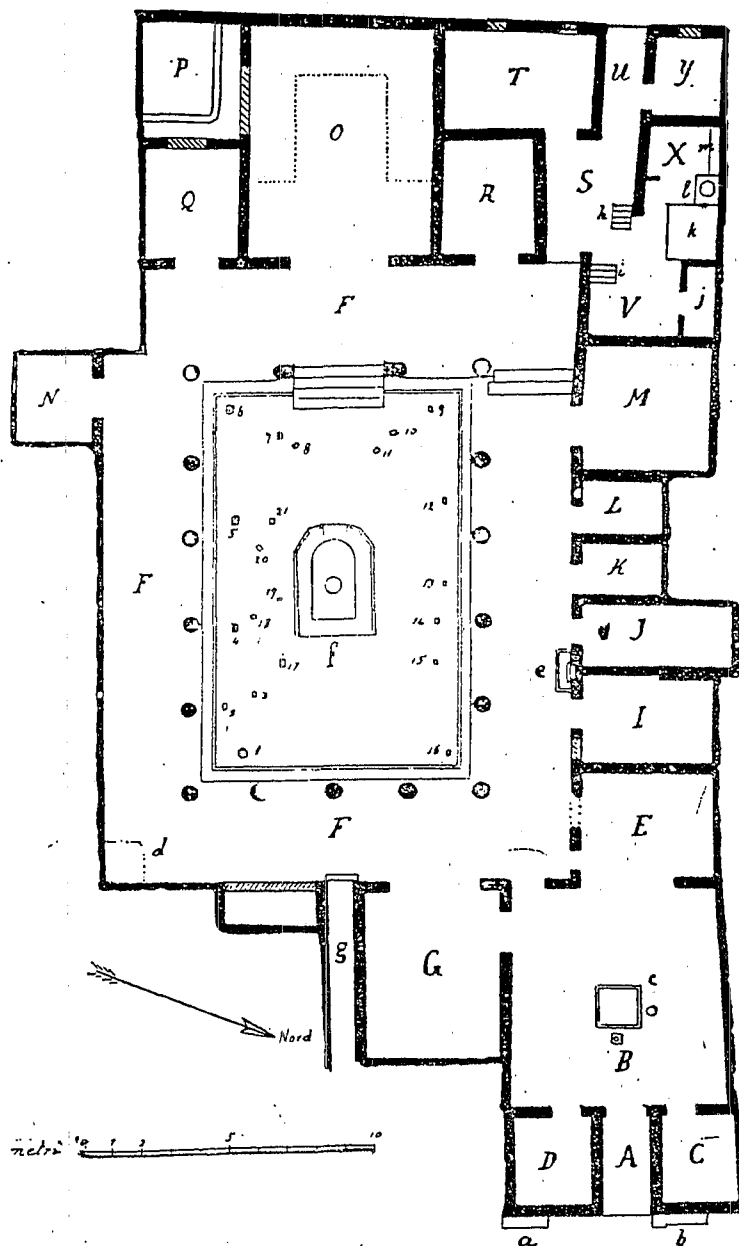


Figure 28 - Plan, House of the Golden Cupids, Pompeii

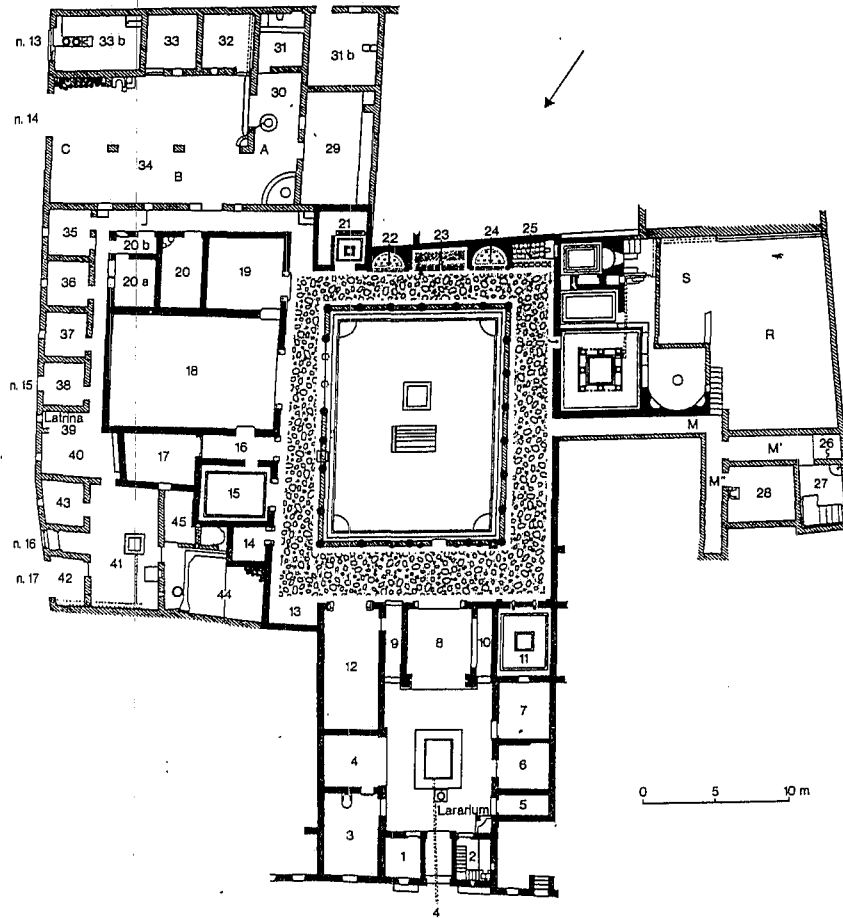


Figure 29 - Plan, House of Menander,

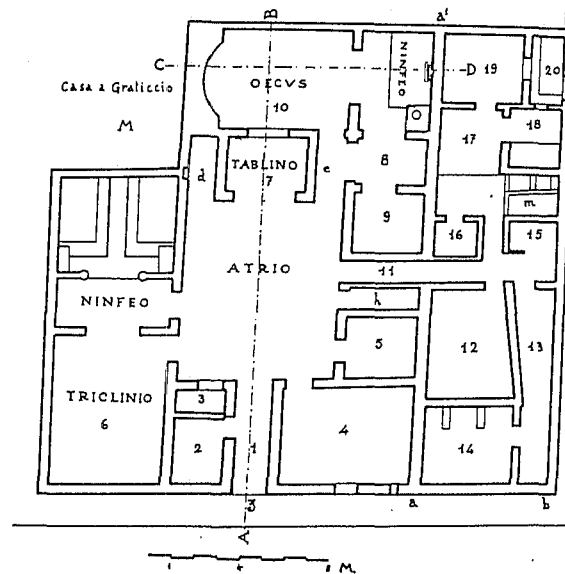


Figure 30 - Plan, House of the Skeleton, Pompeii

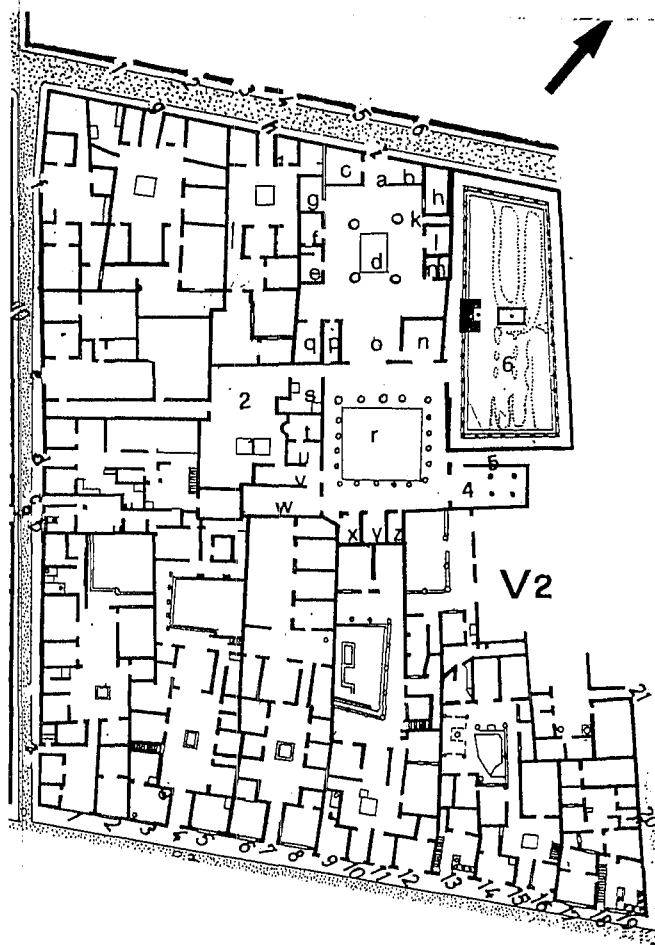


Figure 31 - Plan, House of the Silver Wedding, Pompeii

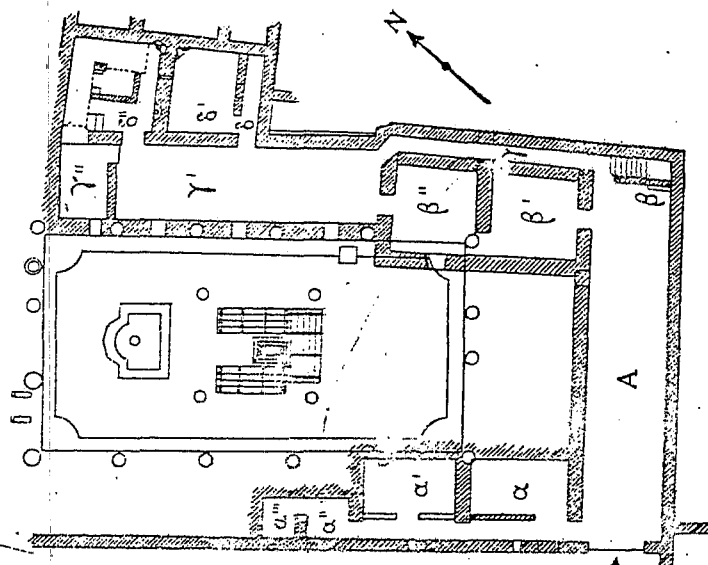


