

Late Antique Archaeology • Volume 3.2

Housing in Late Antiquity

From Palaces to Shops

Edited by

**Luke Lavan, Lale Özgenel
and Alexander Sarantis**

BRILL

HOUSING IN LATE ANTIQUITY

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LUKE LAVAN

LALE ÖZGENEL

AND

ALEXANDER SARANTIS

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF

SIMON ELLIS AND YURI MARANO



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2007

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LATE ANTIQUE HOUSING AND THE USES OF RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS: AN OVERVIEW

Simon Ellis

INTRODUCTION—THE BOOK AND THE DISCIPLINE

This book presents a selection of papers surveying developments in Mediterranean housing from the 4th to 6th centuries A.D., with some articles addressing issues of later periods which are much less well-known. Inevitably, for any work of this nature, it presents a partial view. It presents works by authors with different perspectives (sometimes different perspectives on the same house), and it has gaps from both a geographical and chronological perspective. Sometimes the different perspectives of authors can be turned into a strength, demonstrating that there are two sides to every coin, while the lacunae reflect gaps in the evidence as much as gaps in this book. It is the task of any editorial overview to point out where the strengths and weaknesses lie.

It is always worth repeating that houses tell the story of the individual owners and their families. Public buildings represent the overall conventions and traditions of a society. Houses on the other hand should, more than any other building, reflect the personal taste of their first owner and his family when they were built. The owner's taste was, however, interpreted by his architect and craftsmen, and was to one degree or another constrained by the social norms of the era in which he lived. Whenever a reader reads a sentence in this volume saying "this house can be compared with...", they should rightly pause, and reconsider whether this was because the houses were the product of the same society, or like-minded owners. A unique house may represent a unique mind, or it may simply be the only preserved example.

Geographically, the volume contains important syntheses of the archaeology of late antique housing in Asia Minor, North Africa and Spain, with other studies concentrating on Italy and Gaul. The most notable gaps in the book concern the Balkans and parts of the eastern provinces, though these regions have, to some extent, been covered by papers in earlier volumes of *Late Antique Archaeology*. Geographical distinctions also encompass town and country. For example, Africa is

considered the region ‘par excellence’ for the presence of great estates, and yet all our archaeological evidence for houses comes from towns! In the case of Spain, archaeological research has concentrated heavily on late antique villas, and this volume is fortunate to contain a paper by Arce and Chavarria that redresses this balance by concentrating on towns.

SOURCES

Late antique houses are not of course understood merely from their physical remains. Most of the papers in this volume begin with the physical evidence and then develop their interpretations using other sources. One paper, however, that of Baldini-Lippolis, specifically sets out to adopt the opposite approach, by taking the building legislation of Late Antiquity and setting this against the physical evidence for the practices it mentions. Italy is particularly rich in all types of evidence and correspondingly complex to interpret. Augenti presents an avowedly archaeological approach to the late antique houses of Ravenna. Volpe presents Canosa and San Giusto in a broad context of landscape studies and historical sources. Marano, faced with the somewhat piecemeal evidence of rescue archaeology in northern Italy, relies heavily on the literary sources to understand the significance of the bishop’s house in early episcopal complexes.

Closely allied to literary evidence are illustrations from late antique manuscripts. Until recently, these were generally published as curios in art history texts, but are increasingly being seen as sources of observation on everyday life, in the same way that archaeologists have long used the illustrations from domestic mosaics. Epigraphic evidence tends to consist of either major public statements or personal funerary records, neither of which tend to be central to work on domestic contexts. Nevertheless, official records concerning domestic architecture emerge from Baldini-Lippolis’ work on legislation, while work on *episcopoeia*, like that on *praetoria* discussed below, can sometimes be enlightened by a well-placed official inscription. I have often felt that the epigrams and dedications of late antique dining rooms should be subject to some synthetic study concerning literary allusions, as well as more concrete issues of setting and chronological analysis. They seem, on the face of it, often linked to the common mosaic themes of heroism and abundance.

Furnishings and environmental evidence are two areas of critical importance to understanding houses that are neglected to a great extent by archaeologists. Most of the papers in this volume fit into this unfortunate pattern, with some exceptions. My own paper on lighting is part of a continuing attempt to indicate how ICT can be used to examine the evidence for furnishings. Short reports on recent excavations at Eauze, Sagalassos, Xanthos, and Pella draw on furnishings and environmental evidence to make important historical interpretations. I would particularly draw readers' attention to these four studies as examples of the best practice in archaeological research, which is often sadly lacking in late antique excavation.¹

One reason for the lack of studies on furnishings is the difficulty of interpretation. Archaeologists commonly accept that the vast majority of finds discovered on top of an ancient floor are 'redeposited' debris, construction, or occupational layers that have been moved from outside the room, or even transported some way across a site. They usually contain, sometimes only contain, material up to several centuries older than the floor in question. Only where there is clear evidence that finds have not moved, and have been found *in situ*, can we use them to reconstruct room arrangements, as most obviously at Pompeii, in the well known Byzantine shops at Sardis,² or, as discussed most clearly in this volume, at Pella.

Where we have fine mosaic or marble floors, these are assumed to have been swept free of the detritus of dinners and other activities. Figurative images were designed to be seen, not hidden. Dining rooms and *cubicula* (bedrooms or rather 'retiring' rooms) sometimes show blank mosaic panels which lay hidden under the couches and thus did not need to be decorated. These blank panels also indicate, like the occasional masonry foundation for a dining couch, that at least in these rooms, furniture was semi-permanent, and 'designed-in' when the room arrangements were established by re-flooring or rebuilding.

By contrast, the earth floors of humbler, rural, or later housing, depending on interpretation, as well as utilitarian rooms in otherwise rich complexes, are assumed to attract finds dropped and trodden into the ground during everyday activity. The fragments of broken pots, or

¹ Fundamental to furnishings is the work of Berry (1997) and Allison (2004).

² Crawford (1990).

small bronze coinage that had so little face value that it was not worth picking up, can be most useful for dating. These finds are thus contemporary with use, rather than having been ‘redeposited’, like those found on top of most mosaics. Earth floors, where carefully excavated, can also retain the impressions of heavy furniture and post settings, which were often embedded into them. These distinctions lie at the heart of the methodological debate between the ‘dirt’ archaeologist’s and the art historian’s approaches to prioritising housing sites and research topics!

A GEOGRAPHICAL PICTURE

The chronological view of late antique housing should be combined with the geographical view. Like the chronological view, this also has its gaps in evidence. Gaps in the geographical spread of archaeological evidence may be more evident than those in the chronology. It is always tempting to stretch dating evidence to cover ‘thin’ epochs, but it is hard to fill in a blank on a distribution map. Geographical gaps in the distribution of late antique housing are closely related to urban and rural distinctions. Several such distinctions are reflected and explicitly discussed in this book. In particular, Arce, Chavarria and Ripoll address the Spanish evidence, which is heavily weighted in favour of villas. They demonstrate that, perhaps contrary to the expectations of many, the development of urban housing copies rather than complements that of rural villas. In other words, it is often assumed, in the western provinces, that a strong villa culture in the 4th c. A.D. is associated with a flight from the towns. However, Arce, Chavarria and Ripoll demonstrate that a strong villa culture in Spain existed alongside the continuing development of urban housing. Nevertheless, Spain and southern Gaul was the area which witnessed the most remarkable architectural developments of the villa form in Roman architecture during the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., in which imaginative architects and builders experimented with every possible form of polygonal arrangement and the multiplication of reception rooms. There are suggestions that some of these estates survived into the Visigothic period, but a synthetic analysis of the decline of the Spanish villa, hampered as it is by poor recording in early excavations, is still to be written. Northern Gaul and Britain did not share in these developments. Villas flourished in the 4th c. A.D., but in the 5th c., barbarian incursions soon brought to

an end the Roman way of life forever. Town life in Britain may even have declined before the 4th c. in a number of areas.

Africa and the Balkans lie to the south and north respectively, between eastern and western imperial circles, reflecting elements of both. African literature suggests an urban culture with very strong rural links, but archaeological evidence from the region is very much limited to urban settlements. It is indeed a paradox that the African villa is usually discussed based on the evidence of urban mosaics. It is difficult to tell how far pictures of the African countryside are an idealised portrayal of an urban elite. As in the eastern provinces, there have been limited amounts of field survey, which have begun to build up a general picture of the countryside in some areas, but we still have very few excavated examples of the kind of 'major' African villa suggested by mosaics.

Chronologically, however, the picture is very clear. In the 4th c. A.D., urban housing in North Africa was exceptionally well developed. Large houses might fill complete city blocks, while in between them a range of smaller houses were maintained with solid walls and decorated reception facilities reduced to fit more confined spaces and budgets. But though urban houses were repaired in the 5th to 7th centuries, there were no new houses built after the first quarter of the 5th c., following the Vandal invasion and Byzantine 'Reconquest'. Despite some 'revisionism' which correctly refuses to see the Vandal occupation as a period of unmitigated destruction, it is clear that either the country was too shattered, or the Byzantines unable, to affect a renaissance in domestic housing.

The Balkans remains one of the most difficult areas to summarise. In a previous volume of *Late Antique Archaeology*, Mulvin has provided a useful summary of villa development in the region.³ Perhaps, as throughout much of its history, the Balkans was fragmented into sub-regions that developed in very different ways depending on links with urban centres, levels of external 'barbarian' settlement and other socio-economic factors. Recent studies are beginning to place the Balkans at the heart of a move from an urban to more of a village-based society in the Middle Byzantine period.⁴ The Cappadocian evidence presented by Kalas may also support such a picture, but it would seem

³ Mulvin (2004).

⁴ Morrison and Sodini (2005).

premature to see this as more than a hypothesis that requires further archaeological evidence.

In the eastern provinces, the widely accepted pattern is the reverse of that seen in the West. It is thought that after a prosperous 4th c., there was a 'flight to the countryside' in many areas. This argument is often based on the exceptional evidence for the decline of the classical city, above all in Asia Minor. It has also been boosted by the exceptional preservation in rural areas, such as those in Syria and Lycia. This argument is now being questioned in many regions, especially in southern Syria and Palestine. Much of this questioning results from intensive 'field survey', which has revolutionised our understanding of the countryside in the West, but which has until recently been a rare feature of archaeology on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. The main problem with field survey is that it is only through excavation that evidence is provided for domestic décor and circulation patterns, on which most sociological analysis of Roman housing now depends.

In Asia Minor, the overall impression of late antique houses is much clarified, with significant contributions from Özgenel and Ceylan in this volume. In the major towns, large classical houses continued to be built and occupied into the 6th c. The dense surrounding 'middle range' architecture is less clearly attested than in urban North Africa, but there are signs that this did exist in many quarters too. Whereas in Africa the 6th c. saw a clear decline, in Asia and in many eastern provinces, large cities saw continuing security (see the general chronological section described below). Because the extent of housing is not known so well in Asian cities, there is a presumption that some parts of urban areas may have been abandoned. This impression is strengthened by the examples of 'subdivision', which occur here as in Africa. At the same time, there would still seem to have been a slow change with the introduction of new 'poorer' houses into the big cities.

This book has unfortunately not been able to include a regional study of Syria/Palestine, but the article by Walmsley on Pella comes from one city with possibly the best-controlled archaeological evidence of continuity of development through Late Antiquity and into the Ummayyad period. The economy and architecture of the housing at Pella presents some suggestions of a less strictly urban form, including evidence for the camel trade. The influence of village architecture on traditional urban housing forms can be seen as early as the 5th c., at the 'Clergy House' in Jerash and the 'Bishops Palace' at Bosra. In both of these residences, the traditional village form of a square main

room paired with a narrow side room is mixed with more classical architectural elements. In the case of the 'Clergy House' this includes a dated mosaic, as well as the adjacent basilica church.⁵ In Bosra, it is represented by a classical style peristyle and an upper floor triconch reception room.⁶

It is still unclear what this mixture of urban and rural, rich and 'poor' architecture signifies. The movement between urban and rural styles seems to have been two-way. Not a flight to the countryside or to the city, but rather an exchange or perhaps a homogenisation of what before had been a town/country distinction. In the 6th c., we know that overall both cities and countryside were relatively prosperous with allowance for both local economic change and the difficulties caused by Persian raids, rebels, bandits, and other disruptive political and military events.

Finally, the two provinces of Italy and Egypt always stand out as exceptional. As the original centre of Empire, through its central location and for broader historical reasons, Italy had a special role. Its development during Late Antiquity is perhaps better understood than any other province. There is a subtler understanding of the circumstances under which buildings or settlements were preserved or destroyed, and under which new construction took place. At the same time, Italy still offers huge potential for understanding the detailed process of evolution in Late Antiquity. Two studies here, by Volpe and Marano, underline this point for ecclesiastical complexes in the North and the South of the peninsula. Egypt is not represented in this volume, perhaps unsurprisingly, given that much of the evidence from the province remains textual, in the form of papyri. Like Italy, the particular circumstances of Egypt make it hard to judge its relationship to developments in other provinces.

NON-DOMESTIC USE OF RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE

It is only in the modern world that houses have become purely, or almost entirely domestic space. In ancient times, at least, the house was always as much a business as a domestic area. As in modern times, reception

⁵ Kraeling (1938) 271–79.

⁶ Butler and Prentice (1919–20).

areas in homes had a business function, helping to cement commercial and political networks. However, in the ancient world, there was no ‘office’ outside the home for many people. Merchants, landlords, and many other professional members of urban society had to work from their houses, or meet clients in public spaces throughout the city and countryside. Taking this into consideration, we are now beginning to realise to what extent late antique domestic architecture could be adapted to non-domestic purposes.

L. Lavan was the first to demonstrate the principle (and in my view, prove) that a building that looked like an ‘overgrown’ house could have another function. He has argued that Governors’ ‘palaces’, or *praetoria*, had the same architecture as houses for the most part, and that their particular function can only be securely recognised from inscriptions.⁷ Thus, *praetoria* may have had baths, audience halls, and bedrooms, just like houses. He suggests that there is in fact no room type unique to *praetoria*. This presents a problem for architectural historians, since there is thus little definitive structural evidence to prove that a particular building was a *praetorium* rather than a regular house. On the other hand, the evidence presented, for example, by the inscriptions at Gortyn and Caesarea, as well as the extravagant architecture at both sites, is highly suggestive and hard to dismiss. This may, for example, be contrasted with the so-called ‘Palace of the Governor’ at Apollonia, where the identification only depends on an inscription mentioning a governor found nearby, but the architecture of which is not particularly distinguished compared to other peristyle houses of the time.⁸

Praetoria do not figure in this volume, but *episcopia* do. In the latter case, scholarship has followed a rather different route. Many have been content to recognise any large house adjacent to a church as an *episcopia*, but as several papers in this volume suggest, this is no longer tenable without more definitive evidence. It may perhaps be justifiable to identify an *episcopia* where the building’s walls are inextricably linked to those of the church, but even under these circumstances the potential for ecclesiastical authorities to construct and rent secular buildings should not be overlooked. In the case of Side, a true ‘palatial’ structure leaves little doubt where the clerical and residential functions were based. In other cases (see Volpe and Marano in particular), the

⁷ Lavan (2001).

⁸ Goodchild (1976), with commentary from Ellis (1985).

association with the church is based on architectural links through corridors and other spaces. The papers also begin to demonstrate the degree to which such *episcopeia* encompassed both clerical and residential functions. As Ceylan says, the buildings seem more closely linked to domestic architecture, since the residential spaces turn out to be more distinctive than the clerical ones. Like a *praetorium*, an *episcopeion* was thus a residential form that was found to be ideally suited for a somewhat broader non-residential function. There may indeed, as in the case of *praetoria*, be no single room (especially the presence of a private chapel) that distinguishes an *episcopeion* from a house.

Another special case with regard to ecclesiastical building may be the urban monastery. An argument for identification might be built around evidence of multiple bedrooms, or monks' cells. The presence of a large communal dining room might also be an indication, but these are somewhat incidental and could exist in a variety of buildings. Christian artefacts and even small chapels existed in private houses. Once again, secure identification must rest on inscriptions. Archaeology has, however, produced a few convincing examples; one of the more plausible is the 'Monastery of the Virgins', a building from the Mazar excavations of the Temple Mount at Jerusalem, which has been variously interpreted since the original excavations in the 1970s,⁹ and which also share many attributes with the domestic housing of the region.

We should regard this as an important insight rather than an inconvenience in the evidence. The interpretations of both *praetorium* and *episcopeion* strengthen our understanding of the nature of housing, and non-residential building in Late Antiquity. As was suggested at the beginning of this section, a house was never purely residential. Thus, there was no contradiction whatsoever in its incorporation of very important non-residential functions. Equally, this reinforces another important tenet of Roman architecture. It is, for example, well recognised that a basilica is an architectural form that was used for civic assemblies, imperial audiences, and churches. The architectural form was transferred with few adaptations to a variety of uses. Therefore, why should the architectural form of the peristyle house, which had proved versatile enough to find favour with aristocrats for over 500 years, not have been used to house other functions? In this sense the *episcopeion* was a *domus* in the same way that a church was a 'basilica'.

⁹ Mazar (2004).

This understanding then opens up other possibilities. For example, it can help to address the problem of the state ‘factories’, known from many late antique laws or texts. It has often been speculated that such ‘factories’ may not have existed as separate properties but might have been the result of ‘home production’. The *domus* was a suitable structure to be a centre of production as is proved by tanneries, bakeries, and other establishments at Pompeii and other Roman cities.

Another problem building is the so-called ‘philosophical school’ identified by excavators, particularly at Athens, which had several house-like buildings. Again, the *domus*, with an airy central court, and small side chambers, was a very convenient architectural form for a school. There may be no contradiction in the two functions, as in a ‘boarding school’, though many scholars would like to see more evidence to demonstrate the scholastic role of structures that have been interpreted as *scholia*.¹⁰ Thus I believe that the recent work on *praetoria* and *episcopeia* has indeed opened up a new line of inquiry which will, with time and patient research, elucidate the function of a whole new range of buildings.

OTHER FORMS OF HOUSE

There are many difficulties in classifying houses of lesser status than peristyle housing. There are two potential ways for examining ‘middle class’ housing. One is to identify social groups that may be considered ‘middle class’ and identify their houses, the other is to identify the middle range of housing and then identify the owners. In a previous volume of *Late Antique Archaeology*, I attempted to identify a group of housing that was associated with a late antique professional class of civil servants, lawyers and accountants, while Enrico Zanini considered ‘middle class’ housing as that belonging to tradesmen. This book does not revisit these hypotheses, which probably require more consideration from other scholars before further development. At present it is enough to signal that there is a range of houses between the smallest form of dwelling (for me shops and ‘subdivision’) and the peristyle house.

¹⁰ Most notably at Athens.

I have argued that the shop was a house.¹¹ Shopkeepers (not necessarily shop owners) most often lived on the premises. A solid stone two-roomed shop was a better house than those typically inhabited by many a lower-class family in the Roman world. I therefore have no hesitation in suggesting that the 'shops' in early Byzantine Sardis, which have produced no sign of artisanal activity, were indeed houses. Like most peristyle houses, they probably saw their fair share of business, and might for example have been the dwellings of scribes, but they were essentially domestic in function and architectural form. Several papers in this volume mention shops in relation to adjoining houses.

A further class of housing which does not receive more than passing treatment in this volume is 'subdivision'. I have emphasised how this represents a specific form of architecture with walls of a specific form placed in specific locations, and have indicated how both shops and 'subdivision' can be identified in Daphne, one of the richest suburbs in the late antique world.¹²

A CHRONOLOGICAL PICTURE

By the second quarter of the 4th c., following Constantine the Great's unification of the Empire, it is reasonable to state that the revival of the peristyle house was in full swing. Houses were reaching new standards of luxury recognised by their great area, incorporation of huge apsidal reception rooms, and facilities such as the private baths that are frequently found in Britain, Spain, Italy, Africa, the Balkans and Asia Minor. This probably holds true for both town and country. Arce and Chavarria argue in this volume that while Spain is better known for its villas in this period, its town houses also expanded. In North Africa and Asia Minor, the evidence is much clearer for town houses, as detailed here by Ghedini and Bullo, Rossiter, and Özgenel. Construction of such masterpieces continued throughout the 4th c. A.D., and I would argue, through the first quarter of the 5th c.

The early 5th c. saw the expansion of new residential suburbs in a number of large cities, including Athens, Sardis and Carthage. These suburbs clearly indicate the security of their inhabitants. They were

¹¹ Ellis (2000) 78–80 and (2004).

¹² Ellis (2000) 78–80 and (2004).

dense extensions of existing cities. At Sardis, the Pactolus suburb lay just outside the town walls, spoiling their defensive capability.¹³ At Athens, people took advantage of peace and prosperity to build large houses over the ancient Agora, which had been abandoned outside a shortened defensive wall built to protect the city from disturbances in the 3rd c. A.D. At Antioch, rich and expansive 5th c. housing in suburban Daphne survived unprotected until the Persian raids.¹⁴ Carthage had no need for town walls, so its new suburbs simply extended the classical street grid in the north-western corner of the city. Unfortunately this expansion was halted by the Vandalic invasions at the end of the first quarter of the 5th c., and a town wall was hastily built, blocking the view of rich suburban housing over the adjacent countryside.

The Vandal seizure of North Africa heralds the end of this period of expansion. Meagre archaeological dating evidence suggests that from the middle of the 5th c., the number of peristyle houses which were abandoned or ‘subdivided’ increases.¹⁵ Legislation, as discussed here by Baldini Lippolis, which was attempting to limit the despoliation of ancient monuments and public buildings, proliferated. Baldini Lippolis notes that in the mid-5th c. there seems to have been an expansion in the scope of legislation, and the types of buildings that were subject to despoliation.

It is always tempting to link these trends of the 5th c. to economic decline and barbarian invasion. Arguments about barbarian destruction and ‘billeting’ may be sustainable for certain settlements where there is unequivocal positive evidence for the presence of ‘barbarian’ occupation or violent destruction. On the other hand, the widespread introduction of ‘subdivision’ right across the Empire is suggestive of a more general change in socio-economic conditions. Evidence from the eastern provinces indicates that the old picture of abandoned public buildings cannot be sustained and that many cities (Jerash, Beth Shean) continued to renew their monumental centres into the 6th c., alongside the continuing occupation or introduction of poorer housing such as the ‘Clergy House’ at Jerash.¹⁶ Undoubtedly, continuing research will produce a more nuanced picture of the 5th c., which increasingly seems to be the key century when new types of

¹³ Foss (1976) remains the most straightforward description of the suburb.

¹⁴ Ellis (2004), together with Stillwell (1961) for an overview by the excavators.

¹⁵ Ellis (1988) and (2000) 110–11.

¹⁶ Kraeling (1938) 271–79.

housing were introduced in both prosperous areas and regions in decline, driven by either social change within the Empire or by political pressure from outside.

At the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th c., the general economic revival also affected houses, though the picture is more mixed than it had been two centuries earlier. In Syria, the restoration of houses at Apamea can only be described as having been on a massive scale.¹⁷ Work on a similar scale may have been undertaken in other Syrian cities. On the other hand, the Byzantine Reconquest of Africa does not seem to have resulted in any major new house building.¹⁸ Evidence from the Balkans is rather ambiguous. The new foundation of Justiniana Prima does not seem to have involved peristyle housing, and it is tempting to think that rich housing was, to a greater extent, the result of renovation and extension, rather than major building projects.¹⁹

THE SEVENTH CENTURY AND THE ORIGINS OF MEDIEVAL HOUSING IN THE EAST

The 7th c. remains bedevilled by a lack of dating material. Present scholarship would probably agree that the peristyle house had by this time largely disappeared from history, except from the architecture of the palace of the emperors in Constantinople, and perhaps some isolated structures in derelict cities. This is to a great degree an argument based on a lack of evidence and is always susceptible to being reversed by some unexpected discovery. However, it is not solely based on the lack of 7th c. houses. It is also based on evidence of a more direct nature that suggests pre-existing peristyle houses were abandoned. This evidence comes from levels of destruction, often assumed to be due to earthquakes or barbarian attacks.²⁰ Under these circumstances, it is legitimate to ask why, when such incidents were common throughout antiquity, were the houses not rebuilt?

¹⁷ Balty (1984).

¹⁸ Ellis (1988) and (2000).

¹⁹ For a recent review of evidence in the Balkans, see Mulvin (2004).

²⁰ Several destruction incidents of this kind are noted in the papers of this volume, in particular for Pella, see Walmsley, where the evidence for some form of sudden disaster, notably after the end of Byzantine political control, is most convincing.

Further, where did the leading citizens of the day live if peristyle houses were no longer an option? The identification of houses of the elite would provide evidence for changing tastes and perhaps reveal the reasons for the change in housing patterns. For two major cities in the West the results are very suggestive. During the 7th c., Carthage was a major urban and intellectual centre. In the latter part of the century, its citizenry was probably swollen with refugees from the Arab invasions. Earlier, it had been the location from which Heraclius launched his successful bid for the imperial throne. Constans II even reputedly considered moving the capital there. Therefore, it was clearly a major power centre. At the same time, it was the home of the leading theologian of the day, Maximus the Confessor,²¹ and yet, despite very extensive excavations since the 1970s, not one ‘aristocratic house’ has shown signs of ‘rich occupation’ (mosaics, sculpture etc.) in the 7th c. A similar picture emerges for 7th c. Marseilles, a mint, and a major commercial and urban centre, but with no aristocratic housing.²²

Carthage and Marseilles thus present historical evidence for the presence of aristocrats of more than local standing, as well as major financial resources. Yet, despite extensive excavations, which certainly cover areas of elite housing from previous centuries, no rich housing has been found. It is possible that in these two cities there had been some major unrecognised relocation of elite housing districts, but when the more complete evidence of Carthage and Marseilles is put alongside broader-based evidence from the abandonment of pre-existing peristyle houses, it strongly suggests that although rich aristocrats continued to exist in the 7th c., they did not put their money into house decoration. In Italy, such developments (as noted below) have been linked to a move to a village society,²³ and perhaps to *piano nobile* houses. The *piano nobile*, in which the reception suites were placed on an upper floor, are linked to houses with a vertical orientation, accommodating animals stabled on a ground floor, living rooms placed directly above them to use their heat, and bedrooms perhaps situated on an even higher level.

Signs of the *piano nobile* emerge in many places during Late Antiquity.²⁴ This vertical orientation is common in late antique villages in

²¹ For the history of Carthage at this time, see Cameron (1982).

²² Loseby (1992).

²³ Most persuasively, see Brogiolo (1994).

²⁴ Polci (2003) 89–105.

Syria and Egypt.²⁵ It exists in a few eastern peristyle houses, most notably the ‘Bishops Palace’ at Bosra, where the ground floor resembling local Syrian village architecture is topped by an upper floor with an imposing triconch *triclinium*.²⁶ Stuccos at the ‘Building of the Oil Press’ at Salamis in Cyprus also suggest an imposing upper storey.²⁷ In Italy, the villa at San Giovanni di Ruota has an upper storey apsidal *triclinium* that parallels the situation at Bosra.²⁸

The excavations at Pella, recorded here by Walmsley, document the emergence of the Arab house in the 8th c. There is the suggestion of a house with a central courtyard and stabling on the ground floor with living quarters upstairs. Such arrangements had been common in village housing in Syria during Late Antiquity,²⁹ posing the question as to whether the housing at Pella should be seen as ‘urban’ or ‘rural’, and whether ‘Arab’ or linked to local traditions from before the Arab Conquest. Since we know that Ummayyad architecture borrowed heavily from earlier traditions—witness the mosque at Damascus and the desert palaces³⁰—it may well be the latter. The other association is naturally with the *piano nobile*, which does not seem to be a common feature of traditional early modern upper class housing in Arab countries. From at least the 17th c., this seems more commonly characterised by one-storey houses with a central courtyard and a semi-open reception room reminiscent of Roman or perhaps Sassanian designs (Fig. 1).³¹ It might then be possible that the housing at Pella still relates more to contemporary ‘Byzantine’ traditions.

The Middle Byzantine period is covered in this volume by the paper of Kalas, which reveals that many remains in Cappadocia are houses rather than monasteries. A pattern seems to emerge of a series of courts in which agricultural yards precede private accommodation. Of course, the rock-cut nature of the architecture may mean that design here, according to which it was so easy to create multi-storey dwellings and

²⁵ Ellis (2000) 89–97.

²⁶ Butler and Prentice (1919–20).

²⁷ Callot (1980).

²⁸ Small and Buck (1994).

²⁹ See Tate (1992) with comments of Ellis (2000) 89–97. This type of housing is not discussed in this volume.

³⁰ An extensive literature stemming from Cresswell (1969).

³¹ Traditional housing in Bahrain has upper floor salons, but these are intended more to take advantage of the breeze, and accompanied by more traditional reception rooms on the ground floor.



Fig. 1 Sheikh Isa Bey House Bahrain: wind tower above reception room.

large cavernous reception rooms, did not reflect mainstream traditions. The houses certainly seem to exhibit reception rooms with upper storey galleries, though there is no clear sign of a *piano nobile*. Of course, the architectural context of such rock-cut structures may mean they are not typical of contemporary houses constructed on level ground.

When discussing the Byzantine heartlands, a third architectural tradition must be introduced; that of the Turks. From at least the 17th c., most Middle Eastern and Balkan countries were heavily influenced by the Ottoman Empire. Their aristocratic houses were the *konak*, a house with a *piano nobile* of wood extending out over adjoining streets with extensive shuttered balconies. Similar examples can be found from Ohrid to Cairo, and can be distinguished from Arab housing more distant from Ottoman influence at Tunis and particularly in the Gulf. The origins of the *konak* are unknown. Was it the *konak* or similar 'Byzantine' housing, as notably De Beylie³² believed long ago, that influenced the Venetian palazzo with its *piano nobile*?

The answer to this question must come from further evidence of sites of the 10th to 12th centuries A.D., as at Pella and in Cappadocia. However, it is also important to study the origins of Turkish housing in the lands from which the Turks emerged in Central Asia.³³ Without a clear idea of the nature of early Turkish housing it is not possible to construct a picture of the social and architectural influences that formed the Late Byzantine state.

The Turkic empires of Central Asia covered a huge swathe of land from ancient Sogdiana on the borders of modern Russia and Afghanistan in the west, to Mongolia in the east. The archaeology of these regions is poorly known, but rich. The deserted cities of the Taklamakan and Tarim basins in the Xinjiang provinces in China form a critical archaeological reserve for this work, because of their good preservation and critical role in the formation of Turkish states, particularly those of the Uighurs. To take one example, the Uighur capital in the 9th to 12th centuries A.D. was at Khojo, now Gaochang.³⁴ The culture of

³² De Beylie (1902).

³³ For this area, an overall history and summary description of the archaeology is provided by the UNESCO History of the Civilizations of Central Asia (6 volumes), particularly volumes 3 and 4 on the period from A.D. 250–750 and A.D. 750–1490 respectively.

³⁴ For an accessible summary of the history of Khojo, see the relevant article in the UNESCO volumes, Guang-da (1996); as well as Whitfield and Sims-Williams (2004). The city was founded around A.D. 300 and abandoned in the 14th c. A.D.

cities in this area is notoriously mixed, involving, for example, Hindu, Confucian, Nestorian, Buddhist and other religions. Each city would seem to have had its own style of housing. That of Khojo/Gaochang would seem to have involved fairly substantial mudbrick substructures that are reminiscent of a similar environment in Egypt—a requirement for thick walls supporting heavy superstructures, where few trees were available for wooden structures (Fig. 2). At the very least, such structures indicate vertically orientated housing rather than the Arab tradition of one storey and a central court. The Turkish kagan was said to have had a yurt on the top of his palace in Khojo to remind him of his nomadic origins: a sign that both nomadic and sedentary traditions were present in the Turkish heartlands.³⁵ While there is sometimes a romantic notion that the Turks arriving in Anatolia were purely nomadic, this is not entirely the case. This high pavilion might also be held to reflect similar Turkish palatial structures in Konya and Istanbul, but again this is no more than conjecture without further evidence.

It would be unwise to over-emphasise the architecture of one particular Turkic site, but there might be enough evidence to suggest that the Turks had an independent tradition of housing that could have influenced both Venetian and later Palaeologan architecture as preserved at Tekfur Saray and Mistra. If Byzantinists are serious about constructing an archaeology of Medieval Byzantium, they must also engage in constructing an archaeology of the Turks, and this must involve developing a study of their origins. In Central Asia, as in Turkey itself, there has been very little systematic excavation and study of early Turkic housing.

CONCLUSIONS

What should then be said about recent research on domestic housing in Late Antiquity, and future trends in scholarship? Most important is perhaps that we are obtaining a better understanding of how domestic architecture was used, and are widening the interpretation of the uses to which houses could be put in Late Antiquity. It has been shown how housing in Late Antiquity had a wide range of business, social, and even public functions. This appears to me to provide a fuller view of

³⁵ Whitfield (1999) 105.



Fig. 2 Khojo (Gaochang); example of mudbrick building.
Note: both residential and civil buildings are built in similar styles of roofs and walls.

housing which notably nuances it from modern housing, apparently almost entirely domestic in function. The house in Late Antiquity appears less as a domestic structure and more as part of the broader social fabric of late antique settlements. In this sense as well, it is perhaps less surprising that the aristocratic house was, through its architecture and décor, an instrument of power, displaying to visitors the status and wealth of its owner.

Late antique housing remains a very fruitful area for further research. It is to be hoped that the aristocratic house will continue to be studied for its contribution to the understanding of social history, as much as for its architectural interest. It is also to be hoped that there will continue to be those who occasionally veer away from the peristyle house to study a greater range of housing types, building an overall picture of the full social spectrum in both urban and rural settings.

There is still much to be done in examining the contextual evidence of finds and furniture, as several papers in this book have suggested. These papers demonstrate that there is still great merit in the careful and meticulous excavation of occupation deposits, despite the expense involved. Indeed, the rarity of such excavations makes the collection of such evidence very precious, when it ought to be a routine, and a pre-condition for the awarding of excavation permits. While it could be argued that in rescue excavation it is important to record the main lines of a site's development, as a partial plan of the remains is often all that can be provided, studies of furnishings indicate that more can be gained from the complete artefactual record of one room, than from the architecture of a complete site.

For example, it continues to amaze me that we have to discuss the nomadic nature of the early Turks on the basis of architectural remains when we should be using a wealth of suggestive environmental evidence of the kind produced at Pella.³⁶ What, however, the studies in this book do suggest is that we are beginning, through archaeological work such as that in Jordan and Cappadocia, to pierce the veil of the Middle Eastern Dark Ages.

³⁶ I suggested the same in Bari in 1984, Ellis (1993) 205–16, but little has changed since.

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Fig. 1. Sheikh Isa Bey House Bahrain: wind tower above reception room.

Fig. 2. Khojo (Gaochang); example of mudbrick building.

Note: both residential and civil buildings are built in similar styles of roofs and walls.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAYS

HOUSING IN LATE ANTIQUITY: THEMATIC PERSPECTIVES

Inge Uytterhoeven

INTRODUCTION

The study of late antique housing has for long been rather neglected, especially when compared with the analysis of monumental public architecture. Residential areas have frequently been considered of secondary importance, and only occasionally excavated. The ruins of late antique houses have often only been brought to light ‘by accident’, during excavation work focusing on public city centres. With the exception of these private dwellings, discovered incidentally, the majority of late antique houses have remained invisible and ‘anonymous’ within the archaeological record. Even on the few excavations that have deliberately focused on private housing, investigators have mainly been concerned with ‘palaces’ and elite residences. Therefore, the greater visibility of such ‘monumental’ structures has reinforced the privileged status of elite housing in late antique archaeology to the detriment of poorer housing. This situation is reflected in field reports and other archaeological publications.

When compiling this bibliography on the archaeology of late antique housing and associated topics, I was struck by the recent publication dates of the main works. With the exception of certain older publications dedicated to palaces and elite dwellings, writing on the material remains of residential architecture is restricted to excavation reports. Important articles and monographs dealing exclusively with housing in all parts of the Roman Empire only started to appear a few decades ago. This literature has taken into account the housing of all social classes. However, constrained by the nature of the archaeological evidence, it still best documents the well-preserved, lavishly decorated houses of the emperor and the upper classes, in both urban and rural contexts. This article gives an overview of various aspects of late antique housing, referring to the key works and contributions in this field. Although it cannot claim to present an exhaustive list of all publications dealing

with the subject, it nonetheless sets out to provide an important starting point to those studying late antique housing.

SUBJECT SYNTHESSES, BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND RESEARCH AIDS

A. G. McKay's *Houses, Villas and Palaces in the Roman World*, published in 1975, was the pioneering study in the field. Its central theme was the close relationship between residential dwellings and palaces, a particularly important characteristic of late antique architecture. In 1986, P. A. Février followed McKay's work in an article devoted to late antique housing. The first publications of S. P. Ellis also date from this period. Ellis' works have given a much needed impetus to the study of private architecture in Late Antiquity, with their discussion of Roman housing between the Early Imperial Period and the 6th c. A.D., and portrayal of late antique housing in the tradition of the classical house. Also focusing on housing in Late Antiquity are the contributions of B. Brenk, G. Brands and L. V. Rutgers, and Y. Hirschfeld. Together with S. P. Ellis' works, they may be considered the fundamental studies on Late Roman and Early Byzantine housing. Meanwhile, J.-P. Sodini's "Habitat de l'antiquité tardive", published in 1995 and 1997, provides a detailed overview of sites from all areas of the empire in which houses and palaces have been recovered.

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THE SOURCES

Archaeological remains represent the best evidence for the appearance and function of late antique residential buildings. However, only with the use of non-archaeological sources can this picture be completed and nuanced. Late antique written sources, for instance letters and sermons, include descriptions of villas and houses, as do earlier works. These passages depict the internal organisation of the late antique house and indicate the underlying social, economic and political factors, which determined this characteristic, such as the relations between the house owner and his clients and guests. In addition to the literary sources, inscriptions retrieved from domestic contexts can also bolster our picture of late antique housing. A small number of inscriptions name the builder of a house, including the one discovered in the ‘North Temenos House’ at Aphrodisias. Further, inscriptions sometimes include the names of ‘home owners’. One such engraving has been brought to light in a house at Beth Shean. Inscriptions can also reveal other aspects of the inhabitants’ identity and status. For instance, mosaic inscriptions, inserted alongside representations of heroes, deities and city personifications, frequently highlight the high level of education and/or elevated social status of the house owner. The inscribed poems that have been sometimes found in aristocratic houses are also very interesting. Such poems have been unearthed in a villa at Halikarnassos. Occasionally, inhabitants other than the owners of houses appear in inscriptions. For instance, the servants, Myro and Victor, and the wine waiter, Fructus, are depicted and named on a mosaic panel at the entrance to a large room in a peristyle house at Uthina (Oudna), in Africa Proconsularis. Furthermore, Christian inscriptions and graffiti, such as the *Chi-Rho* sign, have frequently been found in late antique houses, for instance, at a large mansion in Sagalassos (Turkey) and in the ‘Palace of the Dux’ in Dura Europos. Finally, the exterior appearance of villas, houses and palaces is known from pictorial representations. Therefore, only with a

combination of all these sources is it possible to get a thorough picture of housing in Late Antiquity.

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THEMATIC SYNTHESSES

Private Life and the Family

In order to understand the layout, function and appearance of housing in Late Antiquity, social factors must be born in mind.

1. *The pater familias*

The core of the family, as in earlier times, was defined by the *pater familias*, being the highest ranking male in the Roman household, and his close relatives. However, it did not merely consist of the nuclear family, but was also made up of servants and slaves. Several general works have been dedicated to families and households in Roman times. P. Brown (1987) and G. S. Nathan (2000) are the essential works on this subject for Late Antiquity. Interesting articles dealing with aspects of family life during the Early Christian era have been collected in *Early Christian Families in Context* and *Constructing Early Christian Families*. The work of A. Wallace-Hadrill has been particularly important for reviving interest in the links between domestic architecture and social, or family, life in early imperial Italy.

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Context. An Interdisciplinary Dialogue, edd. D. L. Balch and C. Osiek (Michigan-Cambridge 2003) 3–18.

2. *Women*

Within the enlarged household of the late antique residence, women occupied a well-defined position, at the crossroads between private and public life. As in earlier times, they spent the majority of their lives within the confines of the family house. A series of contributions have explored the place of women in late antique society and family life, concentrating on members of the upper classes, about whom we know the most. Thanks to the large number of papyri recording everyday life in Egypt, the social role of women is especially well-known in this part of the empire. Meanwhile, E. M. Meyers has looked at the topic of gender-defined space within a domestic context, using Galilee as his case study.

Women in the Republic and Early Empire: S. Dixon (1991) *Reading Roman Women. Sources, Genres and Real Life* (London 1991); R. Hawley and B. Levick (1995) edd. *Women in Antiquity. New Assessments* (London 1995); A. Kazhdan (1998) “Women at home”, *DOP* 52 (1998) 1–17; D. Gourevitch and M. T. Raepsaet-Charlier (2001) *La femme dans la Rome antique* (Paris 2001); M. I. Finley (2002) “The silent women of Rome”, in *Sexuality and Gender in the Classical World. Reading and Sources*, ed. L. K. McClure (Oxford-New York 2002) 147–56; J. E. Grubbs (2002) *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire* (London 2002); S. Dixon (2004) “Exemplary housewife or luxurious slut: cultural representations of women in the Roman economy”, in *Women’s Influence on Classical Civilization*, edd. F. McHardy and E. Marshall (London-New York 2004) 56–74; R. Frei-Stolba, A. Bielman and O. Bianchi (2004) edd. *Les femmes antiques entre sphère privée et sphère publique. Actes du diplôme d’étude avancées, Universités de Lausanne et Neuchâtel, 2000–2002* (Echo. Collection de l’Institut d’Archéologie et des Sciences de l’Antiquité de l’Université de Lausanne) (Bern 2004). For *Greece* see L. Nevett (2002) “Continuity and change in Greek households under Roman rule: the role of women in the domestic context”, in *Greek Romans and Roman Greeks. Studies in Cultural Interaction*, edd. E. N. Ostenfeld, K. Blomqvist and L. Nevett (Aarhus Studies in Mediterranean Antiquity 3) (Aarhus 2002) 81–97.

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3. *Slaves*

Slaves were ever-present in late antique houses. Although in some large residences they may have been provided with separate quarters, they always had access to many areas of the house, frequently working and living in the private, residential rooms of their masters. Indeed, in certain cases, it would appear that they slept on the floors of these spaces. D. B. Martin, C. Osiek and R. Saller discuss the place of the slave within the late antique family in articles included in *Early Christian Families in Context*, mentioned above.

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*Late Antique House Types*1. *Imperial palaces*

From the reign of Diocletian, new capitals sprang up, which incorporated imperial residences inspired by the famous palaces of Rome, the imperial capital, where the Palatine maintained its importance in Late Antiquity. Before private dwellings specifically became the focus of archaeological and historical research, interest in urban palaces and imperial residences had generated a number of detailed publications. These palaces had been inhabited by either reigning or retired emperors. In 1978, and later, in 1987, N. Duval questioned whether or not these new palaces conformed to a fixed scheme of architectural characteristics, typical for Late Antiquity. More recent field research has confirmed the existence of such 'palatial' features, common to all late antique imperial residences. These include axuality, large dimensions, and the presence of reception halls, dining rooms, and other apsidal spaces. However, this work has also indicated that these characteristics were not restricted to imperial palaces, but also featured in luxurious private houses.

Of the new late antique imperial capitals, Constantinople has naturally received the most attention. Since the first excavation report from this city, in 1941, the palace has been investigated by several archaeological missions and restoration projects, of which those in the 1980s and 1990s were the most important. In 2004, the palace of Constantinople represented the focal point of the colloquium, *Visualisierungen von Herrschaft. Frühmittelalterliche Residenzen—Gestalt und Zeremoniell*. The exhibition, *Palatia. Kaiserpaläste in Konstantinopel, Ravenna und Trier*, which took place in Trier in 2003–2004, drew on recent archaeological findings to compare the palace of Constantinople in the East with the palaces of Ravenna and Trier in the West, taking into account their architectural layout and topographical location within the city. Several valuable contributions were published in the exhibition catalogue, which provide a useful resumé of recent work in this subject area. An earlier conference, *Milano. Capitale dell'impero romano*, held in 1990, paid a great deal of attention to the imperial palace at Milan, in its discussion of the city's new status as an imperial capital.

The imperial palace in Split, to which Diocletian retired, has been the subject of general studies and excavation and conservation works, since the beginning of the 20th c. Fortified with walls, watchtowers and gates, and crossed by two main axes (the *decumanus* and *cardo*), Diocletian's

palace resembled a Roman military camp. These characteristics have meant that analyses of the palace of Split have often considered it an example of military architecture. Nevertheless, in 1965, N. Duval concentrated instead on similarities between its architectural plan and those of late antique palaces. Meanwhile, in 1975, D. Srejšović associated the palace at Gamzigrad (Romuliana) with an imperial residence of the retired emperor Galerius. Srejšović and other authors have drawn comparisons between this site and Split, and a number of other palaces, including Trier and Thessaloniki.

Several other late antique ‘palaces’ have been ascribed to emperors, such as the villa of Maxentius on the Via Appia in Rome, the residences in Konz, Welschbillig and Pfalzel, brought to light by S. Rinaldi Tufi, and the palace of Savaria. In some cases, contradictions between the literary and archaeological sources have raised questions regarding the identification and location of imperial palaces. For instance, N. Duval has disputed the association of remains at Sirmium with an imperial residence. Similar debates have been especially prevalent for the western provinces. Scholars have failed to agree as to whether or not the ‘Palais de la Trouille’ at Arles can be identified as an imperial palatial residence. The well-known ‘Villa del Casale’ at Piazza Armerina in Sicily has long been subjected to discussion, although, after a variety of contradictory theories between the 1950s and early 1980s, it is now generally believed to have been the villa of an extremely wealthy landowner. These controversies clearly illustrate the luxurious and palatial nature of aristocratic residences.

General works: N. Duval (1978) “Comment reconnaître un palais impérial ou royal? Ravenne et Piazza Armerina”, *FelRav* 108 (1978) 29–60; N. Duval (1987) “Existe-t-il une ‘structure palatiale’ propre à l’antiquité tardive?”, in *Le système palatial en Orient, Grèce et à Rome. Actes du colloque (Strasbourg 19–22 juin 1985)*, ed. E. Lévy (Leiden 1987) 463–90. See also N. Duval (1984) “Les maisons d’Apamée et l’architecture ‘palatiale’ de l’antiquité tardive”, in *Apamée de Syrie. Bilan des recherches archéologiques 1973–1979. Aspects de l’architecture domestique d’Apamée. Actes du colloque tenu à Bruxelles les 29, 30 et 31 mai 1980*, edd. J. Balty and J.-Ch. Balty (Fouilles d’Apamée de Syrie Miscellanea 13) (Brussels 1984) 447–70.

Urban context: N. Duval (1979) “Palais et cité dans la pars orientis”, *Corsi di cultura sull’arte ravennate e bizantina* 26 (1979) 41–51; S. Čurčić (1993) “Late antique palaces: the meaning of their urban context”, *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993) 67–90; J. Arce Martínez (1997) “Emperadores, palacios y villae”, *AnTard* 5 (1997) 293–302; N. Duval (1997) “Les résidences impériales: leur rapport avec les problèmes de légitimité, les partages de l’empire et la chronologie des combinaisons Dynastiques”, in *Usurpationen in der Spätantike. Akten des Kolloquiums*

Staatsstreich und Staatlichkeit (Solothurn-Bern 6–10 März 1996), edd. F. Paschoud and J. Szidat (Stuttgart 1997) 127–53; A. Augenti (2004) “Luoghi e non luoghi: palazzi e città nell’Italia tardoantica e altomedievale”, in *Les palais dans la ville. Espaces urbains et lieux de la puissance publique dans la Méditerranée médiévale*, edd. P. Boucheron and J. Chiffolleau (Lyon 2004) 15–38. See also J.-P. Sodini (2003) “Archaeology and late antique social structures”, in *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology*, edd. L. Lavan and W. Bowden (Late Antique Archaeology 1) (Leiden-Boston 2003) 30–31. For life at the late antique imperial court see D. Schlinkert (1996) “Von Haus zum Hof. Aspekte höfischer Herrschaft in der Spätantike”, *Klio* 78 (1996) 454–82; E. Herrmann-Otto (1998) “Der Kaiser und die Gesellschaft des spätrömischen Reiches im Spiegel des Zeremoniells”, in *Imperium Romanum. Studien zu Geschichte und Rezeption. Festschrift für Karl Christ zum 75. Geburtstag*, edd. P. Kneissl and V. Losemann (Stuttgart 1998) 346–69; K. L. Noethlich (1998) “Strukturen und Funktionen des spätantiken Kaiserhofes”, in *Comitatus. Beiträge zur Erforschung des spätantiken Kaiserhofes*, ed. A. Winterling (Berlin 1998) 13–49; M. Staesche (1998) *Das Privatleben der römischen Kaiser in der Spätantike. Studien zur Personen- und Kulturgeschichte der späten Kaiserzeit* (Frankfurt am Main 1998); F. Unruh (2003) “Unsichtbare Mauern der Kaiserpaläste. Hofzeremonien in Rom und Byzanz”, in *Palatia. Kaiserpaläste in Konstantinopel, Ravenna und Trier*, edd. M. König, E. Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini and E. Riemer (Schriftenreihe des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Trier 27) (Trier 2003) 395–401.

For all imperial palaces see L. Lavan “Political life in late antiquity: a bibliographic essay”, in *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity*, edd. W. Bowden, C. Machado and A. Gutteridge (Late Antique Archaeology 3) (Leiden 2006) 8–9. Plus the following supplementary works.

Rome: F. Guidobaldi (2004) “Le residenze imperiali di Roma”, in *Mélanges d’antiquité tardive. Studiola in honorem Noël Duval*, edd. C. Balmelle, P. Chevalier and G. Ripoll López (Bibliothèque de l’Antiquité Tardive 5) (Turnhout 2004). The term ‘*palatium*’ derived from the *Palatium*, Palatine Hill, was in Late Antiquity also used for other imperial residences. See H. Castritius (1990) “Palatium. Vom Haus des Augustus auf dem Palatin zum jeweiligen Aufenthaltsort des römischen Kaisers”, in *Die Pfalz*, ed. F. Staab (Speyer 1990) 9–47. *Villa of Maxentius on the Via Appia:* G. Pisani Sartorio and R. Calza (1976) *La villa di Massenzio sulla Via Appia. I: Il palazzo, II: le opera d’arte della villa* (Monumenti Romani 6) (Rome 1976); R. De Angelis Bertolotti, G. Ioppolo, G. Pisani Sartorio (1988) *La residenza imperiale di Massenzio. Villa, mausoleo e circo* (Rome 1988). *Sessorian Palace:* M. Barbera (2000), “Dagli Horti Spei Veteris al Palatium Sessorianum”, in *Aurea Roma: dalla città pagana alla città cristiana* (Rome 2000) 104–12. A. Colini (1955) “Horti Spei Veteris, Palatium Sessorianum”, *Atti della pontificia accademia romana di archeologia, memorie* 8 (1955) 137–77. D. Colli (1996) “Il palazzo sessoriano nell’area archeologica di S. Croce di Gerusalemme: ultima sede imperiali di Roma?”, *MEFRA* 108 (1996), 771–815. D. Colli (1997), “Le campagne di scavo nell’anfiteatro Castrense a Roma: nuove acquisizioni”, *BullCom* 98 (1997) 249–82. F. Guidobaldi (1998) “Il tempio di ‘Minerva Medica e le strutture adiacenti: settore private del Sessorium costantiniano”, *RACrist* 74 (1998) 485–518. F. Guidobaldi (1999) “Sessorium”, in *Lexicon topographicum*

urbis Romae 4 (1999) 304–8. S. Palladino (1996) “Le terme Eleniane a Roma”, *MEFRA* 108 (1996) 855–71. C. Paterna (1996) “Il circo Variano a Roma”, *MEFRA* 108 (1996) 817–53.

Constantinople: E. Mamboury and T. Wiegand (1934) *Die Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel zwischen Hippodrom und Marmara-meer* (Berlin 1934). For the first excavation results see: G. Brett (1941) *The Great Palace of Byzantine Emperors. Being a First Report on the Excavation Carried Out in Istanbul on Behalf of the Walker Trust (The University of St. Andrews)* (London 1941). R. Guiland (1969) *Études de topographie de Constantinople byzantine*, vol. 1 (Berlin 1969). More recent publications are H. Hunger (1986) “Der Kaiserpalast zu Konstantinopel”, *JÖB* 36 (1986) 1–11; W. Jobst (1992) “Zur Archäologie des Kaiserpalastes von Konstantinopel”, in *Mosaikenforschung im Kaiserpalast von Konstantinopel. Vorbericht über das Forschungs- und Restaurierungsprojekt am Palastmosaik in den Jahren 1983–1988*, edd. H. Vettors and W. Jobst (DenkschrWien 228) (Wien 1992) 9–42. See also I. Zervou Tognazzi (1996) “Propilei e Chalké, ingresso principale del palazzo di Costantinopoli”, in *Bisanzio e l’Occidente: arte, archeologia, storia* (Rome 1996) 33–56; J. Kosteneč (1998) “Studies on the Great Palace in Constantinople. 1. The palace of Constantine the Great”, *Byzantinoslavica* 59 (1998) 279–96. Id. (2004) “The heart of the empire: the Great Palace of the Byzantine emperors reconsidered”, in *Secular Buildings and the Archaeology of Everyday Life in the Byzantine Empire*, ed. K. Dark (Oxford 2004) 4–36. F. A. Bauer (2006) edd. *Visualisierungen von Herrschaft. Frühmittelalterliche Residenzen-Gestalt und Zeremoniell. Internationales Kolloquium (Istanbul 3–4 Juni 2004)* (Byzas 5) (Tübingen 2006). The imperial palace of Constantinople is also discussed in the exhibition catalogue *Palatia. Kaiserpaläste in Konstantinopel, Ravenna und Trier*, edd. M. König, E. Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini and E. Riemer (Schriftenreihe des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Trier 27) (Trier 2003), in particular in the following contributions: E. Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, “Das Palastareal in byzantinischer und osmanischer Zeit”, 60–69; E. Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, “Das Südareal des Großen Palastes. Der Boukoleon-Hafen und der Kapı Ağası Mahmut Ağa Complex”, 83–89; A. Carile, “Credunt aliud Romana palatia caelum. Die Ideologie des Palatium in Konstantinopel, dem Neuen Rom”, 27–32; A. Pasinli, “Die Ausgrabungen im Nordareal des Großen Palastes. Der Garten des alten Gefängnisses von Sultanahmet”, 78–82. For new excavations see: A. Pasinli (2002) “Pittakia ve Magnum Palatium-Büyük Saray bölgesinde 2000 yılı kazı çalışmaları (Sultanahmet eski cesaevi bahçesi)”, 12. *müze çalışmaları ve kurtarma kazıları sempozyumu* (2002), 1–22. S. Eyice (1988) “İstanbul’da Bizans imparatorlarının sarayı: Büyük Saray,” *Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1.3 (1988) 3–36.