Figure 32 - Plan, House of Paquius Proculus, Pompeii



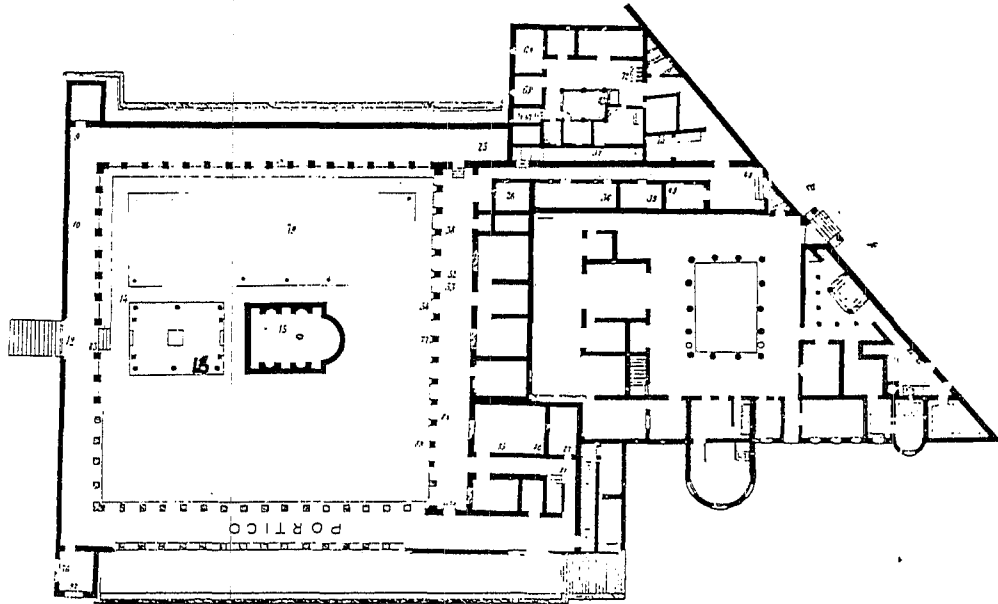


Figure 33 - Plan, Villa of Diomedes, Pompeii

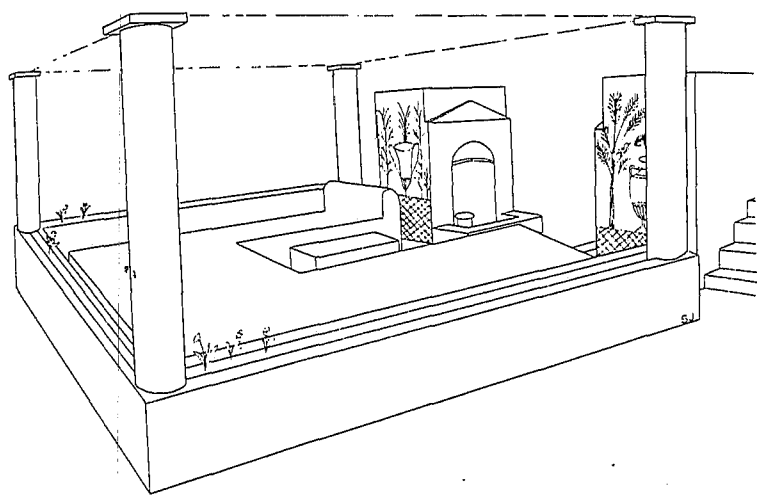


Figure 34 - Recenstruction, Caupena, II.ix.7, Pompeii

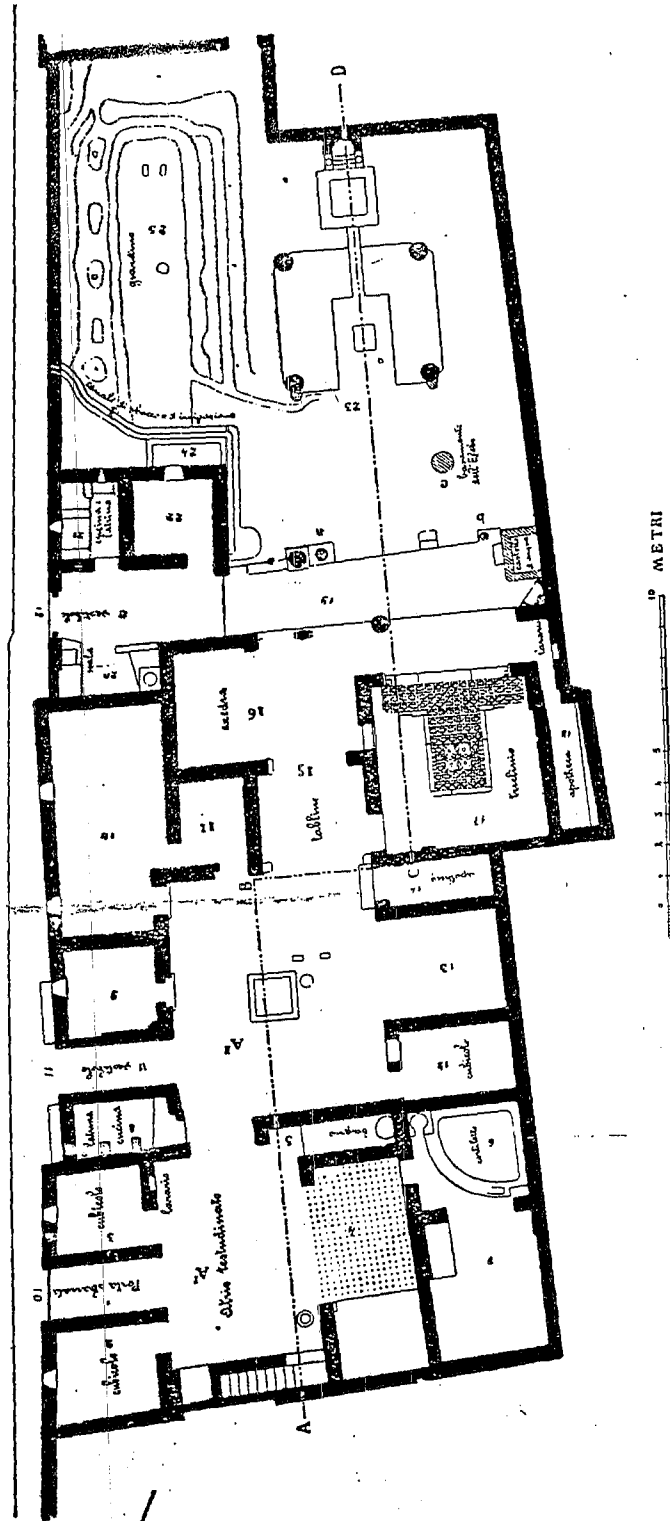


Figure 35 - Plan, House of Cornelius Tages, Pompeii

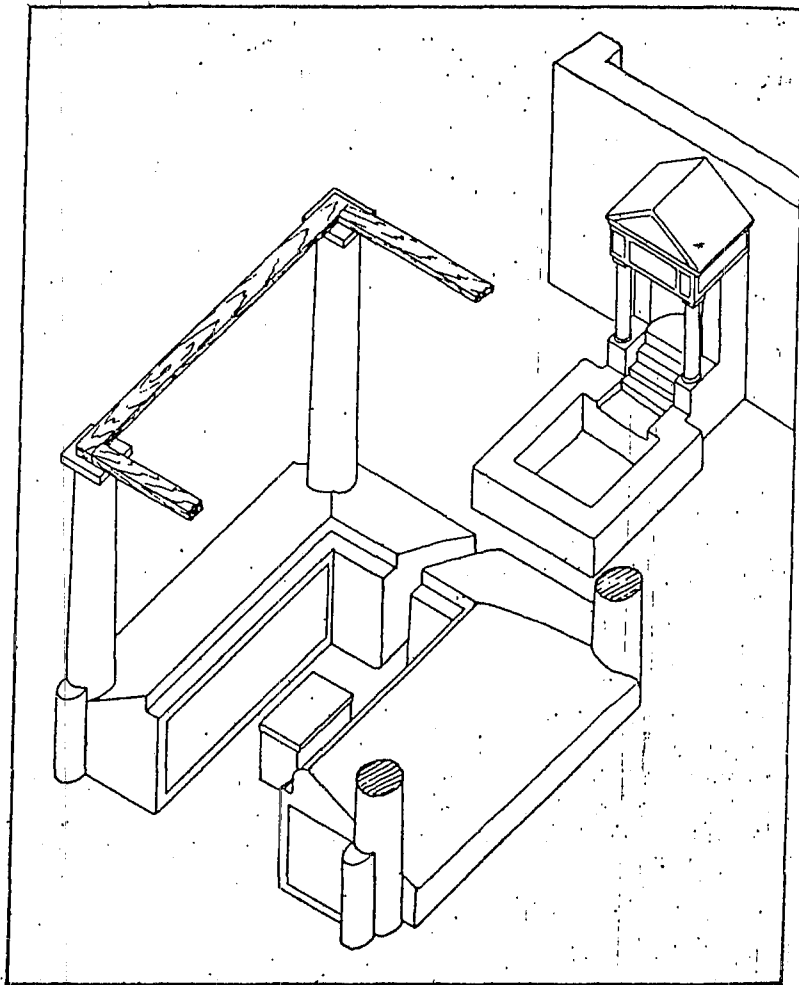


Figure 36 - Reconstruction, Nymphaeum-Triclinium,  
House of Cornelius Tapes, Pompeii