Trier: from the exhibition catalogue *Palatia. Kaiserpaläste in Konstantinopel, Ravenna und Trier*, (above) see E. Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, “Der kaiserliche Bezirk in Trier und die vergleichenden Aspekte mit dem Kaiserpalast in Konstantinopel”, 123–29; T. H. M. Fontaine, “Ein letzter Abglanz vergangener kaiserlicher Pracht. Zu ausgewählten archäologischen Befunden aus dem Areal der römischen Kaiserresidenz in Trier”, 130–61; H.-P. Kuhnen, “Kaiserresidenz Trier. Der spätantike Palast und seine Ausstrahlung auf die Denkmalpflege”, 162–73.

Ravenna: from the exhibition catalogue *Palatia. Kaiserpaläste in Konstantinopel, Ravenna und Trier*, (above) see E. Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini (2003) “Ravenna und Byzanz. Parallelen in der Nomenklatur der Paläste”, 114–20. For Ravenna also the following older works remain important: E. Dyggve (1941) *Ravennatum Palatium Sacrum. La basilica ipetrale per cerimonie. Studi sull’architettura dei palazzi della tarda antichità* (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Archaeologisk-kunsthistoriske Meddelelser 3.2) (Copenhagen 1941); N. Duval (1960) “Que savons-nous du palais de Théodoric à Ravenne?”, *MÉFRA* 72 (1960) 337–71. See also R. Farioli Campanati (1992) “Ravenna, Costantinopoli: aspetti topografico-monumentali e iconografici”, in *Storia di Ravenna II.2. Dall’età bizantina all’età ottoniana: ecclesiologia, cultura e arte*, ed. A. Carile (Venice 1992) 127–57; P. Porta (1991) “Il centro del potere: il palazzo dell’Esarco”, in *Storia di Ravenna II.1. Dall’età bizantina all’età ottoniana: territorio, economia, società*, ed. A. Carile (Venice 1991) 269–83; I. Baldini Lippolis (1997) “Articolazione e decorazione del palazzo imperiale di Ravenna”, *Corsi di cultura sull’arte ravennate e bizantina* 43 (1997) 1–31; L. Diego Barrado and F. Galtier Marti (1997) *La morada del poderoso entre el mundo antiguo y medieval. El palacio de Teodorico en Ravenna* (Zaragoza 1997); G. Savini (1998) *Gli scavi del palazzo di Teodorico. Avanzi scoperti negli anni 1908–12* (Ravenna 1998); E. Russo (2000) “Il palazzo imperiale di Ravenna”, *Libro Aperto* 20 (2000) 39–49; P. Novara (2001) ed. *Palatium. Le ricerche archeologiche nelle proprietà dei Salesiani attraverso le relazioni di Gaetano Nave (1911–1915)* (Ravenna 2001).

Thessalonica: N. Duval. “Hommage à Ejnar et Ingrid Dyggve: la théorie du palais du Bas-Empire et les fouilles de Thessalonique” *AnTard* 11 (2003) 273–300. J.-M. Spieser (1984) *Thessalonique et ses monuments du IV^e au VI^e siècle* (Paris 1984). E. Dyggve (1953) “Recherches sur le palais impérial de Thessalonique,” *Studia Orientalia Iohanni Pedersen* (Copenhagen 1953). Id. (1958) “La région palatiale de Thessalonique”, in *Genoptrykt i: Congressus Madvigiana. Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Classical Studies Copenhagen 1956*, vol. 1 (Copenhagen 1958) 353–65. M. Cagiano de Azevedo (1979) “Il palazzo imperiale di Salonicco”, *FelRaw* 117 (1979) 7–28.

Rural Imperial Palaces: Split: General works: J. Marasović and T. Marasović (1968) *The Diocletian Palace* (Zagreb 1968); J. Marasović (1982) *Diocletian’s Palace* (Belgrade 1982); G. D. Sanders (1989) *The Palace of Diocletian at Split* (Missouri 1989). Excavation and conservation results: N. Duval (1961) “Le ‘palais’ de Dioclétien à Spalato à la lumière des récentes découvertes”, *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 80 (1961) 76–117; J. Marasović and T. Marasović (1961–62) “A survey of exploration, preservation and restoration work carried out in the Palace of Diocletian between 1955 and 1965”, *Urbs* 4 (1961–62) 23–54, 149–52 (English summary); E. Dyggve (1962) “Nouvelles recherches au péristyle du palais de Diocletien à Split”, *ActaadArch* 1 (1962) 1–6; J. Marasović (1969) “Gli appartamenti dell’imperatore Diocleziano nel suo palazzo a Split”, *ActaadArch* 4 (1969) 33–40; S. McNally (1994) “Joint American-Croatian excavations in Split (1965–1974)”, *AnTard* 2 (1994) 107–22; Id. (1996) *The Architectural Ornament of Diocletian’s Palace at Split* (BAR International Series 639) (Oxford 1996); G. Niksic (2004) “The restoration of Diocletian’s Palace, mausoleum, temple, and Porta Aurea (with the analysis of the original

architectural design”, in *Diokletian und die Tetrarchie. Aspekte einer Zeitenwende*, edd. A. Demandt, A. Goltz and H. Schlange-Schöningen (Millenium, Studien zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr. 1) (Berlin-New York 2004) 163–71. For the palace of Split as ‘military’ construction’ see e.g. R. Fellmann (1979) “Der Diokletianspalast von Split im Rahmen der spätrömischen Militärarchitektur”, *Antike Welt* 10 (1979) 47–55. For the ‘palatial’ characteristics of the palace of Split see N. Duval (1965) “La place de Split dans l’architecture aulique du Bas-Empire”, *Urbs* 4 (1965) 67–95.

Gamzigrad (Romuliana): General works: D. Mano-Zisi (1956) “Le castrum de Gamzigrad et ses mosaïques”, *ArchIug* 2 (1956) 67–84; D. Srejić (1975) “An imperial Roman palace in Serbia”, *ILN* 263 (1975) 7–99; D. Srejić, D. Janković, A. Lalović and V. Jović (1983) *Gamzigrad. An Imperial Palace of Late Classical Times* (Belgrade 1983); N. Duval (1987) “Le site de Gamzigrad (Serbie) est-il le palais de retraite de Galère”, *BSAF* (1987) 61–84; D. Srejić D. (1996) “Serbie: Felix Romuliana, la residence de l’empereur Galère”, *Archéologia* 319 (1996) 20–27; D. Srejić and C. Vasić (1994) “Emperor’s Galerius’s buildings in *Romuliana* (Gamzigrad, eastern Serbia)”, *AnTard* 2 (1994) 123–42. For a comparison with the palace of Split see D. Srejić (1982–83, 1985) “Two memorial monuments of Roman palatial architecture: Diocletian’s palace in Split and Galerius’ palace at Gamzigrad”, *ArchIug* 22–23 (1982–83, 1985) 41–49; W. Kuhoff (2001) “Zwei Altersresidenzen römischer Kaiser”, in *Humanitas. Beiträge zur antiken Kulturgeschichte. Festschrift für Gunther Gottlieb zum 65. Geburtstag* (Schriften der Philosophischen Fakultäten der Universität Augsburg 65), edd. P. A. Barceló, V. Rosenberger, V. Dotterweich and G. Gottlieb (Munich 2001) 149–89.

2. *Praetoria—the residences of governors*

The works of L. Lavan serve as valuable guides to late antique governors’ palaces and *praetoria*. These include references to all epigraphic and archaeological evidence for *praetoria* around the empire. Some of the sites mentioned, such as Köln, Gortyn and Caesarea, have been extensively published elsewhere. Finally, general writings on Roman *praetoria* also provide useful information on this building type in Late Antiquity.

General works: L. Lavan (1999) “Residence of late antique governors: a gazetteer,” *AnTard* 7 (1999) 135–64; L. Lavan (2001) “The praetoria of civil governors in Late Antiquity”, in *Recent Research in Late Antique Urbanism*, ed. L. Lavan (JRA Supplementary Series 42) (Portsmouth, Rhode Island 2001) 39–56. See also A. Martin (1989) “Praetoria as provincial governors’ palaces”, in *Historia Testis. Mélanges d’épigraphie, d’histoire ancienne et de philologie offerts à Tadeusz Żawadzki*, edd. M. Piérart and O. Curty (Fribourg 1989) 229–40.

On *individual sites* see the following further publications: *Köln*: F. Schäffer (2002) *Statthalterpaläste im Imperium Romanum* (unpublished Ph.D. diss. Cologne 2002). *Gortyn*: A. Di Vita (2000) “Il pretorio fra il I secolo a.C. e l’VIII d.C.”, in *Gortina V.1. Lo scavo del pretorio (1989–1995)*, ed. A. Di Vita (Padova 2000)

xxxv–lxxiv, and subsequent publications in the same series. *Caesarea*: B. Burrell (1996) “Palace to praetorium: the Romanization of Caesarea”, in *Caesarea Maritima. A Retrospective after Two Millennia*, edd. A. Raban and K. G. Holum (Leiden-New York-Cologne 1996) 228–47; J. Patrich (1999) “The warehouse complex and governor’s palace (areas KK, CC, and NN, May 1993–December 1995)”, in *Caesarea Papers 2. Herod’s Temple, the Provincial Governor’s Praetorium and Granaries, the Later Harbour, a Gold Coin Hoard and Other Studies*, edd. K. G. Holum, A. Raban and J. Patrich (JRA Supplementary Series 35) (Portsmouth, Rhode Island 1999) 70–108; J. Patrich (2000) “A government compound in Roman-Byzantine Caesarea”, in *Proceedings of the Twelfth World Congress for Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem 2000) 35–44. See also J.-P. Sodini (2003) “Archaeology and late antique social structures”, in *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology*, edd. L. Lavan and W. Bowden (Late Antique Archaeology 1) (Leiden-Boston 2003) 31–35 for examples and bibliography. For the role of the governor in Late Antiquity see e.g. the following contributions in *AnTard* 6 (1998), which was entirely dedicated to this topic: J.-M. Carrié (1998) “Le gouverneur romain à l’époque tardive. Les directions possibles de l’enquête”, 17–30; C. Roueché (1998) “Provincial governors and their titulature in the sixth century”, 83–89; C. Roueché (1998) “The functions of the governor in Late Antiquity: some observations”, 31–36.

3. *Episcopal residences*

Episcopia were a prominent feature of the late antique urban landscape, as a result of the increasing political power of their residents. They have been studied in detail by I. Baldini-Lippolis, M. Müller-Wiener and, by U. Real. The nature of *episcopia* is problematic, being the liturgical and often administrative headquarters of the bishop, centred around his main church, though not always associated with easily recognisable domestic architecture. Several residences, identified in the western and eastern Mediterranean, were closely associated with cathedrals, though sometimes the term ‘episcopal complex’ seems a better description of the *episcopium*. The overviews of M. Malaspina, M. Müller-Wiener and B. Ceylan form the key works for the East, whereas Y. A. Marano’s study of *episcopia* in northern Italy represents an important work on the West. Meanwhile, the *episcopia* of Constantinople, Milan, Aquileia, Ravenna, Rome, Parenzo (Poreč), Salona and Philippi are well-known through a number of articles and books, many of which were published during the last two decades. In Aphrodisias, a large complex dating to the 3rd to 4th centuries A.D. was named ‘The Bishop’s Palace’ on the basis of Middle Byzantine bishops’ seals retrieved from its ruins. However, this identification is still open to question.

General works: The most comprehensive discussion is I. Baldini Lippolis (2005) *L’architettura residenziale nelle città tardoantiche* (Rome 2005) 102–36. An old

but still important discussion, which does not really address the serious problem of how to identify an *episcopium*, is M. Müller-Wiener (1989) “Bischofresidenz des 4.–7. Jhs. im Östlichen Mittelmeer-Raum”, *Actes du XI^e congrès international d’archéologie chrétienne (Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève, Aoste 1986, 21–28 Septembre)* (Vatican City 1989) 651–709; Id. (1988) “Riflessioni sulle caratteristiche dei palazzi episcopali”, *FelRaw* 125–126 (1988) 103–45; U. Real (2003) “Die Bischofsresidenz in der spätantiken Stadt”, in *Die Spätantike Stadt und ihre Christianisierung. Symposium vom 14. bis 16. Februar 2000 in Halle/Saale*, edd. G. Brands and H. G. Severin (Wiesbaden 2003) 219–38. See also the older work of D. I. Pallas (1968) “Episkopion”, in *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* 2.2 (Stuttgart 1968) col. 335–71.

The role of the bishop: J. Durliat (1996) “Évêque et administration municipale au VII^e siècle”, in *La fin de la cité antique et le début de la cité médiévale de la fin du III^e siècle à l’avènement de Charlemagne. Actes du colloque tenu à l’Université de Paris X-Nanterre les 1, 2 et 3 avril 1993*, ed. C. Lepelley (Munera, Studi Storici sulla Tarda Antichità 8) (Bari 1996) 273–86; É. Rebillard and C. Sotinel (1998) edd. *L’évêque dans la cité du IV^e au V^e siècle: image et autorité. Actes de la table ronde organisée par l’Istituto Patristico Augustinianum et l’Ecole Française de Rome (Rome 1–2 December 1995)* (Collection de l’École Française de Rome 248) (Rome 1998); C. Rapp (2000) “The elite status of bishops in Late Antiquity in ecclesiastical, spiritual, and social contexts”, *Arethusa* 33 (2000) 379–99; P. Brown (2002) *Poverty and Leadership in the Later Roman Empire* (Hannover-London 2002) (esp. 45–73).

Episcopia in the East: M. Malaspina (1975) “Gli episcopia e le residenze episcopali nella pars orientalis dell’impero romano”, *CistAMilano* 5 (1975) 21–137; M. Müller-Wiener (1989) “Bischofresidenzen des 4.–7. Jhs. im Östlichen Mittelmeer-Raum”, in *Actes du XI^e congrès international d’archéologie chrétienne (Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève, Aoste 21–28 Septembre 1986)* (Vatican City 1989) 651–709. For Asia Minor see B. Ceylan in this volume.

Episcopia in the West: Y. A. Marano in this volume. For Rome see also P. Liverani (2003) “Dal palatium imperiale al palatium pontificio”, *ActaAArtHist* 23.3 (2003) 143–63.

Individual sites not in above regional studies: *Geneva:* C. Bonnet (1993) *Les fouilles de l’ancien groupe épiscopal de Genève (1976–1993)* (Cahiers d’archéologie genevoise 1) (Geneva 1993). *Ravenna:* C. Rizzardi (1989) “Note sull’antico episcopio di Ravenna: formazione e sviluppo”, in *Actes du XI^e congrès international d’archéologie chrétienne (Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève, Aoste 21–28 Septembre 1986)* (Vatican City 1989) 711–31; M. C. Miller (1991–92) “The development of the archiepiscopal residence in Ravenna, 300–1330”, *FelRaw* 141–44 (1991–92) 145–73. *Rome:* R. Krautheimer (1980) *Rome. Profile of a City* (Rome 1980); P. Lauer (1990) “Les fouilles du Sancta Sanctorum au Latran”, *MÉFR* 20 (1990) 251–87; P. Liverani and F. Guidobaldi (2004) edd. *Il patriarcato lateranense. Atti della giornata di studi (Roma 2003)* (Rome 2004). *Salona:* L. Bertacchi (1985) “Contributo allo studio dei palazzi episcopali paleocristiani: i casi di Aquileia, Parenzo e Salona”, *AquilNost* 56 (1985) 361–412. *Constantinople:* R. Janin (1962) “Le palais patriarcal de Constantinople byzantine”, *RÉByz* 18–20 (1962) 131–55. *Philippi:* C. Bakirtzis (1989) “Le palais épiscopal le jour après le séisme de 619”, in *La vie quotidienne à Byzance. 2. Congrès (1988)* (Athens 1989) 695–710.

4. *The aristocratic residences of the proteuontes*

S. P. Ellis has argued that Late Roman aristocrats were still constructing completely new, lavishly decorated peristyle houses in the 6th c. A.D. and, at the same time, were continuing to re-build and transform pre-existing structures into elaborate mansions. Changing political and social relations from the 4th c. A.D., caused by a concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a few *principales*, and typified by the growing importance of patronage in determining social relations, led to an increasing expenditure on impressive, richly decorated private dwellings. Late antique aristocrats used their urban villas to show off their status and wealth, in particular, to their lower class clients, who were economically, politically and socially bound to them. This resulted in luxurious complexes replete with reception and dining facilities, such as private audience chambers and large, formally articulated *triclinia*. Similarities between the imperial palaces and monumental aristocratic residences have prompted some archaeologists to label the latter as ‘palaces’. The ‘Palace of the Dux’ in Dura-Europos is a good example of this trend. Studies by G. P. Brogiolo, R. Tione, I. Baldini Lippolis and B. Polci are the cornerstones of work on the survival and transformation of the Roman urban *domus*.

In addition to lavish urban houses, late antique notables possessed rural estates which, in many cases, they leased to farmers. These country villas incorporated a number of luxurious features also evident in urban mansions, as well as agricultural facilities. There is, therefore, little doubt as to the prosperity of their owners. In treatments of the late antique aristocratic house, rural villas have always been overlooked in favour of urban dwellings. Nevertheless, contributions that generally cover the Roman villa throughout its history, offer a starting point for those wishing to study rural housing in later times. It must also be pointed out that the late antique villa has been looked at in more detail during the last decade, often in articles focusing on the Western Empire.

Late antique elite in general: A. Marcone (1998) “Late Roman social relations”, in *CAH XIII: The Late Empire, A.D. 337–425*, edd. A. Cameron and P. Garnsey (Cambridge 1998) 338–70; D. Schlinkert (1998) “Dem Kaiser folgen. Kaiser, Senatsadel und höfische Funktionseleite (comites consistoriani) von der “Tetrarchie” Diokletians bis zum Ende der konstantinischen Dynastie”, in *Comitatus. Beiträge zur Erforschung des spätantiken Kaiserhofes*, ed. A. Winterling (Berlin 1998) 133–59; “Aristocracy”, in G. W. Bowersock, P. Brown and O. Grabar (1999) edd. *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World* (Massachusetts-London 1999) 314–15; P. Brown (2000) “The study of elites in Late Antiquity”, *Arethusa* 33

(2000) 321–46; A. Laniado (2002) *Recherches sur les notables municipaux dans l'empire Protobyzantine* (Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Collège de France Monographies 13) (Paris 2002) and the review of F. Haarer (2004) "Urban transition in Late Antiquity: the decline of the curiales and the rise of municipal notables", *JRA* 17 (2004) 735–40.

Elites, by region: for *the East*: see P. Heather (1994) "New men for new Constantines? Creating an imperial elite in the Eastern Mediterranean", in *New Constantines. The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th centuries, Papers from the Twenty-Sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies (St Andrews March 1992)*, ed. P. Magdalino (Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies Publications 2) (Aldershot 1994) 11–33. For *the West*: M. R. Salzman (2002) *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy. Social and Religious Change in the Western Roman Empire* (Cambridge-London 2002); R. W. Mathisen (2004) *People, Personal Expression and Social Relations in Late Antiquity. Volume I: With Translated Texts from Gaul and Western Europe. Volume II: Selected Latin Texts from Gaul and Western Europe* (Ann Arbor, Michigan 2004). Specifically for *Rome*: L. Cracco Ruggini (2003) "Rome in Late Antiquity: clientship, urban topography, and prosopography", *Classical Philology* 98 (2003) 366–82.

Self-representation of the elite in a domestic context: S. P. Ellis (1991) "Power, architecture, and decor: how the Late Roman aristocrat appeared to his guests", in *Roman Art in the Private Sphere. New Perspectives on the Architecture and Decor of the Domus, Villa and Insula*, ed. E. Gazda (Ann Arbor, Michigan 1991) 117–34; S. Scott (2004) "Elites, exhibitionism and the society of the Late Roman villa", in *Landscapes of Change. Rural Evolutions in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. N. Christie (Aldershot 2004) 39–66; P. Vipard (2004) "Quelques manifestations d'autocélébration des membres des élites urbaines dans le cadre domestique", in *Autocélébration des élites locales dans le monde romain. Contextes, images, textes (II^e s. av. J.-C./III^e s. ap. J.-C.)*, edd. M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni, L. Lamoine and Frédéric Trément (Collection Erga 7) (Clermont-Ferrand 2004) 379–99.

Architectural comparison between palaces and private houses: D. Scagliarini Corlaita (2003) "Domus-villae-palatia. Convergenze e divergenze nelle tipologie architettoniche", in *Abitare in città. La Cisalpina tra impero e medioevo. Leben in der Stadt: Oberitalien zwischen römischer Kaiserzeit und Mittelalter. Kolloquium (Rom 4–5 November 1999)*, edd. J. Ortalli and M. Heinzelmann (Palilia 12) (Wiesbaden 2003) 153–72.

Peristyle houses in Late Antiquity: S. P. Ellis (1991) "The end of the Roman house", *AJA* 92 (1991) 565–76; "Early Byzantine housing", in *Secular Buildings and the Archaeology of Everyday Life in the Byzantine Empire*, ed. K. Dark (Oxford 2004) 38–43. For peristyle houses in the West: K. E. Meyer (1999) "Axial peristyle houses in the western empire", *JRA* 12 (1999) 101–21.

The late antique urban domus: G. P. Brogiolo (1994) ed. *Edilizia residenziale tra V e VII secolo* (Mantua 1994); R. Tione (1999) "Le domus tardoantiche: nuovi elementi per l'interpretazione dell'edilizia abitativa attraverso la lettura stratigrafica degli alzati", *Meded* 58 (1999) 191–207; I. Baldini Lippolis (2001) *La domus tardoantica. Forme e rappresentazioni dello spazio domestico nelle città del Mediterraneo* (Bologna-Imola 2001); Id. (2005) *L'architettura residenziale nelle città*

tardoantiche (Rome 2005); B. Polci (2003) “Some aspects of the transformation of the Roman domus between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages”, in *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology*, edd. L. Lavan and W. Bowden (Late Antique Archaeology 1) (Leiden-Boston 2003) 79–109.

Rural villas of the republic and early imperial period: J. Percival (1976) *The Roman Villa. An Historical Introduction* (London 1976); H. Mielsch (1987) *Die römische Villa. Architektur und Lebensform* (Munich 1987) (transl. in Italian, H. Mielsch (1990) *La villa romana* (Collana Archeologia) (Florence 1990); F. Reutti (1990) ed. *Die römische Villa* (Wege der Forschung 182) (Darmstadt 1990); D. E. Johnston (1994) *Roman Villas* (Shire Archaeology 11) (Aylesbury 1994); J. T. Smith (1997) *Roman Villas. A Study in Social Structure* (London 1997); J. J. Rossiter (2000) “Interpreting Roman villas”, *JRA* 13 (2000) 572–77.

Late antique villas: J. Arce (1997) “Otium et negotium: the great estates 4th–7th c.”, in *The Transformation of the Roman World, A.D. 400–900*, edd. L. Webster and M. P. Brown (Berkeley 1997) 19–32; S. Scott (2004) “Elites, exhibitionism and the society of the Late Roman villa”, in *Landscapes of Change. Rural Evolutions in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. N. Christie (Aldershot 2004) 39–66; G. P. Brogiolo, A. Chavarría Arnau (2004) (edd.) *Aristocrazie e campagne nell’Occidente da Costantino a Carlo Magno* (Florence 2005) (2nd edition 2006). For bibliography on this topic see A. Chavarría and T. Lewit (2004) “Archaeological research on the late antique countryside: a bibliographic essay”, in *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside*, edd. W. Bowden, L. Lavan and C. Machado (Leiden-Boston 2004) 3–51.

Development and eclipse of Western villas: G. Ripoll López and J. Arce (2000) “The transformation and end of Roman villae in the West (fourth–seventh centuries): problems and perspectives”, in *Towns and their Territories between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, edd. G. P. Brogiolo, N. Gauthier and N. Christie (Leiden-Boston-Cologne 2000) 63–114; T. Lewit (2003) “‘Vanishing villas’: what happened to elite rural habitation in the West in the 5th–6th c.?” *JRA* 16 (2003) 260–74 with reply by K. Bowes and A. Gutteridge (2005) “Rethinking the late antique countryside”, in *JRA* 18 (2005) 405–13. A. Chavarría Arnau (2004) “Osservazioni sulla fine delle ville in Occidente”, *Archeologia Medievale* 31 (2004) 7–19. T. Lewit (2005) “Bones in the bathhouse: re-evaluating the notion of ‘squatter occupation’ in 5th–7th century villas”, in *Dopo la fine delle ville: evoluzione nelle campagne tra VI e IX secolo* (Documenti di Archeologia, 39) edd. G. P. Brogiolo, A. Chavarría Arnau and M. Valenti (Mantua 2005) 251–62. G. P. Brogiolo (2006) “La fine delle ville: dieci anni dopo”, in *Villas tardoantiquas en el Mediterráneo occidental (Anejos de AEspA (39) 2006)* edd. A. Chavarría, J. Arce and G. P. Brogiolo (Madrid 2006) 253–73.

5. Middle Class Housing

The late antique ‘middle classes’ are less conspicuous in the archaeological record than the elite. They included less wealthy aristocrats, craftsmen and shopkeepers, small landowners and peasants. S. P. Ellis’ “Middle class houses in Late Antiquity” serves as a useful guide to the

subject, illustrating the ways in which members of the middle class could live in a number of house types, ranging from the aristocratic residence to the shop. Ellis identifies three possible characteristics of a ‘middle class house’: its lack of ornate, ‘aristocratic’ architecture, in particular a peristyle; its occupation of a restricted space; and its poor décor, which might have included feeble imitations of aristocratic styles and trends. Nevertheless, he demonstrates that members of an ‘upper middle class’ might also have preferred to inhabit dwellings identical to aristocratic peristyle houses. Several small houses without peristyles or rich decoration have been excavated in North Africa. These belong to the category of middle class houses, which, in size and decoration, were more basic than aristocratic *domus*. In some cases, these houses were arranged around a corridor rather than a central court. Examples have also been found in other regions of the Empire, for instance, in Asia Minor and Syria.

Urban middle classes: J.-P. Sodini (2003) “Archaeology and late antique social structures”, in *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology*, edd. L. Lavan and W. Bowden (Late Antique Archaeology 1) (Leiden-Boston 2003) 42–45; E. Zanini (2006) ‘Artisans and traders in Late Antiquity: exploring the limits of archaeological evidence’, in *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity*, edd. W. Bowden, A. Gutteridge and C. Machado (Late Antique Archaeology 3) (Leiden-Boston 2006) 373–411.

General works on middle class housing: S. P. Ellis (2006) “Middle class houses in Late Antiquity”, in *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity*, edd. W. Bowden, A. Gutteridge and C. Machado (Late Antique Archaeology 3) (Leiden-Boston 2006) 413–37. On the examples of middle class dwellings discussed by S. P. Ellis: Utica—Lot 11: M. Alexander, M. Ennaifer, J. Gretzinger and G. P. R. Metraux (1973) *Corpus des mosaïques de Tunisie 1.1. Utique, insulae I-II-III* (Tunisia 1973) 95–100. Djemila—House of the Ass: M. Blanchard-Lemée (1975) *Maisons à mosaïques du quartier central de Djemila Cuicul* (Aix-en-Provence 1975) 23–106; Y. Thébert (1987) “Private life and domestic architecture in Roman Africa”, in *A History of Private Life I. From Pagan Rome to Byzantium*, edd. P. Veyne (Cambridge 1987) 356. Sardis—House of Bronzes: G. M. A. Hanfmann (1960) “Excavations at Sardis 1959”, *BASOR* 157 (1960) 8–43; J. Waldebaum (1983) *Metalwork from Sardis* (Archaeological Exploration of Sardis Monograph 8) (Cambridge 1983).

6. *Apartment Blocks*

In Ostia and Rome, people who were unable to afford their own houses lived in densely populated apartment blocks, still attested in the *Notitia* of Rome, dating from late in the reign of Constantine. These struc-

tures were characterised by horizontal extensions. Apartments of the *medianum* type enclosed a central space (the *medianum*), which, in turn, separated living from reception spaces. The discovery of wall paintings and mosaics among the remains of extant structures suggests that the inhabitants of at least the surviving buildings belonged to the upper middle-class.

General works: S. P. Ellis (2000) *Roman Housing* (London 2000) 93; 97. See also G. Hermansen (1970) "The medianum and the Roman apartment", *Phoenix* 24 (1970) 342–47; G. R. Storey (2003) "The 'skyscrapers' of the ancient Roman world", *Latomus* 62 (2003) 3–26. *Ostia:* G. R. Storey (2001) "Regionaries-type insulae 1: architectural/residential units at Ostia", *AJA* 105 (2001) 389–401; J. DeLaine (2004) "Designing for a market: "medianum" apartments at Ostia", *JRA* 17 (2004) 146–76. See also S. P. Ellis (2000) *Roman Housing* (London 2000) 73–78. *Rome:* S. Priester (2002) *Ad summas tegulas. Untersuchungen zu vielgeschossigen Gebäudeblöcken mit Wohneinheiten und Insulae im kaiserzeitlichen Rom* (Bulletino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma 11) (Rome 2002); G. R. Storey (2002) "Regionaries-type insulae 2: architectural/residential units at Rome", *AJA* 106 (2002) 411–34; V. Kockel (2004) "Das antike Mietshaus: Reflexe in der Architektur des faschistischen Rom", in *Die Stadt als Grossbaustelle. Von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit. Internationaler Kongress (Berlin 7–11 November 2001)* (Berlin 2004) 154–59.

7. Apartments Created by Subdivision

Whereas certain aristocratic peristyle houses maintained their monumental appearance long into Late Antiquity, others were, from the beginning of the 4th c. A.D., increasingly subdivided into smaller, more poorly decorated apartments, or farms with agricultural equipment, both of which accommodated numerous households. S. P. Ellis has illustrated the various mechanisms of such subdivisions.

S. P. Ellis (2004) "Early Byzantine housing", in *Secular Buildings and the Archaeology of Everyday Life in the Byzantine Empire*, ed. K. Dark (Oxford 2004) 37–52, in particular 47–50. A nice example is S. P. Ellis (1985) "The 'Palace of the Dux' at Apollonia and related houses", in *Cyrenaica in Antiquity*, edd. G. Barker, J. Lloyd and J. Reynolds (Oxford 1985) 15–25.

8. Shops, Workshops and One or Two-Room Dwellings

A number of public buildings also underwent subdivision. For instance, earlier porticoes and monumental entrances to buildings were divided into clusters of small rooms, and open spaces, such as streets and squares, came to be obscured by private structures. These developments are visible in all areas of the Roman Empire. Many of the one or

two-room dwellings that were erected in such areas functioned as both domestic residences and commercial facilities. They could be workshops, *tabernae*/bars, or shops, inhabited by craftsmen and shopkeepers, as in earlier times, who rented or owned these properties. In some cases, however, so-called ‘shops’ operated exclusively as living spaces, and did not play a commercial role. The Byzantine shops of Sardis remain the best-known examples of this phenomenon, although similar installations have been brought to light in other cities, such as Constantinople, Ephesus and Sagalassos. In the eastern Mediterranean, the construction of late antique commercial outlets clearly represented an important facet of the transition from the classical to the medieval city.

Subdivision of public areas: S. P. Ellis (1991) “The end of the Roman house”, *AJA* 92 (1991) 565–76. A. Zaccaria Ruggiù (1995) *Spazio privato e spazio pubblico nella città romana* (Rome 1995); S. P. Ellis (1998) “Power-broking and the reuse of public buildings in Late Antiquity”, in *Radovi XIII. Međunarodnog kongresa za starokršćansku arheologiju, acta XIII congressus internationalis archaeologiae christianae, pars III (Split-Poreč 25. 9–1. 10 1994)*, edd. N. Cambi and E. Marin (Studi di Antichità Cristiane 54) (Split-Vatican City 1998) 233–39; H. Saradi (1998) “Privatization and subdivision of urban properties in the early Byzantine centuries: social and cultural implications”, *BASP* 35 (1998) 17–40. For *Spain* see P. Sillières (1993) “Vivait-on dans des ruines au IIe siècle ap. J.-C.? Approche du paysage urbain de l’Hispanie d’après quelques grandes fouilles récentes”, in *Ciudad y comunidad cívica en Hispania (s. II y III d.C.)* (Madrid 1993) 147–52. The situation at *Arles* is discussed by C. Sintès (1994) “La réutilisation des espaces publics à Arles: un témoignage de la fin de l’antiquité”, *AnTard* 2 (1994) 181–92.

Tavernae and (work)shops in the Republic and Early Empire: For instance in *Rome*: E. Papi (2002) “La *turba inopia*: artigiani e commercianti del Foro Romano e dintorni (I sec. a.C.-64 d.C.)”, *JRA* 15 (2002) 45–62. For *Ostia* see the older publications of G. Girri (1956) *La taverna nel quadro urbanistico di Ostia* (Rome 1956); G. Hermansen (1974) “The Roman inns and the law: the inns of Ostia”, in *Polis and Imperium. Studies in Honour of E. T. Salmon*, ed. J. A. S. Evans (Toronto 1974) 167–81. See also S. P. Ellis (2000) *Roman Housing* (London 2000) 78. For *Roman Britain*: A. MacMahon, *The Tabernae Structures of Roman Britain* (BAR British Series 356) (Oxford 2003).

Late antique (work)shops and tavernae: see the bibliographic essay of T. Putzeys in E. Swift, L. Lavan and T. Putzeys (forthcoming) edd. *Objects in Context, Objects in Use. The Archaeology of Everyday Life* (Late Antique Archaeology 4) (Brill forthcoming); J.-P. Sodini (1979) “L’artisanat urbain à l’époque paléochrétienne”, *Ktéma* 4 (1979) 71–119.

Individual sites: *Ostia*: C. Pavolini (1986) “L’edilizia commerciale e l’edilizia abitativa nel contesto di Ostia tardoantica”, in *Società romana e impero tardoantico II. Roma: politica, economia, paesaggio urbano*, ed. A. Giardina (Rome-Bari 1986) 239–98. *Caričin Grad*: I. Popović (1990) “Les activités professionnelles à Caričin

Grad vers la fin du IV^e et le début du VII^e siècle d'après les outils de fer", in *Caričin Grad II. Le quartier sud-ouest de la ville haute*, edd. B. Bavant, V. Kondić and J.-M. Spieser (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 75) (Rome 1990) 270–306. *Constantinople*: M. Mundell Mango (2000) "The commercial map of Constantinople", *DOP* 54 (2000) 189–205; M. Mundell Mango (2001) "The porticoed street at Constantinople", in *Byzantine Constantinople. Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. N. Necipoğlu (Leiden-Boston-Cologne 2001) 29–51; K. Dark (2004) "Houses, streets and shops in Byzantine Constantinople from the fifth to the twelfth centuries", *Journal of Medieval History* 30 (2004) 83–107. *Ephesus*: S. P. Ellis (1997) "Late antique houses in Asia Minor", in *Patron and Pavements in Late Antiquity*, edd. S. Isager and B. Poulsen (Halicarnassian Studies II) (Odense 1997) 40. *Sagalassos*: M. Waelkens *et al.* in this volume. *Sardis*: J. Stephens Crawford (1990) *The Byzantine Shops at Sardis* (Archaeological Exploration of Sardis Monograph 9) (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1990); A. Harris (2004) "Shops, retailing and the local economy in the early Byzantine world: the example of Sardis", in *Secular Buildings and the Archaeology of Everyday Life in the Byzantine Empire*, ed. K. Dark (Oxford 2004) 82–121. For *Syria* see J. C. Margueron (1996) "Détermination des magasins à vivres dans l'architecture orientale", *Topoi* 6 (1996) 99–111. *Apollonia Arsuf*: I. Roll and E. Ayalon (1987) "The Market Street at Apollonia Arsuf", *BASOR* 167 (1987) 61–76.

The transition from the classical to the medieval city: For instance in *Syria*: H. Kennedy (1985) "From *polis* to *madina*: urban changes in late antique and early Islamic Syria", *PastPres* 106 (1985) 3–27. For *Palmyra* in particular see K. Al'As'ad and F. M. Stepniowski (1989) "The Ummayyad suq in Palmyra", *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 4 (1989) 203–23.

9. Rural Middle-Range Housing

It is harder to recognise traces of the late antique middle class in the countryside than it is in the city. This is for the obvious reason that rural areas have not been excavated to the same degree as urban sites. Nonetheless, a number of contributions have argued that, in rural areas, craftsmen and peasants must have constituted the dominant population group, and lived together in villages or small clusters of houses. In some areas of the eastern Mediterranean, archaeologists have pointed to the existence of a type of rural apartment block, very different in appearance from the Italian apartments mentioned above. Whereas the latter were extended horizontally and found in cities, the former were vertically orientated, built over several storeys and situated in rural contexts. In the early 20th c., several of these apartment buildings were excavated in Syrian villages. Multi-storey apartments are also known in Egypt, in particular in the Fayum villages, such as Karanis. Another significant development in late antique rural architecture was the fortification of agricultural estates in North Africa and south-western Spain. The fortified

farms of North Africa consisted of square buildings enclosed by thick, external defensive walls. Their rooms were sometimes clustered around a small courtyard. The Spanish farms were also defended by external walls, but were characterised by a more complex layout.

Rural settlement by region: for the West see e.g. *Britain*: R. Hingley (1989) *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain* (London 1989). *Italy*: P. Arthur (2004) "From vicus to village: Italian landscapes, A.D. 400–1000", in *Landscapes of Change. Rural Evolutions in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. N. Christie (Aldershot 2004) 103–33. For the *East* see e.g. G. Dagron (1979) "Entre village et cité: la bourgade rurale des IV–VII^e siècles en Orient", *Koinônia* 3 (1979) 29–52; P. L. Gatier (1994) "Villages du Proche-Orient protobyzantin (4^e–7^e s.), étude régionale", in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near-East II. Land Use and Settlement Patterns*, edd. G. R. King and A. Cameron (Princeton 1994) 17–48. In particular for *Syria* see G. Tate (1991) "Les métiers dans les villages de la Syrie du Nord", *Ktéma* 16 (1991) 73–78.

Rural apartments: S. P. Ellis (2000) *Roman Housing* (London 2000) 93; 97. For apartments in *Syria* see G. Tate (1992) *Les campagnes de la Syrie du Nord du 2^e au 7^e siècle. Un exemple d'expansion démographique et économique à la fin de l'antiquité* (Paris 1992), and also S. P. Ellis (2000) *Roman Housing* (London 2000) 89–94. Multi-storey apartments in *Egypt* are discussed in R. Alston (1997) "Houses and households in Roman Egypt", in *Domestic Space in the Roman World. Pompeii and Beyond*, edd. R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill (JRA Supplementary Series 22) (Portsmouth, Rhode Island 1997) 25–39; S. P. Ellis (2000) *Roman Housing* (London 2000) 95–97.

Fortified farms: S. P. Ellis (2000) *Roman Housing* (London 2000) 103; L. Anselmino, M. Bouchenaki, A. Carandini, Ph. Leveau, D. Manacorda, C. Pavolini, G. Pucci and P. Salama (1989) *Il Castellum del Nador. Storia di una fattoria tra Tipasa e Cesarea (I–VI sec.d.C.)* (Roma 1989).

Rural middle class see: J.-P. Sodini (2003) "Archaeology and late antique social structures", in *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology*, edd. L. Lavan and W. Bowden (Late Antique Archaeology 1) (Leiden-Boston 2003) 45–48.

10. *The Poor*

Of all the social groups in Late Antiquity, the poor have left the weakest imprint upon the archaeological record. In a society experiencing numerous economic difficulties, the middle classes must have been constantly reminded of the peril of impoverishment. Indeed, it may be assumed that very poor people were at all times visible on the streets, living in very bad conditions. However, references to *xenodochia* and *ptochotropheia* in the written sources suggest that facilities did exist for housing the poor.

J.-P. Sodini (2003) "Archaeology and late antique social structures", in *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology*, edd. L. Lavan and W. Bowden

(Late Antique Archaeology 1) (Leiden-Boston 2003) 49–50; T. van Bochove (2003) “Paratitla, Xenodochia and Constitutio Leonina”, in *Viva vox iuris Romani. Essays in Honour of Johannes Emil Spruit*, edd. L. de Ligt, J. de Ruiter, E. Slob, J. M. Tevel, M. van de Vrugt and L. C. Winkel (Studia Amstelodamensia, Studies in Ancient Law and Society 38) (Amsterdam 2003) 399–409; S. Roskams (2006) “The urban poor: finding the marginalised”, in *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity*, edd. W. Bowden, A. Gutteridge and C. Machado (Late Antique Archaeology 3) (Leiden-Boston 2006) 487–531; P. Van Ossel (2006) “Rural impoverishment in Northern Gaul at the end of antiquity: the contribution of archaeology”, in *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity*, edd. W. Bowden, A. Gutteridge and C. Machado (Late Antique Archaeology 3) (Leiden-Boston 2006) 533–65.

11. *Monasteries*

The growing importance of Christianity resulted in the beginnings of monasticism. In particular, monasteries have been studied in the East, where they first sprang up in the desert regions and in the cities. Conversely, much less is known regarding late antique monastic settlements in the West.

General: B. Brenk (2004) “Monasteries as rural settlements: patron-dependence or self-sufficiency?”, in *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside*, edd. W. Bowden, L. Lavan and C. Machado (Late Antique Archaeology 2) (Leiden-Boston 2004) 447–78; J. Patrich (2004) “Monastic landscapes”, in *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside*, edd. W. Bowden, L. Lavan and C. Machado (Late Antique Archaeology 2) (Leiden-Boston 2004) 413–46.

The East: *Anatolia:* F. R. Trombley (1985) “Monastic foundations in sixth-century Anatolia and their rôle in the social and economic life of the countryside”, in *Byzantine Saints and Monasteries*, ed. N. M. Vaporis (Brookline, Massachusetts 1985) 45–59; V. H. Drecoll (2002) “Die Stadtklöster in Kleinasien und Konstantinopel bis 451 n. Chr.”, *CrSt* 23 (2002) 623–48. *Antioch:* W. Djobadze (2002) “Georgians in Antioch-on-the-Orontes and the monastery of St Barlaam”, in *Die Christianisierung des Kaukasus (Armenia, Georgia, Albania). Referate des Internationalen Symposions (Wien 9–12 December 1999)*, ed. W. Seibt (DenkschrWien 296, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik 9) (Wien 2002) 37–53. *Palestine:* For the desert areas see O. Meinardus (1969) “Notes on the laurae and monasteries of the wilderness of Judaea”, *SBF* 19 (1969) 305–27; Y. Hirschfeld (1992) *The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period* (New Haven 1992); J. Patrich (1995) “Palestinian desert monasticism: the monastic systems of Chariton, Gerasimus and Sabas”, *CrSt* 16 (1995) 1–9. Monasticism in the cities of Palestine is discussed by H. Goldfus (2003) “Urban monasticism and monasteries of early Byzantine Palestine: preliminary observations”, *Aram* 15 (2003) 71–79. See also Y. Hirschfeld (2004) “The monasteries of Gaza: an archaeological review”, in *Christian Gaza in Late Antiquity*, edd. B. Bitton-Ashkelony and A. Kofsky (Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture 3) (Leiden-Boston 2004) 61–88. *Mesopotamia:* M. Falla Castelfranchi (1987)

“Edilizia monastica in Mesopotamia nel periodo preiconoclasta (IV–VIII sec.)”, *Vetera Christianorum* 24 (1987) 43–112. For *Egypt* see C. C. Walters (1974) *Monastic Archaeology in Egypt* (Warminster 1974); E. Wipszycka-Bravo (1996) *Études sur le christianisme dans l'Égypte de l'antiquité tardive* (Rome 1996); P. Grossmann (2002) *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten* (Handbook of Oriental Studies 62) (Leiden 2002); B. Copeland (2004) “The earthly monastery and the transformation of the Heavenly City in late antique Egypt”, in *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions*, edd. R. S. Boustán and A. Y. Reed (Cambridge 2004) 142–58; C. Thirard (2004) “Et si la Règle de l'Ange n'était pas une légende? Quelques remarques sur l'architecture de monastères ‘pachomiens’”, in *Mélanges d'antiquité tardive. Studiola in honorem Noël Duval*, edd. C. Balmelle, P. Chevalier and G. Ripoll (Bibliothèque de l'Antiquité Tardive 5) (Turnhout 2004).

The West: Italy: G. Penco (1983) *Storia del monachesimo in Italia dalle origini alla fine del medioevo* (Milan 1983); C. Sfameni (2004) “Residential villas in late antique Italy: continuity and change”, in *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside*, edd. W. Bowden, L. Lavan and C. Machado (Late Antique Archaeology 2) (Leiden-Boston 2004) 335–75 (especially 352–55, 362–63). Rome: G. Ferrari (1957) *Early Roman Monasteries* (Vatican City 1957). See the bibliographic essay in E. Swift, L. Lavan and T. Putzeys (forthcoming) edd. *Objects in Context, Objects in Use. The Archaeology of Everyday Life* (Late Antique Archaeology 4) (Brill forthcoming).

Individual sites: see further the above-mentioned bibliographic essay and the articles of B. Brenk and J. Patrich.

The Layout of the Late Antique Aristocratic House

As mentioned earlier, changing socio-political relations in Late Antiquity directly affected the layout of prestigious aristocratic residences. In particular, there was an increasing need to accommodate large reception spaces and dining facilities necessary for the fulfillment of ‘public’ tasks within a domestic context. Consequently, in large elite mansions, public areas, only accessible to clients, were clearly demarcated from more private quarters, to which only close friends and ‘*intimi*’ had access. At the same time, it is important to bear in mind that rooms may not always have been restricted to one particular, clearly defined activity. One room might, at different times of the day, have functioned as a venue for different activities, perhaps involving different family members. Moreover, some rooms, such as *triclinia*, may have only been used seasonally, on the basis of changing climatic conditions.

On private and public in the domestic context: see L. Özgenel in this volume. On privacy see also P. Brown (1987) “Late Antiquity”, in *A History of Private Life 1. From Pagan Rome to Byzantium*, edd. P. Veyne (Cambridge 1987) 237–311;

A. Wallace-Hadrill (2003) “Domus and insulae in Rome: families and households”, in *Early Christian Families in Context. An Interdisciplinary Dialogue*, edd. D. L. Balch and C. Osiek (Michigan-Cambridge 2003) 185, 3–18. On the seasonal use of rooms: see e.g. S. R. Cosh (2001) “Seasonal dining-rooms in Romano-British houses”, *Britannia* 32 (2001) 219–42; G. L. Grassigli (1998) *La scena domestica e il suo immaginario. I temi figurati nei mosaici della Cisalpina* (Naples 1998).

1. Reception and dining rooms

In the Early Roman period, dining had already played an important role in private life, frequently for public, political reasons. Receiving guests and dining continued to be important aspects of social and political life in Late Antiquity. Apsidal and polygonal dining and reception rooms, larger than the earlier *triclinia*, were a common feature of the late antique aristocratic house. The presence of one or more apses in dining rooms was related to the introduction of the *sigma* table and associated circular couch (*stibadium*), which replaced the earlier Π-shaped *triclinium*.

S. P. Ellis has pointed to the existence of three kinds of reception room in the late antique aristocratic house. First, the large audience hall, in which the patron would appear before his clients, was usually rectangular and in most cases included an apse. In general, this hall was located close to the main entrance of the house and could, thus, be easily reached by visitors, who were, at the same time, kept away from the more private parts of the building. Second, the apsidal *triclinium* was habitually located on the far side of the house, opposite the main entrance. Patrons largely used this space for dining with their close friends and family. Third, another large room sometimes featured in more spacious houses. Situated next to the *triclinium*, this room incorporated three or more apses, and operated as a more formal banqueting suite. It was typically reached by means of an entrance corridor. In houses with more limited reception facilities, a single hall might combine a number of the functions referred to in this section.

Dining and reception in the Republic and Early Empire: J. D’Arms (1984) “Control, companionship, and *clientela*: some social functions of the Roman communal meal”, *EchCl* 28.3 (1984) 327–48; H. Gabelmann (1984) *Antike Audienz- und Tribunalszenen* (Darmstadt 1984); K. M. D. Dunbabin (1993) “Wine and water at the Roman convivium”, *JRA* 6 (1993) 116–41; K. M. D. Dunbabin (1996) “Convivial spaces: dining and entertainment in the Roman villa”, *JRA* 9 (1996) 66–80; A. O. Hirschman (1997) *Tischgemeinschaft. Zwischen öffentlicher und privater Sphäre* (Wien 1997); K. Bradley (1998) “The Roman family at dinner”, in *Meals in a Social Context. Aspects of the Communal Meal in the Hellenistic and Roman World*, edd. I. Nielsen and H. S. Nielsen (Aarhus Studies in

Mediterranean Antiquity 1) (Aarhus 1998) 36–55; P. Garnsey (1999) *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity* (Key Themes in Ancient History) (Cambridge 1999); J. Linderski (2000) “Banqueting”, *Arctos* 34 (2000) 101–107; G. Gerlach (2001) *Zu Tisch bei den alten Römern. Eine Kulturgeschichte des Essens und Trinkens* (Stuttgart 2001); M. Peachin (2001) “Friendship and abuse at the dinner table”, in *Aspects of Friendship in the Graeco-Roman World. Proceedings of a Conference (Heidelberg 2000)*, ed. M. Peachin (JRA Supplementary Series 43) (Portsmouth, Rhode Island 2001) 135–44; K. M. D. Dunbabin (2003) *The Roman Banquet. Images of Conviviality* (Cambridge 2003); D. Fredrick (2003) “Grasping the pangolin: sensuous ambiguity in Roman dining”, *Arethusa* 36 (2003) 309–43; A. Zaccaria Ruggiù (2003) “Ruolo dell’élite politica e sociale e spazio del banchetto”, in *Les élites et leurs facettes. Les élites locales dans le monde hellénistique et romain*, edd. M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni and L. Lamoine (Collection de l’École Française de Rome 309, Collection Erga 3) (Rome-Clermont-Ferrand 2003) 627–60. For royal banquets see I. Nielsen (1998) “Royal banquets: the development of royal banquets and banqueting halls from Alexander to the tetrarchs”, in *Meals in a Social Context. Aspects of the Communal Meal in the Hellenistic and Roman World*, edd. I. Nielsen and H. S. Nielsen (Aarhus Studies in Mediterranean Antiquity 1) (Aarhus 1998) 102–33.

Dining in Late Antiquity (including studies of *triclinia*): I. Lavin (1962) “The ‘House of the Lord’: aspects of the role of palace triclinia in the architecture of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages”, *ArtB* 44 (1962) 1–27; R. Krautheimer (1966) “Die Decanneacubita in Konstantinopel. Ein kleiner Beitrag zur Frage Rom und Byzanz“, in *Tortulae. Studien zu altchristlichen und byzantinischen Monumenten*, ed. W. N. Schumacher (RömQSchr Supplementhefte 30) (Rome-Freiburg-Wien 1966); H. Blanck (1981) “Ein spätantikes Gastmahl. Das Mosaik von Duar-Ech-Chott”, *MDAIR* 88 (1981) 329–44; L. Bek (1983) “Questiones conviviales: the idea of the triclinium and the staging of convivial ceremony from Rome to Byzantium”, *AnalRom* 12 (1983) 81–107; J. J. Soskice (1991) “Convivium and villa in Late Antiquity”, in *Dining in a Classical Context*, ed. W. J. Slater (Ann Arbor, Michigan 1991) 199–214; D. Parrish (1995) “A mythological theme in the decoration of Late Roman dining rooms: Dionysos and his circle”, *RA* (1995) 307–32; D. Scagliarini Corlàita (1995) “Gli ambienti poligonali nell’architettura residenziale tardoantica”, *Corso di cultura sull’arte ravennate e bizantina* 42 (1995) 837–73; S. P. Ellis (1997) “Late-antique dining: architecture, furnishings and behaviour”, in *Domestic Space in the Roman World. Pompeii and Beyond*, edd. R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill (JRA Supplementary Series 22) (Portsmouth, Rhode Island 1997) 41–51. S. P. Ellis (1995) “Classical reception rooms in Romano-British houses”, *Britannia* 26 (1995) 163–78; S. R. Cosh (2001) “Seasonal dining-rooms in Romano-British houses”, *Britannia* 32 (2001) 219–42.

The *sigma* table: J. Engemann (1982) “Der Ehrenplatz beim antiken Sigmamahl”, in *Jenseitsvorstellungen in Antike und Christentum. Gedenkschrift für Alfred Stüber*, ed. T. Klauser (Münster 1982) 239–50; K. M. D. Dunbabin (1991) “Triclinium and stibadium”, in *Dining in a Classical Context*, ed. W. J. Slater (Ann Arbor, Michigan 1991) 121–48; E. Morvillez (1996) “Sur les installations de lits de table en sigma dans l’architecture domestique du Haut et du Bas-Empire”,

Pallas 44 (1996) 119–58; N. Duval (1997) “Le lit semi-circulaire de repas: une invention d’Hélagabale? (Hel. 25, 1. 2–3)”, in *Historiae Augustae colloquium bonnense V*, edd. G. Bonsembiante and K. Rose (Bari 1997) 129–52.

Sites where *sigma* tables have been identified: for instance at *Faragola*: G. Volpe, G. De Felice and M. Turchiano (2005) “Faragola (Ascoli Satriano). Una residenza aristocratica tardoantica e un “villaggio” altomedievale nella Valle del Carapelle: primi dati”, in *Paesaggi e insediamenti rurali in Italia meridionale fra tardoantico e altomedioevo. Atti del I seminario sul tardoantico e l’altomedioevo in Italia meridionale (Foggia 12–14 febbraio 2004)*, edd. G. Volpe and M. Turchiano (Bari 2005) 265–98; *Carthage*: E. Morvillez (2004) “La fontaine du Seigneur Julius à Carthage”, in *Mélanges d’antiquité tardive. Studiola in honorem Noël Duval*, edd. C. Balmelle, P. Chevalier et G. Ripoll (Turnhout 2004) 47–55. *Palmyra and Apamea*: J. Balty and J.-C. Balty (1995) “Nouveaux exemples de salles à stibadium à Palmyre et à Apamée”, in *Orbis Romanus Christianusque. Travaux sur l’antiquité tardive rassemblés autour des recherches de Noël Duval* (Paris 1995) 205–12; E. Will (1997) “Les salles de banquet de Palmyre et d’autres lieux”, *Topoi* 7 (1997) 873–87.

Reception in Late Antiquity: S. P. Ellis (1988) “The end of the Roman house”, *AJA* 92 (1988) 565–76; S. P. Ellis (2004) “Early Byzantine housing”, in *Secular Buildings and the Archaeology of Everyday Life in the Byzantine Empire*, ed. K. Dark (Oxford 2004) 37–52. See also B. Polci (2003) “Some aspects of the transformation of the Roman domus between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages”, in *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology*, edd. L. Lavan and W. Bowden (Late Antique Archaeology 1) (Leiden and Boston 2003) 79–109. On reception and domestic ceremony in late antiquity see: S. G. MacCormack (1981) *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1981); S. Scott (1997) “The power of images in the Late-Roman house”, in *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond*, edd. R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill (JRA Suppl. Series 22) (Portsmouth, R. I. 1997) 53–67. A. Cutler (2001) “Gifts and gift exchange as aspects of Byzantine, Arab, and related economies”, *DOP* 55 (2001) 247–78. O. R. Constable (2003) *Housing the stranger in the Mediterranean World. Lodging, Trade and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge 2003). D. Feissel and J. Gascou (edd.) *La pétition à Byzance* (Monographies du Centre de recherche d’Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance 14) (Paris 2004).

Reception rooms: for their typology see Ellis (1988), (2004) and Polci (2003) above. For three-apsed reception rooms see also E. Morvillez (1995) “Les salles de réception triconques dans l’architecture domestique de l’antiquité tardive en occident”, *Histoire de l’Art* 31 (1995) 15–26. For reception rooms in North-Africa (2nd c. into 5th c.) see S. Bullo (2003) “Gli ambienti di rappresentanza”, in *Amplissimae atque ornatissimae domus (Aug., Civ., II, 20, 26). L’edilizia residenziale nelle città della Tunisia romana*, edd. S. Bullo and F. Ghedini (Antenor Quaderni 2.1–2) (Rome 2003) 71–104.

2. Bedrooms

Far less has been published on the most private rooms of the house: the cellular spaces identified as ‘bedrooms’. Their private character meant

that they tended to be located in the more remote areas of the house that were not accessible to visitors. Late antique sleeping chambers have been identified on the basis of plain mosaic panels, which indicate the position of the couches once found in these spaces. Since a number of private activities other than sleeping may have taken place in them, S. P. Ellis has preferred to label *cubicula* ‘retiring rooms’.

P. W. Foss (1997) “The life and times of the lectus”, *AJA* 101 (1997) 389; A. M. Riggsby (1997) “‘Public’ and ‘private’ in Roman culture: the case of the cubiculum”, *JRA* 10 (1997) 36–56. See also S. P. Ellis (2000) *Roman Housing* (London 2000) 156 and L. Özgenel in this volume. For North-Africa (2nd c. into 5th c.) see M. Novello (2003) “I cubicoli”, in *Amplissima atque ornatissima domus* (*Aug., Civ., II, 20, 26. L’edilizia residenziale nelle città della Tunisia romana*, edd. S. Bullo and F. Ghedini (Antenor Quaderni 2.1–2) (Rome 2003) 135–151.

3. *Domestic baths*

In the Roman period, large houses, both in Italy (for instance, in Pompeii and Ostia) and in the provinces, were often fitted with private bathing complexes. A. Bouet’s recent publication on private and public bath complexes in *Gallia Narbonensis* demonstrates that the phenomenon was widespread in a number of provincial areas. Bathing remained an important social and leisure activity in Late Antiquity. As in earlier periods, late antique domestic baths performed a ‘public’ role within the domestic context, being used by patrons for the entertainment of friends and business guests. For this reason, bathing complexes were often located in the vicinity of main entrances or reception rooms.

Private bath rooms in the Roman Period: J. W. Ring (1996) “Windows, baths, and solar energy in the Roman empire”, *AJA* 100 (1996) 717–24. On the ‘public’ character of private bathrooms see S. P. Ellis (2000) *Roman Housing* (London 2000) 41,161. Specifically for *Pompeii and Herculaneum* see N. de Haan (1993) “Dekoration und Funktion in den Privatbädern von Pompeji und Herculaneum”, in *Functional and Spatial Analysis of Wall Painting. Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress on Ancient Wall Painting*, ed. E. M. Moormann (BABesch Supplement 3) (Amsterdam-Leiden 1993) 34–37; N. de Haan (1996) “Die Wasserversorgung der Privatbäder in Pompeji”, in *Cura aquarum in Campania. Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress on the History of Water Management and Hydraulic Engineering in the Mediterranean Region (Pompeii 1–8 October 1994)*, edd. N. De Haan and G. C. M. Jansen (BABesch Supplement 4) (Leuven 1996) 59–65; N. de Haan (1997) “Nam nihil melius esse quam sine turba lavari. Privatbäder in den Vesuvstädten”, *Meded* 56 (1997) 205–26; N. de Haan (2001) “*Si aquae copia patiatur*. Pompeian private baths and the use of water”, in *Water Use and Hydraulics in the Roman City*, ed. A. O. Koloski-Ostrow (Archaeological

Institute of America, Boston, Massachusetts, Colloquia and Conference Papers 3) (Dubuque, Iowa 2001) 41–49.

Regional studies: *Britain:* D. Perring (2002) *The Roman House in Britain* (London 2002). *Gallia Narbonensis:* A. Bouet (2003) *Les thermes privés et publics en Gaule Narbonnaise* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 320) (Rome 2003). *Spain:* V. G. Entero, *Los Balnea des las Villae Hispanoromanas: Provincia Tarraconense* (Madrid 2001); *North-Africa:* Y. Thébert (2003) *Les thermes romains d'Afrique du Nord et leur conteste méditerranéen. Études d'histoire et d'archéologie* (BEFAR 315) (Rome 2003); A. R. Ghiotto (2003) "Gli impianti termali", in *Amplissimae atque ornatissimae domus* (Aug., Civ., II, 20, 26). *L'edilizia residenziale nelle città della Tunisia romana*, edd. S. Bullo and F. Ghedini (Antenor Quaderni 2.1–2) (Rome 2003) 221–32.

Bathing in Late Antiquity: A. Berger (1982) *Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit* (Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 27) (Munich 1982); R. Bowen Ward (1992) "Women in Roman baths", in *The Harvard Theological Review* 85 (1992) 125–47; G. Schöllgen (1995) 'Balnea mixta: Entwicklung des spätantiken Bademoral', in *Festschrift K. Thraede* (Münster, 1995) 182–194; E. Synek (1998) "Christliche Badekultur", in *Alltägliches Altertum*, ed. E. Specht (Frankfurt 1998) 227–35; M. M. Mango (2000) "Building and architecture", in *The Cambridge Ancient History. Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, AD 425–600*, edd. A. Cameron, B. Ward-Perkins and M. Whitby (The Cambridge Ancient History 14) (Cambridge 2000) 934–40; F. Yegül (1999) "Bathing", in *Late Antiquity. A Guide to the Post-classical World*, edd. G. W. Bowersock, P. Brown and O. Grabar, (Cambridge, Massachusetts-London, 1999) 338. See also F. Yegül (1995) *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge MA 1995) 329–39 (Late Antiquity).

Regional/case studies of late antique private baths: *Gaul:* C. Balmelle (2004) *Les demeures aristocratiques d'Aquitaine. Société et culture de l'Antiquité tardive dans le Sud-Ouest de la Gaule* (Aquitania Supplément 10) (Bordeaux 2001); A. Bouet (1997) "Les thermes de la Villa de Montmaurin (Haute-Garonne) et la pratique balnéaire et sportive dans l'Antiquité tardive," *Aquitaine* 15 (1997) 215–44; R. Monturet, H. Rivière et al. (1986) *Les Thermes Sud de la Villa Gallo-Romaine de Séviac* (Aquitania Supplement 2) (Bordeaux 1986). *Spain:* J. López i Vilar and L. Pinol Masgoret (2001) "Complejos termales en las 'villae' tardorromanas del Camp de Tarragona ('Ager Tarraconensis')", *Arqueología y territorio medieval* 8 (2001) 77–96. *Italy:* C. Sfameni (2006) *Ville residenziali nell'Italia Tardoantica* (Bari 2006) 105–109. *Piazza Armerina:* A. Carandini, A. Ricci and M. de Vos (1982) *Filosofiana. La villa di Piazza Armerina* (Palermo 1982) 326–73. *Asia Minor:* I. Uytterhoeven and F. Martens (in press) "Private bathing and water consumption at Sagalassos (South-West Turkey) and Asia Minor", in *Cura aquarum in Jordania. Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress on the History of Water Management and Hydraulic Engineering in the Mediterranean Region (Petra/Amman, 1–9 April 2007)*. G. Wiplinger (1999) "Hanghaus 2, Wohneinheit 1 + 2", *ÖJh* 68 (1999) Beiblatt, Jahresbericht 1998, 19–20. *Syria:* G. Charpentier (1995) "Les petits bains protobyzantins de la Syrie du Nord," *Topoi* 5 (1995) 219–47. See also I. Baldini Lippolis (2001) *La domus tardoantica. Forme e rappresentazioni dello spazio domestico nelle città del Mediterraneo* (Bologna-Imola 2001) 64–66 and partim.

4. *Kitchens*

Kitchens had belonged to service areas in Early Roman houses, only being frequented by servants and slaves. Although, to date, publications on kitchens have only focused on the Imperial period, the features they discuss were, in all probability, still needed in late antique houses, in which dining also constituted one of the principal social activities. Ovens have been excavated in the ‘Palace of the Dux’ at Apollonia, and in a large town house at Sardis. However, only a few kitchens have been identified in domestic contexts. S. P. Ellis has explained the limited occurrence of kitchens by suggesting that food was brought in from external kitchens, bars or cafés.

General works covering the whole Roman period: E. Salza Prina Ricotti (1978–80) “Cucine e quartieri servili in epoca romana”, *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 51–52 (1978–80) 237–94; N. Blanc and A. Nercessian (1994) *La cuisine romaine antique* (Grenoble 1994). For cooking and eating see P. W. Foss (1994) “Function and meaning: cooking and eating in the Roman household”, *AJA* 98 (1994) 337; P. W. Foss (1997) “Watchful Lares: Roman household organization and the rituals of cooking and eating”, in *Domestic Space in the Roman World. Pompeii and Beyond* (JRA Supplementary Series 22), edd. R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill (Portsmouth, Rhode Island 1997) 196–218. For *Pompeii* see P. W. Foss (1994) *Kitchens and Dining Rooms at Pompeii. The Spatial and Social Relationship of Cooking to Eating in the Roman Household* (Ann Arbor 1994). See also S. P. Ellis (2000) *Roman Housing* (London 2000) 158–59. For *North-Africa (2nd c. into 5th c.)* see P. Bonini and F. Rinaldi (2003) “Gli ambienti di servizio”, in *Amplissimae atque ornatissimae domus (Aug., Civ., II, 20, 26). L’edilizia residenziale nelle città della Tunisia romana*, edd. S. Bullo and F. Ghedini (Antenor Quaderni 2.1–2) (Rome 2003) 189–220 (la cucina: 192–197). *Ovens:* S. P. Ellis (1985) “The ‘Palace of the Dux’ at Apollonia and related houses”, in *Cyrenaica in Antiquity*, edd. G. Barker, J. Lloyd and J. Reynolds (Oxford 1985) 17; C. H. Greenewalt, Jr. and M. L. Rautman (2000) “The Sardis campaigns of 1996, 1997, and 1998”, *AJA* 104 (2000) 653–54.

5. *Latrinae*

Private toilet facilities tended to be located near to the service area of the house, where the necessary water could be supplied, or a direct connection with the sewer system was possible. Our knowledge regarding *latrinae* in Late Antiquity is mainly based on comparisons with examples dating to the Imperial period found on Italian sites, such as Pompeii, Ostia and Tivoli, whilst the *latrinae* of North African houses have also been studied. Even though toilets have been excavated at late antique sites, they have not been subjected to detailed publications.

For instance, a toilet has been excavated in connection with a sewer in a large aristocratic dwelling at Sagalassos. Another *latrina* has been found in a late antique town house at Sardis, whereas two examples are known from the ‘Palace of the Dux’ at Apollonia.

Private latrinae in the Republic and Early Empire period: G. C. M. Jansen (1994) “Romeinse prive-toiletten”, in *Latrines. Antieke toiletten, modern onderzoek*, edd. S. Piras, P. Homan and C. Waslander (Edu’actief. Cultuurhistorische reeks) (Meppel 1994) 30–36; A. O. Koloski-Ostrow (2004) “Roman latrines: how the romans did their business”, *Archaeology Odyssey* 7.3 (2004) 48–55; G. Jansen (2005) “Latrine”, in *Antike Medizin. Ein Lexikon*, ed. K.-H. Leven (Munich 2005) 551–52. Pompeii: S. L. Wynia (1994) “Het toilet in het huis van M. Lucretius Fronto te Pompeii”, in *Latrines. Antieke toiletten, modern onderzoek*, edd. S. Piras, P. Homan and C. Waslander (Edu’actief. Cultuurhistorische reeks) (Meppel 1994) 37; G. C. M. Jansen (1997) “Private toilets at Pompeii: appearance and operation”, in *Sequence and Space in Pompeii*, edd. S. E. Bon and R. Jones (Oxbow Monographs 77) (Oxford 1997) 121–34; G. M. C. Jansen (2000) “Hygiene and private toilets at Pompeii”, in *Cura Aquarum in Sicilia. Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress on the History of Water Management and Hydraulic Engineering in the Mediterranean Region* (Syracuse May 1998), ed. G. M. C. Jansen (BABesch Supplement 6) (Leuven 2000); F. Sear (2004) “Cisterns, drainage and lavatories in Pompeian houses, Casa del Granduca (VII. 4.56)”, *PBSR* 72 (2004) 125–66. Ostia: J. S. Boersma (1994) “Het toilet in de domus della Fortuna Annonaria te Ostia”, in *Latrines. Antieke toiletten, modern onderzoek*, edd. S. Piras, P. Homan and C. Waslander (Edu’actief. Cultuurhistorische reeks) (Meppel 1994) 38–39; J. S. Boersma (1996) Private latrines in Ostia: a case study”, *BABesch* 71 (1996) 151–60. For *North-Africa* (2nd c. into 5th c.) see P. Bonini and F. Rinaldi (2003) “Gli ambienti di servizio”, in *Amplissimae atque ornatisimae domus (Aug., Civ., II, 20, 26). L’edilizia residenziale nelle città della Tunisia romana*, edd. S. Bullo and F. Ghedini (Antenor Quaderni 2.1–2) (Rome 2003) 189–220 (1a latrina: 197–200).

Private latrinae in Late Antiquity: Sagalassos: F. Martens (in press) “Private bathing and water consumption at Sagalassos (South-West Turkey) and Asia Minor”, in *Cura aquarum in Jordania. Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress on the History of Water Management and Hydraulic Engineering in the Mediterranean Region (Petra/Amman, 1–9 April 2007)*; Sardis: C. H. Greenewalt, Jr. and M. L. Rautman (2000) “The Sardis campaigns of 1996, 1997, and 1998”, *AJA* 104 (2000) 653–54. Apollonia: see R. G. Goodchild (1960) “A Byzantine palace at Apollonia (Cyrenaica)”, *Antiquity* 34 (1960) 246–58; S. P. Ellis (1985) “The ‘Palace of the Dux’ at Apollonia and related houses”, in *Cyrenaica in Antiquity*, edd. G. Barker, J. Lloyd and J. Reynolds (Oxford 1985) 17, 20.

6. *Private shrines—religion in a domestic context*

In the Early Christian period, domestic spaces could operate as meeting places for Christians. B. Brenk’s *Die Christianisierung der spätrömischen Welt*

is a valuable work discussing the relationship between houses and the Christian religion. Like the Early Roman houses, which included pagan shrines, late antique houses were provided with places of Christian worship. The discovery of Christian symbols in late antique domestic contexts illustrates the increasing influence of Christianity, even though, concurrently, pagan motifs continued to occupy prominent positions. In some cases, archaeologists have unearthed Christian decorative elements that have enabled them to chart the Christianisation of house owners. The close relationship that could exist between a villa and a shrine, or a church, has been explored by studies on Britain and Spain. Contributions dealing with individual sites in all areas of the empire have also discussed the ‘religious’ function of the late antique villa. In addition to everyday rooms that were merely decorated with Christian themes, such as the *triclinium* with a mosaic floor depicting the *Chi-Rho* monogram at Frampton in Britain, rooms given over entirely to religious practices were constructed in large houses. Clear examples of Christian shrines have been identified at Dura Europos and Apollonia. For example, the private chapel in the ‘Palace of the Dux’ at Apollonia consisted of a small, three-aisled structure that featured an apse, and housed a reliquary.

Religion in a domestic context: B. Brenk (2003) *Die Christianisierung der spätrömischen Welt. Stadt, Land, Haus, Kirche und Kloster in frühchristlicher Zeit* (Spätantike-Frühes Christentum-Byzanz, Kunst im ersten Jahrtausend. Reihe B: Studien und Perspektiven 10) (Wiesbaden 2003) (esp. 49–137). Spain: J. Lancia (2004) “Vivre avec les dieux dans les villas tardives de la péninsule ibérique”, in *Les cultes locaux dans le monde grec et romain. Actes du colloque (Lyon 7–8 June 2001)*, ed. G. La Barre (Collection Archéologie et Histoire de l’Antiquité 7) (Paris 2004) 213–34. Rome: J. M. Petersen (1969) “House-churches in Rome”, *Vigiliae Christianae* 23 (1969) 264–72; H. O. Maier, “The topography of heresy and dissent in late fourth-century Rome”, *Historia* 44 (1995) 232–49. Milan: H. O. Maier (1994) “Private space as the social context of Arianism in Ambrose’s Milan”, *JThS* 45.1 (1994) 72–93.

Pagan cult elements in houses: Ostia: J. T. Bakker (1994) *Living and Working with Gods. Studies of Evidence for Private Religion and its Material Environment in the City of Ostia (100–500 A.D.)* (Dutch Monographs in Ancient History and Archaeology) (Amsterdam 1994). For pagan elements in Christian houses see N. Hannestad (2002) “Das Ende der antiken Idealstatue. Heidnische Skulptur in christlichen Hausern?”, *Antike Welt* 6 (2002) 635–49. For domestic cults in general see S. P. Ellis (2000) *Roman Housing* (London 2000) 137–38.

Christian elements in houses: e.g. Frampton: S. R. Cosh and D. S. Neal (2006) edd. *Roman Mosaics of Britain. Volume 2: South-West Britain* (London 2006). Rome:

B. Brenk (1999) “La cristianizzazione della domus dei Valerii sul Celio”, in *The Transformations of Urbs Roma in Late Antiquity*, ed. W. V. Harris (JRA Supplementary Series 33) (Portsmouth, Rhode Island 1999) 69–84.

Christian villas, shrines and churches: *Britain:* K. S. Painter (1971) “Villas and Christianity in Roman Britain”, in *Prehistoric and Roman Studies Commemorating the Opening of the Department of Prehistoric and Romano-British Antiquities*, ed. G. de G. Sieveking (London 1971) 156–77. *Spain:* K. Bowes (2001) “...Nec sedere in villam”: villa churches, rural piety and the priscillianist controversy”, in *Urban Centers and Rural Contexts in Late Antiquity*, edd. T. S. Burns and J. W. Eadie (East Lansing 2001) 323–48.

‘Christian’ villas: *Britain:* G. W. Meates (1979) *The Roman Villa at Lullingstone, Kent* (Kent 1979). *Italy:* G. Volpe (1998) ed. *San Giusto. La villa, le ecclesiae: primi risultati dello scavo nel sito rurale di San Giusto (Lucera), 1995–1997* (Bari 1998); G. Volpe (2001) “San Giusto: un insediamento apulo nel quadro dell’Adriatico”, in *Lo Adriatico. Civiltà di mare tra frontiere e confine*, ed. F. Motta (Milan 2001) 139–45.

Private chapels: *Apollonia:* J. B. Ward-Perkins (1976) “The Christian architecture of Apollonia”, in *Apollonia. The Port of Cyrene. Excavations Conducted by the University of Michigan 1965–1967*, ed. J. Humphrey (LibAnt Supplement 4) (Tripoli 1976) 267–92; S. P. Ellis (1985) “The ‘Palace of the Dux’ at Apollonia and related houses”, in *Cyrenaica in Antiquity*, edd. G. Barker, J. Lloyd and J. Reynolds (Oxford 1985) 15–25.

7. *Accommodation for guests*

Scholars have made a series of attempts to identify guest rooms and quarters among the ruins of late antique houses. In line with descriptions of ancient authors, such as those of Sidonius Apollinaris, identifications are generally based on a location of the presumed guest rooms near the representative chambers of a residence, and in some cases are corroborated by inscriptions.

E. Morvillez (2002) “Les appartements d’hôtes dans les demeures de l’antiquité tardive: mode occidentale et mode orientale”, *Pallas* 60 (2002) 231–45. See also O. R. Constable (2003) *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World. Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge 2003).

The Decoration of the Late Antique House

The decoration of private houses in urban and rural settlements continued to be a clear indicator of their owners’ prosperity. This ‘decorative aspect’ was the initial and principal focus of many works on late antique houses, especially older publications. Apart from general discussions of

decorative features in private residences by case studies and archaeological reports on sites in all areas of the empire, a number of studies have looked solely at wall paintings and mosaics.

The mosaic floors of late antique houses are well represented in general regional *corpora*, and in articles on Roman mosaics covering almost all areas of the Empire. They are also examined by site-specific studies. However, general publications on late antique mosaics are few and far between. Those books and articles that have looked specifically at late antique domestic mosaics explain them within broad architectural, functional and social contexts, both in urban and rural areas. The mosaics discovered in the Great Palace in Constantinople that were recently restored, have been central to the study of mosaics in Late Antiquity.

In comparison with mosaic floors, late antique wall paintings have been less widely published. They are, however, briefly covered by general overviews of Roman wall painting. The wall paintings of the 'Hanghäuser' in Ephesus and those of the 'Casa del Cortile Dorico' at Hierapolis, represent exceptions to this rule.

Decoration in urban houses: C. Kondoleon (1991) "Signs of privilege and pleasure: Roman domestic mosaics", in *Roman Art in the Private Sphere. New Perspectives on the Architecture and Decor of the Domus, Villa, and Insula*, ed. E. Gazda (Ann Arbor, Michigan 1991) 105–15. *Ostia and Rome*: S. L. Hansen (1997) "The embellishment of late antique domus in Ostia and Rome", in *Patron and Pavements in Late Antiquity*, edd. I. Isager and B. Poulsen (Halicarnassian Studies II) (Odense 1997) 111–24. *Asia Minor*: C. Kondoleon (2001) "Patrons of domestic art in and around late-antique Asia Minor", *JRA* 14 (2001) 648–50. S. Campbell (1996) "Signs of prosperity in the decoration of some 4th–5th century buildings at Aphrodisias", in *Aphrodisias Papers 3. The Setting and Quarries, Mythological and Other Sculptural Decoration, Architectural Development, Portico of Tiberius, and Tetrapylon*, edd. C. Roueché and R. R. R. Smith (JRA Supplementary Series 20) (Ann Arbor, Michigan 1996) 187–99. D. Parrish (1995) "The architectural design and interior décor of Apartment I in insula 2 at Ephesus", in *Fifth International Colloquium on Ancient mosaics held at Bath, England, on September 5–12, 1987, vol. II*, ed. R. Ling (JRA Supplementary Series 9) (Ann Arbor, Michigan 1995) 143–58; D. Parrish (1997) "Architectural function and decorative programs in the terrace houses in Ephesos", *Topoi* 7 (1997) 579–633. *Syria*: A. Naccache (1997) "Le décor des maisons de Syrie du Nord comme produit d'une économie locale: l'exemple de Sergilla", in *Les maisons dans la Syrie antique du III^e millénaire aux début de l'Islam. Pratiques et représentations de l'espace domestique. Actes du colloque international (Damas 27–30 June 1992)*, edd. C. Castel, M. Maqdissi and F. Villeneuve (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, Institut Français d'Archéologie du Proche-Orient 150) (Beyrouth 1997) 305–11.

Decoration in late antique rural houses: e.g. *Aquitaine*: F. Braemer (1982) “L’ornementation des établissements ruraux de l’Aquitaine méridionale pendant le haut-empire et la basse antiquité”, in *Actes du 104e congrès national des sociétés savantes (Bordeaux 1979)* (Paris 1982) 109–24; C. Balmelle (2004) *Les demeures aristocratiques d’Aquitaine. Société et culture de l’Antiquité tardive dans le Sud-Ouest de la Gaule (Aquitania Supplement 10)* (Bordeaux 2001).

(Late) Roman mosaics: *General*: K. M. D. Dunbabin (1999) *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge 1999); B. Andrete (2003) *Antike Bildmosaiken* (Mainz am Rhein 2003). *Britain*: D. J. Smith (1983) “Roman mosaics in Britain: a synthesis”, in *III. colloquio internazionale sul mosaico antico Ravenna 1980*, ed. R. Farioli Campanati (Ravenna 1983) 405–10; P. A. Witts (2005) *Mosaics in Roman Britain. Stories in Stone* (Redmond, Washington 2005). See also D. Perring (2002) *The Roman House in Britain* (London 2002). *Gaul*: *Recueil général des mosaïques de la Gaule*, ed. H. Stern (published since 1957). C. Balmelle (2004) *Les demeures aristocratiques d’Aquitaine. Société et culture de l’Antiquité tardive dans le Sud-Ouest de la Gaule (Aquitania Supplement 10)* (Bordeaux 2001). *Spain*: Series of *Corpus de mosaicos de España*, ed. J.-M. Blázquez (published since 1988). See also J.-M. Blázquez (1993) *Mosaicos romanos de España* (Madrid 1993); J.-M. Blázquez (1994) “Unveröffentlichte und wenig bekannte Mosaiken aus Spanien”, in *Actes du IV^e colloque international pour l’étude de la mosaïque antique*, edd. J.-P. Darmon and A. Rebourg (Trèves 1994) 293–302 (mainly late antique mosaic floors). Specifically for the region of Barcelona see X. Barral Altet (1978) *Les mosaïques romaines et médiévales de la Regio Laetana (Barcelone et ces environs)* (Barcelone 1978). *Portugal*: J. M. Bairrão Oleiro (1992) *Corpus dos mosaicos romanos de Portugal* (Conímbriga 1992); Series of *Corpus des mosaïques romaines du Portugal* (published since 2000). *Italy*: G. L. Grassigli (1998) *La scena domestica e il suo immaginario. I temi figurati nei mosaici della Cisalpina* (Naples 1998); A. Carandini, A. Ricci and M. de Vos (1982) *Filosofiana. La villa di Piazza Armerina* (Palermo 1982) 326–73. *Greece*: *Corpus des mosaïques de pavement de Grèce*, ed. P. Assimakopoulou-Atzaka (published since 1987). See also M. Spiro (1968) *Critical Corpus of Mosaic Pavements on the Greek Mainland, Fourth/Sixth Centuries* (New York-London 1968); J.-P. Sodini (1970) “Mosaïques paleochrétiennes de Grèce”, *BCH* 94 (1970) 790–93. For Nikopolis see E. Kitzinger (1951) “Studies on late antique and early Byzantine floor mosaics, 1: Mosaics at Nikopolis”, *DOP* 6 (1951) 82–122. *Asia Minor*: For Aphrodisias see S. Campbell (1981) *The Mosaics of Aphrodisias in Caria* (Toronto 1981). For Ephesus see W. Jobst (1977) *Römische Mosaiken aus Ephesos I* (Wien 1977); W. Jobst (1978) “Römische Mosaiken in Ephesos”, in *The Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology (Ankara 23–30 September 1973)*, ed. E. Akgural (Ankara 1978) 653–60. *Cyprus*: W. A. Daszewski and D. Michaelidis (1988) *Mosaic Floors in Cyprus* (Ravenna 1988). *Near East*: J. Balty (1995) *Mosaïques antiques du Proche-Orient, chronologie, iconographie, interprétation* (Besançon 1995); J. Balty (1981) “La mosaïque au Proche-Orient I”, in *ANRW* II.12.2 (Berlin-New York 1981) 418–22. *Syria*: J. Balty (1977) *Mosaïques de Syrie* (Brussels 1977); G. Brands (2002) “Anmerkungen zu spätantiken Bodenmosaiken aus Nordsyrien”, *JAC* 45 (2002) 122–36. For Antioch see J. M. Huskinson (2002–2003) “Theatre, performance and theatricality in some mosaic pavements from Antioch”, *BICS* 46 (2002–2003)

131–66; J. M. Huskinson (2004) “Surveying the scene: Antioch mosaic pavements as a source of historical evidence”, in *Culture and Society in Later Roman Antioch. Papers from a Colloquium (London 15 December 2001)*, edd. I. Sandwell and J. M. Huskinson (Oxford 2004) 134–52. For Palmyra see J. Balty (1990) “Nouvelles remarques sur les mosaïques de Palmyre”, *ÉtTrav* 15 (1990) 37–43. *Arabia*: M. Piccirillo (1993) *The Mosaics of Jordan* (Amman 1993). *Palestine*: R. Ovadiah and A. Ovadiah (1987) *Mosaic Pavements in Israël from the Hellenistic to the Early Byzantine Period (Bibliotheca Archaeologica 6)* (Rome 1987). *Africa*: K. M. D. Dunbabin (1978) *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa* (Oxford 1978). Series of *Corpus des mosaïques de Tunisie* (published since 1973); M. Ennaifer (1994) “État de la recherche dans le domaine de la mosaïque en Tunisie”, in *La mosaïque gréco-romaine IV* (Paris 1994) 238–39; M. Hassine Fantar and F. Ghedini (1995) edd. *I mosaici romani di Tunisia* (Milan 1995). For Carthage see K. M. D. Dunbabin (1985) “Mosaics of the Byzantine period in Carthage: problems and directions of research”, in *CahÉtAnc* 17 (1985) 9–30. For d’El Alia see G. C. Picard (1990) “Mosaïques et société dans l’Afrique romaine: les mosaïques d’El Alia (Tunisie)”, in *L’Afrique dans l’Occident romain (I siècle av. J.C.–IV siècle ap. J.C.). Actes du colloque (Rome 3–5 December 1987)* (Paris-Rome 1990) 3–14. *Mauretania*: For Cuicul see M. Blanchard-Lemée (1975) *Maisons à mosaïques du quartier central de Djemila Cuicul* (Aix-en-Provence 1975). For Volubilis see Z. Belcadi (1988) *Les mosaïques de Volubilis* (Paris 1988).

Late antique mosaics in urban residences: Northern Italy: M. G. Maioli (2003) “Il mosaico pavimentale. Caratteristiche e produzioni”, in *Abitare in città. La Cisalpina tra impero e medioevo. Leben in der Stadt: Oberitalien zwischen römischer Kaiserzeit und Mittelalte. Kolloquium (Rom 4–5 November 1999)*, edd. J. Ortalli and M. Heinzelmann (Palilia 12) (Wiesbaden 2003) 197–204. M. G. Maioli (1987) “L’edilizia privata tardo antica in Romagna: appunti sulla pavimentazione musiva”, *Corsi di cultura sull’arte ravennate e bizantina* 34 (1987) 209–51. *Spain*: J. Arce Martínez (1996) “El mosaico cosmológico de Augusta Emerita y las dionisyaca de Nonno de Panopolis”, in *El mosaico cosmológico de Mérida. Eugenio García Sandoval in memoriam*, edd. J. M. Álvarez Martínez (Cuadernos Emeritenses 12) (Mérida 1996) 93–116. *Greece and the Greek Islands*: G. Akerström-Hougen G. (1974) *The Calendar and Hunting Mosaics of the Villa of the Falconer in Argos. A Study in Early Byzantine Iconography* (Stockholm 1974). E. Brouscari (1997) “The Tyche of Cos on a mosaic from a late antique house in Cos”, in *Patron and Pavements in Late Antiquity*, edd. S. Isager and B. Poulsen (Halicarnassian Studies II) (Odense 1997) 65–77. *Constantinople*: For the Great Palace see G. Hellenkemper Salies (1987) “Die Datierung der Mosaiken im Grossen Palast zu Konstantinopel”, *Bj* 187 (1987) 273–308; Y. Ötügen (1999) “Opus sectile-Fußböden in der Türkei. Neue Funde und Konservierungsfragen”, in *Neue Forschungen und Restaurierungen im byzantinischen Kaiserpalast von Istanbul. Akten der internationalen Fachtagung vom 6.-8 November 1991 in Istanbul*, edd. W. Jobst, R. Kastler and V. Scheibelreiter (Wien 1999) 41–45. *Asia Minor*: B. Poulsen (1997) “The city personifications in the late ‘Roman Villa’ in Halikarnassos”, in *Patron and Pavements in Late Antiquity*, edd. I. Isager and B. Poulsen (Halicarnassian Studies II) (Odense 1997) 9–23. *Syria*: J. Balty (1994) “Nouvelles mosaïques d’Apamée: fortune et decline d’une demeure (V^e–VI^e s.)”, in *VI*.

coloquio internacional sobre mosaico antiguo, Palencia-Merida, octubre 1990 (Guadalajara 1994) 187–99; J. Balty (1997) “Mosaique et architecture domestique dans l’Apamée des V^e et VI^e siècles”, in *Patron and Pavements in Late Antiquity*, edd. I. Isager and B. Poulsen (Halicarnassian Studies II) (Odense 1997) 84–110. H. Stern (1977) *Les mosaïques des maisons d’Achille et de Cassiopée à Palmyre* (BAH 201) (Paris 1977). H. Badawi (1997) “L’opus sectile nelle case aristocratiche di Tiro nell’epoca tardo-antica”, in *Les maisons dans la Syrie antique du III^e millénaire aux début de l’Islam. Pratiques et représentations de l’espace domestique. Actes du colloque international (Damas 27–30 juin 1992)*, edd. C. Castel, M. Maqdiyyi and F. Villeneuve (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, Institut Français d’Archéologie du Proche-Orient 150) (Beyrouth 1997) 83–94. *Arabia*: I. Z’ubi, P.-L. Gatier, M. Piccirillo and J. Seigne (1994) “Note sur une mosaïque à scène bacchique dans un palais d’époque byzantine à Jérash”, *Liber Annuus* 44 (1994) 539–46; H. Joyce (1980) “A mosaic from Gerasa in Orange, Texas and Berlin”, *RömMitt* 87 (1980) 307–25; I. Kriseleit (1984) “Ein Fussbodenmosaik aus Gerasa”, *Forschungen und Berichte* 24 (1984) 75–97.

Late antique mosaics in rural villas: *Britain*: S. A. Scott (1993) “A theoretical framework for the study of Romano-British villa mosaics”, in *Theoretical Roman Archaeology. First Conference Proceedings (Newcastle 1991)*, ed. E. Scott (Worldwide Archaeology Series 4) (Aldershot 1993) 103–14; S. A. Scott (2000) ed. *Art and Society in 4th c. Britain. Villa Mosaics in Context* (Oxford 2000); P. A. Witts (2000) “Mosaics and room function: the evidence from some fourth-century Romano-British villas”, *Britannia* 31 (2000) 291–324. *Spain*: H. Schlunk (1988) ed. *Die Mosaikkuppel von Centelles* (Mayence 1988); M. P. San Nicolas Pedraz (1994) “Mosaicos y espacio en la villa romana de Fuente Alamo (Cordoba, España)”, in *L’Africa romana. Atti del X convegno di studio (Oristano 11–13 December 1992)*, edd. Mastino and P. Ruggeri (Sassari 1994) 1289–1304.

Roman wall painting: e.g. *Britain*: N. Davey and R. Ling (1983) *Wall Painting in Roman Britain* (Britannia Monograph 3) (London 1983); R. Ling (1985) *Romano-British Wall Painting* (Shire 1985). *Gaul*: A. Barbet (1985) *Peinture murale en Gaule* (BAR International Series 240) (Oxford 1985).

Late antique wall painting: *Ephesus*: V. M. Strocka and H. Vettters (1977) *Die Wandmalerei der Hanghäuser in Ephesos* (Forschungen in Ephesos VIII.1) (Wien 1977); V. M. Strocka (2002) “Die Fresken von Hanghaus 2—Ein vierteljahrhundert später”, *JÖI* 71 (2002) 285–98. *Hierapolis*: A. Zaccaria-Ruggiu (2005) “Pitture dalla ‘Casa del Cortile Doric’ di Herapolis di Frigia: presentazione preliminare”, in *Théorie et pratique de l’architecture romaine. Études offertes à Pierre Gros*, edd. X. Lafon and G. Sauron (Aix-en-Provence 2005) 321–31.

Sculpture: M. Bergmann (1999) *Chiragan, Aphrodisias, Konstantinopel: zur mythologischen Skulptur der Spätantike* (Palilia 7) (Wiesbaden 1999); N. Hannestad (1994) *Tradition in Late Antique Sculpture. Conservation, Modernization, Production* (Aarhus 1994); Id. (2006) “Skulpturenausstattung spätantiker Herrschaftshäuser”, in *Konstantin der Grosse. Geschichte—Archäologie—Rezeption. Internationales Kolloquium vom 10.-15. Oktober 2005 an der Universität Trier*, edd. A. Demandt and J. Engemann (Trier 2006) 195–208; L. M. Stirling (2005) *The Learned Collector. Mythological Statuettes and Classical Taste in Late Antique Gaul* (Ann Arbor, Michigan 2005). *Chiragan*: B. Külerich (2005) “Chiragan—en problematisk samling af antik

skulptur”, in *Klassisk Forum (Oslo)* (2005.1) 37–51. *Carranque (Spain)*: D. Fernandez Galliano (ed.) (2001) *Carranque. Esplendor de la Hispania de Teodosio* (Alcala de Henares 2001). *Constantinople*: S. G. Bassett, “Excellent offerings: the Lausos collection in Constantinople,” *Art Bulletin* 82 (2000) 6–25; Id., *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge 2004). *Aphrodisias*: R. R. R. Smith (2006) *Aphrodisias II. Roman Portrait Statuary from Aphrodisias* (Mainz 2006); Id., “Late Roman Philosopher Portraits from Aphrodisias” *JRS* 80 (1990) 127–55.

Domestic silverware: J. M. C. Toynbee and K. S. Painter (1986) “Silver picture plates of Late Antiquity: AD 300 to 700”, *Archaeologia* 108 (1986) 15–65; R. E. Leader-Newby (2004) *Silver and Society in Late Antiquity. Functions and Meanings of Silver Plate in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Abingdon 2004). See also papers in *AnTard* 5 (1997) *L’argenterie de l’Antiquité Tardive*. *Kaiseraugst*: H. A. Cahn and A. Kaufmann-Heinemann (1984) edd. *Der Spätromische Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst* (Derendingen 1984). *Esquiline*: K. J. Shelton (1981) *The Esquiline Treasure* (London 1981). *Sevso*: M. Mundell-Mango (1990) “The Sevso Hunting plate”, *Apollo* 2/13 (1990) 65–67; M. Mundell-Mango and A. Bennett (1994) *The Sevso Treasure. Art Historical Description and Inscriptions and Methods of Manufacture and Scientific Analyses* (JRA Suppl. Ser. 12.1) (Oxford 1990). *Carthage*: F. Baratte, C. Metzger and S. La Niece (2002) *Le trésor de Carthage: contribution à l’étude de l’orfèvrerie de l’Antiquité tardive* (Paris 2002).

1. Furniture

Information on late antique furniture is mainly concentrated in certain publications on earlier imperial sites, such as Pompeii and Herculaneum. For the eastern Mediterranean, overviews by S. Jilek and J. Russell provide information from domestic contexts in Ephesus and Antioch, respectively. Meanwhile, S. P. Ellis’ contributions specifically deal with lighting equipment in the Late Roman period, whereas S. Sorochan has focused on fire and light in the Early Byzantine Empire.

General works: S. Faust (1989) *Fulcra. Figürlicher und ornamentaler Schmuck an antiken Betten* (Mainz 1989); S. Mols (1994) *Houten meubels in Herculaneum. Vorm, techniek en functie* (Indagationes Noviomagenses 10) (Nijmegen 1994).

Individual sites: S. Jilek (2003) “Mobiliar aus den Hanghäusern von Ephesos”, in *Akten des 9. Österreichischen Archäologentages am Institut für Klassische Archäologie der Paris Lodron-Universität Salzburg (6–8 Dezember 2001)*, edd. B. Asamer and W. Wohlmayr (Wien 2003) 87–92. J. Russell (2001) “Household furnishings”, in *Antioch. The Lost Ancient City*, ed. C. Kondoleon (Princeton 2001) 79–89.

Lighting: S. P. Ellis (1994) “Lighting in Late Roman houses”, in *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference (Durham 1994)*, edd. S. Cottam, D. Dungworth, S. Scott and J. Taylor (Oxford 1994) 65–71; S. P. Ellis in this volume; S. Sorochan (2002) “Light for life and death in the early Byzantine Empire”, in *Fire, Light and Light Equipment in the Graeco-Roman World*, ed. D. Zhuravlev (BAR International Series 1019) (Oxford 2002) 111–15.

THE END OF ANTIQUITY:
THE EARLY MEDIEVAL/EARLY ISLAMIC PERIOD

Early Medieval cities developed new features, which in many cases originated in Late Antiquity. For instance, in the East, the medieval ‘souq’ might have been influenced by the subdivided portico. The legacy of Late Antiquity was equally obvious in the countryside, where large numbers of rural villas continued to survive long into the Medieval Period. Material evidence for the important influence of Late Antiquity on Medieval urban housing and villa life has been unearthed in all areas of the Empire. General, regional and site-specific studies have been published, focusing in particular on the western provinces. In addition, monographs, books and articles on Middle Byzantine housing in Greece and Asia Minor have also been produced. However, this material constitutes a separate subject in its own right.

Gaul: M. Blanchard-Lemée M. (1982) “Mosaiques tardives et survie des villas en Gaule moyenne à l’époque mérovingienne”, in *Mosaïque. Recueil d’hommages à Henri Stern* (Paris 1982) 75–80; R. Samson (1987) “The Merovingian nobleman’s house. Castle or villa?”, *Journal of Medieval History* 13 (1987) 287–315.

Spain: For *urban housing* see S. F. Ramallo Asensio (2000) “Arquitectura doméstica en ámbitos urbanos entre los siglos V y VIII”, in *Visigodos y Omeyas. Un debate entre la antigüedad tardía y la alta edad media*, edd. L. Caballero Zoreda and P. Mateos (Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología, CSIC) (Madrid 2000) 367–84. For *rural housing* see A. Isla Frez (2001) “Villa, villula, castellum: problemas de terminología rural en época visigoda”, *Arqueología y Territorio Medieval* 8 (2001) 9–19; A. Chavarría (2004) “Interpreting the transformation of late antique villas: the case of Hispania”, in *Landscapes of Change. Rural Evolutions in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. N. Christie (Aldershot 2004) 67–102.

Italy: For *urban housing* see B. Bavant (1989) “Cadre de vie et habitat urbain en Italie centrale byzantine (VI^e–VIII^e siècles)”, *MÉFRM* 101 (1989) 456–532. R. Coates-Stephens (1996) “Housing in Medieval Rome, 500–1000 A.D.”, *PBSR* 64 (1996) 239–59; R. Santangeli Valenzani (1997) “Edilizia residenziale e aristocrazia urbana a Roma nell’altomedioevo”, in *I congresso di archeologica medievale* (Pisa 1997), ed. S. Gelichi (Florence 1997) 64–70; R. Santangeli Valenzani (2000) “Residential building in early Medieval Rome”, in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West. Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. J. M. H. Smith (Leiden-Boston-Cologne 2000); R. Santangeli Valenzani (2004) “Abitare a Roma nell’alto medioevo”, in *Roma dall’antichità al medioevo II. Contesti tardoantiche e altomedievali* (Rome 2004) 41–59. *Rural housing* is discussed by A. Augenti (1992) “Roman villae in the Middle Ages: the Italian evidence”, in *A Conference on Medieval Archaeology in Europe 21st–24th September 1992 at the University of York. Pre-printed papers* (York 1992) 69–77; G. P. Brogiolo (1996) ed. *La fine delle ville*

romane. Transformazioni nelle campagne tra tarda antichità e alto medioevo (Mantua 1996); C. Sfameni (2004) “Residential villas in late antique Italy: continuity and change”, in *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside*, edd. W. Bowden, L. Lavan and C. Machado (Late Antique Archaeology 2) (Leiden-Boston 2004) 335–75. G. P. Brogiolo (1997) “Continuità tra tarda antichità e altomedioevo attraverso le vicende delle villae”, in *Ville romane sul lago di Garda*, ed. E. Roffia (Brescia 1997) 257–59.

The East in general: G. Velenis (1978) “Wohnviertel und Wohnhausbau in den Byzantinschen Städten”, in *Wohnungsbau im Altertum (Kolloquium veranstaltet vom Architektur-Referat des DAI—Berlin 21–21 November 1978)* (Diskussionen zur archäologischen Bauforschung 3) (Berlin 1978) 227–36.

Greece: L. Sigalos (2004) “Middle and late Byzantine houses in Greece (tenth to fifteenth centuries)”, in *Secular Buildings and the Archaeology of Everyday Life in the Byzantine Empire*, ed. K. Dark (Oxford 2004) 53–81.

Crete: J.-P. Sodini “La naissance de l’habitat medieval en Méditerranée Byzantine: le cas de Gortyne (VI^e–VIII^e s.)”, in *Creta romana e protobizantina* (Padova 2004) 669–86.

Asia Minor: U. Tanyeli (1996) “Housing and settlement patterns in the Byzantine, pre-Ottoman and Ottoman periods in Anatolia”, in *Tarihten günümüze Anadolu’da konut ve yerleşme (Housing and Settlement in Anatolia. A Historical Perspective)* (Istanbul 1996) 405–71; V. Kalas in this volume.

Palestine: O. Sion and A. Said (2002) “A mansion house from the late Byzantine-Umayyad period in Beth Shean-Scythopolis”, *Liber Annus* 52 (2002) 253–366.

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HOUSING IN LATE ANTIQUITY: REGIONAL PERSPECTIVES

Inge Uytterhoeven

INTRODUCTION

To a certain extent, our knowledge of late antique domestic architecture in the different areas of the Roman Empire is distorted by the uneven nature of archaeological research carried out to date. Regions such as Italy, Turkey and Syria, which have traditionally received a great deal of attention, and have for decades witnessed large-scale excavations, understandably offer more information than areas only more recently explored, such as the Danube and the Balkans. However, works dealing with the Roman Period in general can often be useful to partially fill the gaps. An imbalance between the archaeological evidence for late antique housing in urban and rural areas is also noteworthy. This often stems from the priorities and research aims of archaeologists. In many regions, archaeologists have traditionally focused on monumental city centres, and have only recently begun to investigate the late antique countryside. Further, it is important to appreciate that, on sites with a long excavation history, the remains of domestic structures may have been lost or obliterated during earlier excavations focused on monumental architecture. On a brighter note, the lack of archaeological research on domestic architecture in certain regions, sub-regions or sites can be advantageous in so far as they can now be studied from scratch using thorough and accurate modern research methods and techniques. In particular, surface survey, aerial photography and geophysical research have proved to be useful tools in retracing sites in both the intra and extramural areas of late antique cities. These approaches have been employed in conjunction with stratigraphic excavations.

GENERAL REMARKS: THE WEST

In the western provinces, aspects of Roman domestic architecture, such as house plans and decorative schemes, were adopted by the native

upper classes from the early period of Romanisation, ranging from the 1st c. B.C. to the 1st c. A.D. During the first four centuries of the Christian era, following the architectural transformation of Italy and the East, aristocratic houses continued to become progressively larger and more richly embellished, especially in Spain. This trend reached its apogee in Late Antiquity, when the aristocratic houses in the western provinces strongly resembled those in the East. Some late antique rural houses in the north-western provinces, whether aisled, featuring a gallery-façade, or organised around a courtyard, still reflected pre-Roman traditions. But the 4th c. A.D. witnessed the appearance of more sophisticated, grandiose rural dwellings, which included imposing reception rooms and apsidal *triclinia*. Other forms of housing, inhabited by the lower and middle classes, have also been excavated in the western Roman provinces. This research provides a more complete picture of housing in this area than that on the rest of the Empire. The understanding of a wide spectrum of housing types has made possible a lively debate on the definition of a villa, in comparison with other kinds of domestic structure in rural areas.

In general see R. Gogräfe and K. Kell (2002) edd. *Haus und Siedlung in den römischen Nordwestprovinzen. Grabungsbefund, Architektur und Ausstattung, Internationales Symposium (Homburg 23–24 November 2000)* (Homburg am Saar 2002). On the appearance of very large rural villas in the 4th c. see D. J. Smith (1978) “Regional aspects of the winged corridor villa in Britain”, in *Studies in the Romano-British Villa*, ed. M. Todd (Leicester 1978) 117–47; J.-P. Sodini (1995) “Habitat de l’antiquité tardive”, *Topoi* 5 (1995) 151–53. For villas versus other types of rural dwellings see S. Esmonde Cleary (2001) “The countryside of Britain in the 4th and 5th centuries: an archaeology”, in *Les campagnes de la Gaule à la fin de l’antiquité. Actes du colloque AGER IV (Montpellier 11–14 mars 1998)*, edd. P. Ouzoulias, C. Pellecuer, C. Raynaud, P. Van Ossel and P. Garmy (Juan-les-Pins 2001) 23–43. See also S. P. Ellis (2000) *Roman Housing* (London 2000) (esp. 86–88; 99–102).

GENERAL REMARKS: THE EAST

Roman aristocratic architecture in the East owed much more to earlier traditions than was the case in the western provinces, with the Hellenistic legacy being strongest in the former region. These traditions remained prominent even following the political subjugation of the region by the Romans. This means that it is not easy to categorise or define Roman domestic architecture in the East. This difficulty is

exacerbated by the long occupation history of many houses in the area. Houses were frequently built, rebuilt, extended and restored during the course of several centuries. They consequently displayed elements of various architectural periods and styles. To further complicate matters, indigenous influences continued to feature prominently in areas such as Egypt and Syria. So the basic construction materials (mudbrick, wood and occasionally stone), ground plans and elevations of Egyptian houses, all typical of the Pharaonic period, remained unchanged for centuries. In the cities of the southern Syrian Hauran, houses adopted elements referring to both Syrian and Roman traditions. Non-aristocratic housing in the East could also show signs of native, pre-Hellenic traditions. Although this subject is still under discussion, a number of scholars have argued that a great deal of rural housing owed little to classical traditions.

It may be stated that all over the Empire late antique aristocrats adapted the same domestic fashions in their houses, in both urban and rural environments. In other words, similar tendencies can be recognised at both ends of the Mediterranean. Sodini's "Habitat de l'Antiquité tardive" (1995) represents the most extensive survey of late antique housing in a variety of contexts in all corners of the Roman Empire. This work is complemented by regional studies of a later date. Once again the bibliographical references mentioned below do not intend to be an exhaustive list of the subject, but to offer a starting point for further studies on late antique housing in the different regions.

For a survey of late antique housing in the entire Roman Empire see J.-P. Sodini (1995) "Habitat de l'antiquité tardive", *Topoi* 5 (1995) 151–218; J.-P. Sodini (1997) "Habitat de l'antiquité tardive", *Topoi* 7 (1995) 435–77. S. P. Ellis (2000) *Roman Housing* (London 2000) (in particular 48–49, discussing the long occupation history of houses in the East). For indigenous elements in Eastern rural housing see e.g. J.-P. Sodini and G. Tate (1984) "Maisons d'époque romaine et byzantine (II^e–VI^e siècles) du Massif Calcaire de Syrie du Nord: étude typologique", in *Apamée de Syrie. Bilan des recherches archéologiques 1973–1979. Aspects de l'architecture domestique d'Apamée. Actes du colloque tenu à Bruxelles les 29, 30 et 31 mai 1980*, edd. J. Balty and J.-Ch. Balty (Fouilles d'Apamée de Syrie Miscellanea 13) (Brussels 1984) 377–430.

BRITAIN

Late antique British town houses are mainly known through publications that generally cover the Roman house in Britain during the entire

Roman period. Scholars have clearly devoted more attention to the rural villa in this region than to urban dwellings. Indeed, rural housing in Roman Britain has been the subject of a series of broad discussions since the 1970s. However, publications focusing on villas dating to the late antique period are somewhat limited. S. Esmonde Cleary's *The countryside of Britain in the 4th and 5th centuries* (2001) is one of a number of important contributions that shed light on the archaeological record of rural life in Late Antiquity. Case studies on individual Roman villas further contribute to our knowledge of rural housing in late antique Britain.