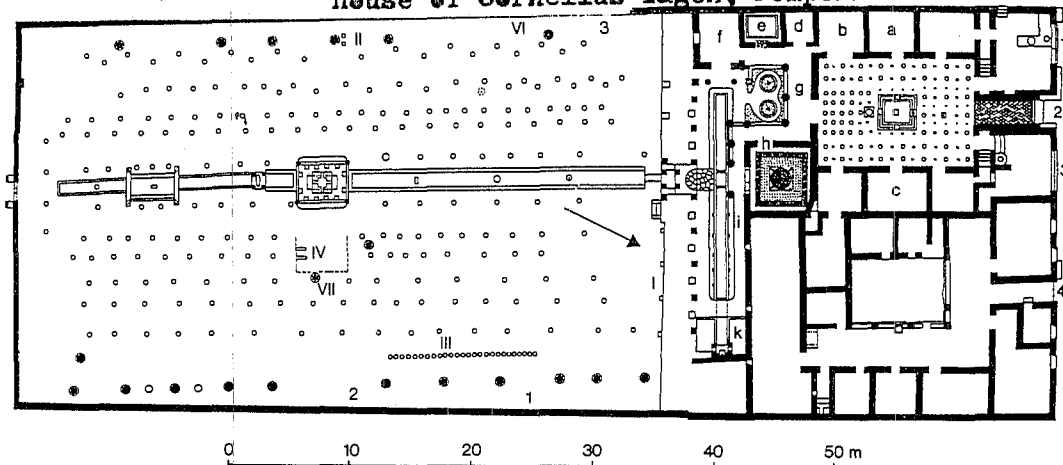


Figure 37 - Plan, House of Octavius Quartio,  
Pompeii

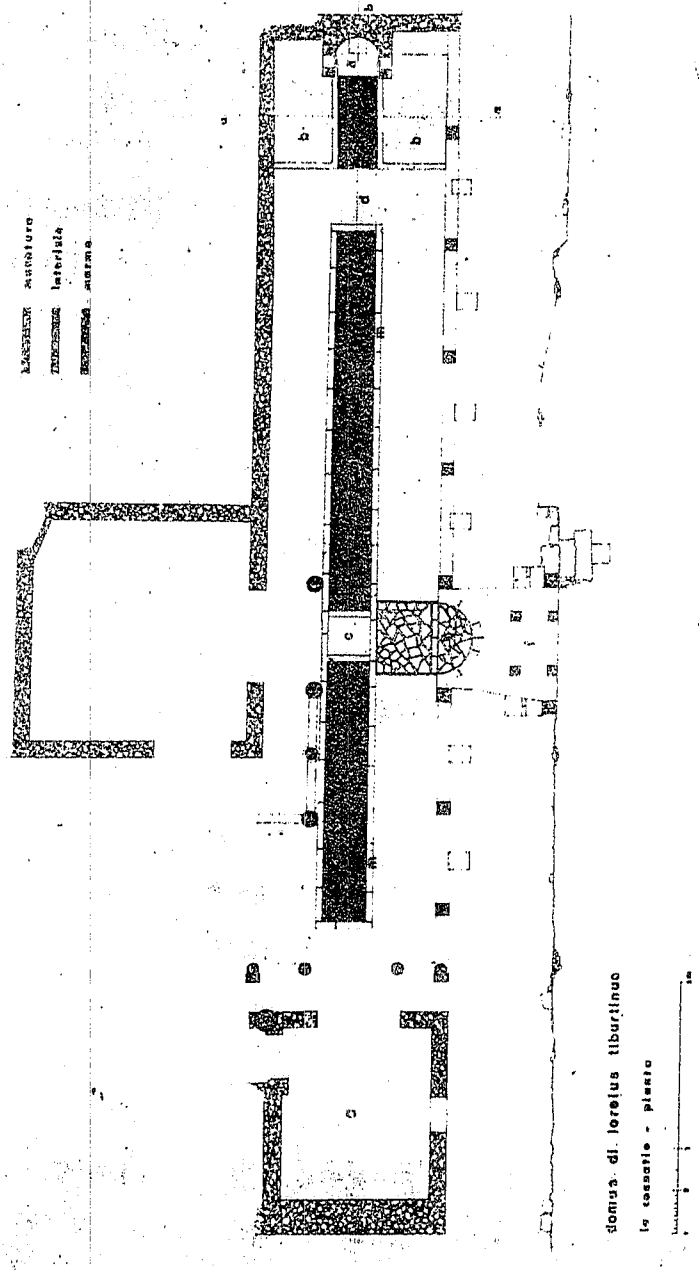


Figure 38 - Plan, Nymphaeum-Biclinium and Euripus,  
House of Octavius Quartius, Pompeii