General works: C. W. Walthew (1975) "The town house and the villa house in Roman Britain", *Britannia* 6 (1975) 189–205; D. Perring (2002) *The Roman House in Britain* (London 2002) and the review of this work: J. J. Rossiter (2002) "Houses in Roman Britain", *JRA* 15 (2002) 625–29. A. L. F. Rivet (1970) ed. *The Roman Villa in Britain* (London 1970); K. Branigan (1971) *The Roman Villa in South-West England* (Bradford-on-Avon 1971); J. Burke (1978) *Life in the Villa in Roman Britain* (London 1978); D. J. Smith (1978) "Regional aspects of the winged corridor villa in Britain", in *Studies in the Romano-British Villa*, ed. M. Todd (Leicester 1978) 117–47; D. Miles (1982) ed. *The Romano-British Countryside. Studies in Rural Settlement and Economy* (BAR British Series 103) (Oxford 1982); R. Hingley (1989) *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain* (London 1989); G. de la Bédoyère (1993) *Roman Villas and the Countryside* (London 1993); R. Rippengal (1993) "Villas as a key to social structure? Some comments on recent approaches to the Romano-British villa and some suggestions towards an alternative", in *Theoretical Roman Archaeology. First Conference Proceedings (Newcastle 1991)*, ed. E. Scott (Worldwide Archaeology Series 4) (Aldershot 1993) 79–101; J. J. Rossiter (1993) "Some recent books on Roman villas", *JRA* 6 (1993) 450–51; E. Scott (1993) *A Gazetteer of Roman Villas in Britain* (Leicester 1993); S. Scott (1994) "Patterns of movement: architectural design and visual planning in the Romano-British villa", in *Meaningful Architecture. Social Interpretations of Buildings*, ed. M. Locock (Aldershot 1994) 86–98.

General regional studies: M. Todd (2004) ed. *A Companion to Roman Britain* (Blackwell Companions to British History) (Malden-Oxford-Victoria 2004) 344–48 (rural settlement in Northern Britain) and 364–70 (rural settlement in Southern Britain). North England: K. Branigan (1989) "Villas in the North", in *Rome and the Brigantes. The Impact of Rome on Northern England*, ed. K. Branigan (Sheffield 1989) 18–27. South-East England: E. W. Black (1987) *The Roman Villas of South-East England* (BAR British Series 171) (Oxford 1987). D. S. Neal (1978) "The growth and decline of villas in the Verulamium area", in *Studies in the Romano-British Villa*, ed. M. Todd (Leicester 1978) 33–58.

Specifically on late antique housing, mostly rural: J.-P. Sodini (1995) "Habitat de l'antiquité tardive", *Topoi* 5 (1995) 151–53. Rural housing in particular is discussed by S. Esmonde Cleary (2001) "The countryside of Britain in the 4th and 5th centuries, an archaeology", in *Les campagnes de la Gaule à la*

fin de l'antiquité. Actes du colloque AGER IV (Montpellier 11–14 mars 1998), edd. P. Ouzoulias, C. Pellecuer, C. Raynaud, P. Van Ossel and P. Garmy (Juanles-Pins 2001) 23–43. See also N. Faulkner *The Decline and Fall of Roman Britain* (Stroud 2000); D. S. Neal and S. Cosh (2004) *Roman Mosaics of Britain: vol. 1: Northern Britain incorporating the Midlands and East Anglia* (London 2004); vol. 2 South-West Britain (London 2006); S. Scott (1997) *Art and Society in Fourth Century Britain. Villa Mosaics in Context* (Oxford 1997). For villa sites within an urban context: J. S. Wachter (1974) “Villae in urbibus?”, *Britannia* 5 (1974) 282–84.

Selected sites with late antique urban housing: *Cirencester*: A. D. McWhirr (1986) *Houses in Roman Cirencester* (Cirencester Excavations 3) (Cirencester 1986). *Colchester*: N. Faulkner (1994) “Later Roman Colchester”, *OJA* 13 (1994) 93–120. *Silchester*: A. Clarke and M. G. Fulford (2002) “The excavation of Insula IX, Silchester: the first five years of the ‘Town Life’ Project, 1997–2001”, *Britannia* 23 (2002) 129–66. M. Fulford, A. Clarke, and H. Eckardt (2006) *Life and Labour in Late Roman Silchester: Excavations in Insula IX from 1997* (London 2006). *Winchester*: M. Biddle (1983) “The study of Winchester. Archaeology and history in a British town, 1961–1983”, *PBA* 69 (1983) 93–135. For further references see also B. C. Burnham and J. Wachter (1990) *The ‘Small Towns’ of Roman Britain* (London 1990); J. Wachter (1995) *The Towns of Roman Britain* (London 1995).

Selected villa sites with late antique occupation: *Beadlam*: D. S. Neal (1996) *Excavations on the Roman Villa at Beadlam, Yorkshire* (Yorkshire Archaeological Report 2) (Leeds 1996). *Bignor*: S. Applebaum (1975) “The economy of the Roman villa at Bignor”, *Britannia* 6 (1975) 118–32; E. W. Black (1983) “The Roman villa at Bignor in the fourth century”, *OJA* 2.1 (1983) 93–107. *Chedworth*: G. Webster (1984) “The Function of the Chedworth Roman Villa”, *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 101 (1984) 5–20; R. Goodburn (1988) “Chedworth Roman villa”, in *The Cirencester Area. Proceedings of the 134th Summer Meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute* (London 1988) 17–19; R. Goodburn (1998) *Chedworth Roman Villa* (London 1998). *Gadebridge*: D. S. Neal (1974) *The excavation of the Roman villa in Gadebridge Park Hemel Hempstead 1963–8* (Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London 31) (London 1974); D. S. Neal (2001) “Gadebridge revisited”, *The Antiquaries Journal* 81 (2001) 109–29. *Great Witcombe*: P. Leach (1998) *Great Witcombe Roman Villa, Gloucestershire. A Report on Excavations by Ernest Greenfield, 1960–1973* (BAR. British series 266) (Oxford 1998). *Lullingstone*: L. Press (1968) “La villa romaine de Lullingstone”, *Archeologia* 19 (1968) 164–72; G. W. Meates (1979) *The Roman villa at Lullingstone, Kent, I: The site* (Monograph Series of the Kent Archaeological Society 1) (Chichester 1979); G. W. Meates (1979) *The Roman villa at Lullingstone, Kent, II: The Wall Paintings and Finds* (Monograph Series of the Kent Archaeological Society 3) (Maidstone 1987). *Winterton*: I. M. Stead (1976) *Excavations at Winterton Roman Villa and Other Roman Sites in North Lincolnshire, 1958–67* (London 1976) *Woodchester*: G. Clarke (1982) “The Roman Villa at Woodchester”, *Britannia* 13 (1982) 197–228.

GAUL

The evolution of the urban house in Roman Gaul can be best followed in a number of general studies covering this entire area. At the same time, works have been dedicated to the specific region of Aquitaine in France. As far as concerns Late Antiquity in particular, a variety of general works on the Late Roman villa in the Gallic countryside have become available. Finally, a number of articles on individual sites have been published, including those on Echternach and Welschbillig.

General works: J.-P. Sodini (1995) "Habitat de l'antiquité tardive", *Topoi* 5 (1995) 153–61; S. P. Ellis (2000) *Roman Housing* (London 2000) (in particular 45–47). Of some use for background is T. F. G. Blagg (1990) *First-Century Roman Houses in Gaul and Britain* (Oxford 1990).

General works on urban housing: Centre de recherche HALMA (2001) *La maison dans la ville gallo-romaine: nouvelles perspectives. Colloque des 10 et 11 décembre 1999 (Maison de la recherche, Université Charles-de-Gaulle-Lille 3, 1999)* (Revue du Nord 83.343) (Lille 2001) 9–48; *La maison urbaine d'époque Romaine en Gaule Narbonnaise et dans les provinces voisines* (Documents d'archéologie vaclusienne 6) (Avignon 1996).

Regional studies of urban housing: *Aquitania:* C. Balmelle (1992) "L'habitat urbain dans le Sud-ouest de la Gaule romaine", in *Villes et agglomérations urbaines antiques du Sud-ouest de la Gaule. Histoire et archéologie* (Aquitania Supplement 6) (Bordeaux 1992) 335–64; C. Balmelle (1993) "Les grandes demeures de l'aristocratie", in *Les racines de l'Aquitaine. Vingt siècles de l'histoire d'une région, vers 1000 avant J.-C.-vers 1000 après J.-C.*, edd. L. Maurin, J.-P. Bost and J.-M. Roddaz (Bordeaux 1993) 126–39; C. Balmelle (1993) "Les villes de l'Aquitaine, l'habitat", in *Les racines de l'Aquitaine. Vingt siècles de l'histoire d'une région, vers 1000 avant J.-C.-vers 1000 après J.-C.*, edd. L. Maurin, J.-P. Bost and J.-M. Roddaz (Bordeaux 1993) 192–94. *Arles:* M. Heijmans (2004) *Arles durant l'antiquité tardive: de la duplex Arelas à la urbs Genesii* (Collection École Française de Rome 324) (Rome 2004).

General works on rural housing: J. Percival (1997) "Villas and monasteries in Late Roman Gaul", *JEH* 48 (1997) 1–21; P. Van Ossel (1997) "La part du Bas-Empire dans la formation de l'habitat rural du VI^e siècle", in *Grégoire de Tours et l'espace gaulois: actes du congrès international, Tours, 3–5 novembre 1994*, edd. N. Gauthier and H. Galinié (Supplément à la Revue archéologique du Centre de la France 13) (Tours 1997) 81–91; P. Van Ossel and P. Ouzoulias (2000) "Rural settlement economy in northern Gaul in the late empire: an overview", *JRA* 13 (2000) 133–160; M. Rorison (2001) *'Vici' in Roman Gaul* (BAR. International Series 933) (Oxford 2001).

Regional studies of rural housing: *Armorica:* P. Galliou (1983) *L'Armorique romaine* (Braspars 1983) *Northern Gaul:* E. Wightman (1978) "North-Eastern Gaul in Late Antiquity, the testimony of settlement patterns in an age of transition", *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig* 28 (1978) 241–50;

P. Van Ossel (1992) *Établissements ruraux de l'antiquité tardive dans le Nord de la Gaule* (Gallia Supplement 51) (Paris 1992). *Aquitania*: J.-P. Bost (1993) "La fin des villas", in *Les racines de l'Aquitaine. Vingt siècles de l'histoire d'une région, vers 1000 avant J.-C. - vers 1000 après J.-C.*, edd. L. Maurin, J.-P. Bost and J.-M. Roddaz (Bordeaux 1993) 140–41; C. Balmelle (2001) *Les demeures aristocratiques d'Aquitaine. Société et culture de l'antiquité tardive dans le Sud-ouest de la Gaule* (Aquitania Supplement 10) (Bordeaux 2001). F. Réchin (2006) (ed.) *Nouveaux regards sur les villae d'Aquitaine: bâtiments de vie et d'exploitation, domaines et postérités médiévales* (Pau 2006). *Narbonensis*: C. Pellecuer (dir.) (1996) *Formes de l'habitat rural en Gaule Narbonnaise, vol. 3, Spécial villa romaine* (Juan-les-Pins 1996); C. Pellecuer and H. Pomarèdes (2001) "Crise, survie ou adaptation de la villa romaine en Narbonnaise première? Contribution des récentes recherches de terrain en Languedoc-Rousillon", in *Les campagnes de la Gaule à la fin de l'antiquité. Actes du colloque AGER IV (Montpellier 11–14 mars 1998)*, edd. P. Ouzoulias, C. Pellecuer, C. Raynaud, P. Van Ossel and P. Garmy (Juan-les-Pins 2001) 503–32.

Selected sites, rural housing:

Echternach: J. Metzler, J. Zimmer and L. Bakker (1981) *Die römische Villa von Echternach* (Luxembourg 1981). *Welschbillig*: H. Wrede (1972) *Die Spätantike Hermengallerie von Welschbillig* (Berlin 1972). *Lieussac*: S. Mauné and M. Feugère (1999) "La villa gallo-romaine de Lieussac (Montagnac, Hérault, France) au VI^e s. de notre ère", *Arkäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 29 (1999) 377–94; *Loupian*: H. Lavagne, R. Prudhomme and D. Rouquette (1976) "La villa gallo-romaine des Prés-Bas à Loupian (Hérault)", *Gallia* 34 (1976) 215–35; C. Pellecuer (1995) "La villa des Prés-Bas (Loupian, Hérault): domaine et production agricole dans le territoire de la cité antique de Béziers", in *Cité et territoire: colloque européen, Béziers, 14–16 octobre 1994*, edd. M. Clavel-Lévêque and R. Plana-Mallart (Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 565. Centre de recherches d'histoire ancienne 145. Espaces et paysages 5) (Paris 1995) 187–193; C. Pellecuer (2002) "La villa de Loupian (Hérault) et la question des influences orientales en Narbonnaise première" *Pallas* 60 (2002) 247–50. *Montmaurin*: G. Fouet (1969) *La villa Gallo-romaine de Montmaurin* (Paris 1969).

THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

Broad regional and specific case studies examine urban and rural housing during the entire Roman period in Spain and Portugal. Where Late Antiquity is concerned, J. Arce, A. Chavarría and G. Ripoll's work on urban houses in Meridá, Barcelona and Alcalá de Henares is of especial interest. Investigations of Roman rural housing have discussed either the Iberian Peninsula as a whole, or regions and individual sites. The various contributions of A. Chavarría (1999 onwards), and J. López Quiroga's "La transformación de las villae en Hispania" (2002) represent

the essential works on the late antique period. In addition, a series of noteworthy high-quality publications have been generated by work on the villa of Centcelles.

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ITALY AND SICILY

Housing in Imperial Roman Italy has received much attention mainly thanks to the houses preserved in the Campanian Vesuvius sites, such as Pompeii and Herculaneum, that have generated a long list of publications. But, also for Late Antiquity, housing in Italy is better known than in many other regions of the Roman Empire. A number of valuable general studies cover urban housing in Italy from the 4th to the 8th centuries A.D., including articles by B. Bavant and J. Ortalli. The proceedings of the conference on *Abitare in città. La Cisalpina tra impero e medioevo*, which took place in 1999, highlight a significant research interest in *Gallia Cisalpina*. The remains of late antique housing in Rome, Ostia and the new capitals, Ravenna and Aquileia, have also been the subject of scholarly publications.

The late antique Italian countryside has been investigated by R. Francovich and R. Hodges’ *Villa to Village* (2003) and C. Sfameni’s *Ville residenziali nell’Italia Tardoantica* (Bari 2006). Both works supplement the articles published in G. P. Brogiolo’s *La fine delle ville romane* (1994). Regional surveys of late antique Italian rural settlements are also worthy of mention. Besides, the rich aristocratic residence at Piazza Armerina on Sicily has taken an important position in the study of late antique villas. It should also be noted that the wealth of archaeological and literary sources for Italy mean that it is often central to discussions on the transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages.

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THE DANUBE AND THE BALKANS

In the Danube and the Balkans, studies have tended to focus on domestic architecture in rural areas rather than in cities. Nevertheless, the material evidence for late antique urban housing has been explored by excavations of individual sites, such as Sirmium and the newly founded city of Justiniana Prima (Caričin Grad) in Serbia, and Stobi in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Archaeological work on the ‘Triconch Palace’ of Butrint in southern Albania has produced a number of publications. An older overview of archaeological research in Herzegovina fulfills the need for a more general work. In contrast, late antique rural housing in the Danube region and throughout the Balkans is much better known as a result of general studies published since the 1960s. Works by L. Mulvin and A. Poulter are the most up to date publications on the rural areas of the lower Danube.

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B. Bavant, V. Kondic and J.-M. Spieser (1990) edd. *Caričin Grad II. Le quartier Sud-ouest de la ville haute* (Paris 1990). Stobi: V. Sokolovska (1975) “Investigations in the House of Peristerias”, in *Studies in the Antiquities of Stobi 2*, edd. D. Mano-Zissi and J. Wiseman (Belgrade 1975) 123–37. Butrint: R. Hodges, W. Bowden and K. Lako (2005) edd. *Byzantine Butrint. Excavations and Surveys 1994–99* (Oxford 2005); O. Gilkes and K. Lako (2005) “Excavations at the Triconch Palace”, in *Byzantine Butrint. Excavations and Surveys 1994–99*, edd. R. Hodges, W. Bowden and K. Lako (Oxford 2005) 151–75; W. Bowden and J. Mitchell (2005) “The Christian topography of Butrint”, in *Byzantine Butrint. Excavations and Surveys 1994–99*, edd. R. Hodges, W. Bowden and K. Lako (Oxford 2005) 104–25; W. Bowden, R. Hodges and K. Lako (2002) “Roman and late-antique Butrint: excavations and survey 2000–2001”, *JRA* 15 (2002) 199–229; R. Hodges, W. Bowden and K. Lako (forthcoming) edd. *Palace Butrint. The Triconch* (forthcoming). See also W. Bowden (2003) *Epirus Vetus: The Archaeology of a Late Antique Province* (London 2003) (esp. 46–53 and 56–58).

General works on rural housing: L. Mulvin (2002) *Late Roman Villas in the Danube-Balkan Region* (BAR International Series 1064) (Oxford 2002); L. Mulvin (2004) “Late Roman villa plans: the Danube-Balkan region”, in *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside*, edd. W. Bowden, L. Lavan and C. Machado (Late Antique Archaeology 2) (Leiden-Boston 2004) 377–410; A. Poulter (2004) “Cataclysm on the lower Danube: the destruction of a complex roman landscape”, in N. Christie (2004) edd. *Landscapes of Change: Rural Evolutions in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot 2004) 223–54.

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Selected sites, rural housing: Arcar (Ratiaria): M. Mirković (1979) “Eine spätromische befestigte Villa in der Provinz Dacia Ripensis”, in *Palast und Hütte. Beiträge zum Bauen und Wohnen im Altertum von Archäologen, Vor- und Frühgeschichtlern. Tagungsbeiträge eines Symposiums (Berlin 25–30 November 1979)*, edd. D. Papenfuss and V. M. Strocka (Mainz am Rhein 1979) 485–92; G. Kuzmanov (2000) “A residence from the Late Antiquity in Ratiaria (Dacia Ripensis)”, *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 4 (2000) 27–43. Stara Zagora: D. Nikolov (1976) *The Thraco-Roman Villa Rustica near Chatalka, Stara Zagora, Bulgaria* (BAR International Series 17) (Oxford 1976). See also J.-P. Sodini (1997) “Habitat de l’antiquité tardive”, *Topoi* 7 (1997) 435–57.

GREECE

On urban housing in late antique Greece, J.-P. Sodini's "L'habitat urbain en Grèce à la veille des invasions" is the most important contribution, and a useful bibliographical tool for publications up to 1984. More recently, an article by G. W. M. Harrison (2004) discusses private housing in the Roman cities of Crete. At the same time, urban housing on the mainland and islands of Greece has been analysed in a series of case studies. Life in the city also plays an important role in an article by R. M. Rothaus highlighting the relationship between the late antique town of Corinth and rural villas within its territory. Contributions dealing with individual sites provide information on rural dwellings in other parts of Greece.

General works on urban housing: J.-P. Sodini (1984) "L'habitat urbain en Grèce à la veille des invasions", in *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin Actes du colloque (Rome 12–14 mai 1982)* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 77) (Rome 1984) 341–97. See also P. Bonini (2006) *La casa nella Grecia Romana* (Bologna 2006).

Regional studies of urban housing: *Crete:* G. W. M. Harrison (2004) "Organization of dwelling space in Roman Crete: the *disiecta membra* of cities", in *Crete romana e protobizantina*, edd. M. Livadiotti and I. Simiakaki (Padova 2004) 751–62. *Lesbos:* C. Williams and H. Williams (2005) "A Roman "house" in Mytilene", in *Image, Craft and the Classical World. Essays in Honour of Donald Bailey and Catherine Johns*, ed. N. Crummy (Monographies Instrumentum 29) (Montagnac 2005) 243–47.

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Selected sites, rural housing: e.g. F. J. Frost (1977) "Phourkari: a villa complex in the Argolid (Greece)", *IJNA* 6 (1977) 233–38. See also J.-P. Sodini (1997) "Habitat de l'antiquité tardive", *Topoi* 7 (1997) 457–69.

ASIA MINOR

The remains of urban houses are well-preserved on many large Turkish archaeological sites, such as Ephesus, Sardis, Aphrodisias and Sagalass-

sos. The Ephesian ‘Hanghäuser’ were occupied by relatively wealthy inhabitants from the 2nd c. A.D. to the Late Roman period and subjected to multiple building and re-construction campaigns. This was typical of eastern houses. Some useful overviews of late antique housing in Asia Minor have been published. The article of S. P. Ellis, “Late antique houses in Asia Minor”, which discusses the houses of Ephesus, Sardis, Aphrodisias and Halicarnassos, is fundamental for the 4th to 7th centuries A.D. It is complemented by various excavation reports collected, for example, in *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*, the *American Journal of Archaeology* (Sardis and Aphrodisias) and *Anatolia Antiqua* (Xanthos). Thematic publications dealing with houses at individual sites are also very useful. Rural housing in late antique Asia Minor has not been extensively researched, although recent surveys of suburban areas have contributed much to our knowledge of rural villas.

General works: S. P. Ellis (1997) “Late antique houses in Asia Minor”, in *Patron and Pavements in Late Antiquity*, edd. S. Isager and B. Poulsen (Halicarnassian Studies II) (Odense 1997) 38–50; İ. Türkoğlu (1994) “Byzantine houses in western Anatolia: an architectural approach”, *Al-Masāq* 16.1 (1994) 93–130; S. Eyice (1996) “Observations on Byzantine period dwellings in Turkey”, in *Tarihten günümüze Anadolu’da konut ve yerleşme (Housing and Settlement in Anatolia. A Historical Perspective)* (Istanbul 1996) 206–20. See also J.-P. Sodini (1997) “Habitat de l’antiquité tardive”, *Topoi* 7 (1997) 469–80.

Regional studies: *Lycia:* L. Özgenel (forthcoming) “Late antique domestic architecture in Lycia: an outline of the archaeological and architectural evidence”, in *Proceedings of the III. International Symposium on Lycia (Antalya 7–10 November 2005)* (forthcoming); N. Çevik, B. Varkıvanç and E. Akyürek (2005) edd. *Trebenna. Tarihi, arkeolojisi ve doğası (Trebenna. Its History, Archaeology and Natural Environment)* (Adalya Ek Yayın Dizisi, Adalya Supplementary Series 1) (Antalya 2005) (Byzantine houses: 106–13, English summary: 205). *Cilicia:* I. Eichner (2000) “Frühbyzantinische Wohnhäuser in Kilikien: Bericht über die Kampagne 1998”, *XVII Araştırma Sonuçları I* (Ankara 2000) 275–82; I. Eichner (2001) “Frühbyzantinische Wohnhäuser in Kilikien: Bericht über die Kampagne 1999”, *XVIII Araştırma Sonuçları I* (Ankara 2001) 221–30; I. Eichner (2002) “Frühbyzantinische Wohnhäuser in Kilikien: Bericht über die Kampagne 2000”, *XIX Araştırma Sonuçları I* (Ankara 2002) 169–76; I. Eichner (2004) “Dağlık Kilikya’daki erken Bizans konutları yüzey araştırması. Surveys of early Byzantine houses in rough Cilicia 2003”, *Anadolu Akdenizi Arkeoloji Haberleri* 2 (2004) 74–78; I. Eichner (2005) “Frühbyzantinische Wohnhäuser in Kilikien. Arbeitsbericht über die Kampagne 2003 und einige ergebnisse des projektes”, *XXII Araştırma Sonuçları 2* (Ankara 2005) 201–12.

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M. L. Berenfeld (2002) *The Bishop's Palace at Aphrodisias* (Ph.D. diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York 2002). *Constantinople*: A. Kriesis (1960) "Über den wohnhaustyp des frühen Konstantinopel", *ByzZeit* 43 (1960) 322–27; C. Bouras (1982–83) "Houses in Byzantium", *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaologikes Hetaireias*, ser. 4, tome 2 (1982–83) 1–26; I. Baldini Lippolis (1994) "Case e palazzi a Costantinopoli tra IV e VI secolo", *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 41 (1994) 279–311. For the Palace of Lausus see also C. Mango, M. Vickers and E. D. Francis (1992) "The Palace of Lausus at Constantinople", *Journal of the History of Collections* 4.1 (1992) 67–95; J. Bardill (1997) "The Palace of Lausus and nearby monuments in Constantinople: a topographical study", *AJA* 101 (1997) 67–95. *Ephesus*: C. Lang-Auinger (1996) *Hanghaus 1 in Ephesos. Der Baubefund* (Forschungen in Ephesos VIII.3) (Wien 1996); F. Krinzinger (2002) *Das Hanghaus 2 von Ephesos. Studien zu Baugeschichte und Chronologie* (DenkschrWien 302, Archäologische Forschungen 7) (Wien 2002); H. Thür (2005) *Das Hanghaus 2 in Ephesos. Die Wohninheit 4, Baubefund, Ausstattung, Funde, Textband/Tafelband* (Wien 2005). *Hierapolis*: A. Zaccaria Ruggiù (2000) "Missione archeologica italiana a Hierapolis di Frigia (Turchia): lo scavo della casa dei capitelli ionici", in *Le missioni archeologiche dell'Università Ca'Foscari di Venezia* (Venice 2000) 29–33; A. Zaccaria Ruggiù (2002) "Campagne di scavo nella casa dei capitelli ionici a Hierapolis di Frigia (Turchia): missione archeologica italiana", in *Le missioni archeologiche dell'Università Ca'Foscari di Venezia* (Venice 2002) 29–36. *Pergamon*: W. Radt (1978) "Die Byzantinische Wohnstadt von Pergamon", in *Wohnungsbau im Altertum. Bericht über ein Kolloquium veranstaltet vom Architektur-Referat des DAI in Berlin vom 21. 11. bis 23. 11. 1978* (Diskussionen zur archäologischen Bauforschung 3) (Berlin 1978) 199–223; D. Pinkwart and W. Stammitz (1984) *Peristylhäuser westlich der unteren Agora* (Altertümer von Pergamon XIV) (Berlin 1984); U. Wulf (1999) *Die Stadtgrabung 3. Die hellenistischen und römischen Wohnhäuser von Pergamon: unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Anlagen zwischen der Mittel- und der Ostgasse* (Altertümer von Pergamon XV.3) (Berlin-New York 1999). *Sagalassos*: M. Waelkens et al. in this volume. *Sardis*: M. Rautmann (1995) "A late Roman town house at Sardis", in *Forschungen in Lydien*, ed. E. Schwertheim (Asia Minor Studien 17) (Bonn 1995) 49–66. *Xanthos*: J. des Courtils and L. Cavalier (2001) "The city of Xanthos from Archaic to Byzantine times", in *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor. New Studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge and Xanthos*, ed. D. Parrish (JRA Supplementary Series 45) (Ann Arbor, Michigan 2001) 148–71 (esp. 164–66); A.-M. Manière-Levêque (2002) "La maison de l'acropole lycienne à Xanthos", *Anatolia Antiqua* 10 (2002) 235–44; A.-M. Manière-Levêque in this volume.

Regional studies of rural housing: *Lycia*: M. Harrison (1979) "Nouvelles découvertes romaines tardives et paléobyzantines en Lycie", *CRAI* (1979) 222–39; M. Harrison (2001) *Mountain and Plain. From the Lycian Coast to the Phrygian Plateau in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Period* (Ann Arbor, Michigan 2001). *Domuztepe near Hierapolis (Kastabala)*: H. Çambel (1989) "Ein villa rustica in den südlichen Ausläufern des Antitaurus am Fusse des Domuztepe", in *Festschrift für J. İnan*, edd. N. Başgelen and M. Lugal (Istanbul 1989) 191–98. *Akkale*: S. Eyice (1986) Akkale in der Nähe von Elaioussia-Sebaste" in *Studien zur Spätantiken und Byzantinischen Kunst. Festschrift F. W. Deichmann* vol. 1 (Mainz

1986) 63–76; Edwards R. (1989) “The Domed Mausoleum at Akkale in Cilicia”, *Byzantinoslavica* 50 (1989) 46–56.

CYPRUS

Late antique houses in Cyprus have been studied by P. Hadjichritophi. The investigation of the so-called ‘Huilerie’ in Salamis is of particular interest. This complex provides an example of an urban residence of some pretention that also possessed agricultural facilities. Recently, in 2004, M. Rautman has given an overview of living in the late antique Cypriote countryside.

General works: P. Hadjichritophi (1987) “Les maisons paléochrétiennes de Chypre”, *Archaiologia* 24 (1987) 8–10.

General work on rural housing: M. Rautman (2004) “Valley and Village in Late Roman Cyprus”, in *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside*, edd. W. Bowden, L. Lavan and C. Machado (Late Antique Archaeology 2) (Leiden-Boston 2004) 189–218.

Selected site studies: *Salamis:* G. Argoud, O. Callot and B. Helly (1980) *Une résidence byzantine, l’huilerie* (Salamine de Chypre 11) (Paris 1980); O. Callot (1980) “Présentation des décors en stuc du bâtiment dit de ‘l’huilerie’ à Salamine”, in *Salamine de Chypre. Histoire et archéologie. État des recherches (Lyon 13–17 mars 1978)*, ed. M. Yon (Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 578) (Paris 1980) 341–73.

SYRIA AND THE LEVANT

The archaeological remains of urban housing in Syria and the Levant, which flourished from the 3rd to the 6th centuries A.D., are accessible through a number of general publications that, in many cases, pay close attention to the Roman and late antique periods. Although the early excavators of houses on large sites, such as Apamea, Antioch and Palmyra, initially focused on the mosaic floors of the dwellings, they incidentally uncovered the ground plans of the structures. Along with publications dealing generally with Roman houses in these towns, articles have been published that are specifically dedicated to the late antique phases of the buildings. More than once these papers stress the ‘palatial’ character of late antique town houses. In addition, the large sites of the *Decapolis* have contributed largely to our understanding of late antique housing in the area. Moreover, since the importance of the

cities remained undiminished in the Islamic period, scholars have been able to trace their development from Late Antiquity to the Ummayyad period. The works of C. Foss have discussed Roman houses in both urban and rural environments. Besides, publications looking in general at the Syrian countryside are particularly informative on rural housing in this region. Finally, it is interesting to see how in the cities of the southern Syrian Hauran, for instance at Bostra and Umm Il Jimal, houses often combined elements of both the Roman peristyle mansion and the Syrian ‘village’ apartment.

General works: C. Castel, M. Maqdissi and F. Villeneuve (1997) edd. *Les maisons dans la Syrie antique du III^e millénaire aux début de l’Islam. Pratiques et représentations de l’espace domestique. Actes du colloque international (Damas 27–30 juin 1992)* (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, Institut Français d’Archéologie du Proche-Orient 150) (Beirut 1997); C. Foss (2000) “Urban and rural housing in Syria”, *JRA* 13 (2000) 796–800.

Regional studies: J.-P. Sodini and G. Tate (1984) “Maisons d’époque romaine et byzantine (II^e–VI^e siècles) du Massif Calcaire de Syrie du Nord: étude typologique”, in *Apamée de Syrie. Bilan des recherches archéologiques 1973–1979. Aspects de l’architecture domestique d’Apamée. Actes du colloque tenu à Bruxelles les 29, 30 et 31 mai 1980*, edd. J. Balty and J.-Ch. Balty (Fouilles d’Apamée de Syrie Miscellanea 13) (Brussels 1984) 377–430; A. Allara (1990) “L’architettura domestica in Siria, Mesopotamia e nell’area iranica da Alessandro al periodo sasanide”, *Annali, Sezione di Archeologia e Storia Antica, Istituto Universitario Orientale* 12 (1990) 183–97.

General works on urban housing: J.-Ch. Balty (1989) “La maison urbaine en Syrie”, in *Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie II. La Syrie de l’époque achéménide à l’avènement de l’Islam*, edd. J.-M. Dentzer and W. Orthmann (Sarrebruck 1989) 407–22; C. Saliou (1997) “La maison urbaine en Syrie aux époque Romaine et Byzantine d’après la documentation juridique”, in *Les maisons dans la Syrie antique du III^e millénaire aux débuts d’Islam. Pratiques et représentations de l’espace domestique. Actes du colloque international (Damas 27–30 juin 1992)*, edd. C. Castel, M. al-Maqdissi and F. Villeneuve (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, Institut Français d’Archéologie du Proche-Orient 150) (Beirut 1997) 313–27; F. Villeneuve (1997) “Les salles à alcôve dans les maisons d’époque romaine et byzantine en Syrie, particulièrement dans le Hauran”, in *Les maisons dans la Syrie antique du III^e millénaire aux début de l’Islam. Pratiques et représentations de l’espace domestique. Actes du colloque international (Damas 27–30 juin 1992)*, edd. C. Castel, M. Maqdissi and F. Villeneuve (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, Institut Français d’Archéologie du Proche-Orient 150) (Beirut 1997) 269–81.

Site syntheses of urban housing: *Ain Dara:* A. A. Assaf (1997) “Private houses at ‘Ain Dara’ in the Byzantine period”, in *Les maisons dans la Syrie antique du III^e millénaire aux début de l’Islam. Pratiques et représentations de l’espace domestique. Actes du colloque international (Damas 27–30 juin 1992)*, edd. C. Castel, M. Maqdissi and F. Villeneuve (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique,

Institut Français d'Archéologie du Proche-Orient 150) (Beirut 1997) 187–90. *Antioch*: R. Stillwell (1961) “Houses of Antioch”, *DOP* 15 (1961) 45–57; J. Lassus (1984) “Sur les maisons d’Antioche”, in *Apamée de Syrie. Bilan des recherches archéologiques 1973–1979. Aspects de l’architecture domestique d’Apamée. Actes du colloque tenu à Bruxelles les 29, 30 et 31 mai 1980*, edd. J. Balty and J.-Ch. Balty (Fouilles d’Apamée de Syrie Miscellanea 13) (Brussels 1984) 361–72; S. Hales (2003) “The houses of Antioch: a study of the domestic sphere in the imperial Near East”, in *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art*, edd. S. Scott and J. Webster (Cambridge 2003) 171–91. *Apamea*: J. Balty (1984) “Notes sur l’habitat romain, byzantin et arabe d’Apamée. Rapport de synthèse”, in *Apamée de Syrie. Bilan des recherches archéologiques 1973–1979. Aspects de l’architecture domestique d’Apamée. Actes du colloque tenu à Bruxelles les 29, 30 et 31 mai 1980*, edd. J. Balty and J.-Ch. Balty (Fouilles d’Apamée de Syrie Miscellanea 13) (Brussels 1984) 471–503; N. Duval (1984) “Les maisons d’Apamée et l’architecture ‘palatiale’ de l’antiquité tardive”, in *Apamée de Syrie. Bilan des recherches archéologiques 1973–1979. Aspects de l’architecture domestique d’Apamée. Actes du colloque tenu à Bruxelles les 29, 30 et 31 mai 1980*, edd. J. Balty and J.-Ch. Balty (Fouilles d’Apamée de Syrie Miscellanea 13) (Brussels 1984) 447–70; J. C. Balty (1997) “Palais et maisons d’Apamée”, in *Les maisons dans la Syrie antique du III^e millénaire aux début de l’Islam. Pratiques et représentations de l’espace domestique. Actes du colloque international (Damas 27–30 juin 1992)*, edd. C. Castel, M. Maqdissi and F. Villeneuve (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, Institut Français d’Archéologie du Proche-Orient 150) (Beirut 1997) 283–95. *Dura Europos*: A. Allara (1986) “Les maisons de Dura-Europos: questions de typologie”, *Syria* 63 (1986) 39–60; S. B. Downey (1991) “The palace of the Dux Ripa at Dura-Europos”, in *Histoire et cultes de l’Asie Centrale Préislamique. Sources écrites et documents archéologiques. Actes du Colloque international du CNRS*, edd. P. Bernard and F. Grenet (Paris 1991) 17–21; S. B. Downey (1993) “The Palace of the Dux Ripae at Dura-Europos and ‘palatial’ architecture of Late Antiquity”, in *Eius Virtutis Studiosi. Classical and Postclassical Studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown (1908–1988)*, edd. T. R. Scott, A. R. Scott and F. E. Brown (Studies in the History of Art, 43, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, Symposium Papers 23) (Washington 1993) 183–98. *Madaba*: C. J. Lenzen (1993) “Madaba, burnt palace”, *AJA* 97 (1993) 504–506; G. Bisheh (1994) “Madaba, burnt palace”, *AJA* 98 (1994) 555–56. *Palmyra*: E. Frézouls (1976) “À propos de l’architecture domestique à Palmyre”, *Ktéma* 1 (1976) 29–52. *Cities of the Decapolis: Abila*: M. J. Fuller (1987) *Abila of the Decapolis. A Roman-Byzantine City in Transjordan* (Washington 1987); J. D. Wineland (2001) *Ancient Abila: An Archaeological History* (BAR International Series 989) (Oxford 2001). *Bosra*: J.-M. Dentzer, P.-M. Blanc and T. Fournet (2002) “Le développement urbain de Bosra de l’époque nabatéenne à l’époque byzantine: bilan des recherches françaises 1981–2002”, *Syria* 79 (2002) 74–154. *Gadara*: T. Weber (1989) *Umm Qais. Gadara of the Decapolis* (Amman 1989). *Pella*: A. Walmsley in this volume.

Regional studies of rural housing: G. Tchalenko (1953–58) *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord. Le massif du Bélus à l’époque romaine* (Paris 1953–58); J.-P. Sodini et al. (1980) “Déhès (Syrie du Nord), campagnes I–III (1976–1978), recherches

sur ‘habitat rural’”, *Syria* 57 (1980) 1–308; G. Tate (1989) “La Syrie à l’époque byzantine: essai de synthèse”, in *Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie II. La Syrie de l’époque achéménide à l’avènement de l’Islam*, edd. J.-M. Denzer and W. Orthmann (Saarbrücken 1989) 97–116; G. Tate (1989) “Les campagnes de la Syrie du Nord à l’époque proto-byzantine”, in *Hommes et richesses dans l’empire byzantin I: IV–VII siècle*, ed. P. Leveau (Paris 1989) 63–77; G. Tate (1992) *Les campagnes de la Syrie du Nord du 2^e au 7^e siècle. Un exemple d’expansion démographique et économique à la fin de l’antiquité* (Paris 1992); G. Tate (2004) “Les relations villes-campagnes dans le Nord de la Syrie entre le IV^e et le VI^e siècle”, in *Antioche de Syrie. Histoire, images et traces de la ville antique*, edd. B. Cabouret, P.-L. Gatier and C. Saliou (Topoi Supplement 5) (Paris 2004) 311–18. See also J.-P. Sodini (1997) “Habitat de l’antiquité tardive”, *Topoi* 7 (1997) 484–91.

Selected sites, rural housing: Rural apartments are known at *Bostra*: H. Butler and H. Prentice (1919–20) *Publications of the Princeton Archaeological Expedition to Syria 1904–5 and 1909. Division 2: Architecture* (Leiden 1919–20), and *Umm Il Jimal*: B. De Vries (1998) *Umm el-Jimal. A Frontier Town and its Landscape in Northern Jordan. Volume 1: Fieldwork 1972–1981* (JRA Supplementary Series 26) (Portsmouth, Rhode Island 1998). See also S. P. Ellis (2000) *Roman Housing* (London 2000) 93.

PALESTINE

The work of Y. Hirschfeld is the best starting point for those wishing to study late antique housing in Palestine. This author published archaeological evidence of residential dwellings in his *Dwelling Houses in Eretz-Israel in the Roman-Byzantine Period* of 1987, and, eight years later, he examined the traditional way of life of Palestinian farmers and villagers in *The Palestinian Dwelling in the Roman-Byzantine Period*. Other works by the same author home in on rural housing. An article by P. Donceel-Voûte on the *villa rustica* is also worthy of mention. Urban dwellings in Palestine have tended to be discussed in case studies of individual sites, while P. Richardson has recently (2004) proposed a typological categorisation of the Palestinian/Levantine house.

General works: Y. Hirschfeld (1987) *Dwelling Houses in Eretz-Israel in the Roman-Byzantine Period* (Jerusalem 1987); Y. Hirschfeld (1995) *The Palestinian Dwelling in the Roman-Byzantine Period* (Jerusalem 1995); P. Richardson (2004) “Towards a typology of Levantine/Palestinian houses”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 27.1 (2004) 47–68.

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Baukomplex in Jericho/Israel”, *AW* 33 (2002) 277–88. See also J.-P. Sodini (1997) “Habitat de l’antiquité tardive”, *Topoi* 7 (1997) 502–14.

General works on rural housing: Y. Hirschfeld Y. (1997) “Farms and villages in Byzantine Palestine”, *DOP* 51 (1997) 44–59.

Regional studies of rural housing: *Region of Caesarea:* Y. Hirschfeld and R. Birger (1991) “Early Roman and Byzantine estates near Caesarea”, *IEJ* 41 (1991) 81–111. *Qumran:* P. Donceel-Voûte (1994) “La villa rustica de Qumran dans la vallée du Jourdan et le *coenaculum* méditerranéen”, in *XIV International Congress of Classical Archaeology (Tarragona 1993)* (Tarragona 1994) 126–27.

EGYPT

The domestic architecture of Egypt differed from that found in other regions of the eastern Mediterranean in that it adhered to a strong local tradition, and was not influenced by the major stylistic and typological developments of the Greek, Roman and late antique periods. In light of this continuity, studies of Ptolemaic and imperial Roman houses in Egypt complement works dealing with the remains of late antique domestic architecture at individual sites. In particular, Graeco-Roman houses have been preserved in the Fayum, where they were discovered by papyrologists searching for papyri. For the Ptolemaic period, M. Nowicka’s *La maison privée dans l’Égypte ptolémaïque* (1969) remains the essential work. This monograph combines archaeological and written (mainly papyrological) sources, and frequently refers to both Roman and Byzantine periods. The studies of R. Alston include interesting material concerning houses and households in the Roman and Byzantine periods. Archaeological reports on specific sites, such as Elephantine, also contribute a great deal to our knowledge of late antique domestic architecture at this time. For instance, some have shown that late antique houses typically combined a room with a flat roof and an open courtyard enclosed by a wall. These characteristics were determined by climatological needs, and had been employed for centuries. Although ‘traditional’ housing continued to prevail in Egypt, some aristocratic residences with a peristyle plan have come into light, for instance, in Abu Mena, Marea and Kellis. However, domestic architecture in Alexandria, despite strong Greek influences, still relied heavily upon indigenous traditions.

General works, mainly dealing with Ptolemaic and Imperial Roman housing: M. Nowicka (1969) *La maison privée dans l’Égypte ptolémaïque* (Academia Scientiarum Polona, Bibliotheca Antiqua 9) (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1969);

R. Alston (1997) "Houses and households in Roman Egypt", in *Domestic Space in the Roman World. Pompeii and Beyond*, edd. R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill (JRA Supplementary Series 22) (Portsmouth, Rhode Island 1997) 25–39; R. Alston (2002) *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (London 2002) (houses 44–127); D. Depraetere (2005) *Archaeological Studies on Graeco-Roman and Late Antique Housing in Egypt. Analysis of Ground Plan Typology, Locking-Systems and Accessibility, and a Comparative Study of Domestic Bread Ovens* (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Katholieke Universiteit Leuven 2005). See also G. Husson (1983) *Oikia. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Égypte d'après les papyrus grecs* (Université de Paris IV Paris-Sorbonne, Série Papyrologie 2) (Paris 1983); S. P. Ellis (2000) *Roman Housing* (London 2000) 95–97 (Egyptian housing). For house architecture in mud brick and related identification issues see A. J. Spencer (1979) *Brick Architecture in Ancient Egypt* (London 1979); B. Kemp (2000) "Soil", in *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, edd. P. T. Nicholson and I. Shaw (Cambridge 2000). See also I. Uytterhoeven (2001) "Hawara (Fayum): tombs and houses on the surface. A preliminary report of the K. U. Leuven site survey", *Ricerche di Egittologia e di Antichità Copte* 3 (2001) 45–83.

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Site syntheses of the Imperial Period: *Alexandria*: M. Rodziewicz (1988) "Remarks to the peristyle house in Alexandria and Marcotis", in *Actes du XII^e congrès international d'archéologie classique (Athènes 4–10 septembre 1983)* (Athens 1988) 175–78; *Hermopolis*: D. M. Bailey (1991) *Hermopolis Magna: Buildings of the Roman Empire* (Excavations at El-Ashmunein 4) (London 1991).

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NORTH AFRICA AND CYRENAICA

Aristocratic urban houses of the Roman period are well-attested throughout North Africa. The early inventories of R. Rebuffat dealing with the North African peristyle house (1969 and 1974), and Y. Thébert's "Private life and domestic architecture in Roman Africa" (1987) remain the main works on Roman (and late Roman) housing in this area of the Roman empire. More recently, in 2003, an important study on Tunisia was published, edited by S. Bullo and F. Ghedini. Further, the excavation of individual North-African sites has produced several detailed publications. Work on late antique houses at Carthage, Cuicul (Djemila) and Apollonia must also be mentioned here.

Rural housing in North Africa and Cyrenaica has not yet been as extensively excavated as urban housing. Nevertheless, (Late) Roman villas in the *territoria* of a number of North African cities have been subjected to archaeological research and publication. In particular, international survey projects, such as the Kasserine archaeological survey in Tunisia, and the Libyan Valleys Archaeological Survey in Libya, have contributed a great deal to the mapping of rural settlements. Some of the North African estates, which functioned as centres of agricultural production, were fortified in this period. Among these, the Algerian site of Nador is particularly well-documented.

General works: R. Rebuffat (1969) "Maisons à péristyle d'Afrique du Nord: répertoire de plans publiés I", *MEFRA* 81 (1969) 659–724; R. Rebuffat (1974) "Maisons à péristyle d'Afrique du Nord: répertoire de plans publiés II", *MEFRA* 86 (1974) 445–99; Y. Thébert (1987) "Private life and domestic architecture in Roman Africa", in *A History of Private Life I. From Pagan Rome to Byzantium*, ed. P. Veyne (Cambridge 1987) 319–409. S. Bullo and F. Ghedini (2003) edd. *Amplissimae atque ornatissimae domus (Aug., Civ., II, 20, 26). L'edilizia residenziale nelle città della Tunisia romana (Antenor Quaderni 2.1–2)* (Rome 2003).

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Regional studies of rural housing: *Caesarea*: P. Leveau (1989) "L'organisation de l'espace rural en Maurétanie Césarienne", in *Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantin. I: IV^e–VIII^e siècle*, ed. P. Leveau (Paris 1989) 35–52 (types of settlements, including villas and villages). *Carthage*: J. J. Rossiter (1990) "Villas vandales: le suburbium de Carthage au début du VI^e siècle de notre ère", in *IV^e colloque international d'histoire et archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord (Strasbourg 5–9 avril 1988)* (Paris 1990) 221–27. *Sufetula*: R. B. Hitchner (1982) *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Sufetula and its Territorium down to the Vandal Conquest* (Ann Arbor, Michigan 1982).

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EPISCOPIA

DOMUS IN QUA MANEBAT EPISCOPUS:
EPISCOPAL RESIDENCES IN NORTHERN ITALY
DURING LATE ANTIQUITY (4TH TO 6TH CENTURIES A.D.)

Yuri A. Marano

Abstract

This article addresses the development of three episcopal complexes in Northern Italy: at Aquileia, Milan and Parenzo-Poreč, leaving aside the very special case of Ravenna. Episcopal *complexes* (meaning the monumental headquarters of the bishop) initially centred on the cathedral and evidence for residence is slight in contrast, reflecting perhaps that the influence of bishops derived primarily from liturgy and their ecclesiastical status. Nevertheless, during the 5th and 6th c. A.D. monumental episcopal *residences* develop, that seem to reflect the rising social and political status of bishops in wider society.

INTRODUCTION

In recent decades it has been demonstrated that late antique imperial palaces, and the residences of secular and ecclesiastical functionaries (such as civil governors), can be categorised as domestic architecture.¹ For this reason, episcopal residences cannot be considered to have constituted a particular category of buildings on their own, with recurring and specific features. Furthermore, their appearance seems to have been influenced by several different factors, including the political, financial and cultural prestige of a particular diocese, bishop, or Church. This would confirm what we know regarding the marked pragmatism demonstrated by Christian communities in their development of an urban topography focused upon religious buildings.

Consequently, the study of bishops' residences should be undertaken alongside that of the churches and baptisteries with which they

¹ On this topic the obvious reference is to the works of N. Duval, among which see Duval (1987), with Lavan (2001) 56 reaching this conclusion on *praetoria*.

constituted episcopal complexes. This will involve an analysis of their development against the background of transformations that affected the liturgical arrangement and decorative apparatus of these religious buildings. The data produced from such an endeavour could be used to re-evaluate the evolution of episcopal duties between the 4th and the 6th centuries, integrating written sources with the archaeological material.

The bishops' growing authority within northern Italian urban communities, in the civic as well as religious spheres, is clearly reflected in the homiletic and literary works of the time and in the evidence offered by a long tradition of Early Christian Archaeology in the region. The wealth of the former is unparalleled in comparison with other areas of the Mediterranean,² while the latter has been recently boosted by an increasing interest in the topographical and material characteristics of late antique urban settlements.³ This paper focuses on the specific cases of Milan, Aquileia, and Parenzo-Poreč (in the modern Republic of Croatia), three centres of differing political and religious importance (respectively, an imperial capital, a *caput provinciae* frequently visited by sovereign leaders, and a flourishing city on the coast of Istria), where, in spite of their differences, similar phenomena could be detected.

AQUILEIA

The episcopal complex of Aquileia⁴ was built in the aftermath of the 'Peace of the Church' and stood in the southern area of the town, not distant from the harbour, on the site of a group of warehouses that had, in turn, been erected over a *domus* of the Late Republican/Early Imperial period. The new building obliterated the internal organisation of these structures, but preserved their outer walls, and probably even their boundaries.⁵ It consisted of three main rectangular halls, which were arranged in the form of a 'U' and connected to smaller rooms,

² On the Christianization of northern Italy: Lizzi (1989), (1990) and (2001). The recent publication of the two volumes of the *Prosopographie de l'Italie chrétienne (313–604)* put at disposal of scholars a vast amount of new data.

³ Cantino Wataghin (1996a); Brogiolo and Gelichi (1998).

⁴ On the episcopal complex: Bertacchi (1980) 189–221; Menis (1986); Testini, Cantino Wataghin and Pani Ermini (1989) 182–87; Cantino Wataghin (1995) 80–82; Cantino Wataghin (1996b) 121.

⁵ Cantino Wataghin (1999) 702.

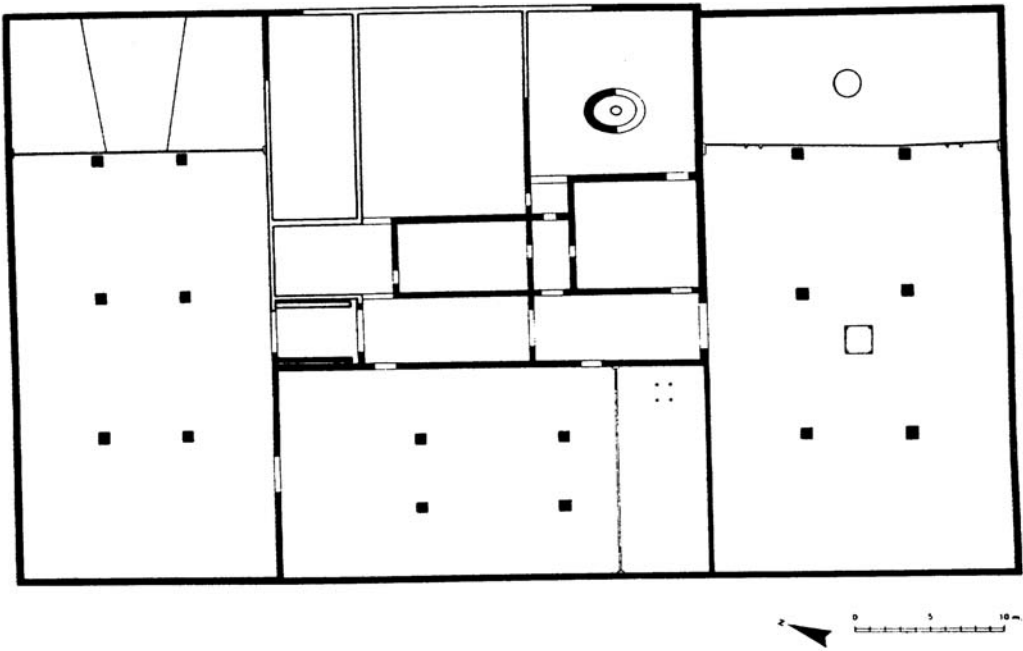


Fig. 1 Aquileia, episcopal complex built by bishop Theodorus (attested in A.D. 314) (*AnTard* 1996).

including the baptistery. The entrance to the entire complex was probably situated on the east side of the *insula*, and perhaps opened onto a stone-paved courtyard (fig. 1). The complex had a distinctly private character, resembling the *domus ecclesiae* of the Pre-Constantinian period⁶ and the domestic buildings of Aquileia.⁷ Even the layout of the floor mosaics demonstrates the influence of domestic architecture: in the southern hall, the decorative elements are typical of contemporary residential complexes, and had been adapted with difficulty to a new purpose, in an unusually large space. While the floor of the southern hall was laid down during the second decade of the 4th century A.D., that in the northern hall reveals a greater stylistic maturity, characteristic of mosaic production of the late Constantinian period.⁸ Its mosaic floor was adapted to the room, and prefigures the liturgical arrangements

⁶ Duval (1982).

⁷ Cantino Wataghin (1992a) 322.