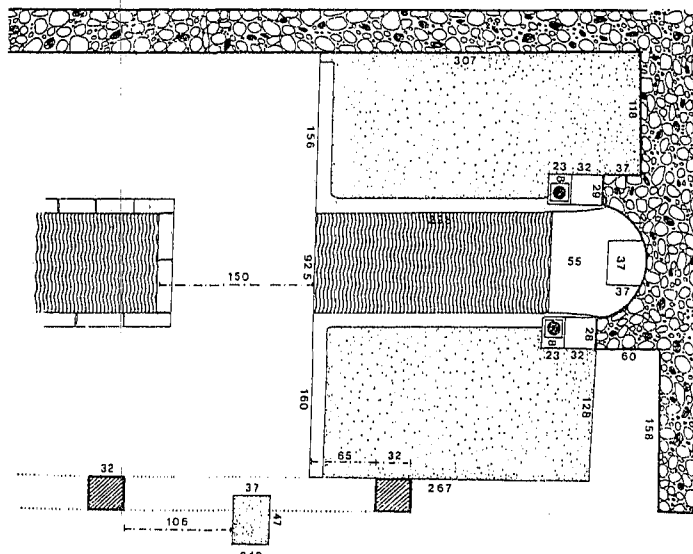


Figure 39 - Plan, Nymphaeum-Biclinium, House of Octavius Quartio, Pompeii



Figure 40. - Photo, Nymphaeum, House of Octavius Quartio, Pompeii

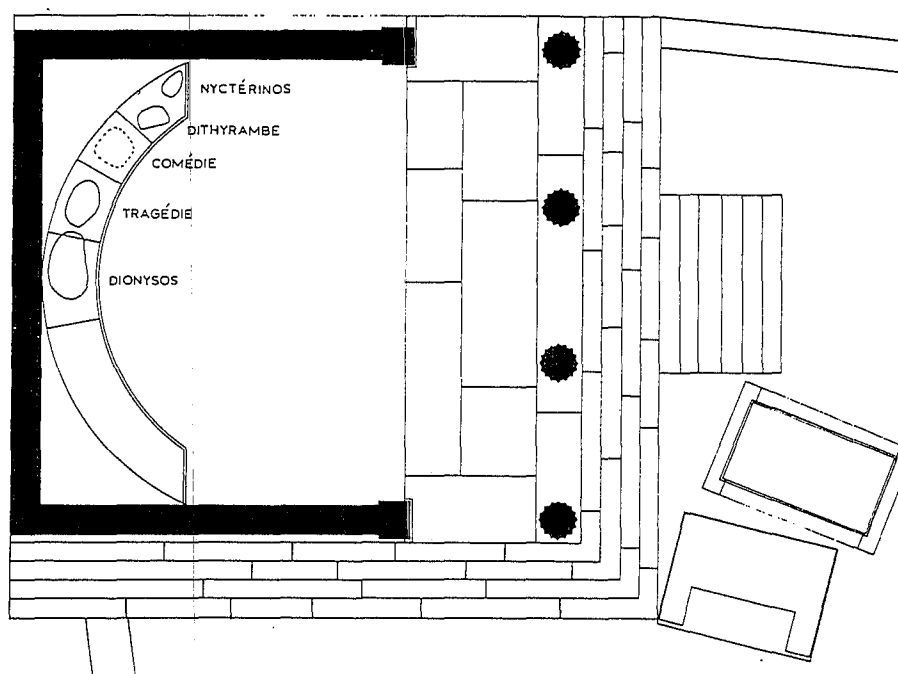


Figure 41 - Plan, Choregic Monument of Dionysus,  
Thasos

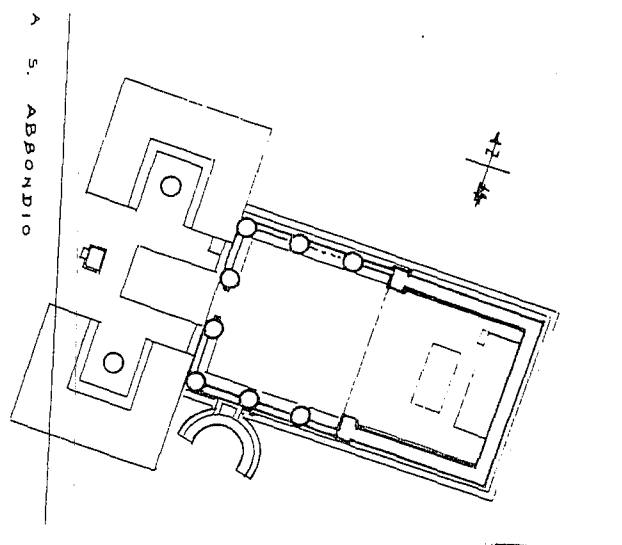


Figure 42 - Plan, Sanctuary of Dionysus,  
Pompeii

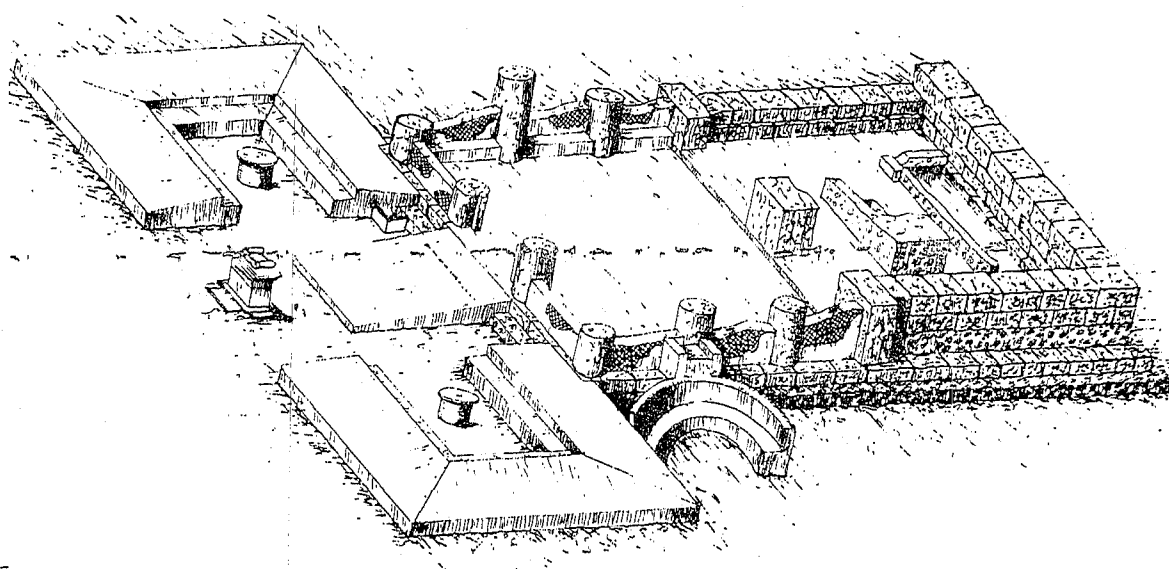


Figure 43 - Reconstruction, Sanctuary of Dionysus,  
Pompeii

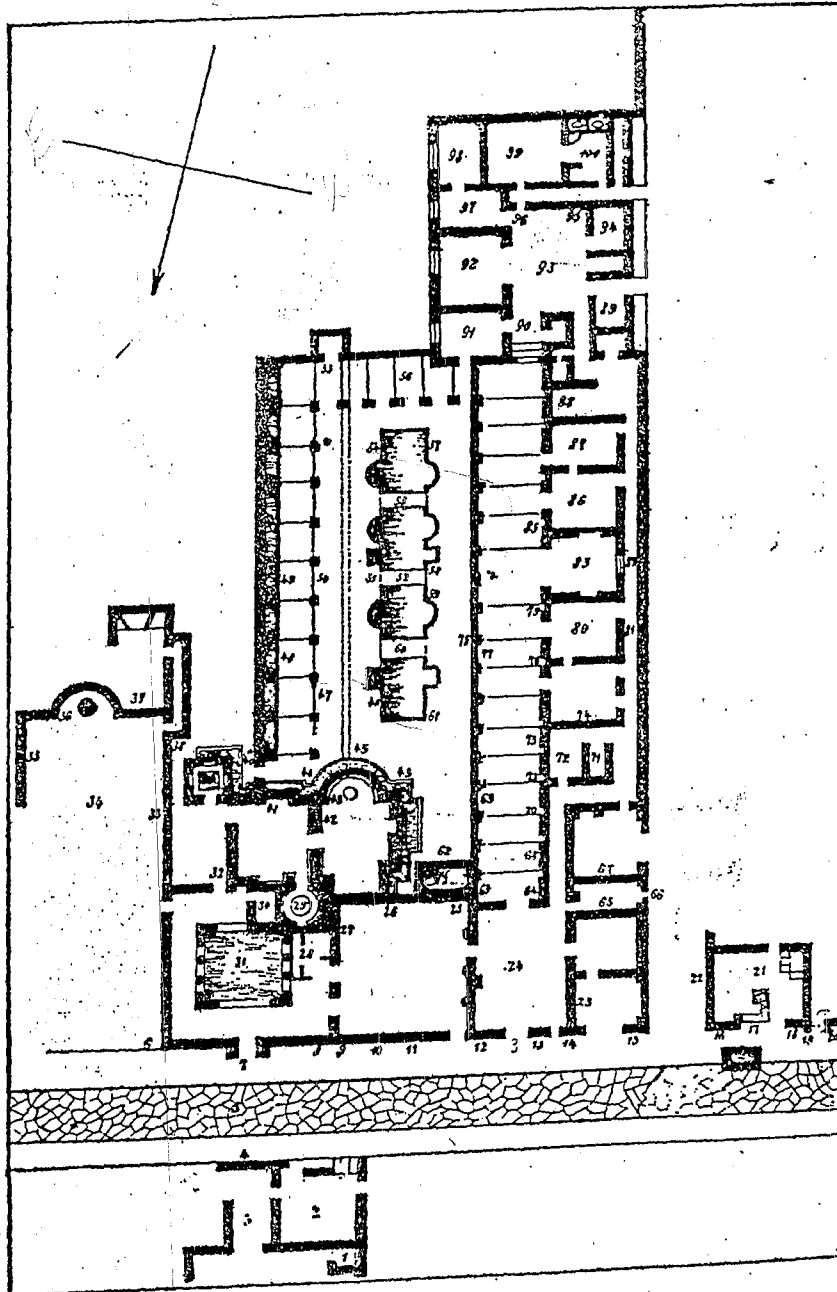


Figure 44 - Plan, Praedia of Julia Felix,  
Pompeii



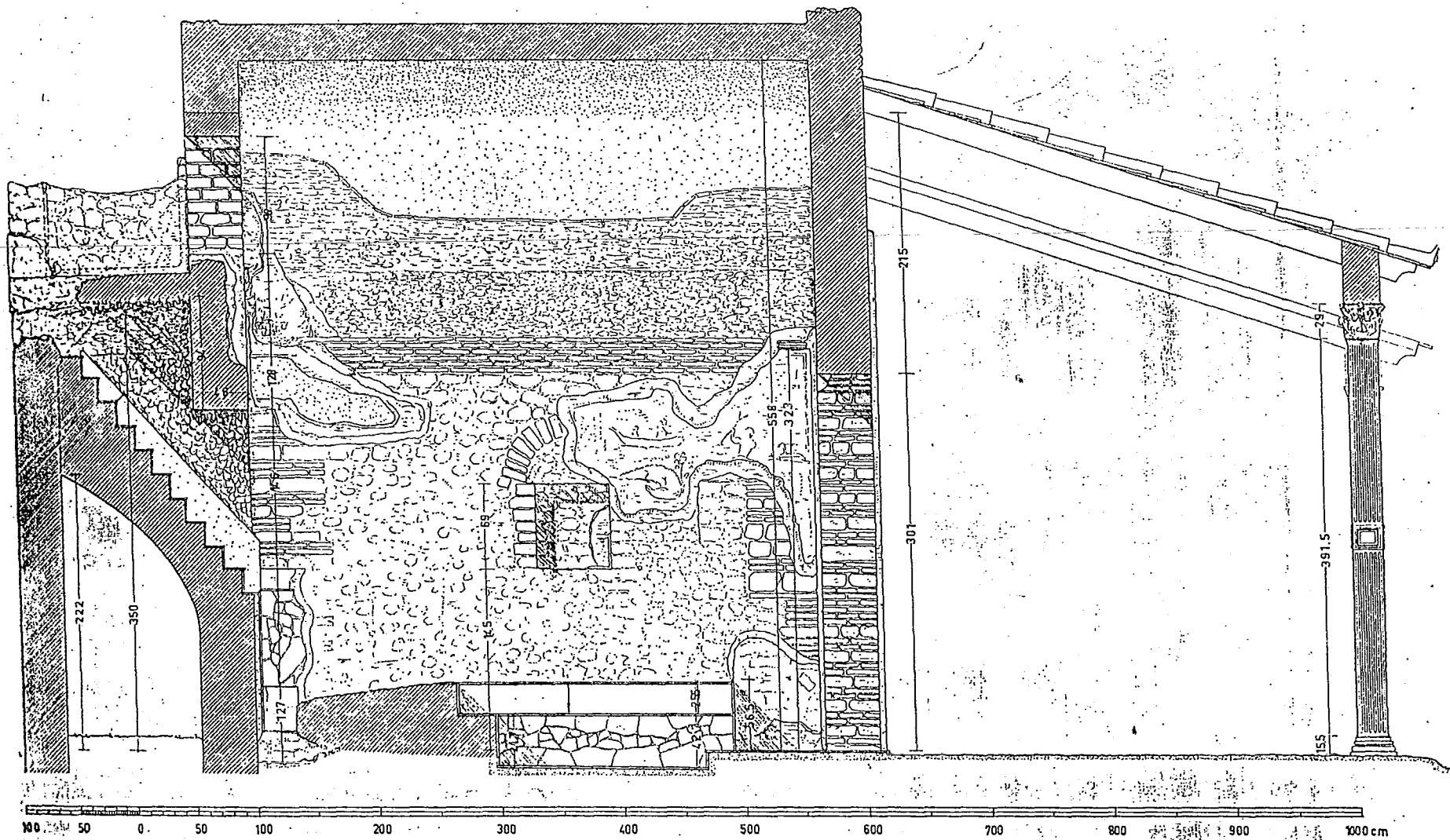


Figure 6j - Section, Portico and Triclinium-Grotto,  
Praedia of Julia Felix, Pompeii