⁸ Cantino Wataghin (1995) 81–82.

of the space, which one finds in the later basilicas of Aquileia.⁹ Both the main halls were divided into two sectors: a larger area to the west, where the congregation stood, and a smaller space to the east, in which the bishop and the clergy would probably have stood. In the southern hall, the presbytery is entirely occupied by a great panel, embellished with a representation of the story of Jonah. The middle of this panel contained an inscription celebrating the construction and decoration of the complex by bishop Theodorus (attested in A.D. 314) and his flock: '*Happy Theodorus, with the help of God and the flock, granted you by Heaven, you have blessedly finished and gloriously dedicated this work*'.¹⁰ The text attributes a prominent role in the construction of the complex to the congregation, who seem to have contributed on the same level as the bishop.¹¹ The construction of a new basilica on the site of the northern hall, during the second half of the 4th c., could perhaps be related to the transformation of the central hall, whose liturgical organisation mirrors that of the southern and northern halls.¹²

The episcopal complex is difficult to interpret because of its experimental character. The liturgical and functional interpretation of the structure is still debated, as is its relationship with the bishop's residence. The limited nature of bishops' duties in the 4th c. means that a neat distinction between the religious and residential quarters of an episcopal complex would have been unlikely. The latter should probably be identified with the minor rooms placed between the corridor, connecting the southern and northern halls, and the baptistery. Unfortunately, this part of the episcopal complex has not been fully excavated, and its articulation is not clearly understood.¹³ Nonetheless, the presence of a heating system in the quadrangular room adjoining the baptistery seems to suggest a similar interpretation.¹⁴ The modesty of such arrangements surely reflects the limited nature of episcopal duties in

⁹ The presbytery of the northern hall was subdivided into various geometrical panels. The trapezoidal one probably indicated the site of an altar table, or that of the episcopal cathedral and the benches of the clergy: Cantino Wataghin (1995) 81.

¹⁰ '*Theodore felix/a]diuvante Deo/omnipotente et/poemnio caelitus tibi/[tra]ditum omnia/[b]aeate fecisti et/gloriose dedicas/ti*'. (Caillet (1993) 136–39).

¹¹ The translation presented here is the one proposed in Cantino Wataghin (1992a) 362, n. 81. On the inscription, see also Mazzoleni (1996) 231–37.

¹² Cantino Wataghin (1996) 118. Note that this interpretation is not universally accepted: *contra*—for example—Duval and Caillet (1996) 232.

¹³ Bertacchi (1985) 366.

¹⁴ The possibility that it served as a changing room for people waiting to be baptised—as proposed by Menis (1986) 73–74—is improbable given the silence of

the 4th century, indicating that a neat distinction between religious and residential functions was unlikely.

During the second half of the 4th c., the episcopal complex was radically transformed by the construction of a much larger, three-aisled basilica on the northern hall, preceded by a colonnaded *atrium* on its façade. This structure was partly erected over the site of the northern hall, but extended considerably to both the East and the West, beyond the boundaries of the original *insula*.¹⁵ It is possible to recognise the influence of basilicas built in the cities close to Aquileia (particularly that in Milan), even if the Aquileia basilica maintained a plan (with a rectilinear apse and a wide central aisle) that was typical of local tradition.¹⁶ The axial development of the building was underlined by the organisation of its floor mosaic, which delimited a large rectangular area to the east, covering about a third of the central nave. This area was raised above the rest of the floor and can be identified as the presbytery. A motif of small squares formed the frame around a single mosaic field, which (ignoring the columns of the nave) covered the side aisles and the rest of the central nave. Within this decoration, the geometrical motif was doubled to form a central corridor, running from the presbytery as if on a slightly higher level. The decoration of the presbytery marked out the most important itineraries and liturgical spaces within the church, stressing the importance assumed by the bishop.

The reconstruction of the second half of the 4th c. transformed the basilica into a real public building, with an *atrium*, elaborate mosaics, and a full complement of liturgical fittings: a lavishly decorated meeting place for the urban community. In the same period, what has convincingly been identified as an episcopal residence (only partially excavated) (N) was for the first time attached to the episcopal complex, to the northern wing of the church *atrium*.¹⁷ A great bronze lamp-holder (*polykandelon*)¹⁸ illuminated the entrance to the episcopal residence, and

the contemporary sources regarding the existence of similar *vestiaria* (Picard (1989) 1455.

¹⁵ Cantino Wataghin (1992a). On the basis of the numismatic finds it is possible to date the construction of the *atrium* around A.D. 360, Bertacchi (1972) 78–82.

¹⁶ On the episcopal complex of Aquileia in the second half of the 4th c. A.D.: Cantino Wataghin (1992a) 332–38.

¹⁷ Cantino Wataghin (1992a) 334.

¹⁸ The *polykandeleon* was found *in-situ* on the terracotta tile floor of the northern wing of the *atrium*, in a burnt layer. It consisted of two circular crowns connected by chains and with dolphin-shaped lamp-holders set around them: Bertacchi (1979). The

opened onto a portico with two doors. Through these, one entered a simple walkway (5.7 m × 12.5 m) paved in *cocciopesto*, which communicated through a door with a second room (9.5 m × at least 12.5 m), decorated with a badly damaged mosaic floor (fig. 2).¹⁹

Around the middle of the 5th c., the entire episcopal complex was destroyed by fire, perhaps caused by the famous Hunnic sack of A.D. 452. Even though the effects of this event were disastrous according to the later literary sources, and traces of destruction have been brought to light in various areas of the town, the archaeological evidence suggests that Aquileia maintained its economic and material vitality, even during the second half of the 5th c. (fig. 3).²⁰ The construction of a new basilica (*ca.* 67 m × 29 m) on the site of the southern hall serves as proof of this continued prosperity.²¹ Meanwhile, the northern basilica was possibly rebuilt, even if on a smaller scale, and with different functions.²² During the 9th c., the construction of a crypt in the church destroyed the original floor mosaic and almost all traces of the liturgical furnishings. Nonetheless, it is still possible to reconstruct three mosaic carpets of almost equal width in the central nave. The central of these was crossed by a decorated corridor, raised in a second phase by the construction of a *solea*. At the same time, the baptistery was reconstructed as an autonomous structure. It was placed on the same axis as the basilica and was similar in its plan to the Orthodox Baptistery at Ravenna.²³ In the same period, the episcopal residence was rebuilt, giving it a yet more marked, monumental and official character (fig. 4),²⁴ and connected to the other buildings of the complex through the long corridor running beyond the edge of the old *atrium* and paved with mosaics.²⁵ After the fire in the middle of the 5th c., the building was only partially re-used: the entrance off the *atrium* and hall

chandelier resembles the ones described in the *Liber Pontificalis* as illuminating the *atria* as well as the interiors of the great basilicas at Rome: Geertman (1988).

¹⁹ The identification of this second room with the *secretarium* where the council of A.D. 381 met, proposed by Bertacchi (1985) 371–72, is purely hypothetical.

²⁰ Cantino Wataghin (1992a) 339–42. On the history of Aquileia during the second half of 5th c. A.D., see also Sotinel (1993) 65–126.

²¹ Even the second phase of the basilica at the Fondo Tullio alla Beligna and that of the basilica at Monastero could probably be dated to the second half of the 5th c. A.D.: Cantino Wataghin (1989) 82–83.

²² Brusin (1934) 194–95; Cantino Wataghin (1996) 118.

²³ Cantino Wataghin (1992a) 332–38.

²⁴ Bertacchi (1985) 373–84.

²⁵ Cantino Wataghin (1992a) 334.

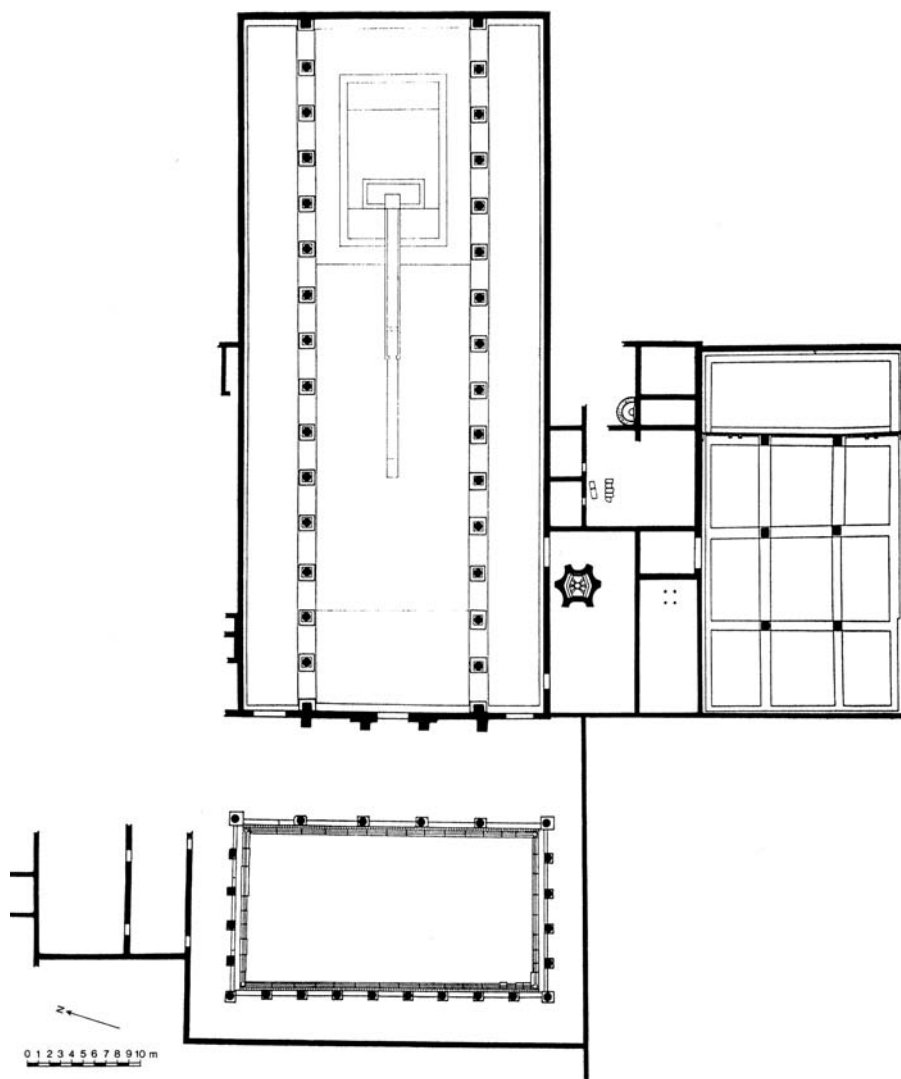


Fig. 2 Aquileia, episcopal complex in the second half of the 4th c.
(Bertacchi 1980).

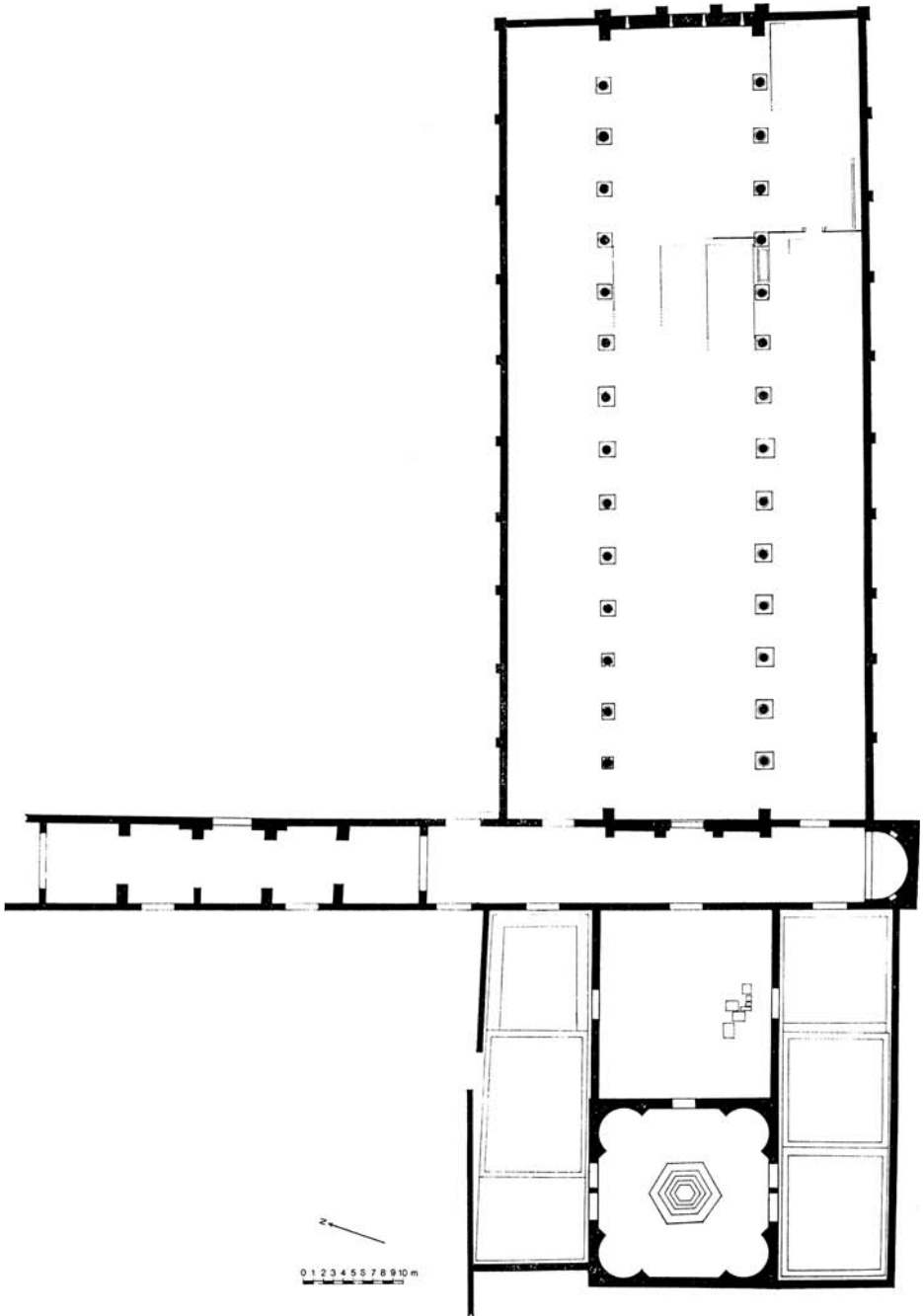


Fig. 3 Aquileia, episcopal complex in the second half of the 5th c.
(Bertacchi 1980).

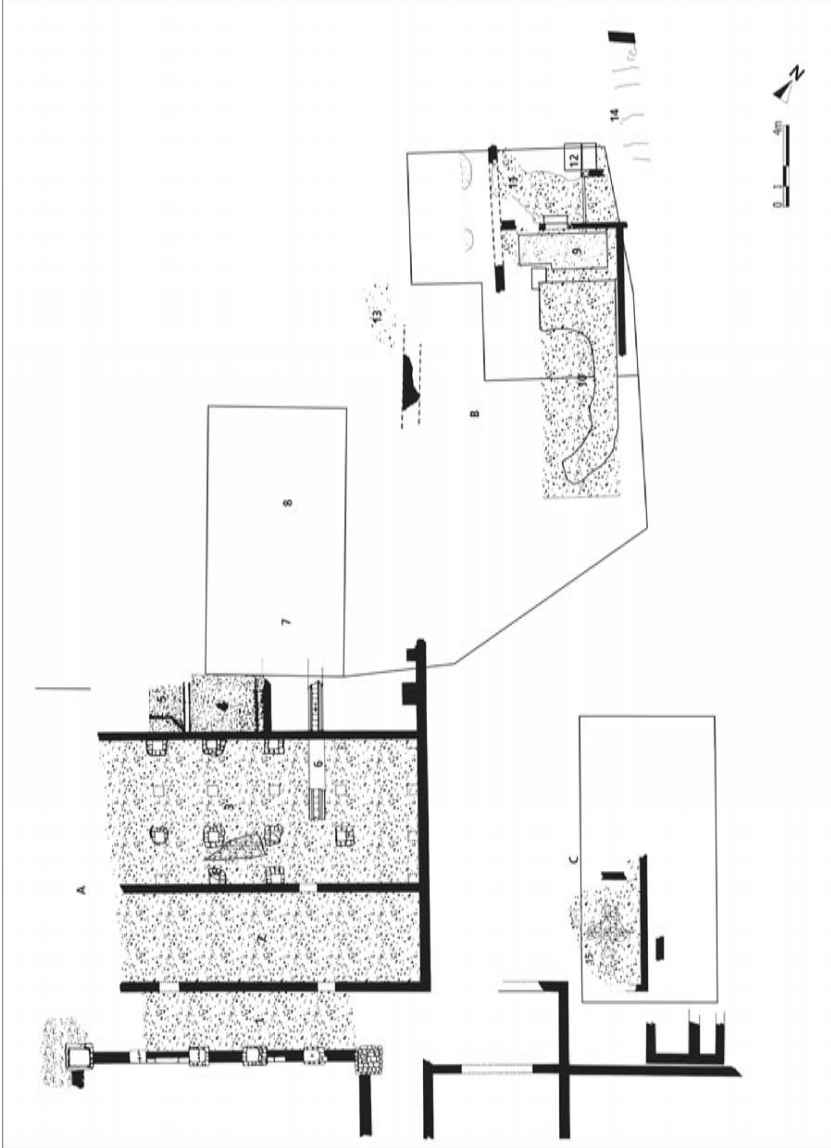


Fig. 4 Aquileia, episcopal residence in the second half of the 5th century (Bertacchi 1985).

facing it were abandoned, while in the second hall, pillars, probably supporting an upper floor, were erected on a new pavement laid down 0.5 m on top of the previous one. Mosaics have been brought to light north of this room, while excavations to the north-east have revealed the existence of a hall decorated in mosaics. The quality of the floor is comparable with those of the religious buildings, a fact of primary importance if we consider the impoverishment that characterises the housing of the period.²⁶

MILAN

Since its foundation, the episcopal complex of Milan²⁷ has been a catalyst for urban life. From their position near the main road axes, its churches acted as a focal point, for both the part of the city occupied by public buildings, and the north-western quarter. The latter was a residential area, more recently developed, and enclosed by the city walls between the late 3rd c. and the beginning of the 4th c.²⁸ The first church of the complex (fig. 5) has been associated with the so-called *basilica vetus*, probably the building that preceded the Early Medieval church of S. Maria Maggiore, with the annexed baptistery of S. Stefano alle Fonti. The organization and relative chronology of these earliest buildings is far from clear, the reconstruction of the complex being based exclusively on the remains of the baptistery (an octagonal font, possibly inserted in a quadrangular room).²⁹

A second, larger basilica was built at a later stage. This was the *basilica nova*, the remains of which were incorporated in the medieval cathedral of S. Tecla. The foundation of this building could be attributed to Auxentius (A.D. 355–74), the Cappadocian and Arian predecessor of Ambrose (A.D. 374–97), who completed the work in the first years of his episcopate. However, the archaeological and numismatic evidence seems to confirm the traditional dating of the building to the episcopate of Ambrose. In particular, the text of an inscription, attributed to the

²⁶ Bertacchi (1985) 382–83.

²⁷ On the Milanese episcopal complex, see De Capitani d'Arzago (1952); Mirabella Roberti (1964); Testini, Cantino Wataghin and Pani Ermini (1989) 217–20; Lusuardi Siena (1990) and (1997).

²⁸ Cantino Wataghin (1992b) 174–75.

²⁹ Cantino Wataghin (2003) 245.

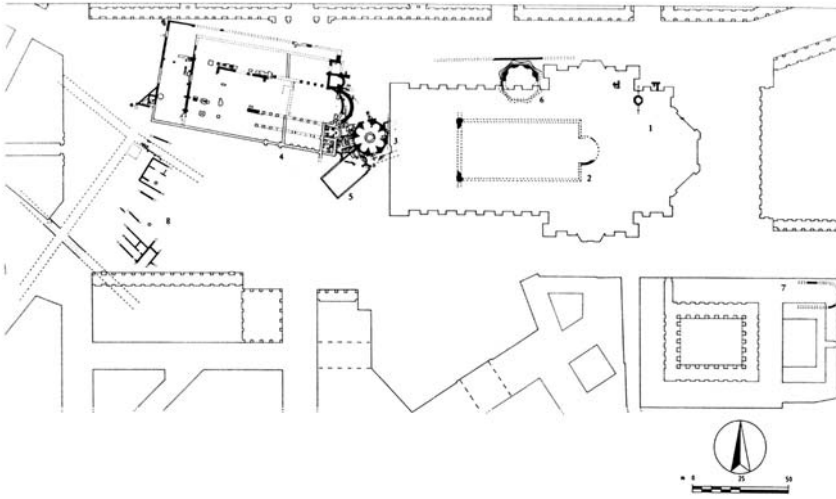


Fig. 5 Milan, episcopal complex: 1) baptistery of S. Stefano alle Fonti; 2) S. Maria Maggiore; 3) baptistery of S. Giovanni alle Fonti; 4) S. Tecla; 5) three-apsed hall; 6) apsed hall underneath the medieval *Arcivescovado*; 7) late antique residential complex (Lusuardi Siena 1997).

bishop, and transcribed by an anonymous pilgrim in the Lorsch Sylloge, is highly persuasive.³⁰ Work on the project was probably started at the beginning of the seventh decade of the 4th c., and the vacillations of the Milanese Church between Arianism and Orthodoxy are perhaps reflected in the irregularity of the plan.³¹ The basilica was 67.7 m long and 45.3 m wide, and included a nave flanked by two aisles on either side, which were supported by colonnades. The nave continued as a chancel, as far as the two steps leading up to a raised, semicircular apse. Meanwhile, two small, quadrangular side chambers projected east from the outer aisles in the wings.³² The floor consisted of a *cocciopesto* in the naves and grey marble slabs in the presbytery.³³ Even the trapezoidal *atrium* on the façade may be attributed to the first phase of the building.³⁴ The free-standing and octagonal baptistery of San

³⁰ On the recent excavations in the baptistery: Lusuardi Siena and Sannazaro (2001) 657–61; on the numismatic evidence, see Cantino Wataghin (1995) 79 and Arslan (1997).

³¹ Cantino Wataghin (1995) 77–78.

³² De Capitani d'Arzago (1952) 122.

³³ Lusuardi Siena (1990) 107.

³⁴ Cantino Wataghin (1995) 75–76.

Giovanni alle Fonti, apparently contemporary with the church, stood behind the basilica. This church could host a congregation of close to 3,000 people, not many fewer than the Lateran basilica, built by Constantine at Rome. In other words, the size of the basilica reveals the existence of a Christian community, as large, inclusive and expanding as that of an Imperial capital.³⁵ However, this is not to suggest that the Emperor necessarily contributed to its construction.³⁶

According to the testimony of Ambrose, the bishop's residence stood near the episcopal complex. In *Ep.* 76,³⁷ Ambrose describes to his sister Marcellina the events that occurred in the immediate prelude to the Easter festival of A.D. 386. He recalls how, on the morning of 1st April, after a night spent in his *domus*, he set foot beyond the door-step and discovered that troops were occupying the *basilica nova*.³⁸ This is the only indication offered by Ambrose regarding the exact location of his residence, which his biographer Paulinus of Milan describes as the *domus in qua manebat episcopus*.³⁹ Its accommodation of the bishop and proximity to the episcopal complex were probably the only differences between Ambrose's house (provided with an upper-storey and a portico)⁴⁰ and many other contemporary domestic buildings.⁴¹

Recent excavations carried out at the site of the medieval Arcivescovo have revealed the existence of a monumental apsidal room facing eastward, at least 16 m wide and of unknown length. It was built in an area not distant from the city walls and once occupied by a demolished *domus* of the late 1st c. B.C. to early 1st A.D.⁴² The structure has been tentatively suggested as part of the episcopal residence. The use of *spolia* in its foundations (a practice not attested in Milan before the end of the 3rd c. A.D.) shows conclusively that this building was of late

³⁵ On the character and composition of the Christian community of Milan during the episcopate of Ambrose, see Pietri (1992) 161–70.

³⁶ As proposed by Krautheimer, who dates the basilica around A.D. 350, and identifies its founder in Constans (A.D. 337–50); Krautheimer (1983) 77.

³⁷ For an analysis of the archaeological and topographical aspects of the *epistle* see Lusuardi Siena (1996).

³⁸ Ambrose, *Ep.* 76 (Maur 20) (ed. Zelzer (1990)). On the Easter crisis of A.D. 386, see McLynn (1994) 181–96.

³⁹ Paul. *V. Amb.* 20.

⁴⁰ Paul. *V. Amb.* 46 (*'in extrema parte porticus'*), 47 (*'in superioribus domus'*). In paragraph 20, Paulinus mentions even a bishop's bedroom (*'cubiculum'*).

⁴¹ In this regard, see Duval (1987).

⁴² Ceresa Mori (1994) 22–23.

antique date. Fragments of coarse pottery, amphorae, and African Red Slip-Ware dating to the 4th/5th centuries A.D., have been recovered in the spoliation levels. Parts of the same complex were probably identified during the 19th century, when the remains of a brick wall and black and white mosaics were discovered in association with coins of Julian (A.D. 360–63) and Theodosius (A.D. 379–75), not a great distance from the apsidal hall.⁴³ These had probably formed part of the floor level of the apsidal hall, and had been positioned at the same height as the floor of the baptistery of S. Giovanni alle Fonti.⁴⁴ These elements suggest that the apsidal room can be identified as the late antique episcopal residence, although they do not prove this conclusively.

During the second half of the 5th c. A.D. and the beginning of the 6th c. A.D., the episcopal complex was widely restored. The sermon *in reparatione ecclesiae Mediolanensis*, ascribed to Maximus II of Turin (ca. A.D. 451–465), mentions work carried out on the structures (perhaps the roof) of the *basilica nova* that had been damaged by a fire.⁴⁵ The text of an inscription copied in the Early Middle Ages attributes the renewal of the building to bishop Eusebius (ca. A.D. 451).⁴⁶ All these works (that, according to tradition, were made necessary by the sack of Attila)⁴⁷ seem modest in comparison with those revealed by archaeological evidence. The remains of an *opus sectile* floor have been identified in various parts of the *basilica nova*, in particular, in the apse and in the central nave, where it was articulated in three fascias. The central one was larger than the others and delimited by stone blocks. Nevertheless, the presence of a *solea* is uncertain.⁴⁸ In the apse, the episcopal *cathedra* and the *subsellia* for the clergy were rebuilt facing eastward, with a smaller span and facing the altar. Similar arrangements are attested for the same period in Greece, for example, in the church at Nea

⁴³ Nava (1854) 105.

⁴⁴ Ceresa Mori (1997) 69.

⁴⁵ *Homilia XCIV in reparatione ecclesiae Mediolanensis* (PL 58.469–72).

⁴⁶ *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores* 2.161: ‘*Prisca redivivis consurgunt culmina templis: In formam rediere suam quae flamma cremarat, / Reddidit haec votis Christi, qui templa novavit / Eusebii meritis noxia flamma perit*’. On bishop Eusebius see Paoli (1988) 218–19; Pietri and Pietri (1999–2000) 704.

⁴⁷ See Paoli (1988) 219, n.12.

⁴⁸ Testini, Cantino Wataghin and Pani Ermini (1989) 219.

Anchialos and basilica C at Nikopolis.⁴⁹ This new liturgical organisation of the presbytery reflects the growing importance and prestige of the bishops of Milan in this phase.⁵⁰ The name of the bishop or bishops who promoted this reconstruction are unknown, but one was probably Laurentius I (A.D. 489–510/12),⁵¹ whose patronage of the main religious buildings in the town is attested by a great deal of literary and archaeological evidence. All these works seem to have been part of a wider program of urban renewal, promoted by the ecclesiastical establishment in conjunction with the secular authorities.⁵² The euergetic effort of the bishop was celebrated by Ennodius in a series of epigrams, which were to be inscribed on the walls of the buildings that had been decorated or constructed by Laurentius I.⁵³ Describing the effects of light and colour in the marble, mosaic and painted decorations of the building, Ennodius praises the bishop's restoration of the baptistery of S. Giovanni alle Fonti.⁵⁴ From an archaeological point of view, these works are attested by the renewal of the marble wall decoration and *opus sectile* floor, dating to the 5th to 6th centuries, as well as the restoration of the octagonal font and water supply.⁵⁵ Ennodius described an analogous hydraulic improvement to the baptistery of S. Stefano by bishop Eustorgius II (*ca.* A.D. 510/12), the successor of Laurentius I, of which no clear evidence has yet come to light.⁵⁶

⁴⁹ De Capitani d'Arzago (1952) 129–35; Testini, Cantino Wataghin and Pani Ermini (1989) 218–19. For Greek parallels of the 5th/6th c. A.D. presbytery in the *basilica nova* see Pallas (1984) 134–40.

⁵⁰ Testini, Cantino Wataghin and Pani Ermini (1989) 219.

⁵¹ Bognetti (1954).

⁵² Lusuardi Siena (1992) 229–36.

⁵³ Kennel (2000) 98–108.

⁵⁴ Ennod. *Carm.* 2.56 (ed. Vogel (1885) 157): '*Mundior excocti fulgescat luce metalli, / Munera disponit qui dare digna deo. / Ante vaporatis Laurenti vita caminis / Constitit, ut blandum nobilitaret opus. / Marmora picturas tabulas sublime lacunar / Ipse dedit templo, qui probitate nitet. / Aedibus ad pretium sic mores conditor addit, / Vellera ceu Serum murice tincta feras, / Qualiter inclusas comit lux hospita gemmas, / Nix lapidis quotiens pulcrior arte rubet.*'

⁵⁵ Lusuardi Siena and Sannazaro (2001) 662–65. On the relation between epigraphy and Christian euergetism in Late Antiquity, see Pietri (1988) and Duval and Pietri (1997).

⁵⁶ Ennod. *Carm.* 2.149 (ed. Vogel (1885) 271): '*En sine nube pluuit sub tectis imbre sereno / et coeli facies pura ministrat aquas. / Proflua marmoribus decurrunt flumina sacris / atque iterum rorem parturit ecce lapis. / Arida nam liquidos effundit pergula fontes / et rursus natis unda superna venit. / Sancta per aeterios emanat limpha recessus aqua velociter.*'

According to Ennodius, Laurentius I paid particular attention to the episcopal residence, '*felix habitacula*',⁵⁷ which he rebuilt from a ruinous state. The poet dwells on the beauty of the building, which he metaphorically portrays as a reflection of the spiritual excellence of its inhabitants. In this way, his description of the bishop's house is more allusive than conclusive,⁵⁸ although he, nonetheless, refers to the various rooms and structures attached to the *domus*. The building comprised a *scriptorium*,⁵⁹ an *oratorium* (a private chapel), a *horreum* (a warehouse), an *olearium* (a store-room for oil), a *coquina* (a kitchen), a *caneva* (cellar) and a *hortus* (a garden).⁶⁰ The residence was luxuriously decorated with an *opus sectile* floor or wall.⁶¹ Of particular significance is his mention of a lion-shaped fountain within the episcopal residence, which probably spouted water.⁶² References to this fountain, and to the restoration of an unidentified building (a bath?) that had once been dry, but which now became rich in water thanks to Laurentius' effort,⁶³ could denote a renovation of the entire water supply of the episcopal complex. No archaeological remains of the bishop's residence from the time of Laurentius I have been identified to date, but indirect proof of the intense building activity in the general area of the episcopal complex, between the late 5th c., and the early 6th c., come from a residential building (S-W of the *basilica nova*). The structure, dating to the 4th c., was organised around a courtyard and a pit, and was provided with a hypocaust heating system, new *cocciopesto* and *opus sectile* floors, and a portico overlooking a street, newly-paved with re-used slabs.⁶⁴

⁵⁷ Ennod. *Carm.* 103. 1.9–10 (ed. Vogel (1885) 124): '*Qui possessa diu felix habitacula liquit?*'; '*Quid praetext consors ad vitam discite sanctam, / Si reddunt mundos tecta dicata viros*'.

⁵⁸ Kennel (2000) 102–103.

⁵⁹ Ennod. *Carm.* 2.17 (ed. Vogel (1885) 127).

⁶⁰ Ennod. *Carm.* 2.38–45 (ed. Vogel (1885) 147–49).

⁶¹ Ennod. *Carm.* 2.10 (ed. Vogel (1885) 122): '*Aedibus ad genium duo sunt concessa per aevum, / Si niteant crustis aut domini merito. / Herbida pasturam simulantia saxa virentem / Inliciant oculos, nobiliore dolo / Pellat opus, tamen arte regat naturas figuras, / Viscera dum lapidum fingit imaginibus, / Candorem roseo perfundat docta rubore, / Depingat sparsis congrua membra notis: / Aurum culmen ebur tabulas laquearia gemmas / Non datur humanis plus rutilare bonis. / In pretio cautis et sine lege iocatur: / Moribus ut constes, crede, laboris, erit*'.

⁶² Ennod. *Carm.* 2.19 (ed. Vogel (1885) 134).

⁶³ Ennod. *Carm.* 2.12 (ed. Vogel (1885) 315–16).

⁶⁴ Perring (1991) 141–53.

PARENZO-POREČ

In *Parentium* (nowadays Parenzo-Poreč, in Croatia), the first phase of the episcopal complex⁶⁵ dates to the third quarter of the 4th c. A.D.⁶⁶ *Parentium* was one of the three *municipia* of Roman *Histria*, alongside *Tergeste-Trieste* and *Pula-Pola*. A building, consisting of three parallel halls flanking one another, was erected east of a secondary *cardo* of the urban grid that separated two *insulae*. It was partly occupied by an apsed vestibule that was placed in front of the façade.⁶⁷ In the first half of the 5th c., a period marked by a general revival of the towns of *Histria*,⁶⁸ part of this structure was engulfed by the construction of the so-called 'pre-Euphrasian' complex.⁶⁹ This consisted of a double-basilica of the Aquileian type. Its churches were connected by the vestibule, now rectangular in plan and extended along their façades.⁷⁰ The northern church was subdivided into three aisles, by two rows of seven columns each. A triumphal arch delimited the presbytery, where stood a masonry *synthronon*, two-tiered and free-standing.⁷¹ The total length of the building is unknown, but its church plan and dimensions recall those of the northern basilica in the contemporary episcopal complex at Pola. The northern church could, therefore, have measured 34.2/34.8 m × 14 m.⁷² Even the southern church consisted of a nave with two aisles. However, it was larger (35 m × 20 m), and its free-standing *synthronon* was marked in the centre by an episcopal *cathedra*.⁷³ The two basilicas communicated with each other through at

⁶⁵ On the episcopal complex, see Molajoli (1943); Cuscito and Galli (1976) 86–96; Testini, Cantino Wataghin and Pani Ermini (1989) 174–77; Matejčić and Chevalier (1998); Chevalier and Matejčić (2004). See the interesting survey of the explorations and restorations carried out on the buildings through the last two centuries in Terry and Gillmore Eaves (2001).

⁶⁶ The building is dated on the basis of two coins of Valens (A.D. 364–378) and Gratian (A.D. 367–383) found embedded in the northern wall of the central hall, and the stylistic character of its mosaic pavements: Caillet (1993) 304–306.

⁶⁷ Šonje (1971); Chevalier and Matejčić (2004) 151–60.

⁶⁸ Matijašić (1997) 212 attributes this to the flow to *Histria* of refugees from the Danubian region, but it is more probable that the region was economically revitalised by its involvement in the supply of the *annona* to Ravenna: Cantino Wataghin (1992a) 343–46.

⁶⁹ Matejčić and Chevalier (1998).

⁷⁰ Chevalier and Matejčić (2004) 160–62.

⁷¹ Chevalier (1999) 105.

⁷² Matejčić and Chevalier (1998) 360.

⁷³ Chevalier (1999) 105.

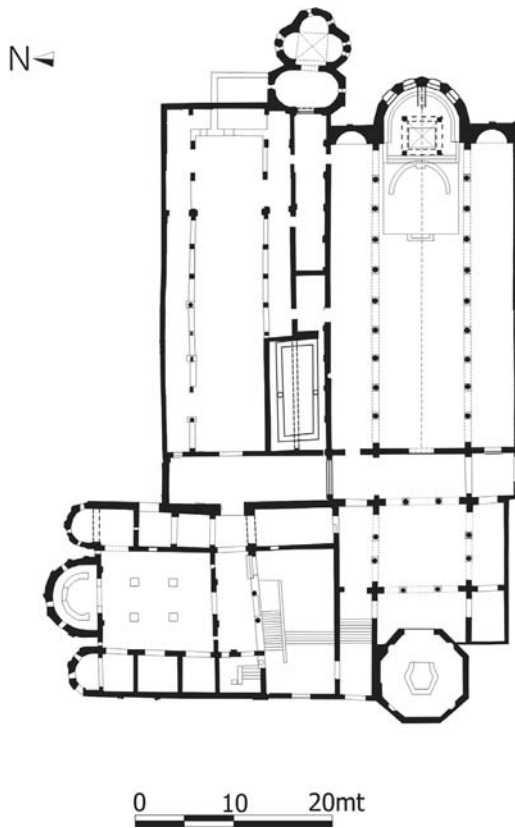


Fig. 6 Parenzo, episcopal complex (Chevalier and Matejčić 2004).

least two intermediate passages, one of which was probably covered.⁷⁴ A rectangular cistern (10.35 m × 4.45 m) was placed between the two buildings,⁷⁵ while an octagonal baptistery, surrounded by an ambulatory, stood in front of the northern one.

In around the middle of the 6th c., the southern church was demolished and replaced by a new, three-aisled and three-apsed basilica. This was provided with an *atrium* that was overlooked by the baptistery (deprived of its ambulatory) on its western side, and by the episcopal residence to the north (fig. 6). A *trichora*, preceded by a small *atrium* (probably dedicated to the local martyrs *Maurus* and *Eleutherius*), was

⁷⁴ Matejčić and Chevalier (1998) 362.

⁷⁵ Matejčić and Chevalier (1998) 360–62.

built north-east of the southern church of the double-basilica complex, which was preserved from the demolition. The new basilica was lavishly decorated with mosaics, *opus sectile* and stucco-works.⁷⁶ A dedicatory inscription on the apse of the new church celebrates the works of the bishop Euphrasius (who is referred to in the first unequivocal literary evidence for the bishopric),⁷⁷ who is credited with replacing the old building, which had apparently been ‘near to collapse’.⁷⁸ The text establishes a close connection between the bishop and the basilica. This relationship was also expressed in the liturgical furnishings of the building, almost perfectly preserved.⁷⁹ At the same time, the presbytery was raised, and the apse was fitted with an originally two-tiered *synthronon*, a central episcopal *cathedra* and an altar.⁸⁰ Its organisation was based on the new models, at that time spreading from Ravenna.⁸¹ The *cathedra* rose 1.3 m above the present apse floor (about 0.65 m above the seat of the *synthronon*) and was reached by five steps. Its side panels were decorated with carved dolphins, similar to the ones placed at the ends of the *synthronon*. Seven rounded bosses enlivened the narrow western edges of each side of the *cathedra*. A *ciborium* and a monumental *ambo* with double stairs completed the series.⁸² The latter, made of Proconnesian marble, was probably placed off-centre in the central aisle, adhering to a layout often attested in the remains of churches in Illyricum.⁸³

The episcopal residence, identified by its connection to the church and location within the Euphrasian complex, was the object of an extensive conservation and exploration programme, the aim of which

⁷⁶ On the mosaics: Šonje (1982–83); on the *sectilia*: Terry (1986); on the stucco-works: Šonje (1967).

⁷⁷ Testini, Cantino Wataghin and Pani Ermini (1989) 175. Historical evidence concerning Euphrasius is limited: the bishop is probably the same Euphrasius accused of being a heretic for his support of the schism of the Three Chapters by pope Pelagius I in a letter of March 559; Pietri and Pietri (1999–2000) 671–72.

⁷⁸ *CIL* 2.10.2, *Parentium*, 81: ‘*Hoc fuit in primis templum quassante ruina/terribilis lapsu nec certo robore firmum exiguum magnoque carens tunc furma metallo,/sed meritis tantum pendebat patria tecta./Ut vidit subito lapsuram pondere sedem,/providus et fidei fervens ardore sacerdos/Eufhrasius s(an)c(t)a precessit mente ruinam./Labentes melius sedituras deruit aedes;/fundamenta locans erexit culmina templi./Qua cernis nuper vario fulgere metallo,/perficiens coeptum decoravit munere magno,/aecclesiam vocitans signavit nomine Chr(ist)i./Conguadens operi sic felix vota peregit.*

⁷⁹ Cuscito (1989) 746–49.

⁸⁰ Terry (1988) 46–47; Russo (1991) 92–99; Chevalier (1999) 107–108.

⁸¹ Cantino Wataghin (1992a) 351–56.

⁸² Terry (1988) 52–55; Russo (1991) 100–105.

⁸³ Chevalier (1999) 111.

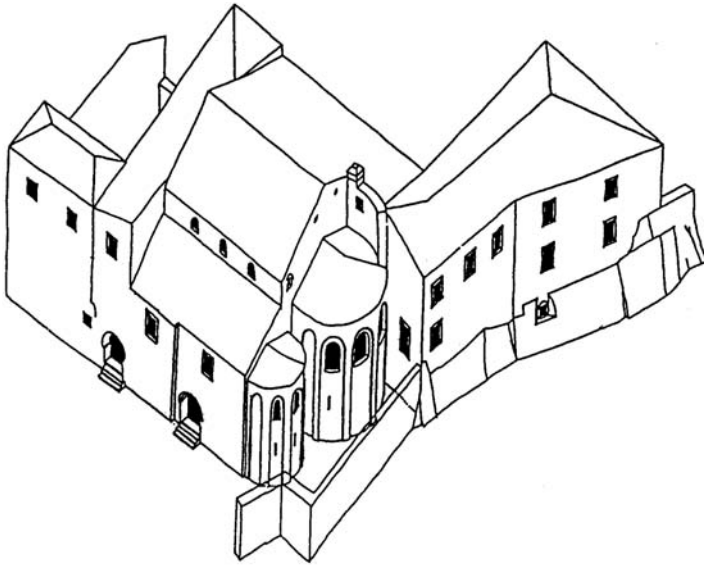


Fig. 7 Parenzo, episcopal residence—exterior (Matejčić 1995).

was to restore the building to its original aspect.⁸⁴ It was a two-storied and three-apsed building, connected to both the *atrium* and the northern church (fig. 7). The layout of its two floors was similar, each consisting of a spacious central hall with smaller chambers on both sides. Excavations have revealed the existence of a three-arched *narthex*, in front of the façade and on one storey. On the east side, the ground-floor was directly linked to the north gate of the city and the *narthex* of the double-basilica, which included a section of the ancient Roman *cardo* and a sort of semi-open porch.⁸⁵ The smaller chambers on the west side, and the main hall in which four stone corbels supported the wooden beams of the first-floor, were probably used as service areas.⁸⁶ In the north-western corner of the portico, the removal of a thick coat of later plaster that covered the walls revealed the presence of

⁸⁴ The episcopal residence at Parenzo has been generally treated as a part of the Euphrasian complex, but the recent conservation programme and archaeological exploration have made possible a better understanding of the building: Matejčić (1995) and (2002). Among other works, see Bertacchi (1985) 384–400; Šonje (1996); Russo (2000). Of fundamental importance is the article by Frey (1914) 118–25, who first recognised the antiquity of the building.

⁸⁵ Matejčić (2002) 68; Chevalier and Matejčić (2004) 162–64.

⁸⁶ Matejčić (1995) 86.

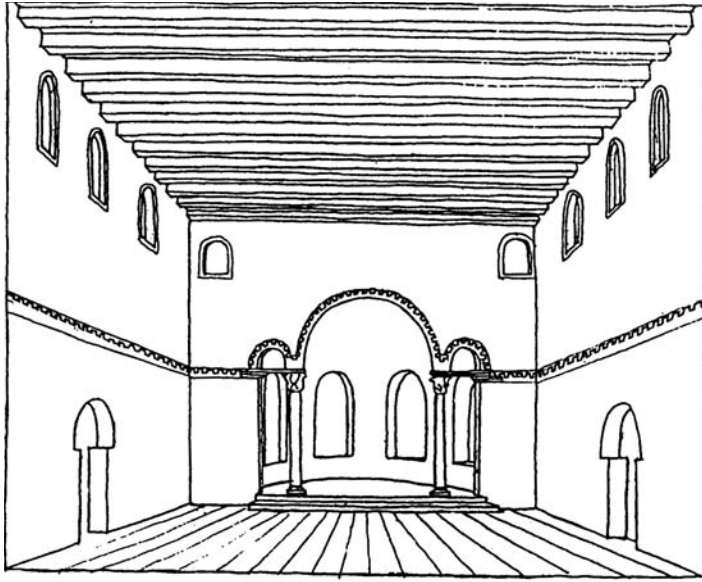


Fig. 8 Parenzo, episcopal residence—interior (Matejčić 1995).

three massive steps. These belonged to the staircase, which connected the two floors of the building,⁸⁷ and probably led to the marble door with a limestone threshold that opened into the southern side of the main hall on the first-floor.⁸⁸ This was a quadrangular space, richly-illuminated by high windows,⁸⁹ and crowned by an ample, raised apse that was reached through a triple arch (fig. 8). The presence of such a scenic frame, appropriately decorated with marble and stucco-works,⁹⁰ identifies the room as a reception hall.⁹¹ The triple arch, analogous

⁸⁷ Terry and Gilmore Eavers (2001) 101–102.

⁸⁸ Two large fragments from another door from the first-floor of the episcopal residence are now in the *lapidarium* in the ground-floor of the building: Terry (1988) 30–31; Russo (1991) 198.

⁸⁹ The windows, two on the southern and northern sides, and three on the western and eastern ones, were closed by transennas similar to the one discovered fully preserved *in situ* on the east end of the southern wall: Frey (1914) 181; Terry (1988) 46; Russo (1991) 205–206.

⁹⁰ From the original triple arch, survive the base, the marble shaft and the base of the left column, two impostes with figural decoration (two birds flanking a cross), and the re-employed Corinthian capital (3th to 4th centuries A.D.). The soffits of the central arch were decorated with stucco depicting a scroll of tendrils peopled by birds pecking bunches of grapes: Matejčić (2004).

⁹¹ Matejčić (1995) 86–87.

with the architectural elements depicted by well-known late antique works of art (such as the *missorium* of Theodosius),⁹² emphasised the importance and prestige of the bishop. The removal of the plaster on three sides of the building brought to light the original eaves, broken when the ancient roof of the side rooms was elevated.⁹³ Remains of a stucco decoration, similar to that of the triple arch, have been recovered in the apse of the eastern chamber,⁹⁴ where, according to a medieval source, a chapel was located, decorated with mosaics depicting the saints Julian and Demetrius.⁹⁵

From an architectural and geographical point of view, the closest parallel to the Parenzo episcopal residence is the so-called palace of the *comes Pierius* at Porto Palazzo-Polače, on the island of Meleda-Mljet in Dalmatia (fig. 9).⁹⁶ This palace was traditionally attributed to the end of the 5th c., or the early 6th c., on the basis of Odoacer's act of donation in A.D. 489,⁹⁷ but has been recently re-dated to the beginning of the 5th c. and should not be considered as a private residence, but as the headquarters of a fortified settlement controlling the harbour of the bay of Polače.⁹⁸ The building was entered directly from the sea through an *atrium* flanked by two towers, which led straight to an apsed hall, the highest and largest of the whole complex, flanked by smaller rooms on both of its sides.⁹⁹ The episcopal residence at Parenzo has also often been compared to the supposed *episcopio* at Stobi and *Justiniana Prima*-Caričin Grad. In the first case, the remains of a building standing north of the early 6th c. episcopal basilica have been associated with the episcopal residence,¹⁰⁰ although their real nature is uncertain (fig. 10).¹⁰¹ At *Justiniana Prima*-Caričin Grad, the episcopal residence has been more convincingly associated with the

⁹² See MacCormack (1981) 214–21.

⁹³ Matejčić (1995) 86–87.

⁹⁴ Matejčić (2002) 68 and (2004) 135.

⁹⁵ Amoroso (1898).

⁹⁶ Dyggve (1959) and Cagiano de Azevedo (1968).

⁹⁷ The act registered the handing over of the island by the king to the *comes Pierius* as the repayment of a loan: Cagiano de Azevedo (1968) 305. On the papyrus, Tjäder (1955) 279–93.

⁹⁸ Matejčić (2002) 68.

⁹⁹ Cagiano de Azevedo (1968) 306–11.

¹⁰⁰ Müller-Wiener (1989) 657–59.

¹⁰¹ The possibility cannot be excluded that the building yet to be fully excavated, lying south of the church and the baptistery, was the episcopal residence: Müller-Wiener (1989) 127–29; Wiseman (1984).

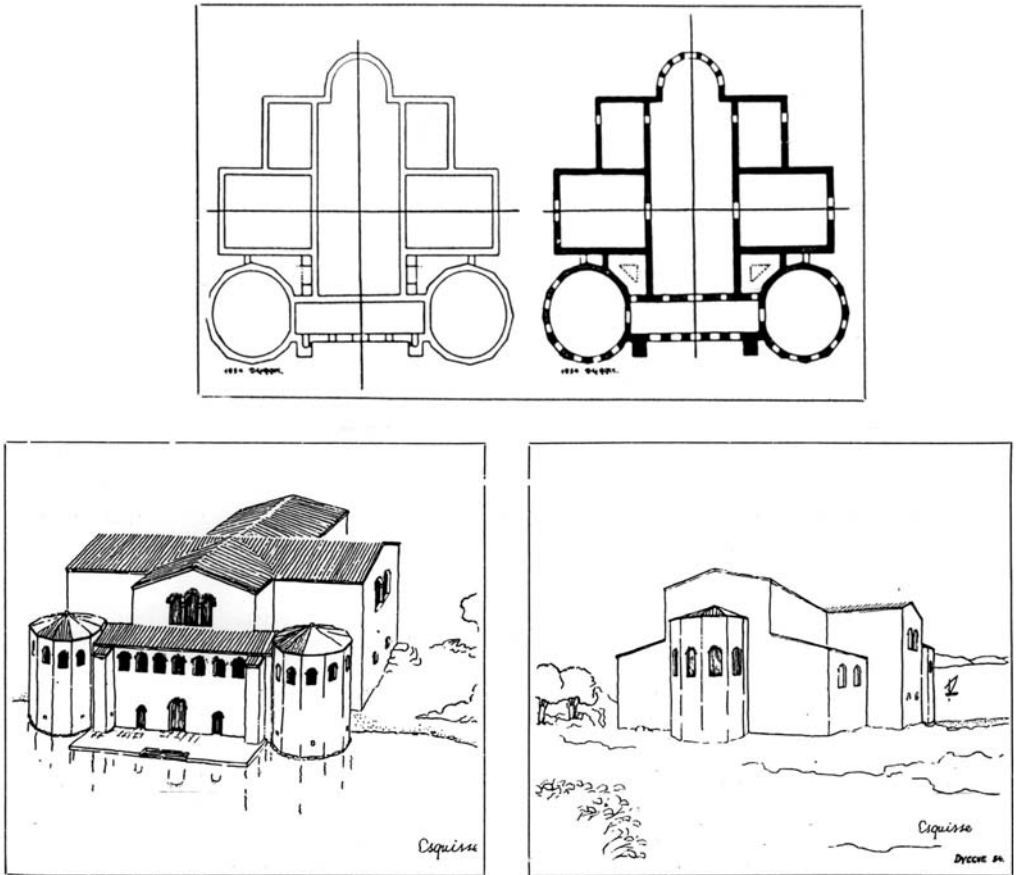


Fig. 9 Mliet, reconstruction of the Palace of the *comes* Pierius (Ćurčić 1996).

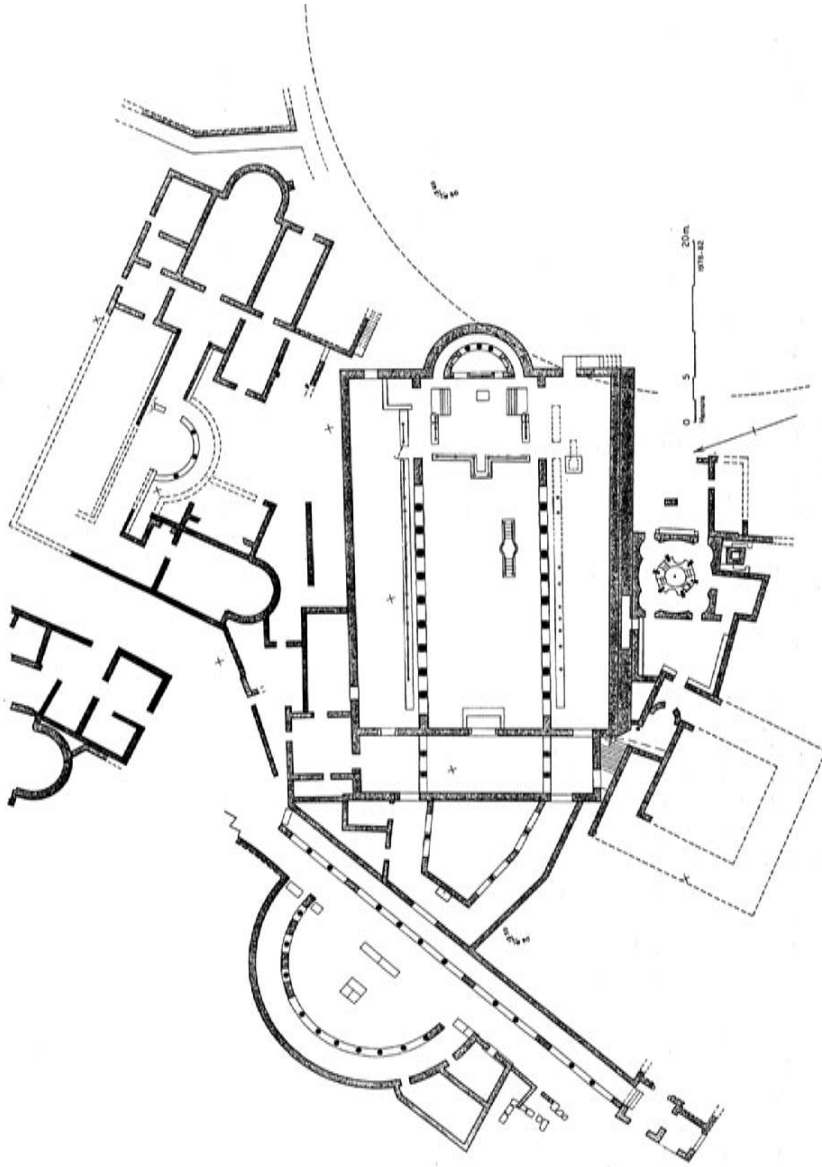


Fig. 10 Stobi, episcopal complex (Wiseman 1984).