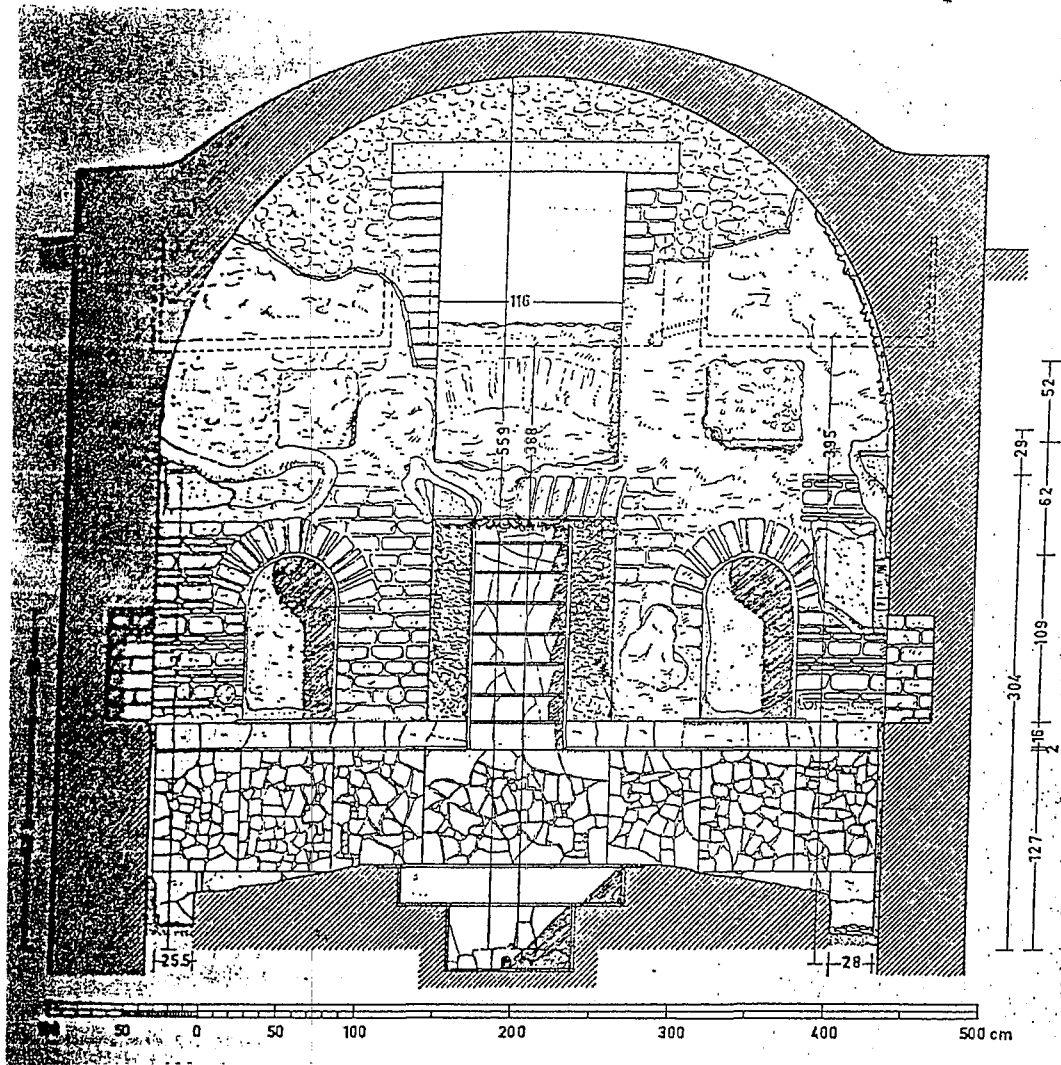


Figure 47 - Section, Triclinium-Grotto,  
Praedia of Julia Felix, Pompeii

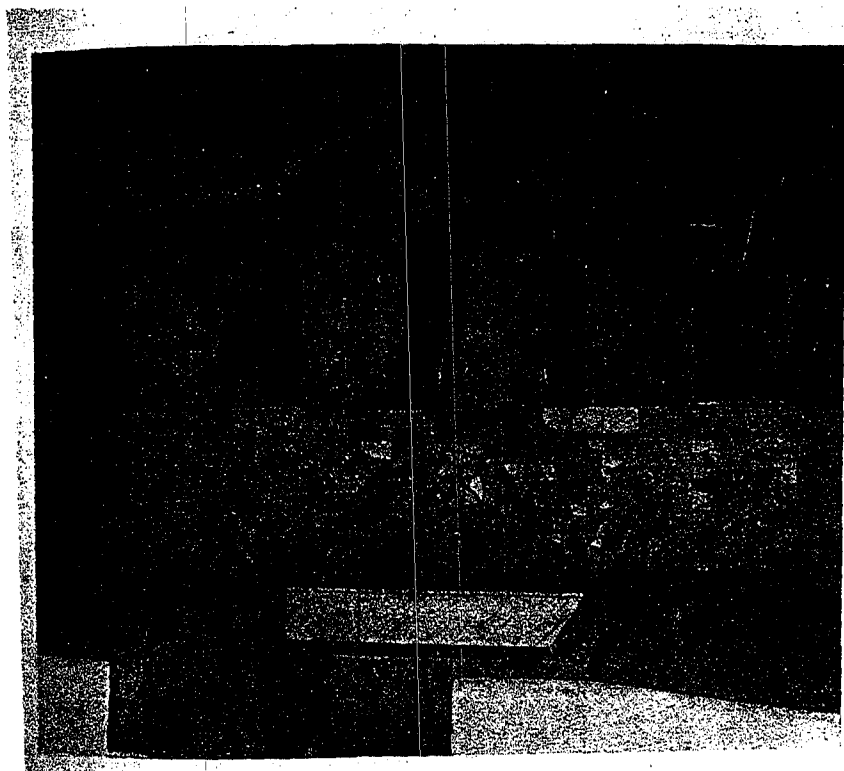


Figure 48 - Photo, Triclinium-Grotto,  
Praedia of Julia Felix, Pompeii

Notes to Discussion of Terminology

1. e.g. πήγη "streams" Homer Il. XX.9;  
Herodotus I.189

"fountain" Herodotus II.28

- e.g. κρήνη "spring" Homer Il. XVI.3;

"stream" Homer Od. X.107

2. S. Settis, "Esedra e Ninfeo nella terminologia architettonica del mondo romano" ANRW Vol. 1, Part 4, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1973) p. 685-688 discusses the meaning of the word in Greek and Latin and reaches similar conclusions.

The word νυμφαῖον also has bridal associations, which Settis discusses on p.685-688.

3. Phaedrus 230B.

4. Dyskolos 400-401.

5. Life of Alexander 7. This cave may have been located; see B. Kallipolites, "Buste d'Olganos Heros eponyme d'un fleuve macedonien" Mon. Piot 46, 1952 p.86.

6. Ithaca 1.3.18; Syria 16.2.8. Strabo uses the word on four other occasions, but does not seem to refer specifically to caves: 7.4.4; 7.5.8; Fr. 7.32; 8.3.12. Similarly, in Philostratus' Life of Apollonius of Tyana the word νυμφαῖον is used, but there is no indication that a cave is present (8.11).

7. Daphnis and Chloe 1.4.

8. 35.43.

9. N. Neuerburg, The Architecture of Fountains and Nymphaea in Ancient Italy (Microfilm) Dissertation no. 60.5288 p. 9 lists four inscriptions in Greek dated to the second century from Syria, Argos and Side. He provides references to nymphaea (including the Septizodium) from the regionary catalogues, which give fifteen as the total number of nymphaea in Rome, but list only three by name. Neuerburg

erection or restoration of nymphaea from the late empire. p. 10

10. Aeneid 1.166.

11. e.g. antrum: Ovid Meta.  
 I.575, home of Peneus;  
 III.157-162, cave of Diana;  
 XI.592-605 home of Somnus

Propertius El.  
 III.3.25 cave of inspiration

Vergil Aen.  
 IV.44 cave of the sibyl  
 VIII.297 home of Cerberus

spelunca Ovid Amores  
 III.1.3 cave in place  
 of inspiration

Vergil Geo.  
 II.469 part of rustic  
 landscape

Aen.  
 VI.124-129 cave of Avernus

specus Ovid Meta.  
 III.29-31 home of serpent sacred  
 to Mars - used  
 interchangeably  
 with antrum  
 XI.251 home of Thetis

12. Satires III.17-22; Epistles LV, 6.

13. P. Mingazzini, "Le grotte di Matermania e dell'Arsenale a Capri - Excursus sui cosiddetti ninfei" ArchClass. 7, 1955, p. 156-161.

14. L. Crema, L'architettura Romana Enciclopedia Classica, Sezione III- Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte Classica, Volume XII, Archeologia e Arte romana (Turin: Societa Editrice Internazionale, 1959) p.122.

15. Neuberburg ibid. p. 15.

## Notes to Chapter 1

1. Paul Faure, Fonctions des Cavernes Crétoises (Paris: Editions E. de Boccard, 1964) p. 66-69.
2. ibid. p. 87-89; 89-90.
3. Cave of Eileithyia Odyssey XIX: 185-190,  
Pausanias 1.18.5  
Faure, op. cit. p. 82-90;  
  
Cave of Zeus-Dikte Faure ibid p. 94-99  
-Ida ibid, p. 99-131
4. Faure ibid. p. 82-88.
5. For Classical cave shrines on Crete see Faure.  
For a list of the caves of Pan and the Nymphs see R.E.  
Supplement VIII (Stuttgart: Alfred Druckenmüller, 1956)  
under 'Pan', col. 992-999 by Fr. Brommer.
6. Hesperia 1 (1932), p. 31-55; 2 (1933), p. 337-346;  
4 (1935), p.123-132; 10 (1941), p. 119-122.
7. Hesperia 1 (1932).
8. ibid. p. 51-52.
9. Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, "Greek Antecedents of  
Garden Sculpture" in Ancient Roman Gardens. Colloquium on  
the History of Landscape Architecture 7th, 1979 (Washington:  
Dumbarton Oaks, 1981) p. 20-21.
10. Herodotus VI.105.
11. Pierre Amandry, L'antre Corycien II- B.C.H  
Supplement IX, Ecole Française d'Athènes (Paris: Diffusion  
de Boccard, 1984) p. 404-406. This pattern does not hold  
true outside Attica where several caves of Pan have been  
dated to the seven and sixth centuries B.C. Cf. Amandry  
ibid. p. 407-408.
12. Amandry ibid. p. 404-408.
13. C. Blümel, Die Klassisch Griechischen Skulpturen  
der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. no. 2 (Berlin: Akademie-  
Verlag, 1966) p. 66, Abb. 109. For a list of the reliefs

of Pan and the Nymphs see R.E. *ibid* col 981-982.

14. Ridgway *op. cit.* p. 21.

15. John Travlos, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971) p. 138-142.

16. B. Dunkley, "Greek Fountain Buildings Before 300 B.C." ABSA 36 (1935-1936), p. 142-198.

17. Oscar Broneer, Isthmia: the excavation by the University of Chicago under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Vol. II (Princeton: New Jersey, 1973) p. 33-46.

18. *ibid.* p. 36; 41.

19. J.F.F. Baker-Penoyre "Thasos" Journal of Hellenic Studies 29 (1909), p. 215-218.

G. Daux, Guide de Thasos. Ecole française d'Athènes, 2e tirage rev. (Paris: Editions E. de Boccard, 1968), p. 57-58.

20. F. FRHR. Hiller von Gaertringen, Die Insel Thera In Altertum un Gegenwart mit Ausschluss der Nekropolen. Vol. I, (Berlin: Von Georg Reimer, 1899), p. 291-293.

21. André Plassart, Exploration Archeologique de Delos - Les Sanctuaires et Les Cultes du Mont Cynthe (Paris: E. de Boccard 1928), p. 228-255.

22. R. Vallois identifies the statue as Dionysus and dates the construction of the grotto to Ptolemy III, who traced his descent from Dionysus through his mother. BCH 55 (1931), p. 274-283.

23. Plassart *op. cit.* p. 253-254.

24. S. Settis, "Descrizione di un ninfeo ellenistico" SCO 14 (1965), p. 247-257.

25. Two fountain complexes show the influence of such natural grotto-nymphaea. In the agora at Magnesia on the Meander a public fountain house of the typical Greek form has a decorative element consisting of a masonry arch above the water spouts, thus recalling the arched openings of caves. (Settis, *ibid* p. 257) On the west terrace of the agora at Corinth, beneath the temple of Poseidon, a fountain of the exedra type has been found. Two curved blocks of the



exedra were modelled to resemble the rough interior of a natural grotto. R. L. Scranton Corinth I, III, American School of Classical Studies at Athens (Princeton, New Jersey 1951), p. 33-36.

26. P.E. Arias, "Locri" NSA 1946 p. 138-161, figs. 23-31.

27. ibid. figs. 23-27.

28. ibid. figs. 24, 26, 27.

29. ibid. fig. 25.

30. ibid. fig. 23.

31. ibid. fig. 28.

32. ibid. fig. 29-31.

33. ibid. fig. 29.

34. ibid. p. 142-147, fig. 6-10.

35. ibid. p. 145.

36. ibid. fig. 9.

37. ibid. fig. 10.

38. ibid. p. 147-157 figs. 11-22.

39. Henri Metzger, Les représentations dans la céramique du IV siècle Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome. Fasc. 172 (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1951), p. 25 n.4; 133-134.

40. Arias op. cit. p. 160.

41. Arias (op. cit. p. 158) suggests that figure 23 represents the real Grotto Caruso because of its simplicity; however, any of the first five models he discusses are relatively simplistic and thus fit this criterion. The question must therefore remain open.

42. Iliad VI.128-140; Hymn 26.6.

43. Sophilos krater - M. Nilsson The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age (Lund: Arno Press, 1957) p. 111; for Spina krater Nilsson (p.111)

cites S. Aurigemma Il Museo di Spina 2nd ed., 1936, pl. lxxxi; alabastron - MDAI(A) 37 (1912), pl. ii and iii.

44. III.24.4.

45. Diodorus - III.69.1-3; Philostratus - Imagines 1.14.

46. V.19.6.

47. Berlin 1930 Haimon Group ABV 573, 2 - Claude Bérard Anodoi: L'essai sur l'imagerie des passages chthoniens. (Rome: Institute Suisse de Rome, 1974) pl. 4, fig. 10.

48. II.906f.

49. Cynegetica IV.246-248.

50. For Philodamus see BCH 51, 1927 p. 455; Pacuvius Periboëa 310-311 (Warmington), Macrobius Saturnalia I.18.3.

51. H. Metzger, "Dionysus chthonien d'après les monuments figurés de la période classique" BCH 68-69 (1944-1945) p. 296-339.

52. E.g. lekythos from Athens, Santangelo cup, Metzger ibid. figs. 2, 3.

53. Hope Krater London Hope 163.

Bérard op. cit. p. 103f pl. 10, fig. 34

54. ibid. p. 58.

55. ibid. p. 103

56. CXXII.565f.

57. Edwyn Bevan, The House of Ptolemy (Chicago: Argonaut Inc., 1968) p. 120 n.2.

58. ibid. p. 120 n. 2. One of the tribes of Alexandria was called Dionysias, and the deme names were taken from mythological figures associated with the god. (Bevan, p. 99) Ptolemy IV, called Philopator, was sometimes addressed as Dionysus by the members of his court or the populace, and on his body was a tattoo of the ivy leaf, a common Dionysiac motif. A decree from his reign bids all

Dionysiac initiates to register at Alexandria within a certain number of days and to state from whom they had received the holy rites for the past three generations. (Bevan p. 234) Although the precise function of this decree is disputed, it indicates the involvement of the royal family in cult affairs; it also demonstrates the popularity of the Dionysiac cult mysteries and their long-standing success in Egypt of the third century B.C. This interest in the cult extended to the end of the dynasty; both Ptolemy XI and XII (who was father to Cleopatra) took νεός Διονύσιος as official names. (Bevan p. 344 n. 1)

59. Athenaeus, 197e-201e.

60. see above p. 12.

61. See Excursus I - Location of Dionysiac Cult Activity.

62. E.E. Rice, The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus. (London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1983) p. 180.

63. 196a-197c; F. Winter and A. Christie, "The Symposium Tent of Ptolemy II: A New Proposal" EMC 29, N.S. 4 (1985), No. 2, p. 289-308.

64. Winter and Christie ibid. p. 297.

65. Athenaeus V.205.

66. F. Caspari ("Das Nilschiff Ptolemaios IV" JDAI 31 (1916) p. 1-74) reconstructs the Nile barge. The depiction of the royal family in the nymphaeum niche recalls the fountain of Arsinoe III described in the Hellenistic papyrus, above n. 24.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. Vergil Aen. VI.400, 418, 423.  
Ovid Meta. VII.409.  
  
Propertius also makes a cave the entrance to Hades, III.v.43.
2. Vergil Aen. III. 446, VI.11, 42, 77, 99, 157, 262.  
Propertius IV.i.103.
3. Scylla Aen. III.424, 431.  
Cyclops Aen. III.617, 624, 631, 641.  
Cacus Aen. VIII.e.g. 193, 210, 212, 217,  
Ovid Fasti I.555,  
Propertius IV.ix.9.
4. Dido and Aeneas (adapted from Apollonius Rhodius IV.1140) Aen. IV.124f.  
Peleus and Thetis Ovid Meta. XI.235.  
Pyrrha, Horace Carmina I.v.3.  
primitive man, Propertius II.xiii.33.
5. e.g. nymphs III.6, 13; VII.72.  
Polyphemus VI.28; XI.44.  
Menalcas IX.15.
6. Ec. V.6; IX.41.
7. Geo. II.469; III.145.
8. Catullus LXI.28; Propertius e.g. I.i.11;  
II.xxxii.39; IV.iv.3; Ovid e.g. Meta. II.269; XI.147.
9. See "Terminology", n. 11.
10. Nymphs e.g. Vergil Aen. I.166; Ovid Meta. IV.299.  
Muses e.g. Propertius II.iii.14.
11. P. Grimal, Les Jardins Romains. 2nd ed. (Paris: Collection Hier, Presses Universitaires de France, 1969) p. 306f.; 341f. Vitruvius (V.9) also records that caves were part of the theatrical scenery for satyr plays.
12. III.ii.14. Grimal (ibid. p. 399, n. 5)

identifies these antra as part of the gardens of Maecenas, which stood on the Esquiline near the poet's home.

13. Fasti III.315.

14. Fasti IV.495.

15. Norman Neuerburg, L'architettura delle fontane e dei ninfei nell'Italia antica. (Naples: Gaetano Macchiavoli, 1964) gives a list of such grottoes, based on his own studies. Those not discussed in the text of the thesis include:

Lupercal - on Palatine in Rome

Varula, Ischia - no apparent water source

Villa di Vopisco, near Tivoli - no apparent water source

Nymphaeum near the Ponte dell'Acquoria, Tivoli - no apparent water source.

For Boville, p.159-160.

M.E. Blake, Ancient Roman Construction in Italy from the Prehistoric Period to Augustus. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1947) p.195.

G. Lugli, "Nymphaea sive musaea", Atti del IV Congresso Nazionale di studi romani I, 1938 p.158-159.

16. Blake ibid. p. 195.

17. Neuerburg op. cit. p. 160.

18. ibid. p. 167.

19. ibid. p. 171-172.

P. Mingazzini, "Note di topografia prenestina - L'ubicazione dell'antro delle sorti" ArchClass 6 (1954) p. 295-301.

Giorgio Gullini, "La datazione e l'inquadramento stilistico del santuario della Fortuna Primigenia a Palestrina" ANRW Vol. I, Part 4 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1973) p.746-799.

20. Mingazzini ibid. p. 296.

21. Gullini op. cit. p. 752; 760.

Neuerburg also acknowledges the features this room shares with nymphaea (p. 172), but does not express an opinion as to its function.

22. A. Maiuri, "Matromania - Grotte e ninfei imperiali nell'isola di Capri" BA 1931-1932 p.149-155.

P. Mingazzini, "Le grotte di Matermaniae dell'Arsenale a Capri" ArchClass 7 (1955) p. 139-149.

23. Maiuri ibid. p. 154.

24. ibid. p. 154.

25. Mingazzini ArchClass 7 (1955) op. cit. p. 144.

26. ibid. p. 145.

27. K.J. Beloch, Campanien (Breslau: Von E. Morgenstern, 1890) p. 288.

28. A. Maiuri, Capri - Its History and its Monuments Guide-Books to Museums and Monuments in Italy no. 93 (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1955) p. 88.

Mingazzini ArchClass 7 (1955) op. cit. p. 148.

29. Maiuri 1931-1932 op. cit. p. 156-160.

Mingazzini ArchClass 7 (1955) op. cit. p. 150-163.

30. Mingazzini ArchClass 7 (1955) op. cit. p. 154.

31. Maiuri BA (1931-1932) op. cit. p. 159

32. ibid. p. 159.

33. ibid. p. 158.

34. ibid. p. 154.

35. Mingazzini ArchClass 7 (1955) op. cit. p. 155

36. Tacitus Annales IV.67.

Maiuri Capri p. 31-32.

37. Two other grottoes on Capri have been omitted from the general discussion. In the so-called 'Blue

Grotto' a small landing and window was built to facilitate the view, and consoles for sculptural decoration were added to the interior walls. The grotto may have belonged to the Villa Romana di Gràdola, located above the site. (Maiuri Capri p. 80; A. de Franciscis, "Underwater Discoveries around the Bay of Naples" Archaeology 20 (1967) 209f.) However, while it may have provided inspiration for the other nymphaea on Capri, the lack of architectural additions, such as walls, deems it unsuitable for this discussion. Another grotto on Capri, at Castiglione, is recorded by Maiuri (Capri p. 84-86) but is poorly preserved. For Imperial examples, see Excursus II - Imperial Grottoes.

38. Other examples of this type of nymphaeum listed in Neuerburg but not mentioned in this discussion include:

- nymphaeum at Miseno
- nymphaeum on Ischia
- nymphaeum in the Villa of Lucullus, Miseno
- nymphaeum at the 'Entrance to Hades', Villa of Hadrian, Tivoli
- nymphaea at Malborghetto
- nymphaeum on the Via Patinaria, Rome

39. Neuerburg op. cit. p. 108-109.

40. ibid. p. 173-174.

41. ibid. p. 174.

42. ibid. p. 239.

43. Other nymphaea of this type listed in Neuerburg but not discussed in the text here include:

- nymphaeum at Caravanserai, Knossos
- public nymphaeum at Anagni
- nymphaeum in the Giardini Barberini, Palestrina
- nymphaeum in the Valle di Rodi, Contrada Ceciliano, Palestrina
- nymphaeum in the Baths of Sosandra at Baia
- nymphaeum in the Villa of Quintiliolus Varus at Tivoli
- nymphaeum under the Casino il Fede at Tivoli
- nymphaeum in the Villa of Agrippa Postumus at Sorrento
- nymphaeum near the Crucifix of the Vallericcia at Albano
- nymphaeum from the Codex Destailleur
- nymphaeum in the Villa of Scaurus at Scauri.