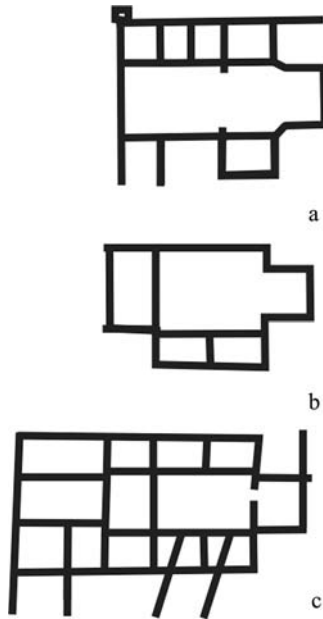


Fig. 11 *Justiniana Prima*, a) “episcopal residence”; b) *consignatorium*; c) *principia* (Duval 1996).

two-storied, cruciform building, standing north of the episcopal basilica on the acropolis. This had a square apse and adjoining smaller rooms on its west side. The characteristics of the structure are otherwise typical of local tradition, and find close parallels in the so-called *consignatorium* and *principia* in the same town (fig. 11).¹⁰²

CONCLUSION

The first episcopal complex of Aquileia is one of the earliest examples of Christian architecture in the whole of the Mediterranean. Its remains attest the existence of a Christian community and its bishop during the earliest decades of the 4th c. This community was probably not greatly stratified. The fact that the bishop’s residential quarters were not clearly separated from the liturgical structures reveal the limited nature of episcopal duties in this period, recalled by an inscription

¹⁰² See the remarks in Duval (1996) 331–37.

in the southern hall. This situation was to change during the second half of the 4th c., when the Christian community of Aquileia became increasingly prominent and their bishop's influence came to encompass even secular matters. This was reflected in the growth of the episcopal complex beyond the limits of the original *insula*, the construction of a new basilica on the site of the northern hall, the raising of the church's presbytery, the insertion of a church door facing the city, and the construction of a real episcopal residence.

The death of Ambrose in A.D. 397, and the transfer of the imperial capital from Milan to Ravenna in A.D. 402, along with the definitive defeat of the Arian heresy at the beginning of the 5th c., favoured the formation of the ecclesiastical province of Aquileia. This extended beyond *Venetia et Histria* to include *Raetia II*, *Noricum*, *Pannonia I* and *Savia*.¹⁰³ At the same time, the prestige of the local bishops was strengthened by Chromatius' (A.D. 388/89–406) acquisition of certain relics of the Apostles, initially obtained from the East by the inhabitants of a region near Concordia, in around A.D. 390.¹⁰⁴ The increasing authority of the Church may have encouraged the leading members of the community to convert to Christianity and participate in Christian euergetism.¹⁰⁵ A fragmentary inscription discovered at Aquileia, not far from the baptistery, celebrates the dedication to the Apostles of an unidentified object, possibly a basilica, by Parecorius Apollinaris, *consularis Venetiae et Histriae* between the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th centuries.¹⁰⁶ The building and rebuilding of episcopal complexes is, nevertheless, a common feature in northern Italian towns during this period.¹⁰⁷ In this regard, Ravenna is a particularly interesting case, given that its first episcopal basilica was only erected at the beginning of the 5th c. According to the 9th c. *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis* of Andreas Agnellus, the new '*templum*'

¹⁰³ See Menis (1973).

¹⁰⁴ Chromatius *Serm.* 26.I (SC 174, ed. and transl. Étaix and Lemarié (1974) 92–93, 2–25).

¹⁰⁵ The emergence of an aristocratic Christian euergetism is well-attested for the whole of Italy between the 4th and the 5th c. A.D.: Pietri (1976), (1978) and (1982).

¹⁰⁶ *CIL* 5.1582: "[...] *sanctorum Apostol[orum] Parecorius Apoll[inaris], / consul(aris) Venet(iae) et [Histriae], / v(ir) c(larissimus) fecit*".

¹⁰⁷ See Testini, Cantino Wataghin and Pani Ermini (1989) 55–57.

replaced the 'simple buildings' (*'squalida teguria'*), where the local Christian community had met up until that point.¹⁰⁸

At Milan, the construction of the great *basilica nova* started under the episcopate of the Arian Auxentius and was finished by Ambrose, who inspired an incredibly ambitious building programme.¹⁰⁹ However, in the 4th c., the bishop's residence seems to have consisted of nothing more than a simple *domus*, not distant from the episcopal complex, but devoid of any other distinctive feature. The archaeological identification of this building with the late antique structures, which were brought to light underneath the later Arcivescovado and behind the Duomo, is uncertain. However, Ennodius' epigrams *in domo Mediolani scripti* constitute precious literary evidence for the massive restoration and improvement of this residence by bishop Laurentius I, between the 5th and 6th centuries. Their verses paint an idealistic picture of an articulated and luxurious building, furnished with water by the bishop. The latter could relate to a restoration of its water supply system, known to have been carried out thanks to literary as well as archaeological sources. This was possibly the work of Laurentius I, whose ecclesiastical patronage was renowned during the Ostrogothic period. Theodoric addresses a letter of A.D. 506/11 to the bishop Aemilianus (probably of Vercelli), ordering him to complete an aqueduct that he had begun to build.¹¹⁰ This would suggest that, in his building projects, Laurentius was acting (at least in part) on behalf of the state. If this was indeed the case, there can be little doubt regarding his authority and prestige in the eyes of the Gothic King Theodoric. The special tie that bound Catholic bishop and Arian king probably originated in the immediate aftermath of Odoacer's demise, when Laurentius and his colleague, Epiphanius of Pavia, obtained from Theodoric one year's relief from taxation for the province of *Liguria*.¹¹¹ Laurentius' royal favour is also attested by Theodoric's decision to personally appoint him as the chairman of a synod, called in A.D. 502 to resolve the Symmachan schism.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ Agnellus *Lib.* 16.23 (ed. Holder-Egger (1878) 228). The church was erected during the episcopate of Ursus, who gave his name to the building known in the medieval sources as *'Basilica Ursiana'*. On the building, see Novara (1997); on the interpretation of the Andreas Agnellus' passage: Testini, Cantino Wataghin and Pani Ermini (1989) 55.

¹⁰⁹ See Krautheimer (1983) 69–81.

¹¹⁰ Cassiod., *Var.* 4.31 (ed. Mommsen (1894) 127–28).

¹¹¹ Ennod., *V Epiph.* 185–87 (ed. and transl. Cesa (1988)).

¹¹² On the little studied figure of Laurentius I, see Pietri and Pietri (1999–2000) 1239–42; see also Boggetti (1954) 16–19.

Laurentius I probably benefited from the power vacuum created by the transfer of the imperial, and later royal, courts to Ravenna. These developments left him without rivals, in a town that was increasingly prominent because of its ecclesiastical status. This situation differed entirely from the era of Ambrose, when the formal political role of the bishop was limited, and the emperor and his court dominated local political life. The emergence of the bishop as a prominent public figure within urban society explains the distinctive monumentalisation of the episcopal residence at Milan, in the 5th/6th centuries. This was commemorated by a series of inscriptions, lauding works within the bishop's *domus*, as well as within the basilicas and baptisteries.

At Parenzo, the bishop Euphrasias restored the episcopal complex in the 6th c., making important changes to its architecture and liturgical organisation. The apse and the *synthronon* of the presbytery became the focal point of the new basilica.¹¹³ The liturgical spaces were embellished with floor and wall decorations. This Ravennate architectural model differed significantly from basilicas in the local tradition. In these basilicas of the Adriatic type, the altar and the bishop, although prominent, were subordinated to the body of the church hall.¹¹⁴ It has been argued that this change was influenced by the increasing role of the bishop in civil and religious affairs.¹¹⁵ S. Eufemia at Grado is the closest parallel. It was built by bishop Elias (A.D. 571–586) at the end of the 6th c. In this church, the arrangement of the presbytery is similar to that observed at Parenzo. Even the tone of the dedicatory inscription of Elias,¹¹⁶ which was part of the mosaic floor decoration, is reminiscent of the inscription in the apse of Euphrasius' building.¹¹⁷ Both inscriptions directly attribute the building and decoration of the basilicas to the bishops. In this way, they are markedly different from the simple liturgical installations and inscription, in the southern hall of the first episcopal complex at Aquileia. The latter celebrates the

¹¹³ Similar arrangements are attested in the 5th and 6th c. A.D. at Grado (S. Maria delle Grazie and basilica in Piazza della Corte), at Concordia (episcopal church), at Trieste (martyrial basilica) and at Invilino-Colle Zuca: Cuscito (1999) 99.

¹¹⁴ This does not imply that there were no elements reflecting a genuinely local tradition: Cantino Wataghin (1992a) 351–52.

¹¹⁵ Cantino Wataghin (1992a) 351.

¹¹⁶ *CIL* 5.149: *'Atria quae cernis vario fomata decore/squalida sub picto caelatur marmore tellus/longa vetustatis senio fuscaverat aetas./Prisca en cesserunt magno novitatis honori./praesulis Haeliae studio praestante beati./Haec sunt tecta pio semper devota timori'*. See Cuscito (1989) 749–53.

¹¹⁷ Cantino Wataghin (1992a) 351–54.

construction of the building as the common aim of bishop Theodorus and his flock.¹¹⁸ Euphrasius' special status is evident in the residence he built north of the basilicas, especially in its luxurious audience hall. The bishop probably assumed power at the same time as the Justinianic reconquest of *Histrìa* (restored to imperial control in A.D. 539)¹¹⁹ and the promulgation of the Pragmatic Sanction (A.D. 554), the last of a long line of laws privileging or bestowing additional duties upon bishops. Indeed, it must be stressed how, from the 6th c., bishoprics were increasingly taken up by aristocrats. This contrasted with the general trend of appointing ecclesiastical officials from the urban middle-class, during the 4th and 5th centuries.¹²⁰

The progressive monumentalisation of episcopal complexes in Aquileia, Milan and Parenzo again bears witness to the spread of Christianity, and increasing financial resources, political power and architectural visibility of the Church.¹²¹ This monumentalisation includes, after a slight delay, the progressive development of episcopal residences. However, it should be noted that, throughout Late Antiquity, bishops' residences were never accorded any legal status. The one true centre of episcopal activity remained the church, the meeting place *par excellence* of the Christian community. The material and symbolic importance of this building was derived from this purpose, and it was here that the bishop's pastoral care for his flock was most evident.¹²²

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¹¹⁸ Cantino Wataghin (1992a) 351.

¹¹⁹ See Ferluga (1992) 175–78.

¹²⁰ Cecconi (1998); Cracco Ruggini (1998); Sotinel (1997) and (1998).

¹²¹ See Cantino Wataghin (2003); Gauthier (1999).

¹²² It is no coincidence that the term *ecclesia* (used in the sources of the 4th and 5th c. A.D. to describe the places where the bishop presided every Sunday over the celebration of the eucharist) is borrowed from the Greek *ἐκκλησία*, which means “assembly” and was always used to denote the local Christian community: Mohrmann (1962).

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ARCHITECTURE AND CHURCH POWER
IN LATE ANTIQUITY:
CANOSA AND SAN GIUSTO (*APULIA*)

Giuliano Volpe

Abstract

Two Early Christian complexes will be presented here: one urban (San Pietro in Canosa), and one rural (San Giusto in the territory of Lucera). Both cases represent clear evidence of the Christianising policy promoted by the Church in the cities and countryside, especially during the 5th and 6th centuries A.D., which led to a new definition of urban and rural landscapes. The Early Christian complex of San Pietro in Canosa—the most important city in *Apulia et Calabria* in Late Antiquity—and the Early Christian complex of San Giusto, most likely the seat of a rural diocese, are notable expressions of ecclesiastical power in the city and the countryside during the transitional period between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages.

INTRODUCTION

In this paper, I will try to summarise the results of almost a decade of research carried out in Apulia by an archaeological team under my direction. The area I am concerned with corresponds approximately to the north-central part of modern Apulia and the eastern part of Basilicata (fig. 1). I will focus my attention on two excavations in particular: one is in Canosa, where occupation has continued without any interruption up to the present day, and which, therefore, represents an example of urban archaeology; the other is the rural site of San Giusto, the territory of Lucera. In both places, we have excavated Early Christian complexes which have led us to reconstruct the powerful role played by the Church and its religious buildings. The excavations also reveal how these new visible expressions of the architecture of power helped to transform the urban and rural landscapes during the delicate and problematic transition between Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

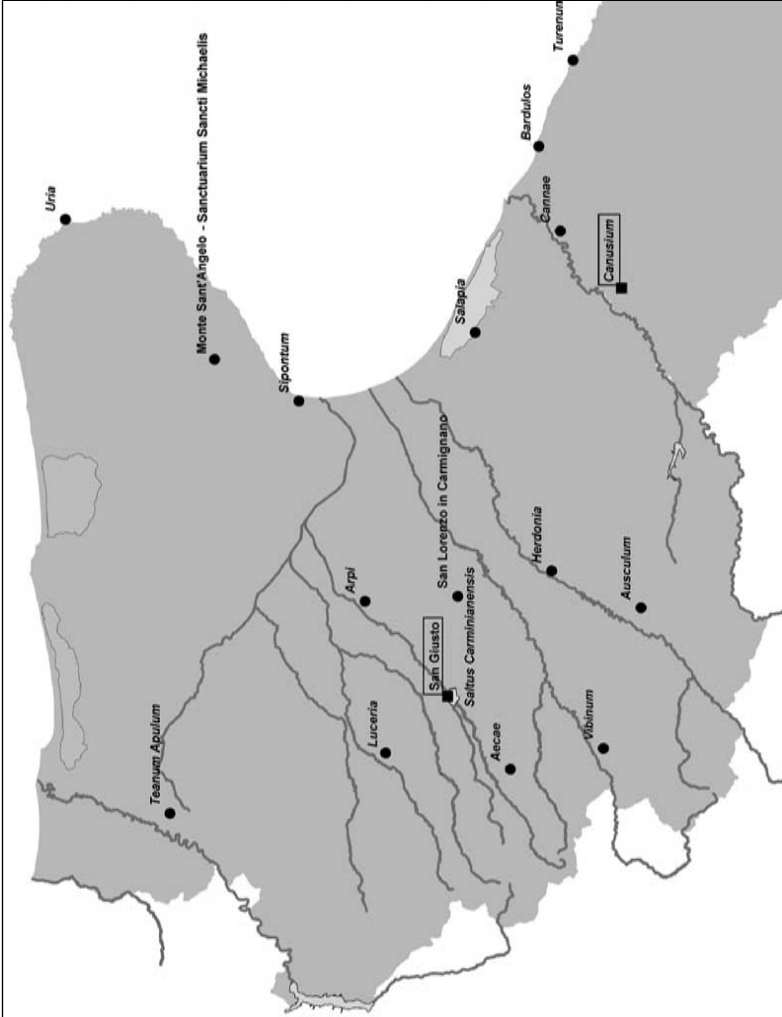


Fig. 1 Major late antique sites in Northern Apulia region (drawn by A. V. Romano).

These excavations form an integral part of a wider research programme designed to analyse, within a broad context, the transformation of *Apulia et Calabria* in Southern Italy between the Roman period and the Early Middle Ages. The project concerns other closely related themes, such as: the production and circulation of pottery and other handicrafts; administrative and economic geography; construction techniques; the archaeology of architecture; and forms of Christianisation. In this respect, it is worth pointing out that the excavations of San Giusto and San Pietro in Canosa are not being carried out as separate projects, but are being integrated within a much more extensive analysis of urban and rural settlement organisation. They are part of a fully developed project of urban and rural landscape history and archaeology, which also includes two projects involving systematic field survey: the ‘Celone Valley Project’ started in 1998, and the ‘Ofanto Valley Project’ started in 2003.¹ The study of the religious buildings is seen, therefore, as an integral part of the analysis of the changes affecting the whole territory: it aims to reconstruct the phases and forms of Christianisation in the cities and in the countryside, which was one of the main factors in the transformation of the landscape and social and political organisation, between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages.²

Other significant projects contributing to this analysis are: the excavations in an area within the abandoned medieval city of Herdonia,³ and research under the direction of Alastair Small in the Basentello valley, and in the Roman and late antique industrial *vicus* of Vagnari, in the territory of Gravina—Apulia.⁴ More recently, we have begun a new project: the excavation of a luxurious late antique villa at Faragola, in the territory of Ascoli Satriano.⁵

¹ These projects in rural landscapes archaeology are both directed by myself, with A. V. Romano and R. Goffredo in charge for the work on site; see Volpe, Romano and Goffredo (2004); Goffredo and Volpe (2005); Romano and Volpe (2005); Volpe (2005b).

² Volpe, Favia and Giuliani (1999) 309–10; Volpe (2005a); various data in Brogiolo (2003); see especially Brogiolo and Chavarría (2003) and remarks by Augenti (2003) 290–92. On the Christianisation of the cities, see Cantino Wataghin (1992); Cantino Wataghin, Gurt Esparraguera and Guyon (1996).

³ See Mertens (1985); Volpe (2000a); synthesis of the results to date in Mertens and Volpe (1999) and Volpe (2000b).

⁴ For the preliminary results, see Small *et al.* (1998); Small, Volterra and Hancock (2003).

⁵ The excavation has been carried out by the author since 2003 in collaboration with G. De Felice and with M. Turchiano in charge of the work on the site; see Volpe, De Felice and Turchiano (2005a), (2005b), (2005c).

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN COMPLEX OF SAINT PETER IN CANOSA

The excavated archaeological site is on San Pietro hill, an area surrounded by the spread of modern buildings, in the south-east suburbs of the modern city. Work started in 2001, and refined dating has been achieved in the course of five campaigns (fig. 2).⁶ This is the first systematic urban excavation carried out in Canosa, and because of this, it has a special methodological importance. It has been developed according to: firstly, research requirements (aimed at the full understanding of the first Early Christian complex of the city, which was also the seat of one of the most important dioceses of Southern Italy); secondly, teaching necessities (involving the organisation of an important field research school at university level), and thirdly, also the need to protect and safeguard a part of the city which was at risk of falling into decay.

Canusium was a rich 'town' of the Daunii, well-known for its monumental tombs and distinctive pottery style. In the Roman period it became a very important *municipium*, and in Late Antiquity it played a very important role in the region of *Apulia et Calabria* and also in the whole of Southern Italy.⁷ It was a political and administrative centre, being the seat of the provincial governor and the *concilium* of the *Apuli et Calabria*;⁸ and an economic centre for activities related to agricultural exploitation, transhumance and craft industries (being, amongst other things, the site of an imperial *gynaecium*).⁹ It was also the religious centre of a prestigious diocese administered by powerful bishops who took part—on various occasions—in important Church Councils and in delicate diplomatic activities. The diocesan territory was large and included a number of smaller centres, *vici*, such as Cannae, Barduli (Barletta) and Turenium (Trani), where Early Christian churches have been found.¹⁰ As regards Barletta, the construction of the church can

⁶ Preliminary results in Volpe *et al.* (2002) and Volpe *et al.* (2003). Brief synthesis in Volpe (2003a) and now Volpe (in press) and Volpe, Favia, Giuliani and Nuzzo (2004).

⁷ The bibliography is now considerable. I will only mention some of the most recent studies: Otranto (1991) 235–61; Cassano (1992a) 599–906 for the city in the Roman period and Late Antiquity; Grelle (1993); Volpe (1996) 95–107; Campione and Nuzzo (1999) 27–62.

⁸ *CIL* 9.333 = *ERC* 25; de Bonfils (1992) 835–36; Cecconi (1994) 99; Volpe (1996) 95–97.

⁹ *Not. Dign. occ.* 11.52; Grelle (1993) 161–79; Volpe (1996) 281–85.

¹⁰ Volpe, Favia and Giuliani (1999) 263–76, 293–95; Volpe, Favia and Giuliani (2003) 71–76, with previous bibliography.



Fig. 2 Canosa. Aerial view of the Early Christian Saint Peter's complex (excavations 2001–2005; photo author and M. Attademo).

certainly be attributed to Sabinus, who was—as we will see—bishop of Canosa in the first half of the 6th c. In contrast, Trani did not become an autonomous episcopal seat until around the end of the 5th c.

There is evidence for a bishop in Canosa from the middle of the 4th c. A.D.: a certain Stercoreus, who attended the Council of Serdica in A.D. 343. Between that period and the middle of the 6th c., at least five other bishops are documented. In fact, Canosa has a chronological list of its bishops which is one of the most complete of any Southern Italian city. The height of religious activity in Canosa was reached in the 6th c. A.D. under Sabinus. According to tradition, he reigned as bishop for more than fifty years (A.D. 514–66), but his activities are attested with certainty only between A.D. 531 and A.D. 542/52.¹¹ He was entrusted with delicate missions to the East, but was also very active in the construction of religious buildings, including the Basilica of Saints Cosmas and Damian (which was subsequently re-dedicated to Saint Leucius (San Leucio)),¹² the Baptistery of Saint John (San Giovanni),¹³ and the Church of the Saviour near the Church of the Virgin Mary. *Restaurator ecclesiarum* is the epithet given to him in the hagiography of the early 9th c., known as the *Historia vitae inventionis translationis sancti Sabini episcopi*,¹⁴ which narrates the miraculous events of his life, and is the main source of information about him. The same document refers to the Cathedral of Saint Peter as the seat of the bishops of Canusium, where Sabinus was buried.

Before our excavations began, scholars generally dated the Church of Saint Peter to the 4th c., to the episcopate of Stercoreus or a little later, believing that, in a city able to boast such an important bishop,¹⁵ there would have been an episcopal church. But this view was not based on any archaeological evidence; there might well have been a chronological discrepancy between the constitution of the diocese and

¹¹ Campione (1988); Otranto (1991) 251–59.

¹² Cassano (1992b); Volpe, Favia and Giuliani (2003) 66–68, with previous bibliography.

¹³ Cassano (1992c); Volpe, Favia and Giuliani (2003) 68–70; Giuliani and Leone (2005) with previous bibliography.

¹⁴ *Acta Sanctorum* Feb. II, 9.324–329; Campione (1988), (1992) and (2001); Campione and Nuzzo (1999) 32–39.

¹⁵ See e.g. Falla Castelfranchi (1981) 10; d'Angela (1984) 341; Lavermicocca (1989) 91; d'Angela in Testini, Wataghin Cantino and Pani Ermini (1989) 102; d'Angela (1992); Campione and Nuzzo (1999) 42. In our first publications we also supported the episcopal function of the Church of Saint Peter. At present in fact, we have no material which could document the presence of a religious building of the 4th or 5th c. A.D.

the construction of the cathedral. Reliable archaeological evidence which might determine this is not available.¹⁶ Excavations have not revealed any clearly defined phase of the 4th or 5th c. A.D. Yet they have provided ample evidence for the important building activities of the bishop Sabinus. Bricks with his monogram were used in the masonry of the Church of Saint Peter, in the *atrium* which adjoins it in front, and in the residential building connected to it, suggesting that bishop Sabinus was responsible for the construction of the whole complex in the 6th c. (fig. 3). It is, therefore, very likely that the first cathedral in Canosa can be identified with the Church of the Virgin Mary (Sabinus built the Baptistry of Saint John next to it), and not with the Church of Saint Peter, as was previously believed to be the case. The latter was more likely to have served as a funerary basilica and the site where the bishop wanted to build his tomb, together with articulated residential buildings. It is evident that, in this way, a sort of topographic, functional and religious bipolarity between these two areas—closely integrated and complementary to one another—was created.

Moreover, it is not improbable that the bishop of Canosa decided to place his episcopal seat, permanent or temporary, in the vicinity of Saint Peter's, an area replete with wide spaces and useful at a very advanced stage of the Christianisation process, when the bishop was operating in an urban and territorial dimension and not confined merely to the restricted circle of the episcopal district.¹⁷ Saint Peter's quarter is situated in the city suburb, close to the city walls (probably immediately outside them, even though it is uncertain, since their exact line is not known).¹⁸ The existence of an Early Christian complex there was suggested both by the toponym, and by the presence of some ruins, apparently belonging to a group of religious buildings which had collapsed in a landslide caused by the development of a tufa quarry in modern times.

We first carried out a geophysical survey on which we based the plan of the stratigraphical excavation.¹⁹ The excavations in Saint Peter's area are still in progress, so our knowledge of the Early Christian complex

¹⁶ Cantino Wataghin, Gurt Esparraguera and Guyon (1996) 27.

¹⁷ For wider knowledge of these aspects look now at Volpe (2006c) and Volpe, Favia, Giuliani and Nuzzo (2004).

¹⁸ A probable stretch of walls, located in the 2005 (sample VI) few metres north of the Early Christian complex, could confirm its placement in the immediate suburb.

¹⁹ Volpe *et al.* (2002) 141–43.

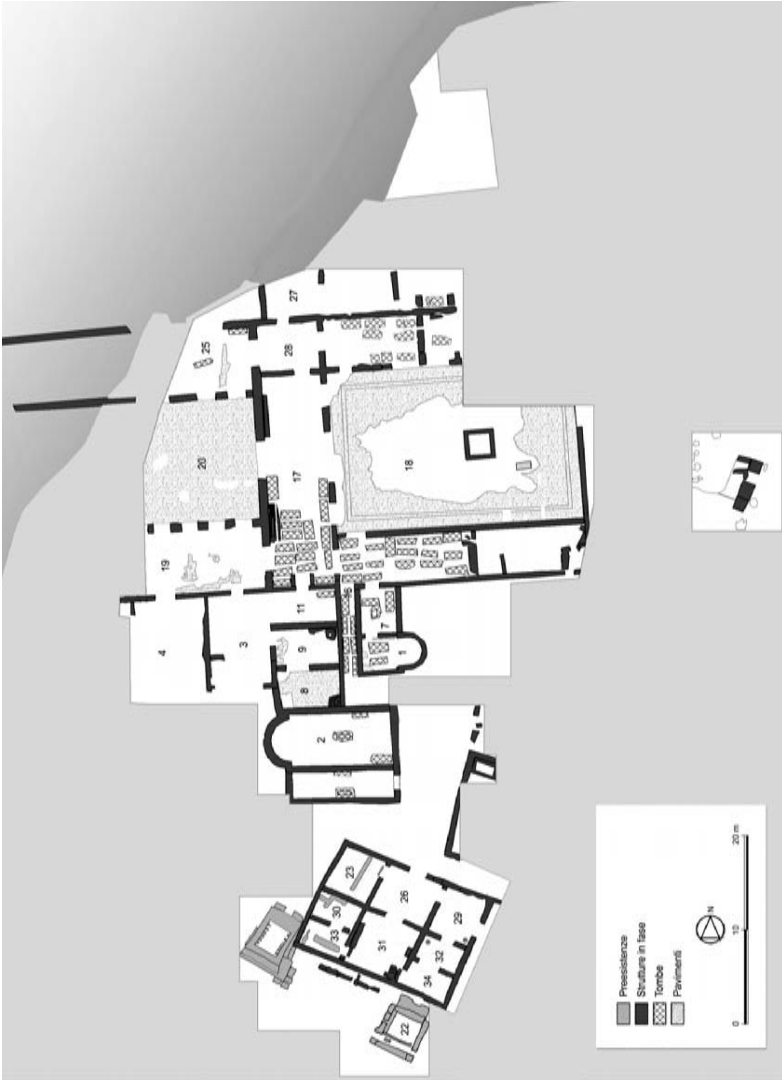


Fig. 3 Canosa. Plan of the Early Christian Saint Peter's complex (6th–7th c. A.D.) (excavations 2001–2005; drawn by G. De Felice, N. Mangiardi).

is subject to continual revision. The area explored in the first four campaigns is equivalent to more than 1,500 m². Within this space, a complex plan was clearly articulated according to functional needs, with separate liturgical, pastoral, funerary, residential, ceremonial, and even industrial areas.

The use of the area before the building of the Early Christian complex is not clearly defined as yet; but it should be noted that the site was flanked by the aqueduct of Herodes Atticus, built at the time when the Roman colony was founded under Antoninus Pius.²⁰ This provided a valuable component in the urban infrastructure, which must have facilitated the provision of water to the domestic, industrial and ecclesiastical quarters being developed in this part of the city. In the area explored thus far, a stretch of road—that was cut by the construction of the Christian buildings—has been discovered, together with some earlier structures with a different orientation, which still need to be investigated more thoroughly.

On the basis of our present data, the identifiable elements are: the church (rooms no. 19, 20, 25), the *narthex* (room no. 17) an *atrium* with a portico in front of it (room no. 18), the residential building (rooms nos. 4, 3, 13), and a little apsidal mausoleum (room no. 1).²¹

The Residential Building, the Domus, the Church, and the Atrium

The central nucleus was formed by a housing complex, which we interpreted as the bishop's palace, used permanently or temporarily by the bishop.²² It was built on a rectangular plan, and probably had an upper floor, as is shown by the remarkable thickness of the walls (0.70 m). The lower part of the walls was made from large, exactly squared, monolithic tufa blocks, whereas the upper part consisted of a broken

²⁰ Cassano and Chelotti (1992).

²¹ Since the excavation is still in progress, this is not the right time or place to propose an excessively detailed analysis of the site phases, which would run the risk of being invalidated by the results of the next season's work.

²² Volpe *et al.* (2002) 157–69; Volpe, Favia, Giuliani and Nuzzo (2004). There are several cases in which the bishop resided, more or less permanently, in other buildings which were different from those connected to the cathedral, as for example in Rome, where at the beginning of the 6th c. A.D., on the initiative of Pope Symmachus, two bishop's residences were built, next to the *atrium*: *Lib. Pont.*, I.261–62; see Fiochi Nicolai (2001) 114–16, and earlier bibliography.

tufa core of brick and tiles faced with small pieces of tufa, regularly laid, and bound with a very hard mortar. The building had a central open space (no. 3) 67 m² in area, with two adjacent rooms, one on the east side (no. 13) and the other to the west (no. 4). The large eastern space no. 13, more than 68 m² in area, must have been particularly important: it was paved with a costly polychrome mosaic, and was probably used for ceremonial occasions and receptions. The bishop's own residential rooms were most probably upstairs, but unfortunately no clear traces of them survive.

In a later phase, but still during the course of the 6th c., an elite burial was placed in the north-east corner of the room no. 13. It contained the remains of an adult, buried with a glass bottle and a fibula bearing a closed ring. Soon afterwards, the space was extended to the south and divided into three smaller rooms (nos. 8, 9, and 11). In rooms no. 8 and 9, the mosaic floor of the previous period was re-used; rooms no. 9 and 11 were equipped with a fireplace, and room no. 11 was given a new pavement formed mainly of bricks with the monogram of the bishop Sabinus impressed on their visible side (fig. 4). Whereas room no. 8 was accessible directly from the central courtyard (no. 3), to reach room no. 11 it was necessary to pass through room no. 9. This alteration could indicate that the large room no. 9 was no longer needed because ceremonial and administrative activities had been transferred to other larger spaces in the Early Christian complex. Therefore, the three smaller rooms must have been used for residential purposes, although the importance given to room no. 11 with its beautiful floor (in which the monogram of Sabinus was repeatedly displayed), could suggest that this room also had a ceremonial function. At a later date, perhaps in the late 7th or 8th c., a small room (no. 12) was created on the west side of room no. 11, containing four square pits (1 × 1 m and about 2 m deep) which required the destruction of the brick floor: they could have been used for the storage of foodstuffs, or more probably as latrines.

It is very likely that the bishop Sabinus invited the Ostrogothic king, Totila, to have dinner at this palace, based on a story by Gregory the Great, and also according to the anonymous author of the *Vita*: Totila refused the invitation to lie down at dinner time and sat to the bishop's right.²³ However, none of the rooms explored up to now can definitely

²³ Greg., *Dial.* 3.5; *Vita* 3.7; see Rossiter (1991) 206, 212.



Fig. 4 Canosa. Saint Peter's complex, episcopal residence (room no. 8): pavement of bricks with the Sabinus' monogram (photo author).

be identified as the dining room, so it could have been situated on the upper floor, which no longer exists, or in the western side of the building, which has not yet been fully excavated. South of the residential building a large apsidal room opened (room no. 2) to the east, containing three burials, one in the centre and the other two arranged along the perimeter walls. During this period, the space in front of this building was extensively developed as a cemetery, as was the space to the south of it flanking the pre-existing stretch of road, where there could have been a portico.²⁴

The north side of the complex was occupied by the church and adjacent *atrium*. The church was found in 2002, and is still being excavated. It seems to have been of impressive size, 30 m wide, with three naves—with an almost perfect ratio of 1:2 between the lateral naves (6.90 m) and the central nave (14 m)—oriented to the west and preceded by a broad *narthex* containing burials. The church floor was formed partly made up of a costly polychrome mosaic with a geometric decoration, of which only fragments have been found—so far—in the southern nave, and partly by bricks: some undecorated and some with the bishop Sabinus' monogram have been found re-used in the central nave (fig. 5). Although we cannot exclude the possibility that the mosaic and brick pavements co-existed in the same religious building, it seems very probable that the central nave was originally floored with mosaic and that the brick floor belonged to a later reconstruction, probably following Sabinus' bishopric. The re-use of bricks with the Sabinus monogram (which were normally included in the walls) in flooring is attested only in room no. 11 of the residential building, and in a room in the baptistery of Saint John.²⁵ Unfortunately, the west side of the church has been lost beyond recovery as a result of the landslides caused by the tufa extraction in the quarry beneath it. For this reason, it is also difficult to make clear whether the westward orientation was determined, as seems probable, by a need to adapt the building to the available space and make it fit into the urban road network, or whether it was conditioned by a pre-existing edifice in the presbytery area.

The brick stamps of Sabinus, in the walls, and a Justinianic coin, found in a mortar layer from the well-preserved rubble of the façade

²⁴ Volpe *et al.* (2002) 169–76; Volpe *et al.* (2003).

²⁵ Moreno Cassano (1968) 170–71, fig. 11; for the bibliography on Sabinus' bricks in other Canosa buildings, see Volpe *et al.* (2002) 181.

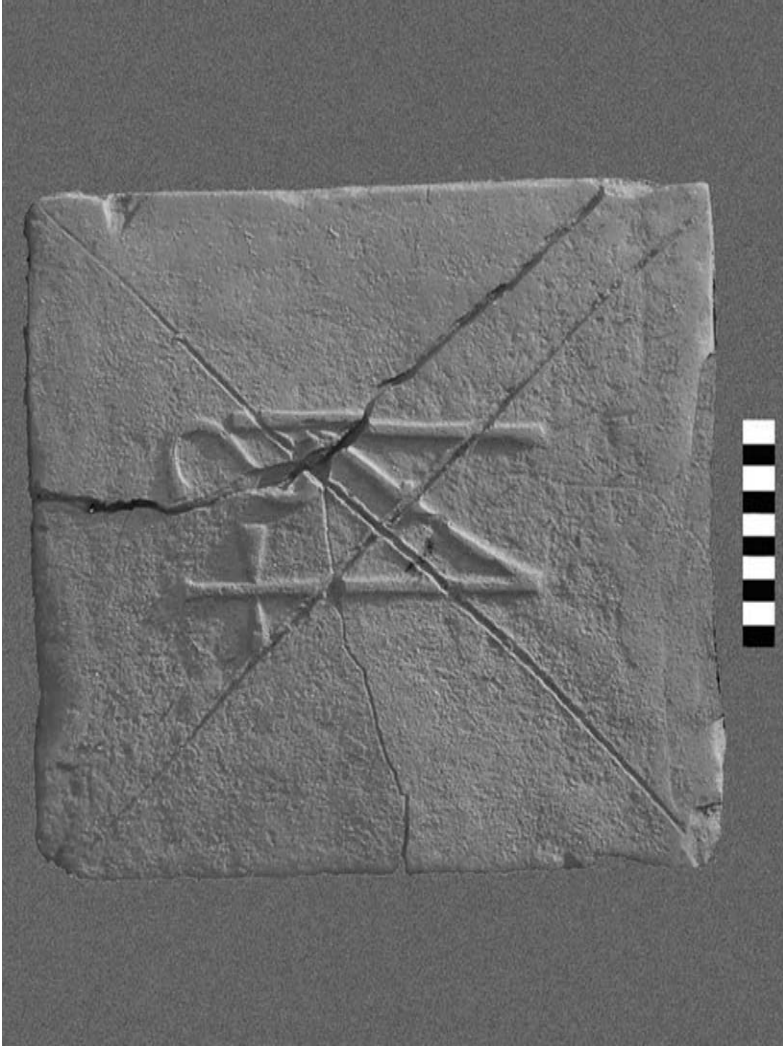


Fig. 5 Canosa. Brick with Sabinus' monogram (photo author).



Fig. 6 Canosa. The *atrium* of the Early Christian Saint Peter's complex (photo author).

wall, strongly suggest that the church was erected during the 6th c. A.D. From the southern aisle of the basilica, it was possible to enter the adjacent residential building through any of the three entrances: one of these linked the church with room no. 4; another led to the palace courtyard (no. 3); and the third was a monumental entrance (a sort of *prothyron*) which linked the church with room no. 13 (and later with room no. 8). The height of the church can be estimated as at least 12–15 m on the evidence of the eastern façade wall, which was found perfectly preserved where it had collapsed. The church was preceded by a wide *narthex* (room no. 17), whose width (6.9 m) matches exactly that of the side aisles of the religious building. Initially, the *narthex* had a mosaic floor, but because of the density of the tombs which were subsequently constructed in this area, only minimal traces of it remain. We have also identified part of the central courtyard and a porticoed wing related to the *atrium* which was located east of the *narthex* (figs. 6–7). Two marble bases with architectural mouldings from a colonnade of the portico have been preserved. The central space was paved with a simple mosaic made from large square *tesserae* (4 × 4 cm), bordered by three rows of black and red *tesserae*, and framed by slabs of white limestone.

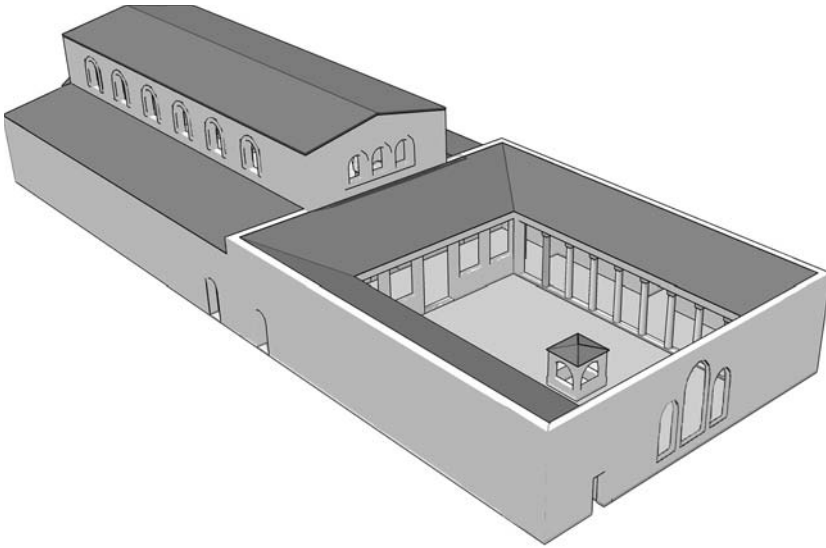


Fig. 7 Canosa. 3D computerised drawing of the Early Christian Saint Peter's complex (drawn by G. De Felice).

South of the Early Christian complex, in the area previously occupied by some kilns, another residential building (240 m², 13.30 m × 18 m) has recently been located. It was apparently constructed later than the phase during which the ecclesiastical complex was erected. It was, nonetheless, related to the episcopal complex, even though it had a different orientation due to the pre-existing structures on which the building was built (fig. 8). The building technique is very similar to the one employed for the religious building with the use of big square blocks and little tufa block rows. The *domus* certainly developed on two floors, was precisely articulated and designed for several functions.²⁶ On the ground floor there were eight rooms: two bigger rooms on the central axis and two rows of three rooms on both sides. The main access to the building was located in the middle of the northern side, in line with a stretch of road that pre-dated the Sabine complex.

To the rear of the building, a second entrance was accessible through a beautiful staircase; from here it was possible—by means of a staircase along the external wall—to reach the next floor, where there were almost certainly

²⁶ About this *domus*, see Volpe, Favia, Giuliani and Nuzzo (2004), with precise analysis, comparisons and interpretation.



Fig. 8 Canosa. Saint Peter's complex: the *domus* (photo author).

bedrooms and other strictly private areas. The discovery of several fragments of polychrome geometric mosaic in the collapse strata signifies the rich decor of these upper rooms. From the entrance room, which was probably open (room no. 26), one could move through a broad passage in line with the main door to what was certainly the main room (room no. 31). This is suggested by the presence of a masonry seat with armrests, in a central position and leaning against the eastern wall. It was probably reserved for the master of the house. On the opposite wall, a bench was probably reserved for his guests and visitors. Therefore, this room must have been the banqueting hall or the audience chamber, probably also occasionally used as a *triclinium*.²⁷ While the eastern wing (rooms no. 29, 32, 34) was occupied by service rooms and storerooms for victuals, as proven by some sunken *dolia* and waterproof earthen work tops, the western wing (rooms no. 23, 30, 33) was probably used for administrative, accounting or fiscal activities, as demonstrated by an iron steelyard and the numerous coins found therein.

In spite of the doubts and interpretative problems, it is likely that the *domus* was inhabited by a high ranking personality of the ecclesiastical

²⁷ See Baldini Lippolis (2001) 58.

hierarchy, or by a layman with important administrative duties (for example, the *defensor ecclesiae* mentioned in an epigraphic certificate), if not by the bishop himself, possibly at the same time as the changes to the residential building located south of the church. From the end of the 6th c. A.D., the *domus* experienced a phase of progressive decay, marked by the presence of hearth traces, wooden constructions and huts, and also by its apparent function as a warehouse for storing various objects and materials.

Single or Multiple Burials

The *atrium* was intensively used for burials. On the north side, facing the city, a monumental entrance has been identified, consisting of an open space with a fountain in its centre. From the south portico, a square shaped vestibule led to a small apsidal hall (room no. 1), which can be interpreted as a mausoleum, designed and built together with the church and the *atrium*: a private and privileged space, separate but not autonomous. It is very likely that this mausoleum can be identified with bishop Sabinus' tomb, also mentioned in the *Vita* as being located immediately next to the Church of Saint Peter. This little chamber was paved with a beautiful mosaic of polychrome geometric decoration incorporating some *tesserae* in glass paste. Various burials were embedded in this funerary chapel during the course of the 6th c., which involved numerous repairs to the mosaic floor. In at least one case (tomb 14), the repair carries a mosaic inscription dated to the first half of the 6th c.: (hic re[quie]sc[i]t S[---] MONIS = *hic requiescit sanctae memoriae*), a formula found several times at Canosa.²⁸

Between this mausoleum and the residential complex, a long and narrow space (barely 2 m wide) was connected to the south wing of the portico. It formed a covered passageway between the ecclesiastical complex (*atrium-narthex-church*) and the southern sector of the episcopal quarter (apsidal room no. 2-residential building). This 'corridor' was also intensively and systematically used for burials, as shown by a group of seven graves with covers formed by blocks of tufa in its floor. They contained both single and multiple burials, normally without grave goods. The tomb furthest to the north, near the *atrium*, was larger in size and made with special care. Its floor was formed by bricks, with

²⁸ Volpe *et al.* (2002) 146–47, 151–52.

a central motif of a Greek cross with splayed ends. The destruction layers of the corridor have yielded numerous terracotta plaques of a type already known at Canosa, which were probably used as ceiling decorations;²⁹ they were square in shape and their fields divided into four or six parts, filled with crosses and animal and vegetal elements. They can be broadly dated to the 6th c.³⁰

As we have seen, the use of the area for burials is noteworthy. In general, the tombs were made with care, and contained single or multiple burials.³¹ They hardly ever contained grave goods, but it is nevertheless certain that they were used for privileged individuals. In some cases, the rank of the dead person is emphasised by the strategic position of the tomb (for example, near one of the entrances), or by rich items of dress, as in the case of tomb 32, which must have belonged to a woman of rank judging by her veil, adorned with gold thread and held in place by a pin that also kept her hair in order. It is interesting that she also had a bone comb, which can be identified as a carding comb. This might attest the continuity of weaving at Canosa, at least in the private sphere, in this late phase.³² There are numerous other examples of such elite burials, for instance, tomb 79, where the mark of a seal was found impressed in the mortar of its west wall. Inscriptions also document the presence of personages of high rank—among them an anonymous *defensor (civitatis or ecclesiae)*.³³ The monumental inscription

²⁹ If this hypothesis is valid, then by taking into consideration the dimensions of the 'corridor' (10 × 2 m) and those of the plaques (30 × 30 × 2 cm), it could be calculated that about 200 plaques would have been needed to cover the ceiling.

³⁰ Similar plaques have been found in a small Early Christian building in the area of the temple of Giove Toro at Canosa, and in the rural site of Santo Staso in the territory of Gravina. For comparisons and analysis of these terracotta plaques, see Bertelli (2002) 73–75, 170–73.

³¹ The skeletal analyses have been carried out by Dr. S. Sublimi Saponetti (Bari University), to whom I am grateful for this unpublished information; of special interest are the data concerning illnesses attested in numerous individuals: tuberculosis was particularly common.

³² Skeletal analyses have revealed signs of intense stress in the upper limbs, typical of weavers, see Volpe *et al.* (2003). On the imperial factories at Canosa, see Grelle (1993); Volpe (1996) 284–85. On Canosa wool and textiles, see Grelle and Silvestrini (2001). A more prolonged crisis in the raising of transhumant flocks in Apulia is now suggested by Vera (2002). Re-examination of the problem is in Volpe (2006b).

³³ Volpe *et al.* (2003). On the *defensores* in Apulia see Martin (1993) 145–46, 157–58. On these personages see Mancini (1961) 1554–58; Pani Ermini (1969) 9–18; Mannino (1984); Frakes (2001); Corda (1999) 60.

of one *Georgius parbulus*, found in the *atrium*, confirms that the area was fully used for funerals in the course of the 7th c. A.D.³⁴

The Artisans' Quarter

The group of buildings identified thus far would have provided facilities for the numerous funerary, liturgical, pastoral, administrative and residential functions—some of which are not always easily recognised—that were typical of an Early Christian complex in an important late antique city such as Canusium. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that the spectrum of activities carried out in the bishop's quarter even included industrial functions. It is very probable that the ancient use of the area for workshops continued, and was given added importance by initiatives promoted by the bishop requiring the work of skilled artisans. This hypothesis is supported by both the thick layer of scattered industrial waste on the surface, and evidence provided by the magnetometer survey. In order to further test this theory, we decided to open a trial trench in the southern sector of the area. The investigation is not yet complete, but it has already revealed the structure of a large kiln which may have been used for producing bricks and tiles, or perhaps pottery.³⁵ A second big kiln was discovered a little further west. It is of an earlier date, sometime between the Late Republican and the Early Imperial Age. This confirms that artisanal activity had been conducted in the area for many centuries. There were certainly other kilns in use in the same area, as shown by the geophysical survey and, gradually, by the excavation. It is worth recording, in this context, that a mould for a late antique lamp has been found in the area of San Pietro.

To sum up, at San Pietro, as at San Giusto (as we will see), there is clear evidence of ecclesiastical involvement in craft industries in Late Antiquity.³⁶ The artisans' quarter must have occupied the whole of the southern part of the site, and was originally separated from the cult buildings and the residential building by only an east-west wall, which ran parallel to the apsidal room (no. 2). A little later, after the construction of the Early Christian complex, a *domus* was built in this area, close to the only kiln employed in Late Antiquity, and above the

³⁴ Volpe *et al.* (2003).

³⁵ Volpe *et al.* (2003).

³⁶ Martorelli (1999); Saguì (1998) 74, 77–78; Saguì (2002). On craft industries in Apulia in Late Antiquity, see Turchiano (2003).

more ancient kilns. It is worth noting that, from this moment, artisanal production in this area was apparently interrupted, probably having been moved to a more suburban area.

An Articulated and Functional Plan

If we analyse the ecclesiastical complex of Sabinus as a whole, from what we know at present, it is evident that it had a clearly articulated and functional plan, whose complexity can be inferred from the various possible routes between the different sectors. Within this context, the *atrium* played a particularly important role. Atria were central elements in public monumental architecture of Late Antiquity, in both civic and ecclesiastical buildings (as J.-C. Picard has shown).³⁷ In our case, the *atrium* must have contributed to the luxurious and prestigious nature of the whole complex. It presumably functioned not only as the focus of the settlement and connecting point with the principal roads, but also as a link between the various components of the ecclesiastical quarter, where the community of the faithful would gather and be received. The space was also used for burials, and perhaps for the charitable activities, and administrative and juridical purposes (*episcopalis audientia*), through which all the facets of episcopal power were displayed. C. Godoy Fernández and F. Tuset have recently analysed the role of the *atrium* in general, in light of the evidence of the anonymous 7th c. *Vitae Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium*, and documentation provided by Isidore of Seville. They concluded—perhaps too emphatically considering the problematic relationship between archaeology and liturgy—that it constituted a particularly important element in the architecture of power; and posited a relationship between the civic-regal and ecclesiastical models of building in which the functions of display, ceremonial power, and residence were exercised respectively by the *aula-ecclesia*, the *atrium*, and the *palatium-episcopium*.³⁸

The presence of the *atrium* in the complex of Saint Peter is even more significant if we take into account the relative rarity of atria in Early Christian architecture in the West, and in Central-Southern Italy in particular. Atria are, however, well-attested in various Adriatic

³⁷ Picard (1989); see Picard (1974) on the *atrium* of Saint Peter's in Rome.

³⁸ Isid., *Etym.* 15.3.3–9; Godoy Fernández and Tuset (1994) = Godoy Fernández (1995) 133–47. See the critical comments on the *atrium* in Duval (2000) 429–76, in particular 465–71.

centres (at Aquileia, Concordia, Grado, Ravenna and Parenzo),³⁹ and this distribution pattern confirms that Canosan architecture belongs within an Adriatic context.⁴⁰ There is a close analogy, both in dimensions and in plan, between the *atrium* of the cathedral of Saint Peter and that erected in front of the baptistery of Saint John, where we have recently carried out another excavation.⁴¹ In fact, the *atrium* of Saint John is practically identical to the one at Saint Peter, and it can also be attributed to a building scheme of Sabinus, who had probably learned to appreciate this architectural element through his numerous contacts with Rome and the Eastern World. On the basis of our excavation results to date, and the presence of some remains that were already visible before our project started, we can tentatively reconstruct the general physiognomy of the church and its adjoining *atrium* in a preliminary computerised drawing, which we hope to refine through future research. From this, the numerous functions of Saint Peter's quarter emerge very clearly, as well as its role in the creation of a new urban landscape which had different poles, decentralised in comparison to those of the Roman city.⁴²

At the same time as he created the complex of Saint Peter in the south-east city suburb, far from the temple of Giove Toro and the Roman forum (where the offices of the provincial governor must have still been located in Late Antiquity), Sabinus also built the martyrium complex of Saints Cosma and Damian in the immediate south-east suburb, and the religious centre of the Baptistery of Saint John with the episcopal Church of the Virgin Mary in a suburban area to the north-east, which was connected with the Via Traiana. By doing that, Sabinus clearly intended to create a sort of holy protective curtain around the city, comparable, if we bear in mind the obvious differences in dimensions and chronology, with the building programme carried out about

³⁹ Picard (1989).

⁴⁰ For the adherence in Apulia to an Adriatic architectural style in Late Antiquity, with reference to the case of S. Giusto, see Volpe (2003b).

⁴¹ Excavations were carried out in 2002–2003 conducted by the *Soprintendenza per i beni archeologici della Puglia* (Dr. M. Corrente) in cooperation with Foggia University. The excavations were directed by Roberta Giuliani and Danilo Leone (Foggia University). A church was built in the central area—which had been open to the sky—in the 7th and 8th c. A.D. See Giuliani and Leone (2005).

⁴² On the urbanism of Roman and late antique Canosa, see Sabbatini (1992) and (1998).

150 years earlier by Saint Ambrose at Milan.⁴³ The topography of the city was strongly and definitively marked with Christian features; and new poles of attraction were created; entire quarters were reorganised; and the physiognomy of the entire urban space was remodelled.⁴⁴ In this sense, the decision to locate the sacred complexes on the periphery seems to have been determined not by marginalisation or ‘self-marginalisation’, but by the clear wish to redraw the physiognomy of the city in a Christian form.

The 6th c. A.D. was a period in which the city still played a role of primary importance, not only in the province of Apulia et Calabria, and in Southern Italy in general, but also in relation to the Eastern Empire, thanks especially, but not only to Sabinus. Another prominent figure was Tullianus, son of Venantius. According to Procopius, this man was a large landowner ‘who possessed great authority among the Bruttii and Lucani’. This meant that he was able to treat authoritatively with the Byzantine general John (Iohannes), and could guarantee not only the submission of the Bruttian and Lucanian population, but also the control of the *nares Lucanae* pass, which he held with his personal army of *coloni* so as to impede the passage of the Gothic army led by Totila.⁴⁵

The Transformation and Abandonment of the Early Christian Complex

I cannot, for reasons of space, illustrate in detail the medieval phases which saw the continued use of the area for burials, and the construction of some poor houses in places such as the *atrium* portico and the mausoleum area. It is especially interesting to note that the doors of the Early Christian complex, including those of the church, were systematically closed, probably to protect them from the robbery of building material, or for other reasons which at present elude us.