44. Neuerburg op. cit. p. 248.

45. ibid. p. 246.
46. ibid. p. 234-5.  
     Lugli op. cit. p. 159.
47. Neuerburg op. cit. p. 157-158.
48. ibid. p. 174-175.
49. ibid. p. 244.
50. ibid. p. 145.
51. ibid. p. 146.
52. ibid. p. 164-165.
53. ibid. p. 249.
54. ibid. p. 231-232.
55. ibid. p. 111-112.
56. N.S. 1888, p.510-512; F. Noack and K. Lehmann-Hartleben, Baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen am Stadtrand von Pompeji, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1936) p.70-77, 221; Neuerburg op. cit. p. 131.
57. Neuerburg op. cit. p. 98.
58. Propertius III.iii.27.
59. Fasti III.315.
60. F. Sear, Roman Wall and Vault Mosaics (Heidelberg: F.H. Kerle, 1977) p. 45 describes the decoration of the small nymphaeum:
- The vault of the larger room is covered in pumice, and the walls have imitation ashlar in pumice and a double row of small oval shells. At the top of the wall runs a cornice of small oval shells surmounted by a row of whelk shells. The columns are ornamented with panels outlined in shells. Within are reversed oyster shells on a ground of uncut white marble chips.
61. Neuerburg ibid. p. 92 lists three Italian terms



for such grotto stone -tartari, confetti, schiuma di mare-  
but is unclear precisely to what kind of stone he is referring.  
Sear ibid p. 37 refers to this "grotto-stone" as pumice and  
describes it as "a light, porous volcanic rock, brittle in  
texture".

62. Bellum Civile IV.iv.29.

63. Neuerburg ibid p. 85-86 lists other examples.

### Notes to Chapter 3

1. Other terms, such as conclave and cenatio, are also used of dining rooms. For a full discussion of the question see B. Tamm, Auditorium and Palatium (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1963) p. 128-132, 193-196.

Strictly speaking, if no couches, or traces of couches, are found in a room it cannot be called a triclinium with assurance. The triclinium in the House of the Centenary at Pompeii, in which the remains of couches were found, and the examples designated triclinium or biclinium-nymphaea, in which dining couches are fully standing, are therefore the only rooms used without question as triclinia. In all other cases I have accepted the identification of the excavator.

2. Vitruvius, De Arch. VI.iii.5.

3. ibid. VI.iv.1-2.

4. ibid. VII.iv.4.

5. SHA Verus 5.

6. Athenaeus II.47f.; Suetonius, Augustus 70.

7. House VIII.iii.15. See P. Soprano, "I Triclini all'aperto di Pompei" Pompeiana - Raccolta di Studi per il secondo centenario degli scavi di Pompei (Naples, 1950), p. 306-307. Soprano also lists four sigma ("stibadia") pictured in Pompeian wall painting, p. 309-310, nos. 40, 42-44.

8. Axel Boëthius, Etruscan and Roman Architecture (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1970) discusses the evolution of the Roman house, p. 152-159. See also Grimal op. cit. p. 204-211.

9. Grimal op. cit. Appendix I, p. 443-458.

10. Grimal op. cit. p. 204-205;

W. Jashemski, The Gardens of Pompeii (New Rochelle, New York: Caratzas Brothers, 1979) p. 16-17.

11. O. Elia, BA 46, 1961 p. 200-211.
12. A. Maiuri, Herculaneum Guide-Books to Museums and Monuments in Italy no. 53 (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1945) p.61-64, fig. 5.
13. NSA 1908, p. 39;  
           Arnold and Mariette de Vos, Pompei, Ercolano, Stabia (Bari: Gius. Laterza and Figli, 1982) p. 181.
14. de Vos ibid. p. 90-97.
15. Jashemski op. cit. p. 32-33.
16. Neuerburg p. 122-123;  
           R. Paribeni, NSA 1902, p. 276; 372;  
           Soprano op. cit. p. 306, no. 27.
17. Neuerburg op. cit. p. 133;  
           A. Sogliano, NSA 1880, p. 150.
18. Neuerburg op. cit. p. 135;  
           Maiuri op. cit. 1945 p. 36.
19. Soprano op. cit. passim.
20. ibid. p. 288.
21. de Vos op. cit. p. 211-212.
22. Soprano op. cit. p. 307, no. 30.
23. ibid. p. 308, no. 35.
24. Jashemski op. cit. p. 176-177.
25. Soprano op. cit. p. 300, no. 14.
26. Maiuri op. cit. p. 44-46.
27. A. Maiuri, NSA 1927, p. 52, 60;  
           Soprano op. cit. p. 295, no. 5;  
           Neuerburg op. cit. p. 117.

28. Jashemski op. cit. p. 93.
29. ibid. p. 94, fig. 147.
30. See Grimal op. cit. p.309.
31. ibid. p. 57-58, fig. 93.
32. W.J.T. Peters, Landscape in Romano-Campanian Mural Painting (Assen: Van Gorcum and Comp. N.V., 1963) p. 181.
33. See note 16.
34. V. Spinazzola, Pompei alla luce degli scavi nuovi di Via dell'Abbondanza Rome, 1953, p. 404;  
     Soprano op. cit. p. 305-306, no. 25;  
     Neuerburg op. cit. p. 118;  
     E. Salza Prina Ricotti, "Forme speciali di triclini" Cronache Pompeiane Vol. V (Naples: Gaetano Macchiavoli, 1979) p. 102-149.
35. Salza Prina Ricotti op. cit. p. 115.
36. ibid. p. 117-124.
37. Grimal op. cit. p. 72-73.
38. ibid. p. 58 and note 5  
     e.g. CIL, VI. 10876; 17992; 29964; 29967.
39. Satyricon 71.
40. A. Mau, Pompeii, its Life and Art (New York: Macmillan Co., 1899) p. 416;  
     Soprano op. cit. p. 304, no. 21;  
     inscription - CIL 1033.
41. Grimal op. cit. p. 295 and note 2.
42. ibid. p. 336.
43. ibid. p. 336-337.

44. ibid. p. 336.

45. R.E. IIIa, Part 2, (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche, 1929) 2481, Poland; 2482, Poland.

46. e.g. Iasus BCH 13 (1889), p. 36, no. 4; Caria BCH 22 (1898), p. 373, no. 73; MDAI(A) 15 (1890), p. 277, no. 26 and 28; Smyrna MDAI(A) 17 (1892), p. 190-191 (amended from AJA 1, p. 138).

See also Arist. Eccl. 1031, and Pliny NH XXXIV. 160

47. Ch. Picard, "Un type méconnu di lieu-saint Dionysiaque: Le stibadeion" CRAI 1944, p. 127-157.

48. ibid. p. 130-134.

49. ibid. p. 134-141.

50. ibid. p. 142-146.

51. Inschriften von Pergamon no. 222; G. Quandt, De Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto (Diss. philol. Halenses).

52. Picard op. cit. p. 147-151.

53. O. Elia and G.P. Carratelli, "Santuario dionisiaco di Pompei" PP 34 (1979), Fasc. 188-189 p. 442-481.

54. ibid. p. 456-471.

55. ibid. p. 448-449.

56. ibid. p. 447.

57. O. Elia, "Lo stibadio dionisiaco in pitture pompeiane" MDAI(R) 69 (1962) p. 118-127.

58. ibid. p. 121; 126.

59. Grimal op. cit. p. 311-312.

Notes to Chapter 4

1. F. Rakob, "Ein Grotten-Triklinium im Pompeji"  
MDAI(R) 71 (1964) p. 182-194;

Neuerburg op. cit. p. 120.

de Vos op. cit. p. 142.

Rakob (p. 185) places the construction of the entire house in the "late construction period" of the city; de Vos (p. 142) attributes the construction of the portico alone to this period. No other information regarding the construction date of the house is available.

2. Matteo Della Corte Casa ed Abitanti di Pompeii 3rd. edition (Napoli: Fausto Fiorentino, 1965) p. 390-391 assumes that the Iuvenes leased the entire estate. De Vos (p. 142), however, sees a clear difference in the quality of decoration and construction between the "public" and "private" parts of the house.

3. Della Corte no. 821.

4. Jashemski op. cit. p.48.

5. de Vos op. cit. p. 144;

V. Tran Tam Tinh, Le Culte d'Isis à Pompéi  
(Paris: Editions E. de Boccard, 1964) nos. 6, 7, 8.

6. Jashemski op. cit. p. 48.

7. ibid. p. 49, fig. 85.

8. de Vos op. cit. p. 142.

9. Rakob op. cit. p. 186.

Unless otherwise noted, all measurements are taken from the illustrations in Rakob, Abb. 3,4,5.

10. ibid. p. 186.

11. ibid. p. 187-188.

12. Helen Whitehouse, "In Praedis Iuliae Felicis: The Provenance of Some Fragments of Wall Painting in the

Museo Nazionale, Naples" EBSR 45 (1977) p. 52.

13. Jashemski op. cit. fig. 128; 7169 P59

M.M. Gabriel, Livia's Garden Room at Prima Porta  
(New York: New York University Press, 1955).

14. Rakob op. cit. p. 188.

15. ibid. p. 188.

16. ibid. p. 189.

17. Whitehouse op. cit. p. 52-54.

18. Sear op. cit. p. 94, no.68.

19. Whitehouse op. cit., pg. 55-62 identifies two fragments in the Naples as part of this frieze.

20. Tinh op. cit. p. 50.

21. ibid. p. 50.

22. Robert A Wild, Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis and Sarapis (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981) p. 221 n. 15 concurs with this and asserts that the canals in the garden of Octavius Quartio were "unquestionably designed to represent the Nile river." He also compares the dimensions of the canals with a basin in the Iseum at Pergamon.

23. Tinh op. cit. p. 43-45.

24. Whitehouse op. cit. p. 63.

25. Salza Prina Ricotti op. cit. p. 122-123.

26. Whitehouse op. cit. p. 64.

27. Athenaeus Deip. IV.198 d.

Notes to Excursus I

1. 2.23.1.
2. XXXIX.13.
3. IV.148b.
4. Magnesia - G. Quandt op. cit. p. 163; BCH 4 (1880), p. 157, No. 4  
Erythrae - Quandt op. cit. xxi; 2, p. 150
5. Dacia, 1 (1924), No. 2, p. 126f.
6. IG vii, 107
7. CIG ii, 3679.
8. Quandt op. cit. p. 211
9. BCH 52 (1938), p. 51f.
10. VIII.6.5.
11. A. Vogliano, F. Cumont and C. Alexander, "La Grande Iscrizione Bacchica del Metropolitan Museum" AEA 37 (1933), p. 259 n. 2.
12. BCH 52 (1938), p. 51f.
13. Cumont op. cit. n. 11, p. 259 n. 2
14. E.g. M. Nilsson op. cit. p. 53 n. 48; p. 57 n. 68
15. BCH 37 (1912), p. 97
16. BCH 52 (1938).
17. Liddell and Scott; as 'sanctuary' e.g. Herodotus II.141, 143, 169.
18. Aristophanes Achar. 747, 764; Pausanias IX.8.1; Herodotus 1.47-65.
19. P. Boyancé, "L'Autre dans les mystères de



Dionysus" Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia 33 (1961), p. 116-117.

D. Pippidi, "Grottes Dionysiaques à Callatis", BCH 88 (1964), p. 151-158.

20. Boyancé op. cit. p. 116

21. Boyancé op. cit. p. 116, n. 38

22. ibid. p. 117

23. Dacia 1, 1924, p. 126-144, no. 1

24. Boyancé op. cit. p. 117; Pippidi op. cit. p. 153.

25. Pippidi ibid. p. 155.

26. ibid. p. 154.

27. Vogliano, Cumont and Alexander op. cit. p. 215-270

28. ibid. p. 259.

## Bibliography

- Aaken, A.R.A. van "Some Aspects of Nymphaea in Pompeii, Herculaneum and Ostia", Mnemosyne 3-4 (1951), 272-284
- Amandry, P. L'antre Corycien - BCH Supplement IX. Ecole Française d'Athènes, Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1984
- Arias, P.E. "Locri" NSA 1946 157-161
- Aurigemma, S. Villa Adriana. 2nd edition Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1961
- Baker-Penoyre, J. "Thasos", JHS 29 (1909) p. 215-218
- Beloch, K.J. Campanien. Breslau: Von E. Morgenstern, 1890
- Bérard, Claude Anodoi: L'essai sur l'imagerie des passages chthoniens. Rome: Institute Suisse de Rome, 1974
- Bevan, Edwyn The House of Ptolemy. Chicago: Argonaut Inc., 1968
- Blake, M.E. Ancient Roman Construction in Italy, from the Prehistoric Period to Augustus. Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1947
- Blümel, C. Die Klassisch Griechischen Skulpturen der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. no. 2 Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1966
- Boëthius, Axel The Golden House of Nero. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960
- , and Ward-Perkins, John Etruscan and Roman Architecture. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1970
- Boyancé, P. "L'antre dans les mystères de Dionysos", Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia, 33 (1962), 107-127
- Brommer, Fr. "Pan", RE, Supplement VIII. Stuttgart: Alfred Druckenmüller, 1956, 992-999
- Broneer, Oscar Isthmia: the excavations by the University

- of Chicago under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Volume II. Princeton: New Jersey, 1973
- Caspari, F. "Das Nilschiff Ptolemaios", JDAI 31 (1916), 1-74
- Crema, Luigi. L'architettura Romana. Enciclopedia Classica, Sezione III Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte Classica, Volume XII, Archeologia e Arte romana. Turin: Societa Editrice Internazionale, 1959
- Daux, G. Guide de Thasos. Ecole française d'Athènes, 2e tirage rev. Paris: Editions E. de Boccard, 1968
- Della Corte, Matteo. Casa ed Abitanti di Pompei. 3rd. edition Napoli: Fausto Fiorentino, 1965
- Dunkley, B. "Greek Fountain Buildings Before 300 B.C.", ABSA 36 (1935-36), 142-198
- Elia, O. "Il Portico dei triclini del Pagus Maritimus di Pompei", BA 46 (1961), 200-211
- , "Lo stibadio dionisiaco in pitture pompeiane", MDAI(R) 69 (1962), 118-127
- , and Carratelli, G.P. "Santuario dionisiaco di Pompei", PP Fasc. 188-189 (1979), 442-481
- Faure, Paul. Fonctions des Cavernes Cretoises. Paris: Editions E. de Boccard, 1964
- Franciscis, A. de, "Underwater Discoveries around the Bay of Naples", Archaeology 20 (1967) 209f.
- Gabriel, M.M. Livia's Garden Room at Prima Porta. New York: New York University Press, 1955
- Gaertringen, F. FRHR. Hiller von Die Insel Thera In Altertum und Gegenwart mit ausschluss der Nekropolien. Berlin: Von Georg Reimer, 1899
- Grimal, P. Les Jardins Romains. 2nd ed. Paris: Collection Hier, Presses Universitaires de France, 1969
- Gullini, Giorgio. "La datazione e l'inquadramento stilistico del santuario della Fortuna Primigenia a Palestrina", ANRW I (4) Berlin: de Gruyter, 1973 p. 746-799

- Hörnboitel-Hultner, Gertraud Studien zur römischen Nischenarchitektur. Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1979
- Iacopi, G. L'antro di Tiberio a Sperlonga. Rome: Istituto di studi romani, 1963
- Jashemski, W.F. The Gardens of Pompeii. New Rochelle, New York: Caratzas Brothers, 1979
- Kähler, H. Hadrian und Seine Villa bei Tivoli. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1950
- Lugli, G. "Nymphaea sive musaea", Atti del IV Congresso Nazionale di studi romani 1 (1938), 155-168
- Macdonald, W. The Architecture of the Roman Empire - an Introductory Study. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982
- Maiuri, A. Capri - Its History and its Monuments Guide-Books to Museums and Monuments in Italy no. 93. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1955
- , Herculaneum - Guide-Books to Museums and Monuments in Italy no. 53. Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1945
- , "Matromani - Grotte e ninfei imperiali nell'isola di Capri", BA 1931-1932, 149-160
- , NSA 1927, 52-60
- Mau, A. Pompeii, Its Life and Art. New York: Macmillan Co., 1899
- Metzger, H. "Dionysos chthonien d'après les monuments figurés de la période classique", BCH 68-69 (1944-1945), 296-339
- , Les Représentations dans la Céramique du IV Siècle. Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Fasc. 172. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1951
- Mingazzini, P. "Le Grotte di Matermania e dell'Arsenale a Capri", ArchClass 7 (1955), 139-163
- , "Note di topografia prenestina-L'ubicazione dell'antro delle sorti", ArchClass 6 (1954), 295-301

- , "Il Pantheon ed i cosiddetti ninfei: l'origine del nome musaeum", ArchClass 9 (1957), 108-109
- Neuerburg, Norman The Architecture of Fountains and Nymphaea in Ancient Italy. Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University: Microfilm Dissertation no. 60-5288
- , L'architettura delle fontane e dei ninfei nell'Italia antica. Naples: Gaetano Macchiavoli, 1964
- Nilsson, Martin The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Ages. Lund: Arno Press, 1957
- Noack, F. and Lehmann-Hartleben, K. Baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen Am Stadtrand von Pompeii. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1936
- Ohlemutz, E. Die Kulte und Heiligtümer der Götter in Pergamon. unveränderte Aufl. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968
- Paribeni, R. NSA 1902, 276; 372
- Peters, W.J.T. Landscape in Romano-Campanian Mural Painting. Assen: Van Gorcum and Comp. N.V., 1963
- Picard, Ch. "Un type méconnu de lieu-saint Dionysiaque: le stibadeion", CRAI 1944, 127-157
- Pippidi, D.M. "Grottoes Dionysiaques à Callatis" BCH 88 (1964), 151-158
- , "Sur un décret des thiasites de Callatis", StudClas 8 (1966), 87-96
- Plassart, André Exploration Archeologique de Delos - Les Sanctuaires et les Cultes du Mont Cynthe. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1928
- Poland, R. "Stibadeion" RE IIIa, Part 2. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche, 1929 col. 2481
- , "Stibas" RE IIIa, Part 2. Stuttgart: J.B.Metzlersche, 1929 col. 2482
- Rakob, F. "Ein Grotten-Triklinium im Pompeji", MDAI(R) 71 (1964), 182-194
- Rice, E.E. The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

- London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1983
- Ridgway, Brunilde Sismondo "Greek Antecedents of Garden Sculpture", Ancient Roman Gardens. Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture 7th, 1979. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1981
- Salza Prina Ricotti, E. "Forme speciali di triclini", Cronache Pompeiane 5. Naples: Gaetano Macchiavoli, 1979, 102-149
- Scranton, R.L. Corinth. I; III American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton: New Jersey 1951
- Sear, Frank B. Roman Wall and Vault Mosaics. Heidelberg: F.H. Kerle, 1977
- Settis, S. "Descrizione di un ninfeo ellenistico", SCO 14 (1965), 247-257
- , "Esedra e ninfeo nella terminologia architettonica del mondo romano", ANRW 1 (4). Berlin: de Gruyter, 1973, 661-745
- , "Ninfei romani e ninfei greci", RFIC 96 (1968), 111-120
- Sogliano, A. NSA 1880, 150
- Soprano, Pietro "I Triclini all'aperto di Pompei", Pompeiana - Raccolta di Studi degli scavi di Pompei. Naples: Gaetano Macchiavoli, 1950
- Tamm, B. Auditorium and Palatium. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1963
- Tarn, W.W. Alexander the Great - Sources and Studies. Cambridge: University Press, 1948
- Thédenat, H. Pompeii - Histoire Vie privée. Paris: H. Laurens, 1910
- Tran Tam Tinh, V. Le culte d'Isis à Pompeii. Paris: Editions E. de Boccard, 1964
- Travlos, John Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens. London: Thames and Hudson, 1971
- Vogliano, A., Cumont, F. and Alexander, C. "La grande iscrizione bacchica de Metropolitan Museum", AJA 37

(1933), 215-270

Vos, Arnold and Mariette de Pompei, Ercolano, Stabia Bari:  
Gius. Laterza and Figli, 1982

Whitehouse, Helen "In Praedi Iuliae Felicis: The  
Provenance of Some Fragments of Wall Painting in the  
Museo Nazionale, Naples", PBSR 45 (1977), 52-68

Wild, Robert A. Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis and  
Sarapis. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981

Winter, F. and Christie, A. "The Symposium Tent of Ptolemy  
II: A New Proposal", EMC 29 N.S. 4 (1985) No. 2, 289-  
308