⁴³ Krautheimer (1987) 108–48; see also Testini, Wataghin Cantino and Pani Ermini (1989) 217–20, and most recently Marano in this volume.

⁴⁴ On urban Christianisation, see Testini, Cantino Wataghin and Pani Ermini (1989); Cantino Wataghin (1992), (1996); Cantino Wataghin, Gurt Esparraguera and Guyon (1996); Pani Ermini (1998); Brogiolo and Gelichi (1998), with further bibliography.

⁴⁵ Procop. *Goth.* 2.18.20. It is not impossible that Tullianus could be identified with the *magister militum* of the same name mentioned by Gregory I (Greg., *Ep.* 8.8–9); see Guillou (1978) 316, n. 4; Volpe (1996) 292, 374; on Tullianus, see Mazzarino (1980) 436–37; Giardina (1981) 112–13; Giardina (1982) 131–32.

According to the *Vita* of Sabinus, the burial place of the bishop remained unknown for a long time (*sepulchrum incognitum*) until the miraculous *inventio* by a Spanish pilgrim named Gregorius. This might seem to suggest that the Church of Saint Peter had been rapidly abandoned after the death of the bishop, but this was not the case, because the excavations have shown the continued use of the complex throughout the 7th c. But they have not yet produced any evidence of the *ecclesia*-chapel which, according to the *Vita*, was built by the Duchess Theoderada over the tomb of the saint. In some rooms of the southern domus, numerous architectural elements were found (columns, bases of altars, panels, capitals, etc.), in addition to other material of various types and dates, some of considerable value (for example, a bronze stamp, a cornelian gemstone, and a lead toilet set), which was probably collected and kept here to be re-used at a later date.⁴⁶

The period between the death of Sabinus and the 8th–9th centuries A.D. began with serious crises in the Church of Canosa, by now deprived of its bishops.⁴⁷ During this time, the urban area was progressively cut back, becoming ever more confined to the zone of the present cathedral and to the high area where the castle would later be built. However, as our excavations are demonstrating, the area of San Pietro was not totally depopulated during the Early Middle Ages. The various Early Medieval habitations which have been discovered document the presence of a small rural settlement which developed, re-using various spaces and materials from the Early Christian complex. Nonetheless, ownership of the area probably remained in the hands of the Church, as shown by the fact that the whole area belonged to the Cathedral of Saint Sabinus until recently, when most of it was alienated to private individuals. Even today, a portion of it—not far from the Early Christian church—remains ecclesiastical property. It is worth pointing out that not far from the area of San Pietro there was the Benedictine Monastery of San Quirico, which, in a medieval document, was mentioned with the corrupt designation *monasterium sancti Clerici de Canusio*.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ *Saggio* III (R. Giuliani, A. De Stefano) see Volpe, Favia, Giuliani and Nuzzo (2004).

⁴⁷ Greg., *Ep.* 1.54; Otranto (1991) 257–58; Volpe (1996) 107; Volpe *et al.* (2002) 139–41.

⁴⁸ Volpe *et al.* (2003); on the monastery see Falla Castelfranchi (1984).

The occupation of the area does not seem to have continued beyond the turn of the 10th c. According to the *Vita*, the translation of the saint's relics to the new cathedral took place at the beginning of the 9th c. on the initiative of Bishop Peter, before their subsequent and definitive translation to Bari.⁴⁹ These episodes, which were apparently connected to the outcome of various disasters, like the Saracen raid of the 9th c., seem to have been the signal for the final abandonment of the area of San Pietro, when the buildings began to crumble. The Early Christian complex was transformed into nothing more than a great quarry for building materials. Later on, another quarry was added to it (the actual tufa quarry from the hill which led to the collapse of the western part of the church). However, as late as the 18th c., the church constructions, by now probably half-demolished but still partially visible, provided a valuable source of building material, as is noted in certain archival documents.⁵⁰

THE RURAL EARLY CHRISTIAN COMPLEX OF SAN GIUSTO

The second case which I want to refer to is that of San Giusto but, as many publications have already been issued on the subject.⁵¹ I will deal with it more concisely. Because of this the site, in northern Apulia, is by now—I believe—fairly well-known. The excavations were carried out in exceptionally difficult circumstances between 1995 and 1999 on the dammed inner side of the Celone river (fig. 9). Stratigraphical exploration was carried out in an area of about 5,000 m²; this amounts to a little less than half of the extant archaeological area, which extends itself over about 12,000 m² (fig. 10). The excavation has enabled us to reconstruct, at least in general outline, the long and complex history of this rural settlement on the northern Tavoliere, situated a short distance from several important urban centres, including Luceria, Aecae (modern Troia) and Arpi (near Foggia). At San Giusto, a small farmhouse seems to have been inserted into the great scheme of centuriation of the Late Republic or Early Empire revealed through aerial photography. Later, in the 1st–2nd centuries A.D., a large villa was erected, with a luxurious

⁴⁹ Volpe *et al.* (2002) 183.

⁵⁰ Volpe *et al.* (2002) 183–85.

⁵¹ Volpe (1998a), (2001a), (2001b) and (2002b); Volpe, Favia and Giuliani (1999) 276–85 and (2003) 59–61; Volpe, Biffino and Giuliani (2001).



Fig. 9 San Giusto. Aerial view in 1998: the Early Christian complex and the late antique villa (1998, photo author).

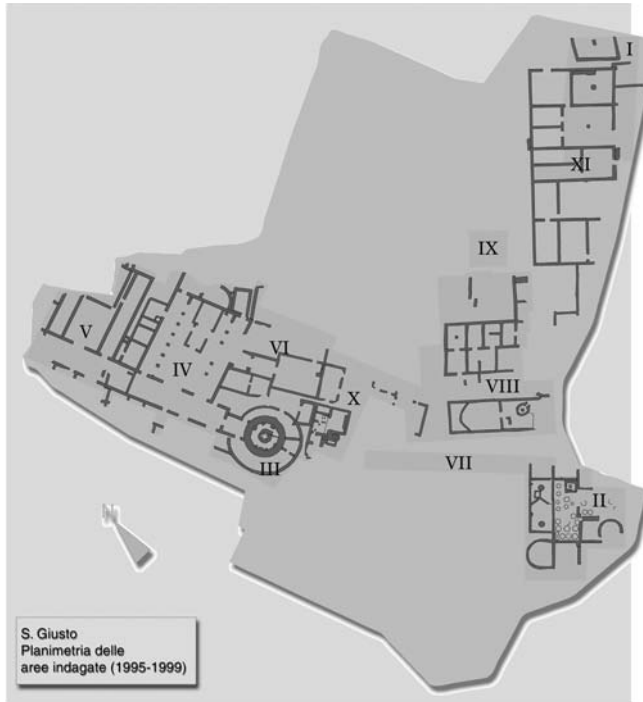


Fig. 10 San Giusto. Plan of the rural site (drawn by G. De Felice).

residential area of rooms floored with precious mosaics, decorated with statues and replete with large storage areas and an extensive quarter for the production of wine (presses, vats for wine fermenting, and *dolia* for the preservation of wine were in evidence). The villa underwent a major re-development in Late Antiquity, between the 4th and 6th centuries A.D. Some industrial activities were associated with the villa: there was a kiln for the production of commonware pottery, places set aside to process metal and rooms with a runnel network, probably devoted to the washing and processing of wool and pelts, activities connected with transhumant sheep-raising (one of the main economic resources of Apulia in Late Antiquity). The San Giusto villa has several features typical of late antique villas in Southern Italy,⁵² about which, thanks to

⁵² Among these characteristics we could note the development of luxury, the presence of various apsidal rooms, the role of a directional centre in the context of large landed properties, and the association of agricultural and industrial activities, according to the precepts of Palladius *de re rust.* 162, who advocates incorporating workshops for artisans, including carpenters, smiths and makers of *dolia* and wooden barrels, in the

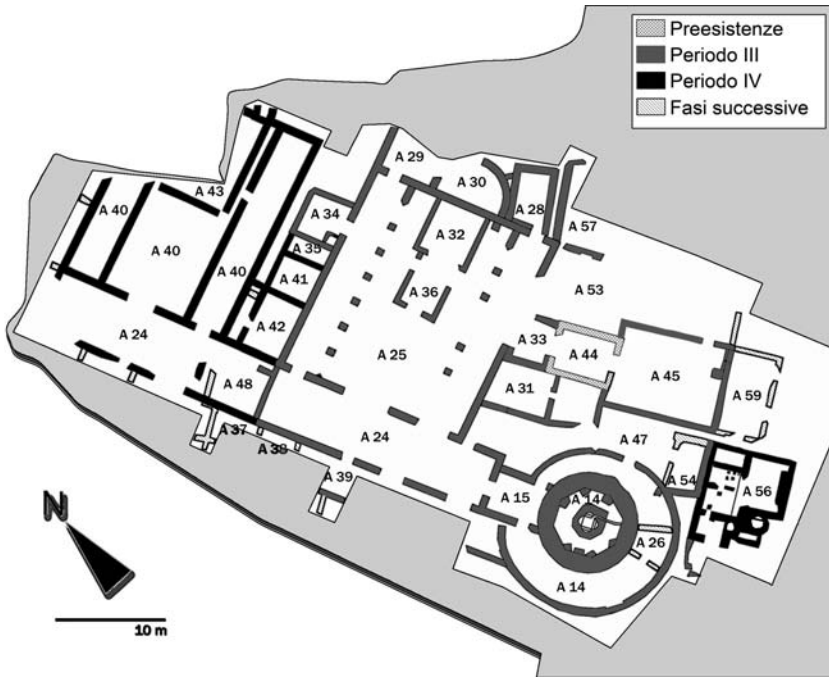


Fig. 11 San Giusto. Plan of the Early Christian complex (excavations 1995–1999; drawn by G. De Felice).

an excavation carried out at Faragola in the territory of Ascoli Satriano, we have recently acquired new data.⁵³

Around the middle of the 5th c. A.D., a church (A) was built alongside the villa of San Giusto, which by this time had almost certainly come to form part of the imperial estates belonging to the *Saltus Carminianensis* of the imperial *res privata*, documented in the *Notitia Dignitatum Occidentis*.⁵⁴ It had three naves, an ample *narthex* (no. 24) and an imposing centralised baptistery, decorated with polychrome mosaics and other rich ornamentation (figs. 11–12). A small square room (no. 34) on the

villa-praetorium (*ferrarii, lignarii, doliorum cuparumque factores*): see Vera (1999) and Volpe (2001) 321–32; Volpe (2005b).

⁵³ The villa of Faragola includes luxurious residential quarters with geometric mosaics, and, of particular interest, a summer dining room with a masonry dining couch (*stibadium*) in the centre, and floors of re-used marble surrounding very fine insets in *opus sectile*, made with pieces of marble and glass paste, see Volpe, De Felice and Turchiano (2005a), (2005b) and (2005c).

⁵⁴ *Not. Dign. occ.* 12.18.



Fig. 12 San Giusto. Aerial view of the Early Christian complex (1997, photo author).

north side can be identified as the *gazophylacium*. Here we found a hoard of more than 1,000 small coins, all datable to the second half of the 3rd c. or first three decades of the 6th c., and originating from some of the principal mints of the empire; as well as two Byzantine weights, glass lamps, and amphorae. The latter included two small *spathia* clearly intended for liturgical use.⁵⁵ Towards the end of the 5th or beginning of the 6th c., the Early Christian complex was further enlarged with the building of a second church (B) parallel to the first, specifically intended as a funerary church (fig. 12). It too had buildings associated with it, among them a small bath building. Thus, we are dealing, with a double church—the only example unearthed so far in Apulia and, indeed, in most of Central Italy, but relatively common around the northern Adriatic and in Dalmatia.⁵⁶

I have suggested elsewhere that the Early Christian complex of San Giusto can be identified with the seat of a rural diocese, the bishop of which, at the end of the 5th and beginning of the 6th c., was one Probus, *Episcopus Carmeianensis*, who attended the councils called to Rome by Pope Symmachus in the early years of the 6th c.⁵⁷ A brick with a monogram *Iohannis* may document another *Episcopus Carmeianensis* of this name, if indeed it refers to a bishop and not to another eminent personage, such as the Byzantine general Johannes, who was very active in Apulia and who was certainly involved in the building or restoration of churches elsewhere, for instance in Pesaro.⁵⁸

A group of rooms of various dimensions and shapes (nos. 31, 33, 45, 47, 53, 57) was developed to the south-east of church A, in proximity of the baptistery. This incorporated a small pre-existing building (no. 44, perhaps a funerary mausoleum put up in the vicinity of the Roman villa). They had a variety of residential, administrative, and service functions, intended to meet the multifold needs of the ecclesiastical community.⁵⁹ A *dolium* in room no. 1 suggests that the space was used to store foodstuffs. Meanwhile, a small *balneum* was constructed near to the baptistery, contemporary with the second church (B), and equipped with furnaces to produce hot air, heated rooms with floors raised on *suspensurae*, bath-tubs, and a privy (*forica*). In spite of their

⁵⁵ See Volpe (1998a) 251–62.

⁵⁶ Volpe (1998b) 312–24; Volpe (2003b).

⁵⁷ *MGH AA* 12, 437, 453; Volpe (1998b) 332–38; Volpe (2001) 337–43.

⁵⁸ Volpe (2002).

⁵⁹ Volpe (1998a) 141–48.

small dimensions, it is probable that these baths did not only serve the bishop's private needs, but instead could have been used by others as well. Moreover, we cannot exclude the possibility that in a preliminary phase (that is, before the enlargement of the Early Christian complex with the construction of the second church, other service rooms, and baths) the bishop and his closest associates had used the residential area of the nearby villa, equipped with rooms embellished with precious mosaics and other luxuries.⁶⁰

In Apulia, many other examples of rural churches have now been attested. Generally, however, we are dealing with small complexes compared with that at San Giusto. Even the two recorded Early Christian churches of Trani and Barletta are not comparable with the rural complex of San Giusto, which seems to have been comparable to the principal urban sacred buildings in the province of *Apulia et Calabria*. Indeed, its high status is the principal characteristic to emerge from the study of the Early Christian complex. It is almost as if its builders wanted to adhere to a model appropriate to an urban environment—a clear instance, typical of Late Antiquity, of a rural village imitating the city. In fact, we could, using an eloquent phrase employed by Cassiodorus with reference to Squillace,⁶¹ speak about a *civitas ruralis* or a *villa urbana*. This is a fine testimony to the prosperity of the Apulian countryside in Late Antiquity and to the vitality of the rural settlements.⁶² The complex of San Giusto, developing in the heart of an imperial estate (we do not know if this was later transferred to the Church) became a magnet for new settlers. It was perhaps the seat of a *nundina*, a rural market for the purchase and sale of agricultural produce, foodstuffs, goods manufactured by artisans, livestock and wool; and therefore took on a central position in the economic, mercantile, fiscal and social, as well as religious life of the whole territory.⁶³

The Church of San Giusto was not, however, a 'cathedral in the desert'. Research carried out as part of the Celone Valley project, including systematic surface survey, geophysical exploration, the interpretation

⁶⁰ The case of room no. 23 of the villa is noteworthy: it was at first floored with a polychrome geometric mosaic very similar to the one in church A, and was subsequently incorporated into the productive sector in connection with the adjacent *lacus vinarius*, see Volpe (1998a) 67–72.

⁶¹ Cassiod., *Var.* 12.15.5 (*civitatem credis ruralem, villam indicare possis urbanam*); see Polara (1999) 15 and Volpe (1999) 297.

⁶² Volpe (1996).

⁶³ Volpe (2001).

of vertical air photographs and oblique aerial photographs,⁶⁴ showed that the area was dotted with both *villae* and *vici*. Examples included the villa in the locality of Montaratro and the *vicus* at Montedoro, 5km from San Giusto, which we believe may be identified with the *Pr(a)etorium Lauerianum*, located between Aecae and Arpi according to the Peutinger Table.⁶⁵

The life of the double basilica of San Giusto was, however, fairly short. Between the middle and the end of the 6th c., a fire occurred, destroying the roof and leading to the collapse of the upper levels of Church A. Its demise was perhaps symptomatic of demographic decline in both the settlement and the surrounding countryside. A quick economic decision was taken to restructure Church B, which was, as a result, supplied with the fittings needed for liturgical functions (for instance, an enclosure surrounding the presbytery and seats for the clergy). This meant that the formerly distinct liturgical and funerary characteristics of the twin churches were merged. Although considerably reduced in size, the Early Christian complex remained in operation, albeit suffering ever-greater deprivations, especially in the 7th to 8th centuries. Burial sites for the poor were introduced into the subsidiary buildings, in the *narthex* and even in the baptistery. Later, rough shelters were erected among the ruins, perhaps used primarily by shepherds (we have found hearths, hut foundations and burials established among the remains). It does not appear then, that the abandonment of the cult building and surrounding settlement was caused by a single episode; it is more likely that it was a long drawn-out process during the 7th and 8th centuries which occurred in the context of a general depopulation of the plain in favour of sites on higher ground.

⁶⁴ The aerial surveys have been carried out with the collaboration of Chris Musson, Robert Bewley and Otto Braasch (AARG). From May to June 2003 the first summer school in archaeological aerial photography took place at Foggia, see Volpe (2006a).

⁶⁵ Originally we had thought that the site of San Giusto could be identified with the *Pr(a)etorium Lauerianum*: Volpe (1998b) 328–31; the discovery of the *vicus* of Montedoro situated along the road between Aecae and Luceria (from where comes an inscription referring to a *dispensator Augusti*) has led us to formulate this new hypothesis: Romano and Volpe (2005); Volpe (2005b).

TWO EXAMPLES OF CHRISTIANISATION:
ONE URBAN, THE OTHER RURAL

As is well-known, few episcopal complexes have been extensively studied, especially in South Central Italy. There are even fewer where systematic stratigraphical archaeological excavation has been carried out, particularly in cases where both the *domus episcopi* and numerous associated structures have been identified and analysed.⁶⁶ Often, such data, which can only be gleaned through careful stratigraphical investigation, are not available. One example is the problematic case of Naples.⁶⁷ In such instances, the key problem is that cult buildings have often been studied in isolation from their topographical and historical contexts.

Therefore, the two Early Christian complexes of Canosa and San Giusto are particularly important. The complex topographical and functional articulation of both of these areas and their relationship to episcopal power clearly emerge. This is despite the obvious differences between them, arising from the fact that one is located in an urban context, whilst the other is rural. Moreover, both episcopal quarters were able to develop more or less freely without restrictions imposed upon them by a significant group of pre-existing structures, a typical problem in urban areas already densely built-up. As the cases of Canosa and San Giusto clearly demonstrate, the process of Christianisation in Apulia, first in the cities and then in the countryside, reached its apogee between the 5th and 6th centuries A.D.⁶⁸ Evidence has emerged not only to show that these episcopal quarters had multiple functions, but also to demonstrate their importance as catalysts and agents of change in the creation of new urban and rural landscapes.

⁶⁶ Various instances of episcopal residences are discussed in Baldini Lippolis (2001) and (2005) 102–36; see now also Marano in this volume.

⁶⁷ Farioli (1978a) and (1978b) 53–162; Testini, Cantino Wataghin and Pani Ermini (1989) 95–97; Baldini Lippolis (2001) 226–27.

⁶⁸ On the Christianisation of the countryside in Apulia, see Volpe, Favia and Giuliani (1999) and Bertelli (1999).

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EPISKOPEIA IN ASIA MINOR

Burcu Ceylan

Abstract

Although there are several complexes in Asia Minor which have been proposed as bishops' residences, only Side, Miletus and Ephesus can be identified with certainty as *episkopeia*. This paper mainly focuses on these three examples, evaluating architectural elements in order to classify rooms and assess their usage. It will shed light on the physical surroundings of the late antique bishop and provide clues about his life. At the same time, the study will try to define the place of *episkopeia* in the architecture of the period and their physical position within the late antique city.

INTRODUCTION

The bishop is depicted in late antique literary sources as a strong figure, prominent in the religious, social and political life of the cities. Archaeology can compliment the literary sources by revealing the physical environment in which the bishop resided and conducted his profession. Of the new buildings introduced to late antique cities by the rise and spread of Christianity, churches have been the most extensively studied and evaluated. In contrast, bishops' residences have not received similar treatment. These structures fulfilled a range of functions: religious (as buildings owned by the Church); administrative (since the management of church affairs was conducted in them); and residential (since they were primarily developed to accommodate high-ranking clergy). In the following pages, information from ruined buildings, which can be classified as *episkopeia* with great certainty, will be used to identify the functions of various spaces, their inter-relationship, and underlying principles of design. It should be borne in mind, however, that there are inevitable difficulties in interpretation, caused by the small number of archaeological finds.

Architectural history has traditionally depended on the study of buildings within rigid typological groups. However, the nature of a single building cannot be understood without considering the urban

environment surrounding it. In the late antique period, when the particular architectural forms of buildings and cities were changing simultaneously, studies of both are vital. For our purposes, an analysis of the relationship between the layout of a city and an *episkopeion* can provide information concerning the analogous relationship between the late antique city and the Church. Fortunately, the *episkopeia* examined by the present study are located in archaeological sites that also offer substantial information about their urban setting.

THE EPISKOPEION: LITERARY SOURCES

The earliest literary references to bishops' residences occur in sources dating to the early 5th c. A.D. Socrates and Sozomen use the term *oikos episkopion*, while mentioning the disturbance of the Arian party in Constantinople and the burning of the house of Nestorius. The latter re-uses the same term in the story of John Chrysostom, telling how he remained silently in the episcopal dwelling after his deposition from the patriarchate.¹ The early tradition that bishops' houses should be located next to the church was officially recognised at the council of Carthage in A.D. 436. In 451, Act 10 of the Council of Chalcedon specified that an *episkopeion*, could be built as an annex only to the cathedral church of the city.² From the 5th c., episcopal residences—*episkopeion* or *domus episcopi*—incorporating both the residential quarters and administrative offices of the bishop, became a prominent feature of cities.

To understand the design of these buildings, it is necessary to ascertain the functions and facilities required for an *episkopeion* to work properly, starting with the duties and activities of the bishop. As the highest religious and administrative authority of the local ecclesiastical organisation, the bishop directed masses, preached regularly, and controlled and supervised the churches, monasteries and charitable institutions under the control of his see.³ In addition to this considerable administrative apparatus, bishops also controlled the financial resources of the Church.

¹ Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 6.13; Sozom. *Hist. eccl.* 6.14, 7.21.

² Pallas (1971) 335; Müller-Wiener (1989) 653, suggests that this tradition might have originated with Early Christian house churches.

³ We learn from the Life of Theodoret of Cyrrhus 12.3 that a small region like Cyrrhus had 800 churches; Urbainczyk (2002) 22. For the sizes of bishoprics, also see Liebeschuetz (2001) 146.

Some bishoprics owned industrial and commercial premises, as well as landed estates and other properties.⁴ Bishops were also responsible for organising groups of Christian activists, dedicated to carrying out good works.⁵ In time, bishops also took over secular duties. After being given the right to judge civil cases by Constantine,⁶ bishops became increasingly involved in the secular affairs of late antique cities. Bishops' courts (*episcopalis audentia*) offered arbitration services, settling disputes between citizens, and between citizens and the local imperial authorities. Augustine declares that it routinely took half of his day to sit in judgement.⁷ The bishop of Tralles (in Asia Minor) accepted his post provided that he did not sit on his throne until three in the afternoon, as he wanted time to pray.⁸ While conducting these activities, bishops were aided by a team of officials who were recruited from the clergy, and their number varied depending on the size of the bishopric.⁹ In the East, it was common for bishops to have a financial manager, wardens and treasurers of charitable institutions, keepers of archives, record-keeping notaries, and *defensores* for legal and disciplinary duties.¹⁰

During the course of 4th and 5th c. bishops came to represent the cities as spokesmen, even in the imperial court.¹¹ It naturally became their responsibility to care for the weak and the poor, and sometimes to act as *evergetai*.¹² All of these activities meant that, in their political power and influence, they became the equals of powerful landed aristocrats. For these reasons, it became normal for bishops to be elected from these very elites, and, inevitably, belong to the highest rank of local society.¹³ However, since the bishops were the guardians of entire

⁴ John Chrysostom informs us that the income of the Church of Antioch equalled that of the city's wealthier citizens, Jones (1968) 262. For other examples, see Jones (1964) 905–907.

⁵ Liebeschuetz (2001) 147.

⁶ *Constitutiones Sirmondianae* 1, repeated in *Cod. Theod.* 1.27.2.

⁷ Aug., *En. in Ps.* 118.24.3.

⁸ The bishop of Tralles: Joh. Eph. *HE* III.39.

⁹ For the number of clergy under the bishoprics, see Jones (1964) 911.

¹⁰ Jones (1964) 911.

¹¹ Two well-known cases are the intervention of Basil of Caesarea in a fiscal dispute between the villagers and Praetorian Prefect, Brown (2002) 57, and the plea of Flavian, bishop of Antioch, to emperor Theodosius to forgive the city after a riot, Brown (1992) 105–108.

¹² Brown (2002) 79. For example, Theodoret of Cyrrhus declares in his letters that he maintained public baths, and built porticoes, an aqueduct and two bridges in his bishopric, Urbainczyk (2002) 22.

¹³ Brown (2002) 49. For the power and duties of bishops in cities, see also Liebeschuetz (2001) 137–55.

Christian communities, it was not abnormal for them to have a wider base of clients than any civil official or private notable in late antique towns.¹⁴

We have few direct sources for the activities which the bishop undertook and the spaces he used in the *episkopeion* directly. Written sources, notably the Life of St Epiphanes, offer a small amount of information regarding the different rooms and functions which might have existed in the provincial *episkopeia*. There were *triclinia*, where bishops dined with clergy and guests,¹⁵ bedrooms for clergy and visitors,¹⁶ and offices and service rooms for staff.¹⁷ The building might have had more than one storey.¹⁸ Some bishops came from families of notables and continued to use worldly influence.¹⁹ Thus an audience chamber could be expected, with a focal point, like an apse, reserved for the seat of the bishop, as described by Augustine.²⁰ It is also worth envisaging that charitable activities, such as hospitals, hospices and dormitories for pilgrims, or travelling clergy, might have existed within the *episkopeion* proper.²¹ A single literary reference to the architecture of *episkopeia* in Asia Minor survives for Ephesus: Palladius, writing around A.D. 408, describes a two-storey building which had a bath, and a *triclinium* in the form of a large hall with columns, which could house 200 people.²²

Information can also be gleaned from another building with a related function, the patriarchate in Constantinople. Although no traces of the actual building remain, written sources are quite informative on its layout and components. The first patriarchate, dated to the early 4th c., was located next to St. Irene. The building housed chambers for the patriarch and his guests, a large dining hall (*triclinium*) and offices. It is

¹⁴ Even though the declaration of Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 9.8.2 that the majority of the population in Anatolia were Christians during the reign of Maximian should be taken as exaggeration, the Christian population of Anatolian cities seems to have been higher than in other parts of the empire: Mitchell (1993) 57–59.

¹⁵ *Vita St. Epiphanes* 37.

¹⁶ *Vita St. Epiphanes* 56.

¹⁷ *Vita St. Epiphanes* 34.

¹⁸ *V. Porph* 99.

¹⁹ Basil of Caesarea, who was himself from a noble family, claims that wearing the dress of the poor should not prevent a bishop from acting like a noble, Brown (2002) 53.

²⁰ August. *Serm.* LI.5.

²¹ Shelters for the sick are attested in the Kaisarion at Alexandria in the early 7th c.: Leontius Neapolis, *v. Jo. Eleem.* I thank Luke Lavan for this point.

²² Pall. *Dial.* 13. This is of course not the same building as that described archaeologically below, the remains of which appear to be later in date.

understood that the edifice had only one floor. The residential rooms (chambers and *triclinium*) and administrative areas were grouped in different parts of the building; the latter were located in a separate section called the *sekretion*. During the 6th c., the patriarchate was moved next to St. Sophia. The sources state that it was connected to the church through both the *atrium* on the ground floor and the gallery on the upper level, so by this point the patriarchate must have had at least two storeys. In this new building, residential and administrative functions were again separated. Whereas the *sekretion* quarter housed meeting rooms, reception suites, dining halls and administrative offices, the courtyard zone accommodated the residential area, consisting of the private apartments of the patriarch, bedrooms for servants and resident officials, kitchen and other service areas. A third quarter, which housed the guesthouse, library and archives, was located in a building with three or four storeys. The patriarchate proper was enclosed within a high wall.²³ These characteristics reveal that rooms were grouped and demarcated according to their level of privacy. Even though the patriarchate was secluded because of its circuit wall, it was centrally located, in the heart of the city. We cannot determine with certainty whether or not the patriarchate served as a template. However, it may have provided a source of inspiration for the design of some *episkopeia* in the early period.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

Despite the excavation of a large number of late antique cities in Anatolia, few *episkopeia* have been discovered by archaeologists. The majority of the structures that are considered to have been episcopal residences have been identified as such for the sole and unconvincing reason that they were adjacent, or near to churches. Indeed, only three sites give enough secure data to be identified as *episkopeia*, and, even in these cases, there is very limited evidence for identifying the specific functions of different spaces. However, by envisaging the likely circulation patterns within these structures, and the relationship between public and private spaces, it is possible to identify the purpose of some spaces.

²³ Janin (1962) still offers the most detailed information on the patriarchate in Constantinople. Also see Dirimtekin (1963–64).

In a large region like Anatolia, with a variety of geographical settings and building traditions, it is impossible to produce a clear typology of *episkopeia*. The fact that the size and functions of the building depended on the size of the bishopric in question also makes difficult a rigid classification. Nevertheless, according to their plans, the examples looked at below can be categorised in three groups. The first group includes the three examples which can be firmly identified as *episkopeia*, to which this article alluded above. The bishop's residences of Side, Miletus and Ephesus were substantial building complexes, established on large plots, and directly and clearly associated with cathedrals.

Side

The *episkopeion* of Side was located in the south-east of the city, at the juncture of two main roads which led to the main gates in the city walls (fig. 1). It formed part of the episcopal complex, which encompassed the cathedral, *martyria*, the *episkopeion* and gardens, all enclosed within a perimeter wall.²⁴ The layout of the residence was characterised by nuclei of halls and rooms, linked together by an axial circulation pattern. Entry to the episcopal residence seems to have been affected principally through the southern gate, judging by the monumentality of its high arch. The gate opened into a peristyle by way of a vestibule (fig. 1, IX). Among the rooms around the peristyle, the largest, apsidal room to the east must have been the meeting hall, since it was more accessible to visitors. Although this part of the building was not excavated completely, nearby rooms may have served as waiting rooms or offices. To the north, the triconch and its vestibule could be reached through a small courtyard. It is safe to define this part as *triclinium*, since the triconch was a popular form of dining hall in Late Antiquity. The central quarter of the complex has been interpreted as the private apartment of the bishop (fig. 1, VI).²⁵ This residential area included a chapel, a domed basilica, probably for the private use of the bishop, and a four-room suite (fig. 1, VIb), probably consisting of a bedroom, private study and maybe even a library, all linked by a foyer. A cruciform monogram relief, on the chancel screen of the chapel, has been deciphered as 'Johannes'.²⁶

²⁴ For a detailed description of other buildings in the complex, see Mansel (1978) 264–73.

²⁵ Mansel (1978) 275.

²⁶ Mansel (1978) 276; Foss (1996) 41.

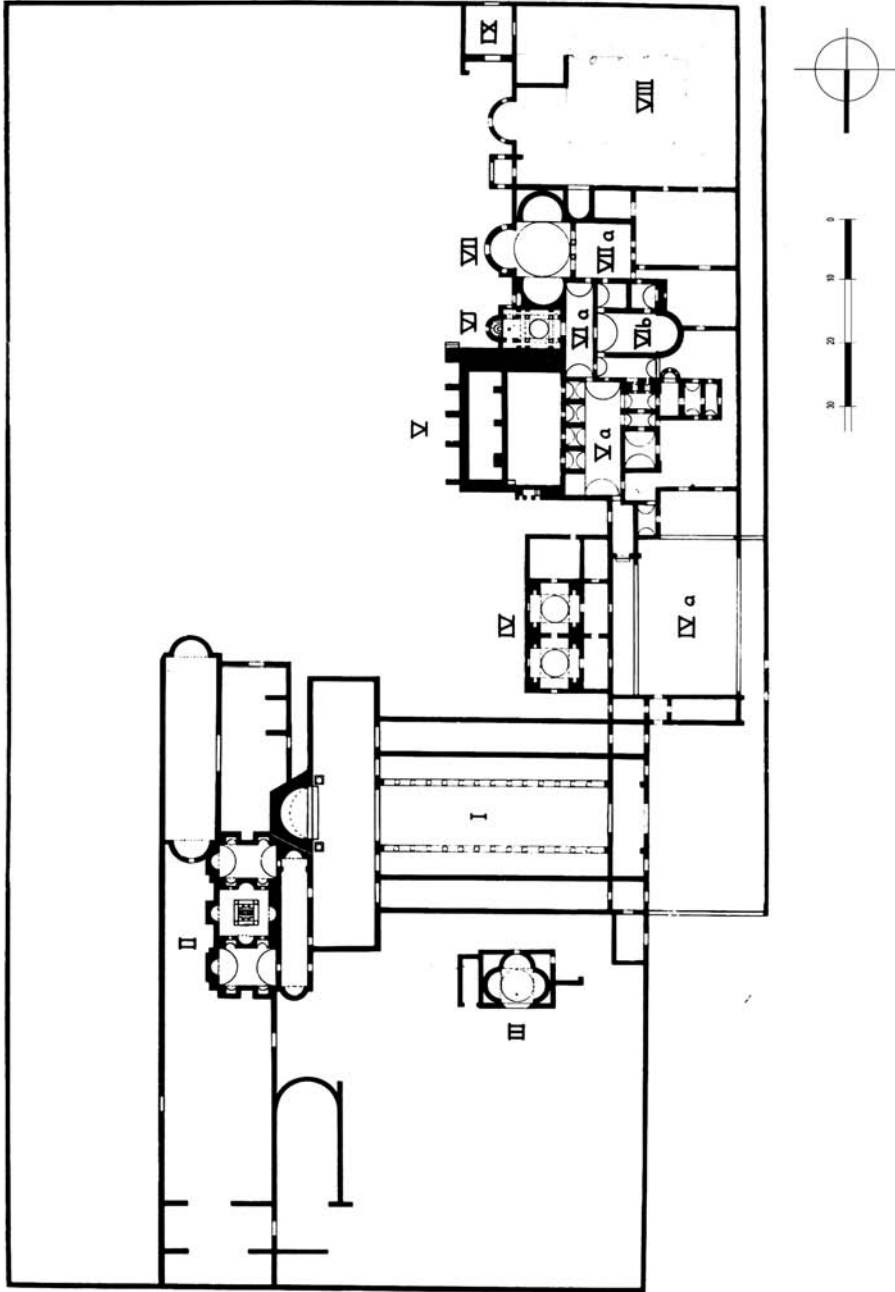


Fig. 1 Side, *episkopeion*, plan (Mansel (1978) 269, res. 299).

In spite of a lack of finds, a group of rooms further north may have functioned as an administrative quarter, in the light of the fact that they communicated directly with the church, via a peristyle. Archaeologists have defined the square rooms, east of a central hall (fig. 1, Va), as cells used by the clergy.²⁷ To the west, rooms of different shapes and sizes might have functioned as offices or archives.²⁸ The *episkopeion* quarters were connected to the church via peristyle courtyards. Between the buildings and the eastern periphery wall, an area was apparently devoted to gardens.²⁹ There is no evidence for service rooms, such as kitchens, baths, food storage spaces, or even workshops. Some service functions might have taken place in the garden area, as the doors of almost every room opened into this space.

The grandeur of the complex was determined by its large scale and lavish decoration. All of its important spaces possessed some form of decoration. The walls of the *triclinium* were decorated with fresco, very small parts of which are still visible. Traces of *opus sectile* pavement have been retrieved from the floor of the same room, in addition to the remains of a marble floor in its vestibule. *Opus sectile* was also used to decorate the private apartments. *Tesserae*, found on the floor of the chapel, indicate that mosaics adorned its walls. The architectural sculpture in the chapel and private apartments mostly consisted of *spolia*, although these were re-used and displayed in appropriate places.³⁰

Miletus

In Miletus, the Church of St. Michael and adjoining buildings have been defined as an *episkopeion*. They cover almost five *insulae* of the city grid, previously occupied by the Temple of Dionysos and a private peristyle house.³¹ The *episkopeion* was laid out around three courtyards. (fig. 2) Its main entrance must have been through the western peristyle. A longitudinal hall on the east opened onto one of the courts through a

²⁷ Mansel (1978) 284.

²⁸ Foss (1996) 40, suggest that these rooms belong to a bath, with the clergy presumably living on its second floor. However, it would have been inappropriate for the bishop to pass through the baths on his way to the cathedral, and in some parts of the building where walls still stand up to 5 m, there is no physical indication of the presence of an upper storey.

²⁹ Mansel (1978) 275.

³⁰ Mansel (1978) 277.

³¹ Müller-Wiener (1980) 29.

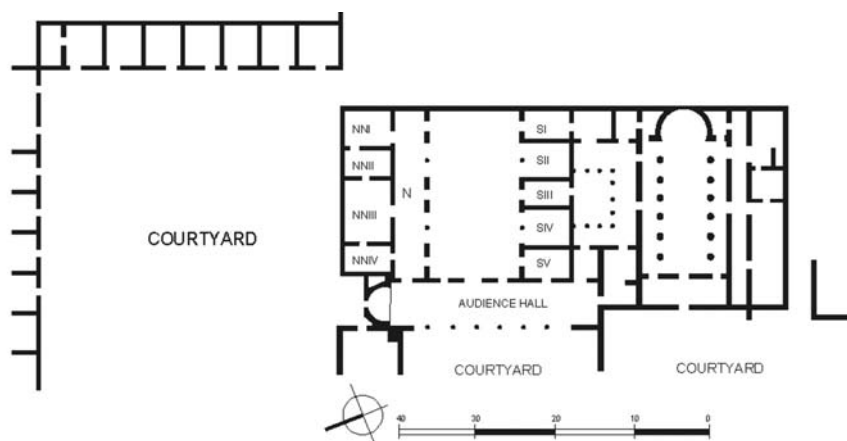


Fig. 2 Miletus, *episkopeion*, plan (Müller-Wiener (1989) 676, Abb. 11).

colonnade, and terminated in an apse to the north. Its floor was embellished with a mosaic pavement of geometrical composition, enriched by animal figures around its border. The apse was set on a higher level, and its floor and walls were decorated with marble. According to the plan and decoration of this space, it was the main audience chamber. Tripartite openings led to a large hall, the walls and floor of which were fitted with mosaic decoration and marble revetment. Considering the size and decoration of this space, it probably functioned as a *triclinium*. To the south of the hall, there were five rooms. In the centre of this suite, one of these rooms (SIII) formed a passageway to a peristyle courtyard north of the church. The function of the two rooms on either side (SII, SIV) was probably closely related to the *triclinium*, since they were connected to this hall via single columned openings.³² The importance of the dining hall was also signified by the presence of a figured mosaic floor, which included a female bust (SIV). Its northern and southern walls were symmetrical. From the latter, a series of doors opened onto a long, corridor-like space, decorated with geometric frescoes. This corridor must have afforded privacy to the four rooms further north. Two of these (NI, NIII) had mosaic floors; the other two had brick

³² Dining halls with additional alcoves have a long tradition, which can be traced from the Early Imperial period to the 6th c. A.D. The octagonal dining hall of the Palace of Nero in Rome is one of the earliest monumental examples. MacDonald (1965) 31–32. Two palaces in Constantinople, that of Lausus and Antiochos, had similar alcoves, Mango (1978) 52, 55. Also see Ellis (1988) 369–71.

floors. It is difficult to identify the function of these rooms. Two stairs, one in the corner of a small peristyle, the other behind the apse of the audience chamber, indicate that there was an upper storey. It is quite possible that the residential apartments of the bishop were located on this upper storey, the most private part of the building. Had this been the case, the northern rooms could have been administrative offices, the largest of which perhaps operated as the bishop's office. This is implied by the fact that it communicated with the audience chamber, through a door opening in front of the apse. The third peristyle to the north was surrounded by rooms of almost equal size and has not yet been completely excavated. The uniform size of the rooms suggests that these were service rooms.³³ The west peristyle has yet to be excavated.

Ephesus

In Ephesus, the *episkopeion* occupied the eastern half of the south stoa of the Temple of Hadrian. The Church of Mary and its *atrium* covered the western half (fig. 3).³⁴ The *episkopeion* was only partially excavated, and a rather complex series of apparently continuous construction phases makes it difficult to determine its plan. However, the attempt to build the *episkopeion* into the longitudinal plan of the preceding building resulted in an intricate layout, in which circulation was determined by long corridors and successive, connecting spaces. The main entrance to the building was through a propylon, decorated by two columns, on the north-east. The peristyle court was flanked by two large halls on its eastern and western sides, and rooms of several sizes to the north and south. A latrine on the south-west, and a room with a masonry safe in the southern corner, are of particular interest.³⁵ Judging by its apse, the large hall on the east most probably functioned as the audience chamber. It is likely that other rooms around the court were used as offices, as the safe also suggests.

The hall immediately south of the entrance was divided into three, almost equal parts by pillars. Although it was later closed off by a wall on the west, it had, up until that point, presumably acted as a passage-way to the western quarter of the building. The excavated portion on

³³ Müller-Wiener (1989) 676.

³⁴ Karwiese (1995).

³⁵ Karwiese (1989) 30, suggests that, based on the existence of the safe, this room must be a *skeophilakion* (treasury).

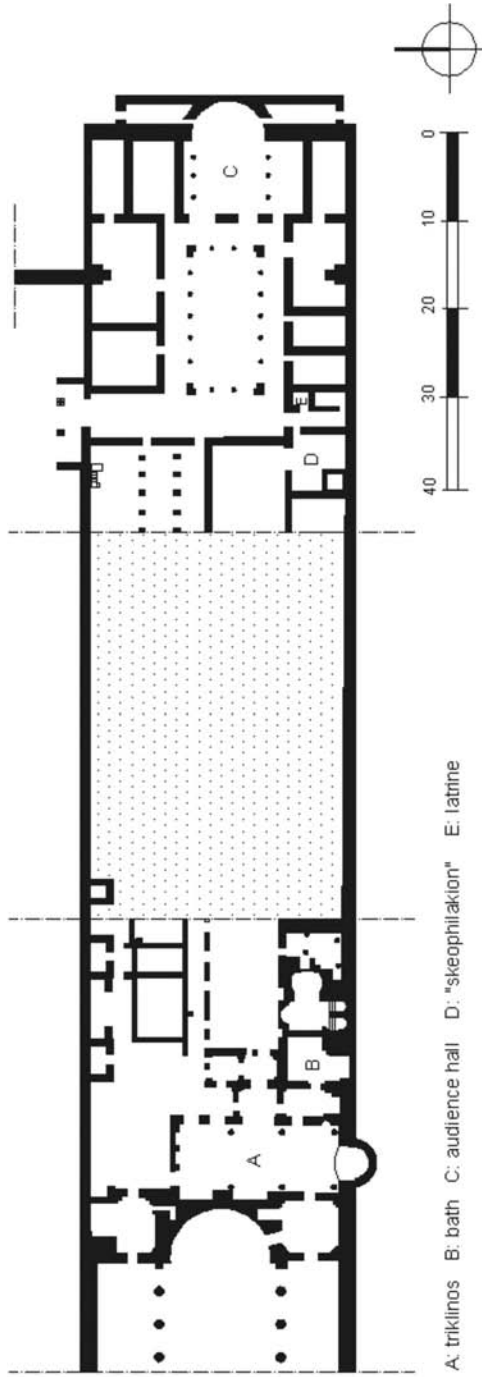


Fig. 3 Ephesus *episkopeion* plan (re-drawn from Fasolo (1962) 74, Karwiese (1989) and Müller-Wiener (1989) 672, Abb. 8).

the west side was more lavishly decorated. The apsidal hall adjacent to the east wall of the church, which was decorated with columns and a marble floor, can safely be identified as a *triclinium*, since the remnants of luxury objects, such as a marble sigma table, a freestanding bronze lamp and a glass vessel, reinforce this interpretation.³⁶ There are also traces of mosaic floors in the rooms. Because this area was directly related to the *diakonikon*, and contained a private bath, it might have been the residential quarter of the bishop. This sector was laid out on an axial plan, arranged around a long corridor. It is generally accepted that the *episkopeion* moved to Ayasoluk Hill after the Church of St. John was re-dedicated as the cathedral. According to an inscription above the door, bearing the word *sekretion*, spaces adjacent to the north wall of the Church of St. John had been associated with the *episkopeion*.³⁷ However, later excavation has shown that these rooms were the ante-room, and annexes of the baptistery and *skeophilakion*.³⁸ Consequently, it was probably used as an office, or as an archive of church records. Further excavation is required to locate this later *episkopeion*.

Others

The second group of case studies consists of buildings at Phaselis,³⁹ Priene⁴⁰ and Aezanoi.⁴¹ Excavators of these sites have tentatively identified buildings as *episkopeia*, on the basis that they incorporated rooms positioned around *atria*, and were located adjacent to churches. However, these are not rare architectural features for late antique churches, and the buildings in question might instead have had religious, administrative or charitable functions. Even though the existence of a second storey in the buildings at Phaselis and Priene may imply the presence of residential quarters, as might be the case in Miletus, their interpretation as *episkopeia* is debatable. The third and final group of case studies includes the remains of buildings that had been purely domestic in appearance, many of which incorporated a central peristyle, a triconch and a large

³⁶ Keil (1929) 39–40.

³⁷ Veters (1966) 285.

³⁸ Büyükkolancı (1982).

³⁹ Schafer (1981) 91.

⁴⁰ Rumscheid and Koenings (2000) 188.

⁴¹ Neumann (1985) 381.

hall with apses. In Limyra⁴² and Iasos,⁴³ buildings have been identified as *episkopeia* because of their proximity to the cathedrals of these cities. Once again, a willingness to associate such remains with *episkopeia* should be questioned. Similarly, in Aphrodisias, the mansion to the south of the church has been defined as an *episkopeion*, simply on the basis of a seal of the bishop of Caria, that was found during the excavation.⁴⁴ However, this definition has been thrown into doubt by the discovery of similar seals in other parts of the city. Meanwhile, the main entrance to the building appears to have opened onto the *agora* to the south, and frescoes containing mythological figures have been found.⁴⁵ Whatever the case, it is clear that the building had originally been a Roman house, and was remodelled during Late Antiquity with features such as an apsidal hall seen more in the houses of this period.

THE PLACE OF *EPISKOPEIA* IN THE DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE OF LATE ANTIQUITY

Until the 4th c. A.D., elite residences in Asia Minor were predominantly characterised by a similar plan, their main feature being a central courtyard. Depending on the wealth of the owner, courtyard might have had a peristyle, enriched by water elements and *exedrae*. In addition, a considerably larger room was usually included, with several possible functions. For instance, it could be used as a dining room, or as a meeting hall. Other spaces, including bedrooms, kitchens, bathrooms and storage areas, were typically located around the court. Some houses accommodated a second storey, although their important rooms were habitually located on the ground floor.

⁴² Borchhardt (1978) 817.

⁴³ Laviosa (1978) 1094; Lachenal (1985).

⁴⁴ Erim (1964) 90.

⁴⁵ On this discussion, see Lavan (1999) 150 and Erim (1986) 73. The area between the church and the house has not been excavated. Therefore, the possibility of a direct connection (even with the help of stairs) between the house and the atrium of the church cannot be discarded. Moreover, the main entrance of the house (since the one on the south seems to be secondary) might well have been from the street on the west, where the entrance of the cathedral was also situated. Until these hypotheses are proven through excavation, it is important not to assume that a building was an *episkopeion*.

During the 4th c., more favourable economic conditions meant that landed aristocrats re-emerged as influential in politics and society.⁴⁶ Social and economic changes enabled the urban elite, who seem to have now headed larger patronage networks, to enjoy a new lifestyle.⁴⁷ This development was reflected by architectural changes to domestic residences, which were fewer in number but richer in scale and décor than earlier. Modifications were made to house plans in order to safeguard the private areas of the house, and establish more grandiose spaces that advertised the owner's social status and economic power to the public. In the new type of residence, the peristyle maintained its role as the central architectural feature, and triconch dining halls accommodated larger numbers of people. Private baths, libraries, and even chapels, became common features of such residences. The most important 'new' spaces (much more common than earlier) were substantial meeting halls, which, in appearance, resembled audience chambers, or throne rooms. This owed much to their inclusion of *apsidae* and, sometimes, a special waiting space. These new late antique residential complexes were frequently comparable in size to some of the most significant urban public monuments.⁴⁸ From the end of the 4th c. A.D., as the tradition of donating monuments to the city began to decline, these grandiose residential structures increasingly represented an architectural expression of elite status.⁴⁹ Consequently, they had to be more lavishly decorated, with wall paintings, mosaics, marble revetment and sculpture. The layout and decoration of the houses were thus modified to accommodate a more ceremonial lifestyle and grandiose atmosphere.⁵⁰

Even in the Early Roman Empire, the house had not represented a complete retreat from the outside world. On the contrary, it had generally been viewed as a building for socialising, and a venue for business visits and dinner receptions. Rooms used for these communal activities, like reception, dining and audience halls, were considered public areas

⁴⁶ Olymp. fr.44 discusses the sizeable annual income of the Roman senators. In some instances, this was almost equal to the amount demanded by Alaric for lifting the siege of Rome, Zos., 5.41.4. The income of the local elites was most probably more modest, for, according to the *Life of Melania*, this was nearly half that of a Roman senator, *V Mel.* 15.

⁴⁷ For the role of patronage in late antique society, see Cameron (1993) 92–94; also Brown (2002) 89–90.

⁴⁸ Thébert (2000) 334.

⁴⁹ Liebeschuetz (2001) 32.

⁵⁰ Ellis (1988).

of the house.⁵¹ Because of this dual nature, it became imperative to carefully separate the public and private areas of the house. This task became even more important in Late Antiquity, when visitors could range from the high-ranking, equal in status or superior to the host, to the most humble of guests. As a result, in late antique houses, public and private spaces continued to be articulated via intricate patterns of circulation, within which passageways, corridors, ante rooms and, of course, the peristyle courtyard, played crucial roles. A new development was that the public character of the meeting halls was secured by their direct communication with the street and separation from the other spaces.⁵²

So how did the three known *episkopeia* of Asia Minor, as the 'house' of the bishop, relate to these trends in late antique residential architecture? Given what we know of the life and duties of the bishops, one might expect the *episkopeia* to have differed from the mansions of aristocratic urban elites, by including religious and administrative, as well as residential areas. However, it appears that no particular attention was paid to religious duties within the *episkopeia* of Asia Minor. In the buildings described above, neither liturgical objects, nor religious inscriptions, frescoes and mosaics, were discovered. Among the *episkopeia* studied to date in Asia Minor (whether securely or insecurely identified), Side is the only example which contained a room with a clearly religious purpose. The secluded location of this chapel indicates its private use, probably by the bishop and the ecclesiastical officials of the bishopric. Nonetheless, the absence of rooms with religious functions is perhaps not surprising in buildings that were typically located in close proximity to churches.⁵³ From this point of view, the chapel in Side may be viewed as a luxury, rather than as a necessity. Further, apart from the room with a safe in Ephesus, there is no solid evidence for rooms with an administrative

⁵¹ Vitruvius, 6.5.1 distinguishes the private (listed as bedrooms, *triclinia* and baths) and public spaces (such as vestibules, courtyards, peristyles) of the house depending on the ability of the outsider to enter without special permission. Also see Riggsby (1997) for the concept of privacy in the Roman house.

⁵² Also see Ellis (2000) 168–72, for the patterns of circulation in Roman houses.

⁵³ Upper storeys of *pastaphoria* were used as chapels, reserved for the private prayers of the clergy, Teteriatnikov (1988) 70–71. This may be the case in Ephesus, where there was a staircase from the north *pastophorion* which was also connected to the *episkopeion* through a door. On the other hand, excavations revealed that, after the construction of a domed basilica on the western part of St. Mary (late 6th c. A.D.), the eastern part of the original church continued to be used. Karwiese (1995) 317 suggests that this area might have been reserved for the private use of the bishop.

function. Groups of smaller rooms have been tentatively identified as offices, based on their small size and rather plain appearance. For example, in Side, such spaces were located next to the church, with which they communicated through an *atrium*. Another group of possible ‘offices’ was apparently positioned near to the audience chamber further south. Similarly, in Ephesus, the ‘administrative quarter’, which included an audience chamber, was organised around a peristyle next to the main entrance. At Miletus, such ‘offices’ were directly connected to the audience chamber. In all three cases, possible administrative areas were clearly separated from the domestic facilities.

But according to their overall plans, the known three *episkopeia* from Asia Minor were laid out in a similar fashion to private houses, and included three main features: a peristyle courtyard as the focal point of internal circulation, (in the case of Miletus, more than one peristyle was included); a large apsidal hall, most likely to be used for accepting visitors; *triclinia* for hosting the dinner receptions of the clergy.⁵⁴ All these features would not have been out of place in wealthy secular houses of the period. Moreover, *episkopeia* demonstrated a similar concern to demarcate and seclude private and public areas. Obviously, the privacy requirements of an *episkopeion* would not have been identical to those of a house but some control of circulation was necessary to regulate the movement of the wide range of visitors received by the bishop. In all three of our main examples, the large hall, identified as an audience chamber, was clearly located close to the entrance; and the peristyle, another public space, connected this hall to the exterior. To avoid the intrusion of uninvited guests, private rooms were located as far as possible from the entrance, as was the case at Ephesus. In Side, the private apartments of the bishop were located centrally, and isolated from the public meeting hall and church by the semi-public *triclinium* to the south and peristyle to the north. Decorative elements were also used to accentuate the private nature of certain spaces. In Ephesus, an elaborate passageway was lined with pillars, indicating that beyond them lay the private apartments. In Side, the monumental, re-used door lintel, around the entrance to the private apartments, performed the same symbolic function. At Miletus, a possible second storey would

⁵⁴ It is known that on certain holidays, the patriarch of Constantinople traditionally gave dinner parties for the aristocracy and the emperor, Janin (1962) 145. John Chrysostom criticises the extravagance of dinner parties, *Hom. in Matth.* 48.8–9.

have provided a much more secure location for the private apartments. Lavish decoration and grandiose interiors are another aspect of *episkopeia* which resembles large private mansions of late antique period. In three examples, rooms which are public, especially *triclinia*, were beautifully decorated with wall paintings, mosaics, marble revetment and sculpture.

To sum up, the *episkopeion* should be considered not as an isolated private house of the bishop, but together with and part of the episcopal complex, to which it was connected. However, the amount of space dedicated to residential functions, and the nature and layout of these spaces, indicate that *episkopeia* were quite similar to the large mansions of the period. This solution for combining a variety of public functions within one large domestic edifice was effectively employed in several urban buildings of the period, which had similar architectural and decorative requirements to elite houses. These included *praetoria*, buildings designed to house the official guests of the city, or even buildings used by *collegia*.⁵⁵ The fact that the remains of *episkopeia* in Asia Minor display a genuinely residential character, even though these structures operated in a religious context, most probably stems from this architectural tradition. Indeed, given that the local bishop was often a member of the local elite, had considerable influence over urban affairs, and was armed with the financial resources of the Church, these similarities are not surprising.

The *episkopeion* of Side is unique among the *episkopeia* of Anatolia in that it had an enclosing wall, reminiscent of the patriarchate in Constantinople and also a different plan layout. The enclosed *episkopeion* is not peculiar to Side, for there are similar examples in the Balkans.⁵⁶ The *episkopeion* of Side had clusters of rooms connected by an axial circulation pattern, and was not organised around a central peristyle *atrium*. These clusters, which were linked through corridors, halls, or courtyards, were also a common feature of the palaces of Constantinople.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Thébert (2000) 333. For governors' residences see Lavan (1999) and (2001).

⁵⁶ Similar walls also surround the episcopal complexes (*episkopeion* and cathedral church) in Salona, Müller-Wiener (1989) 664–66; and Justiniana Prima, Hoddinot (1963) 205. Also see, Pallas (1971) 361–62.

⁵⁷ Eyice (1996) 208; also Krautheimer (1965) 47–48.

THE ROLE OF *EPISKOPEIA* IN THE CHANGING URBAN FABRIC
OF LATE ANTIQUE CITIES: A CHRONOLOGY

When Procopius stated that the construction of buildings, such as *agorai* or baths, transformed the town of Caputvada into a real city, he was referring to the social function of these buildings, and not only to their physical appearance.⁵⁸ The classical city was similarly praised for the social facilities it provided for the citizens. Indeed, most of the public buildings, such as *agorai*, buildings of entertainment and leisure, and even streets, were principally spaces of social interaction. These were the places in which a citizen could meet, communicate, and exchange ideas and news with his fellow townsfolk, clientele and friends. Such social interactions secured the continuity of urban life, and, as a consequence, the survival of the classical city itself. The topography of the city was formulated by the inter-relationship of public buildings, in order to suit the daily movements of citizens in these urban activities.

From the 4th c. A.D. however, the ancient city, which had been dominated by pagan monuments, gradually acquired an alternative, Christian landscape, defined by the Christian bishop, where the church became increasingly the principal space available for the social intercourse of its citizens, regardless of their rank. The *episkopeion*, together with the adjacent church, formed the focal point of this Christian landscape, in Asia Minor habitually located close to the city centre. For instance, in Ephesus the *episkopeion* was located in close proximity to the harbour (fig. 4); and, in Miletus, it was erected between two *agorai* (fig. 5) The importance of the *episkopeion* of Side was emphasised by its position next to one of the city's main thoroughfares, at the end of a colonnaded avenue (fig 6).⁵⁹

The importance of *episkopeia* is also illustrated by their large size in comparison with other prominent urban structures. Along with the church and other ecclesiastical annexes, *episkopeia* in Asia Minor were among the largest urban buildings.⁶⁰ Considerable technical expertise and advanced construction skills contributed to their design and

⁵⁸ Procop., *Aed.* 6.6.14–16.

⁵⁹ See Müller-Wiener (1989) 698–700, for the location of *episkopeia* outside Asia Minor, though one should be sceptical of the basis of his identification of some complexes.

⁶⁰ At Side, the episcopal complex covers an area as large as the *agora*. The residence alone is bigger than the three baths of the city. In Miletus, the episcopal complex is larger than the Harbour Baths, the Baths of Capito and the *bouleuterion*, and nearly equals the area covered by the north *agora* and the Baths of Faustina.

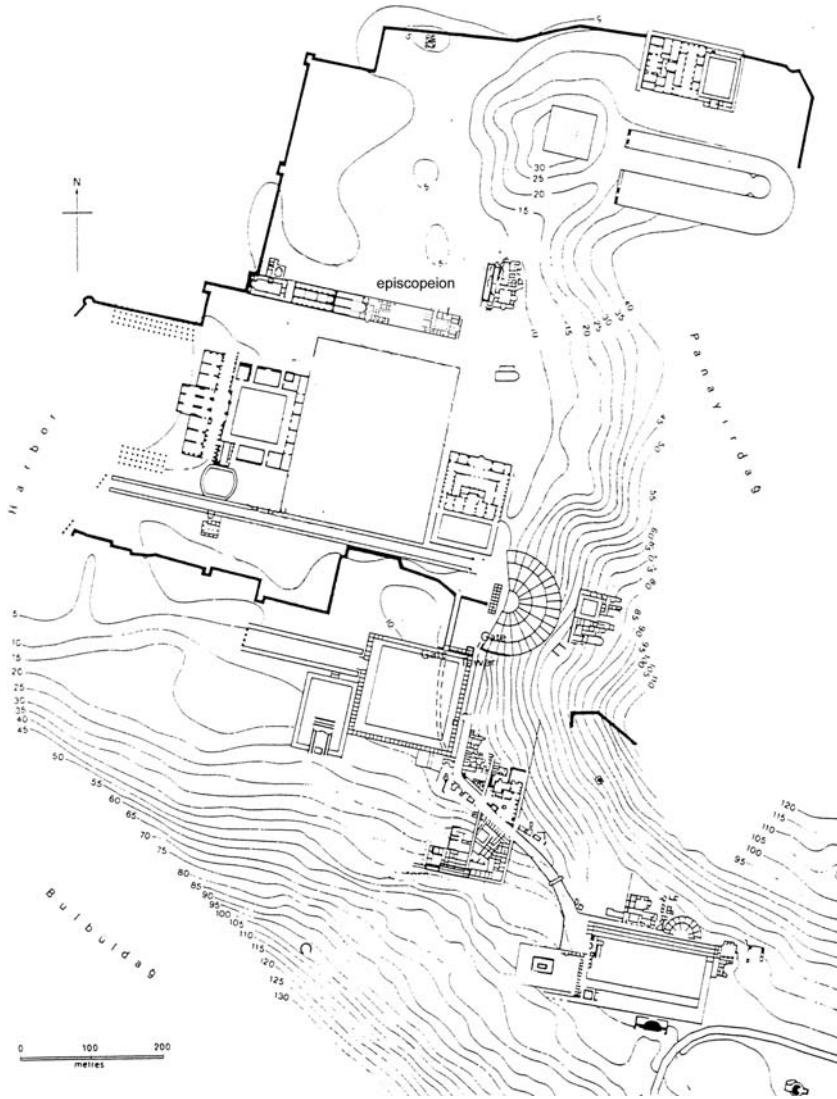


Fig. 4 Ephesus, site plan (redrawn from Foss (1979) 104, fig. 35).

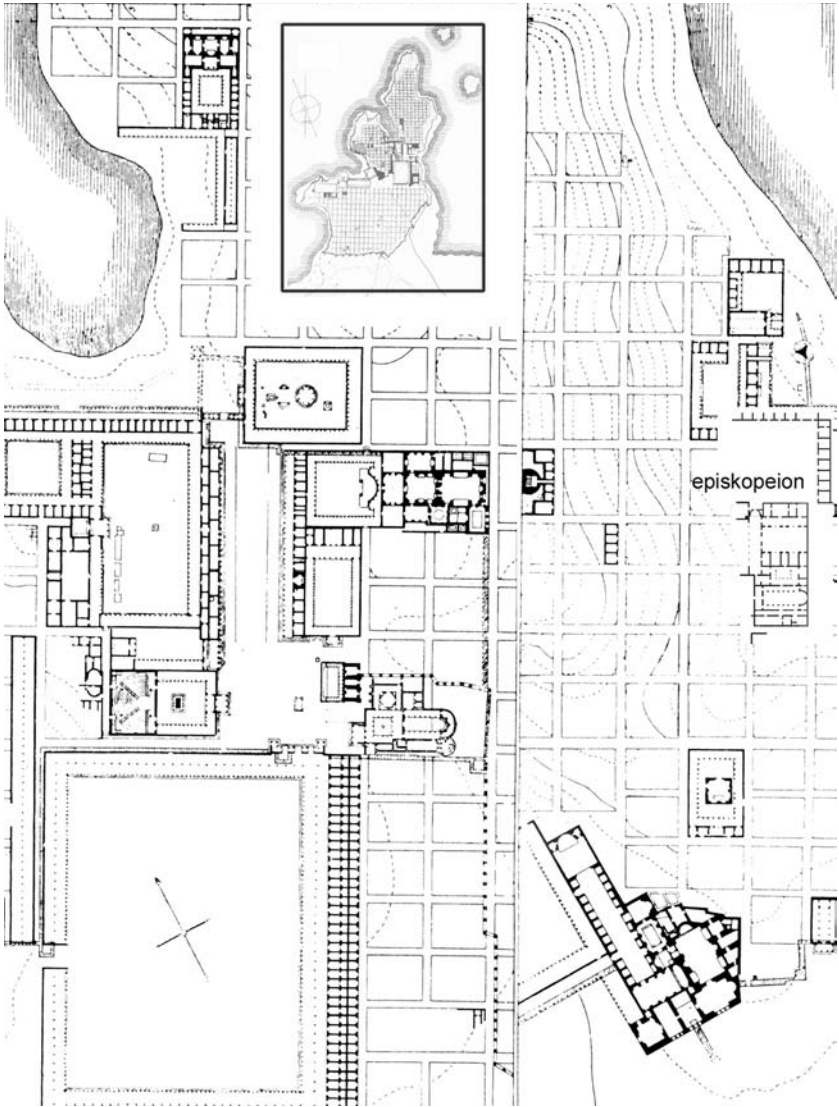


Fig. 5 Miletus, site plan (redrawn from Ward-Perkins (1974) fig. 7).

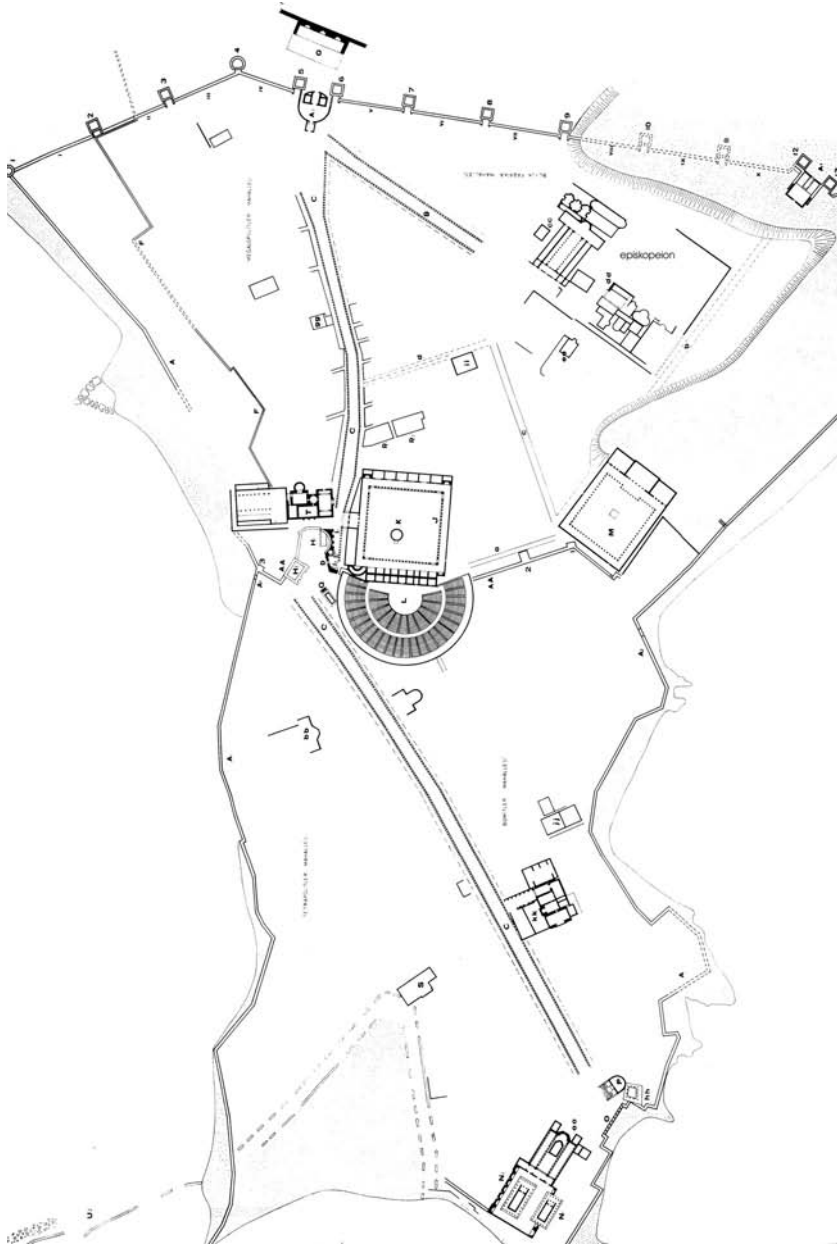


Fig. 6 Side, site plan (Mansel 1978).

decoration: the *triclinium* in Miletus, which had dimensions of 12 m × 21 m, must have incorporated a special ceiling structure, since it would not have been easy to span such a distance without supports; the *episkopeion* in Ephesus must have presented extra difficulties in construction since it was converted from an earlier structure. All three buildings have mosaic and marble floors; they had frescos on the walls, and employed the *spolia* of architectural sculpture. Moreover, the growing power of the Church enabled it to erect these large buildings at the expense of the existing layout of the city. For example, in Miletus, the *episkopeion* complex was constructed above at least five *insulae* and the streets between them.

It is striking that the *episkopeia* in Asia Minor are of a rather late date. For instance, the *episkopeion* of Ephesus is dated to the first half of the 6th c., based on a coin of Anastasius I (A.D. 491–518) and the style of the furniture in its *triclinium*.⁶¹ In Miletus, an inscription dates the building to the time of the patriarch Kyriakos (A.D. 595–605).⁶² The style of its mosaics also supports this dating.⁶³ Although the date of the *episkopeion* in Side is uncertain, the plan of its chapel and the style of a monogram discovered within it suggest that the structure originated in the second half of the 6th c.⁶⁴ Earlier ecclesiastical residences must have existed in these cities, because Ephesus was a metropolis by the 4th c., Side had achieved similar status by the 5th c., and Miletus had representatives at all of the major church councils.⁶⁵ Moreover, there is literary evidence for an earlier *episkopeion* at Ephesus, erected in the early 5th c.⁶⁶ This would imply that, in the 6th c., the Church had the power and resources to build *episkopeia de novo* without bothering to repair or enlarge their predecessors.

In contrast, it is difficult to draw a similarly positive picture of the secular public architecture of these three cities in the 6th c. Archaeology offers much more information about their physical condition during the period, in which the *episkopeia* were constructed. At Miletus, 6th c. inscriptions mention the restoration of the Market Gate, a bath and a church. There are also traces of repairs to the Baths of Faustina, which

⁶¹ Karwiese (1989) 23, 27. Also see Karwiese (1995).

⁶² Müller-Wiener (1989) 675.

⁶³ Müller-Wiener (1979) 172–73.

⁶⁴ Foss (1996) 41; Mansel (1978) 284.

⁶⁵ Ephesus: le Quien (1958) 671; Miletus: le Quien (1958) 919; Side: Mansel (1978) 16.

⁶⁶ See n. 22.

cannot be dated. Apart from the *episkopeion*, the only new constructions dated to 6th c. are the city walls (*ca.* A.D. 538), the castle above the theatre and the ‘cathedral’ church.⁶⁷ The 5th c. witnessed the restoration and repair of many buildings in Side.⁶⁸ However, with the exception of the Christian buildings, there were no new public constructions after the 5th c. The large church by the harbour is dated to the mid-6th c.⁶⁹ Two other churches have not been excavated.⁷⁰ In Ephesus, most of the public buildings, with the exception of the temples, were restored during the 4th and 5th c., like Arcadiane and the Baths of Constantius. There were also new constructions, such as the Baths of Scholastica, and the Arch of Hercules. This civic building continues at a modest level in the 6th c., with the rebuilding of the Lower Agora, for example. But at this time such works were entirely eclipsed by the construction of the two great religious complexes (St. John’s and St. Mary’s), one of them donated by the emperor, which consumed the greatest financial and architectural resources expended in the city.⁷¹

CONCLUSION

This study of the three securely identified *episkopeia* of Asia Minor has raised three important points: their similarity to the residential architecture of the period; their role within the late antique urban fabric; and their ‘late’ date. Among the functions one might have expected of an *episkopeion*, religion was surprisingly the least visible from the material remains, though one should bear in mind the immediately adjacent churches. The remains of offices or ‘audience chambers’ point to administrative activities, while private rooms and *triclinia* were clearly used for residential purposes. The architectural solutions for the separation

⁶⁷ Restorations: Foss (1977a) 477; castle and walls: Greaves (2003) 183. The date of the church is given as around A.D. 500, a date much earlier than the *episkopeion*, Kleiner (1973–1974) 136.

⁶⁸ These buildings are: the colonnaded avenue, Foss (1996) 34, 38; commercial *agora*, Mansel (1978) 150, 169; theatre, Mansel (1978) 210–12 and Foss (1996) 37; the *nymphaeum*, Foss (1996) 36; the large baths, Mansel (1978) 232. Mansel dates the Agora Baths to the 5th–6th c. A.D., based on the invaluable dating of the Byzantine walls to the 4th c. A.D., Mansel (1978) 238. For the dating of the walls to 7th c. A.D., see Foss (1977b).

⁶⁹ Foss (1996) 39.

⁷⁰ Mansel (1978) 284–86.

⁷¹ Foss (1979) 96–98.

of residential and administrative functions, in other words public and private areas, are reminiscent of those employed in the large mansions of Late Antiquity. This similarity suggests that many aspects of the daily life of the bishop were similar to that of an urban aristocrat, or notable. This is not, in fact, surprising, given that in many cases they derived from the same class. As the residence of a prominent urban leader, the *episkopeion* was naturally constructed on a large scale; it was indeed the largest building with a residential function in Side, Miletus and Ephesus. The power of the bishop is demonstrated not only by the large size of the *episkopeion*, but by the decoration and dominant location of this structure. The 6th c. *episkopeia* of Asia Minor were, along with other ecclesiastical foundations, the last examples of monumental urban architecture in this region. This indicates that in 6th c. Asia Minor, the Church was capable of financing and constructing larger and grander public buildings than the municipal authorities.

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OTHER THEMATIC STUDIES

PRIVATE SPACE IN LATE ANTIQUE CITIES: LAWS AND BUILDING PROCEDURES

Isabella Baldini Lippolis

Abstract

In Late Antiquity, many laws were issued to regulate complex social and economic matters, including the control of real estate, construction, and the management of private buildings. A new building practice and culture of re-use gradually became predominant in a changing society. The present essay compares this legislation with the archaeological evidence in order to ascertain the characteristics of the process, assess the contribution of the ruling classes, and distinguish different building procedures in urban areas.

INTRODUCTION

Our knowledge of building regulations in the provinces of the Late Roman Empire between the 4th and the 6th centuries A.D. is largely based on the *Codex Theodosianus* and the *Corpus iuris civilis*.¹ Both sources cover private real estate by referring to specific cases in Rome and

¹ In this study, it is not intended that legal sources do not take precedence over archaeological evidence, since research must be based on an integrated approach and a critical comparison across different disciplines, and archaeological analysis should begin from concrete chronologies, phenomena, and methods. However, this study is a reflection on the evidence for housing in legal texts. It is clear that it adopts a point of view which cannot be seen as an exhaustive analysis of the complex social, economic and urban characteristics of Late Antiquity, and so sometimes leads to a different interpretation, sometimes directly contradicting the results of research on the ground, as shown for example, in Ellis (1998) 235. For this reason the concrete examples cited in the text must be understood purely as illustrations of cases which seem to verify the phenomena documented in the legal texts. On the legislative sources related to the houses: Janvier (1969); Phillips (1973); Garnsey (1976); Saradi Mendelovich (1988); Zaccaria Ruggiu (1990); Saliou (1994), (1996) and (1997); Cantino Wataghin (1999); Van Binnebeke (1999); Baldini Lippolis (2005) 67–101 with references. For the Roman period, in particular: Zaccaria Ruggiu (1995); Panero (2001). Also juristic papyrology often offers interesting data: see, for example, Frösen, Arjava and Lehtinen (2002); Hatzilambrou (2002).

Constantinople, but these legal texts can often be applied to other Roman towns. Thus it is assumed here that developments concerning social matters and town planning in the capitals followed similar patterns throughout the empire, even if differing in some substantial and quantitative features. For the 5th c., additional information can be drawn from the *Liber Syro-Romanus (LSR)*, a didactic text written in about A.D. 468. The *LSR* was used in the Greek provinces and is available in several translations.² Another source is the rule treatise, *Hexabiblos*, written by a teacher of Thessalonica, Armenopoulos, on the basis of the 6th c. architect Julian of Ascalon. This is a compilation of laws promulgated in the region of Palestine, using the same formulae as the imperial pronouncements, and specifically dealing with the construction of residential buildings and with problems concerning the lack of light and air.³

The laws that regulate real estate, construction, and the management of private buildings attempted to respond to the complex social and economic environment of the period. Late antique law still made clear distinctions between private and public property, with an eye to preserving public areas from the 'invasion' of private constructions, which could damage public buildings and obstruct their full use. Therefore, one of the main concerns was to preserve the viability of public structures.

The main purpose of such laws was to preserve the historical and monumental heritage of these structures, with the exception, in some periods, of temples and pagan altars. They were sometimes concerned with military buildings and occasionally with public commercial facilities. The codes underline the need to conserve the *decor* of public areas. They also voice concerns for safety, with special reference to the risk of fires, extremely common at the time, given the proximity of buildings: a real problem, which frequently plagued the dense settlements of Constantinople, causing considerable damage to the monumental image of the city. For example, the Senate of the Augusteion first burned down in A.D. 404, and again in A.D. 532 during the Nika revolt, along with the most important public and religious monuments of the Justinianic capital. The *Chronicon Paschale* also mentions a great

² *Syrisch-römische Rechtsbücher* (ed. Sachau (1907)); *The Syro-Roman Lawbook* (ed. Voobus (1983)). Bruns and Sachau (1880); Selb (1964); Saliou (1994) 14; Hakim (2001) 7.

³ Costantinos Armenopoulos, *Hexabiblos* (ed. Heimbach 1851). Geiger (1992); Saliou (1994) 14–15 and (1996); Hakim (2001) 6–10.

fire in A.D. 406.⁴ Three years later, flames destroyed the *praetorium* of the urban prefect Monaxios during a popular rebellion which had been incited by famine.⁵ In A.D. 465, a serious fire burned for four days in eight *regiones* of the city.⁶ According to the sources, at least eleven other fires caused considerable damage between A.D. 475 and 563.⁷

PRIVATE REAL ESTATE

The relationship between real estate and architecture clearly emerges from a chronological analysis of the legislative documents. They deal constantly with the outstanding monumental legacy of the past, urging the use of existing houses and attempting to reduce the risks of damage to the value and appearance of these earlier structures by preventing the erection of new buildings in excessively close proximity. One after another, the laws collected in the codes testify to the desire to preserve public areas from the frequent 'invasion' of private buildings, a phenomenon that appeared, from the state's point of view, to be far too common in the cities of Late Antiquity.

The earlier laws seem to be mainly concerned with punishing builders who did not maintain safe distances between buildings, thus creating potential risks for the safety of the city. The first late antique case⁸ is a prescription dated to A.D. 326, which prohibited the erection of new buildings less than 100 ft (*ca.* 30 m) from warehouses, and ordered the destruction of all buildings that violated this law (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.4).⁹ Orders for the demolition of specific private buildings were also issued in certain exceptional cases. For example, Constantine decreed that several houses were to be razed in the area of the capital destined to accommodate the new imperial residence.¹⁰

⁴ *Chron. Pasch.* (ed. Dindorf (1832) 569); Dagron (1992) 267.

⁵ Dagron (1992) 267.

⁶ Mango (1985) 51; Dagron (1992) 538.

⁷ In years 475, 498, 509, 510, 512, 532, 548, 559, 560, 561, 563, Mango (1985) 50–51.

⁸ For the Roman period see Zaccaria Ruggiu (1990) 80–81 and (1996) 191–230, with references.

⁹ The consequences of this statement fall on the whole inheritances of the person who had disobeyed and caused *publica damna*, Zaccaria Ruggiu (1990) 91; Saliou (1994) 62, n. 120.

¹⁰ Müller-Wiener (1993) 149–50; Baldini Lippolis (2001) 179.

However, the issue of land ownership, very commonly discussed in Early Imperial codes and judicial texts,¹¹ is less clear and less frequently considered in the late antique legal documents. It was not only the case that shoddy buildings were frequently raised within public areas like porticoes, open spaces, or in spaces between the buildings of monumental areas, but also that the upper classes in late antique society seemed to be able to build outside the legal boundaries of their properties. It is, indeed, evident that the aristocracy took advantage of disused buildings by occupying them and using them to support and increase their client base.¹²

A law issued in A.D. 362 (*Cod. Iust.* 8.11.3) prescribed that if a person had built in a public area at his own expense, without detriment to urban *decorum*, he should be considered the legal owner of the building, and praised by the city as a contributor to its beauty.¹³ This would apply even if the person in question lacked previous, official permission. A specific example of an illegal building practice is documented by a provision, probably applied in Alexandria, and issued by emperor Julian (A.D. 360–63) to the prefect of Egypt (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.9), which decrees that any houses built without permission above the public workshops (*super ergasteria publica*) should be considered legal. A more sweeping rule specifically allowed those who had built their houses in public areas to keep them ‘without disturbance’.¹⁴ In the last decades of the 4th c. A.D., this phenomenon apparently proliferated. Abandoned and unkempt buildings of the historical pagan tradition, both religious and administrative, were made available in large numbers and in highly valuable parts of the city.

Temples and other pagan buildings were often the victims of systematic, uncontrolled, occupation. Frequently, the authorities turned a blind eye to this trend, limiting bans and punishments to sporadic cases. Often, rather than systematically clamping down on this development, the laws merely focused on problems specific to individual cases. For example: in A.D. 364, a decree ordered a specific ‘restoration to original condition’ of the *horrea fiscalia* of Rome and Porto, which had been occupied by private persons. It prescribes the exact arrangement of the goods in the rooms and the repairs that needed to be made (*Cod.*

¹¹ Zaccaria Ruggiu (1990) and (1995) 9–180, 184–87, with references.

¹² Ellis (1998).

¹³ Janvier (1969) 124–25.

¹⁴ Janvier (1969) 126–29.

Theod. 15.1.12). Ammianus Marcellinus refers to another ban issued in A.D. 367/68 by the praetorian prefect Praetextatus, this time regarding Rome. It ordered the destruction of all balconies (*maeniana*) and private walls abutting sacred buildings.¹⁵

In the following decades, the same kind of edict was issued several times. In A.D. 383, the authorities ordered the destruction of any buildings constructed in the forum and other public areas of different cities (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.22 = *Cod. Iust.* 8.11.6).¹⁶ In A.D. 389, a directive (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.25) addressed to Proclus, *praefectus urbis constantinopolitanae*, dealt with the same problem in the East Roman capital, mentioning that private speculation in real estate detracted from the public image (*publici splendoris ornatum*) of the city. The same Proclus was put in charge of implementing the building code and removing any new, illegally built houses that diminished public decorum.¹⁷ In Rome, the tendency of private builders to invade public areas was banned again in A.D. 397 (*Cod. Theod.* 14.14.1). On this occasion, the prefect was entrusted with the prosecution of people trying to build 'a hovel or a hut' in the Campus Martius, where an architecture of a far lower standard than the monumental areas was developing.¹⁸ In Constantinople (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.38), a similar situation arose in A.D. 398, this time threatening public safety. Consequently, humble houses built adjacent to the *horrea publica* were to be removed, as in Rome and Ostia, and the warehouses restored with open spaces on all of their sides.¹⁹

Another law dated to A.D. 398 (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.39 = *Cod. Iust.* 8.11.14) again confronted the danger of fire caused by flimsy constructions in Constantinople. This edict ordered the demolition of all buildings set against authorised private or public monuments, explicitly mentioning the so-called *parapetasia* (sheds). This directive is particularly significant because it takes into account not only the security issue (fire spreading more easily in narrow streets and porticoes),²⁰ but also broader town-planning problems, such as the obstructive nature of

¹⁵ Amm. Marc., 26.9.10.

¹⁶ Janvier (1969) 184–87.

¹⁷ Janvier (1969) 194–97; Dagron (1992) 90; Alchermes (1996) 172.

¹⁸ On the late transformation of the area, after the end of the 4th c. A.D., see Pensabene (2000) 342.

¹⁹ Janvier (1969) 232–33.

²⁰ Janvier (1969) 234–35. On the structural transformations of buildings to prevent fires see also *Cod. Theod.* 15.1.45; Janvier (1969) 258–59.

the sheds with regard to traffic circulation and, consequently, city life.²¹ The damage suffered by the city of Constantinople in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D encouraged the authorities to focus more on the prevention of fires. In A.D. 406, a new directive (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.46; *Cod. Iust.* 8.10.9) ordered the destruction of all private buildings placed against or over public structures. In this case, the law stated that one could not build within 15 ft (*ca.* 4.5 m) of a public structure.²² Three years later, in A.D. 409, private buildings had encroached upon the Great Palace of Constantinople to such an extent that the prefect was charged with the task of removing them (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.47 = *Cod. Iust.* 8.11.17).²³

While, superficially, imperial authority seemed focused on protecting public areas from the building activities of private persons, the legislation preserved by the later codes tried to find a balance between the need to limit this trend, and the need to allow specific authorisation, preserving the rights of legal owners. A directive dated to A.D. 412 (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.50), for example, deals with the addition of a colonnade to a monument (the Honorian Baths) under construction in the capital. This building was allowed because the *decus* of the complex was considered to be so remarkable that it was not considered to be a case of 'private advantage'. In other words, it was in the interest of the private owners, whose buildings were going to be expropriated and destroyed to accommodate the new structure, to accede. At the same time, in order to appease these owners and increase the enjoyment of the new city buildings, the same law granted them permission to build on top of their houses. It also stated that whosoever had his property expropriated for reasons of public utility could be compensated with a right to occupy the ancient basilica and transmit it to their heirs.²⁴

As the years passed, the laws repeatedly addressed the needs of fire prevention, but the authorities seemed to be less and less concerned with enforcing safe distances between buildings. In A.D. 423, a directive for Constantinople (*Cod. Iust.* 8.10.11pr., 8.10.11.1–2) ordered that balconies (*maeniana*) which overhung streets were to be no closer than 10 ft (*ca.* 3 m) from private buildings and 15 ft (*ca.* 4.5 m) from warehouses.²⁵

²¹ By the end of the 7th c. A.D. only one of the 32 *cardines* of Carthage actually ran through the city uninterrupted by buildings encroaching on the streets, Ellis (1988) 8–9.

²² Janvier (1969) 260–61; Zaccaria Ruggiu (1990) 81; Dagron (1992) 90.

²³ Janvier (1969) 266–67; Baldini Lippolis (2001) 96.

²⁴ Janvier (1969) 270–73.

²⁵ Zaccaria Ruggiu (1990) 81.

At the same time, public areas became increasingly cluttered with private buildings. In A.D. 424 (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.52), a number of houses containing workshops were built within the arcades of the Baths of Zeuxippos, one of the most remarkable monuments of Constantinople.²⁶ These houses were taxed, with the proceeds going to finance public works and activities, ranging from public baths to city lighting and the repair of buildings and roofs. Even though these trends are not mentioned by the ancient sources, they were probably of primary importance in the minds of public administrators and would explain their inactivity against violators of the legislative acts discussed thus far.²⁷ By A.D. 426–29 it had become necessary to issue a new edict to protect the imperial palaces against private use. This text seems to be targeted not so much at illegal private owners as the officials charged with applying the law (*Cod. Theod.* 11.77.1).²⁸ Private constructions in public areas nonetheless continued to proliferate and spill into public streets. In A.D. 439 (*Cod. Theod.* 8.11.20), fines were imposed on citizens who enclosed secondary streets or public porticoes within their buildings without imperial permission, with the assumption that the *praefectus urbi* had the power to allow exceptions on a case by case basis.

In the same period, laws were promulgated to ensure that property owners did not violate the exterior of neighbouring houses, depriving them of light, or views of the sea and gardens. In Constantinople, after the big fire of A.D. 465,²⁹ a law was issued under the emperor Leo (*Cod. Iust.* 8.10.12.4) forbidding the reconstruction of private houses 100 ft in height (*ca.* 30 m). The objective was to preserve the sea views of adjacent buildings. The same directive prescribed that structures destroyed by fire should be rebuilt on exactly the same plan, again emphasising the right of neighbours to light and to a view of the sea and gardens. The law makes a distinction between residential or reception rooms; whose views are treated with more respect, and service-rooms like kitchens, latrines, stairs, corridors and passages, from one house to another. In the case of the service rooms, it was stated that they should be built no closer than 12 ft (*ca.* 3.5 m) from other houses (*Cod. Iust.* 8.10.12.1). Zeno suppressed nearly all of these restrictions (*Cod. Iust.* 8.10.12.5).

²⁶ Müller-Wiener (1993) 147. On the statuary in the late antique building see Bas-set Clucas (1988).

²⁷ Janvier (1969) 276–77.

²⁸ Janvier (1969) 282–83.

²⁹ Dagron (1992) 538.

The emperor did, however, maintain decrees prohibiting the erection of wooden balconies and terraces (*maeniana* and *solaria*) and ordered that they should be built according to the 'Roman' style, separated from one another by a minimum of 12 ft (*ca.* 3.5 m).³⁰ If this was not possible because the streets were too narrow, consecutive balconies were to be built alternately on either side of the street. Balconies were forbidden altogether in streets less than 10 ft (*ca.* 2.95 m) wide. The minimum balcony height was established at 15 ft (*ca.* 4.45 m) above the pavement. These balconies were not to rest on walls or on wooden or stone columns since such supports would make the street narrower. To prevent fires, stairs could not be built to reach the balconies from the street. Owners of buildings that did not conform to these rules, as well as the architects and workers in their service, were to be fined. Workers unable to pay were to be beaten and expelled from the city. On another occasion (*Cod. Iust.* 8.10.12.6), Zeno addressed the problem of shops built of wood within porticoes or colonnades in the city centre. He prescribed that, rather than be demolished, they should be enriched and embellished with marble slabs.³¹

In A.D. 531, Justinian explicitly applied the directives on maintaining safe distances between buildings that Zeno had specified for Constantinople, to all the towns of the Empire (*Cod. Iust.* 8.10.13).³² Between A.D. 535 and 540 (*Nov.* 165), he reaffirmed the laws preserving the sea view of houses to Dominicus, the Prefect of Illyricum. According to these provisions, a minimum distance of 100 ft should be maintained between residential structures, not just when their view of the sea was direct, but even when it was oblique or partially obscured. In A.D. 538 (*Nov.* 63), the minimum distance of 100 ft (*ca.* 29.5 m) between houses was confirmed as well as the requirement to respect sea views. The latter were clearly considered an important source of pleasure,³³ and presumably contributed to the value of a property. Julian of Ascalon discusses some of the themes to arise from Zeno's laws, in particular, the significance of sea views (*Hex.* 47–48 and *Hex.* 51), the distances between balconies (*Hex.* 32),³⁴ and the safety of both public and private properties in cases where doors and windows looked onto a street, or

³⁰ Hakim (2001) 23–24, n. 30.

³¹ Dagron (1992) 538.

³² Hakim (2001) 7.

³³ Scopone (1984–85).

³⁴ Hakim (2001) 7.

where, in towns and villages, a drain ran along a street or into a public area (a square, an arcade or a passage).³⁵

It might be argued that, according to the evidence reviewed thus far, the most common problem affecting building practices in Late Antiquity was the encroachment on public areas by private developers. Instead, early 4th c. A.D. laws aimed to establish safe distances between buildings. This trend started in A.D. 326 in Constantinople and in A.D. 367–68 in Rome, was reaffirmed in A.D. 389 at Constantinople, and A.D. 397, 398, 406, 423 in Rome (*Campus Martius*). It was again instituted in Constantinople under Leo and Zeno, and finally applied by Justinian to all the provinces of the Empire. The actual large-scale invasion of public areas by private structures seems to have been a later phenomenon: the laws mention cases of intrusive balconies (*maeniana*) and terraces (*solaria*) (A.D. 367–68, Rome; 423 and 513, Constantinople), huts and hovels (*casas seu tuguria*) (A.D. 397, Rome), sheds (*parapetasia*) (A.D. 398, Constantinople). The latter were temporary wooden structures that both endangered the safety and blighted the appearance of cities.³⁶ In Constantinople, at least, wooden *maeniana* were forbidden and the brick built ‘Roman’ type preferred.

From the first decades of the 5th c. A.D., as the problems posed by uncontrolled urban development increased, prominent buildings and central urban locations were affected above all. At first, the sources mention specific incidences. For example, in A.D. 360–63, houses were built without permission over Alexandria’s public workshops (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.9) and in A.D. 364, unauthorised buildings colonised the areas dominated by warehouses in Rome and Porto (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.12). More significant is the fact that in A.D. 424, shops that had been built illegally inside the Baths of Zeuxippos, in Constantinople, were allowed to remain (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.52). Later, a law of A.D. 439 permitted the occupation of secondary streets or porticoes, unless these had been specifically protected by imperial edict (*Cod. Theod.* 8.11.20). This all suggests that it was often possible to gain official consent to build in such areas. Decrees dated to A.D. 409 (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.47) and A.D. 426–29 (*Cod. Theod.* 11.77.1) show that even the imperial palace area had to be protected from illegal building activity.

³⁵ Saliou (1994) 170.

³⁶ On the problem of the permanent character of several of these ‘temporary’ structures and for their control by the social elites, Ellis (1988) 238–39.

In the capital cities, prefects held the authority to evaluate different situations and decide the fate of illegal buildings; in the other cities, magistrates had this power. In either case, buildings could only be destroyed as a last resort. This implies that it was possible to obtain a licence to build in areas that ought to have been protected and that the upper class could *de facto* build outside the rule of law. For instance, in A.D. 362, the most prominent families of Constantinople were allowed to build inside public areas provided that their buildings did not damage the beauty of the city. A law of A.D. 376 records that in Rome, although new building was usually forbidden, permission could be granted to buy public plots provided that one had sufficient financial resources and agreed neither to raze to its foundations any old and historically significant monument, nor re-use public stone or marble from dilapidated buildings (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.19).³⁷ In A.D. 412, a law (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.50) was issued concerning the construction of the porticoes in the Honorian Baths of Constantinople. This work necessitated the destruction of some private houses, but their owners were allowed to erect new structures over the buildings that they owned and develop building lots in a public area (the ‘ancient basilica’).

The arbitrary power of the authorities also affected the valuation of buildings. In A.D. 393, a law (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.30) was addressed to Aurelian, the Prefect of Constantinople, concerning the demolition of certain houses to make room for a public building. Such demolition work required imperial permission only when the buildings in question were valued at more than 50 pounds of silver.³⁸ The value of private real estate naturally varied according to its location and state of preservation. The *domus Valerii* in Rome, for example, was first put up for sale in A.D. 404 at a very high price, but not sold because it was considered too expensive. Ten years later, after Rome had been sacked by Alaric, it was sold at a much lower price.³⁹

Archaeological research has, in many cases, corroborated impressions derived from the legislative evidence. For instance, warehouses were very important buildings in late antique towns, and a measure of A.D. 398 invites the provincial magistrates to acquire both warehouses and stables for public purposes (*Cod. Iust.* 8.11.13.2). Even in a small town like

³⁷ Alchermes (1996) 173–74.

³⁸ Janvier (1969) 206–209; Dagron (1992) 537.

³⁹ Guidobaldi (1986) 186–88; Guidobaldi (1993) 71–72; Brenk (1999); Baldini Lippolis (2001) 266.

Herdonia, public buildings, like the Gymnasium and the Basilica, were converted into cellular units (perhaps warehouses) (fig. 1).⁴⁰ Similarly, houses built on the upper floors of the public workshops of Alexandria⁴¹ (fig. 2) can be related to the Edict of Julian (A.D. 360–63) addressed to the prefect of Egypt regarding houses built without permission over public warehouses. The practice of erecting buildings adjacent to public monuments is demonstrated by archaeological remains: from Rome,⁴² from Luni where the ‘House of the Mosaics’ lay behind the porticoes adjoining the Capitolium, its baths and fish-pond encroaching upon one section of the Basilica⁴³ (fig. 3), and from Gortyn, where workshops dated to the first half of the 5th c. A.D. were built against the podium of the Antonine Temple on the east side of the Praetorium.⁴⁴

Archaeological investigation also sheds light on trends that are not mentioned by the legal sources, such as the widespread occupation of public areas and monuments for private purposes. For instance, the Temple of Rome and the *Divus Julius* at Ephesus, were occupied in the 5th c. A.D. by modest houses. Meanwhile, in the 6th c. A.D., after an earthquake, a peristyle house was built over the eastern porticoes of the Basilica at Ephesus.⁴⁵ In Gortyn again, presumably from the 5th c. A.D., the Pythion sanctuary and surrounding area were occupied systematically by private buildings.⁴⁶ This must represent a specific transfer of property, from the public ownership of the pagan areas and monuments to private citizens, among whom perhaps were the Helpidia family, mentioned by an inscription.⁴⁷ In the same city, archaeological investigation has revealed that part of the Praetorium Baths were given over to private use. It is not easy to determine whether such spaces were rented or sold. Considering their uninterrupted use, as well as their separation from the public buildings by a perimeter, it is more likely that they were sold.

⁴⁰ Mertens (1995) 339–42; Volpe (2000) 524.

⁴¹ Rodziewicz (1984); Baldini Lippolis (2001) 122–24.

⁴² For instance, the house of *Attius Insteius Tertullus, praefectus* in A.D. 307–308, built close to the *basilica Constantini*, restored a complex which belonged to the Severian period. It is supposed that Maxentius allowed this person to re-use the pre-existing structures in order to build his residence, Baldini Lippolis (2001) 276, with references.

⁴³ Durante (2003) 148, with references.

⁴⁴ On the Roman monument, see di Vita (2000) xxxv–xxxvi; Rocco (2000).

⁴⁵ Foss (1979) 82.

⁴⁶ Baldini Lippolis (2001) 207–11, with references.

⁴⁷ *Inscriptiones creticae IV. Tituli Gortynii* (ed. Guarducci (1950) n. 341).

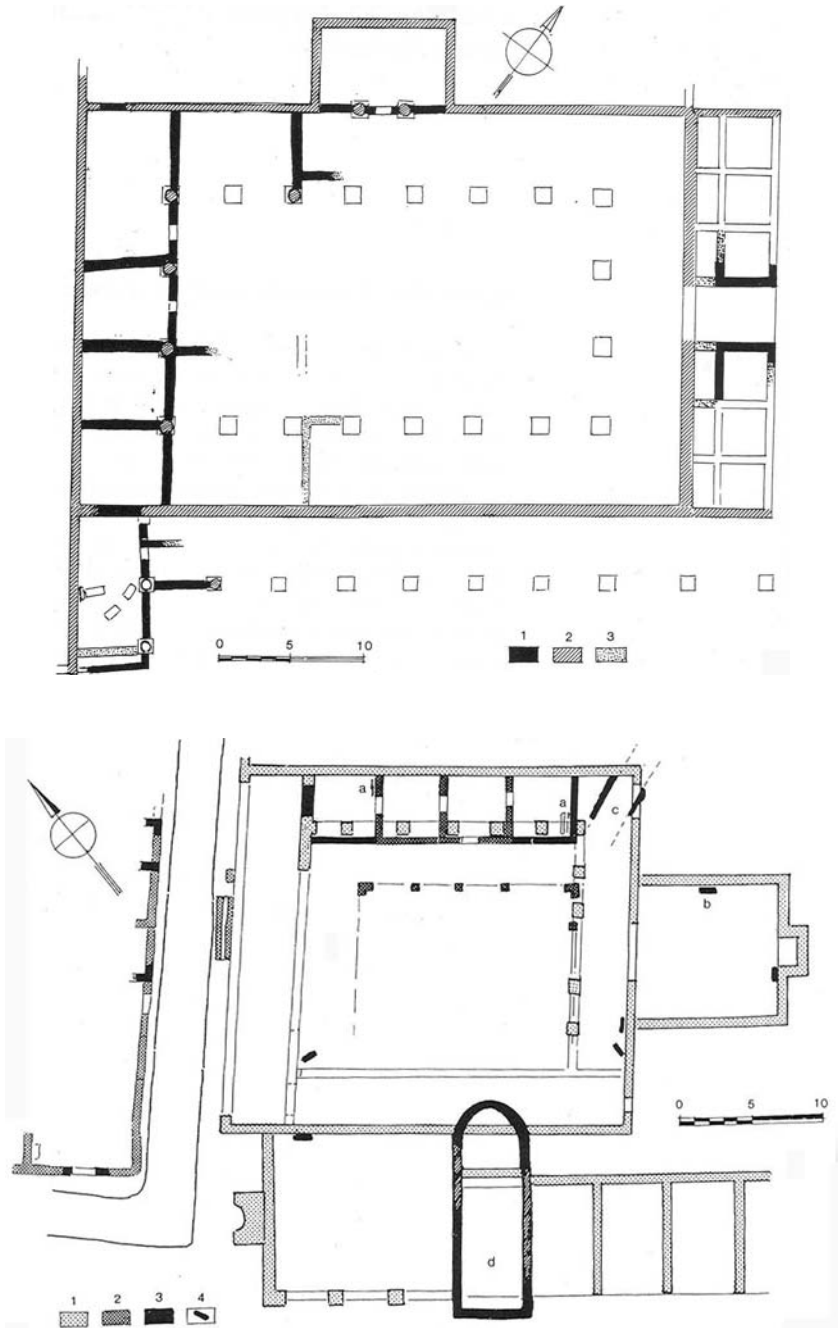


Fig. 1 Herdonia, *Gymnasium* and *Basilica*: late antique structures (Volpe 2000).

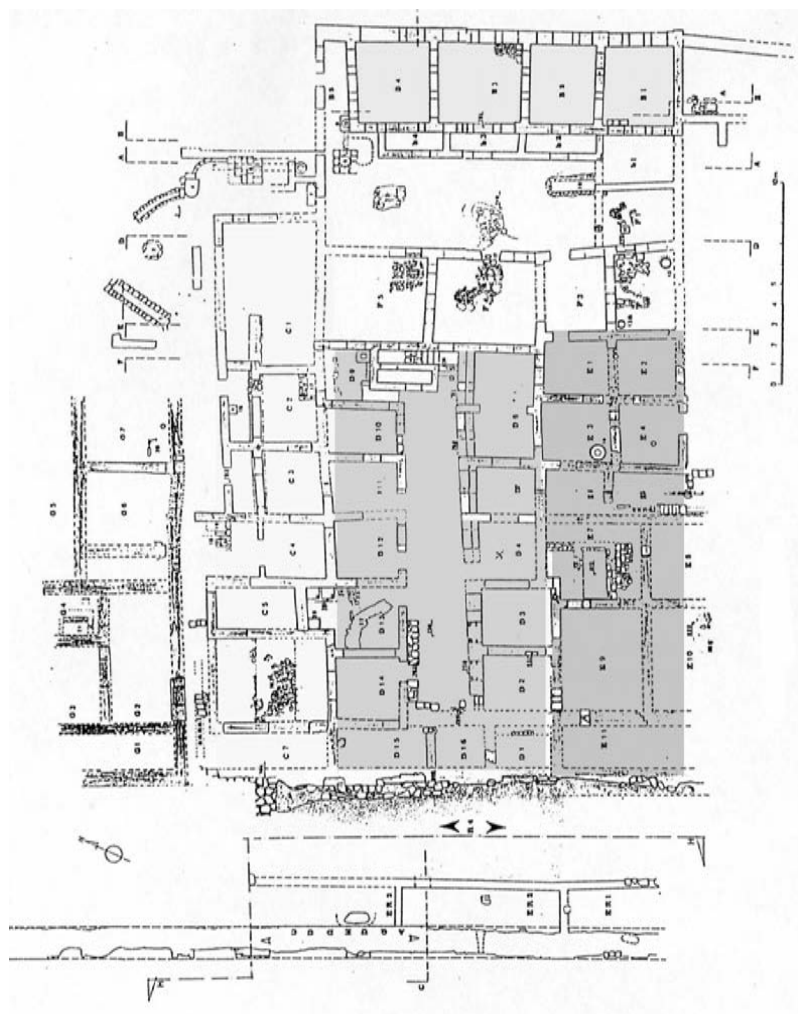


Fig. 2 Alexandria, late antique houses at Kom-el-Dikka (Rodziewicz 1984).

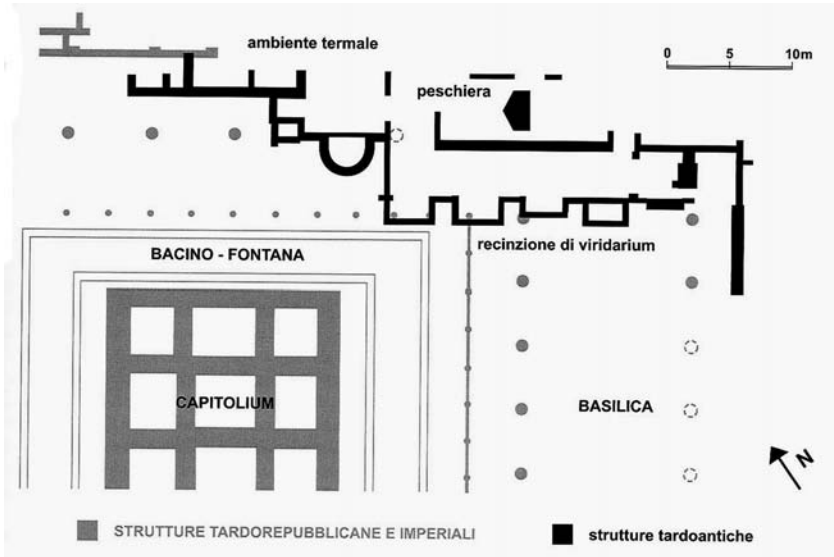


Fig. 3 Luni, area of the Capitolium with late antique baths (Durante 2003).

In Mauritanian Caesarea,⁴⁸ poor houses occupied the urban forum in the 6th–7th centuries. In Luni, between the end of the 6th c. and the first half of the 7th c.,⁴⁹ a similar process occurred, showing that—in a subsequent stage—the birth of a new urban centre could progressively deprive the traditional monumental areas of their original public and representative features. The occupation of the streets by private structures is widely attested for both small towns, like Grumentum,⁵⁰ and more significant towns. In Rome, the reconstruction of the *Domus* of Gaudentius between the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th c., obstructed a road and interrupted traffic.⁵¹ Similar situations are attested in Carthage (fig. 4),⁵²

⁴⁸ Potter (1995) 48–61; Sodini (1995) 177.

⁴⁹ Ward-Perkins (1981); Zaccaria Ruggiu (1991); Baldini Lippolis (2001) 218.

⁵⁰ At the end of the 4th c. A.D., Baldini Lippolis (2001) 213, with references.

⁵¹ Pavolini (2000); Spinola (2000); Baldini Lippolis (2001) 266.

⁵² In the *Maison du triconque* the joint *trichora* hall, in the first half of the 5th c. A.D., invaded the street, Ben Abed-Ben Khader (1999) 54–74; Baldini Lippolis (2001) 170–72.

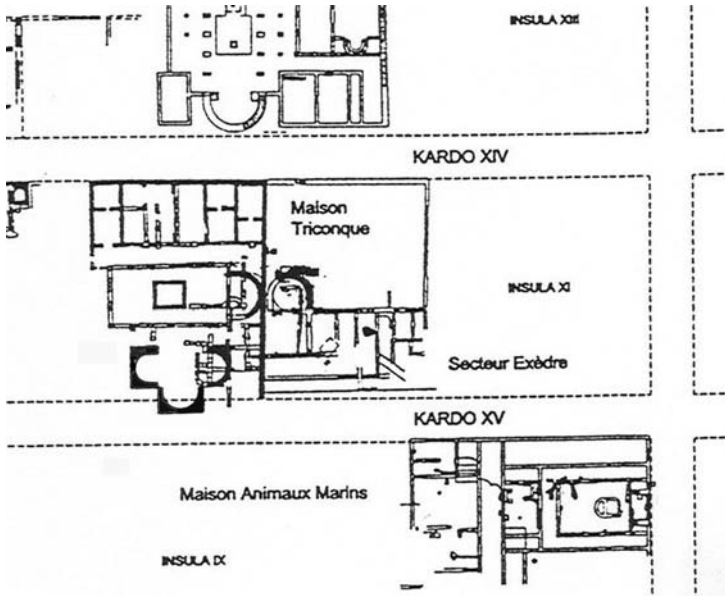


Fig. 4 Carthage, *Maison du Triconque* (Ben Abed-Ben Khader 1999).

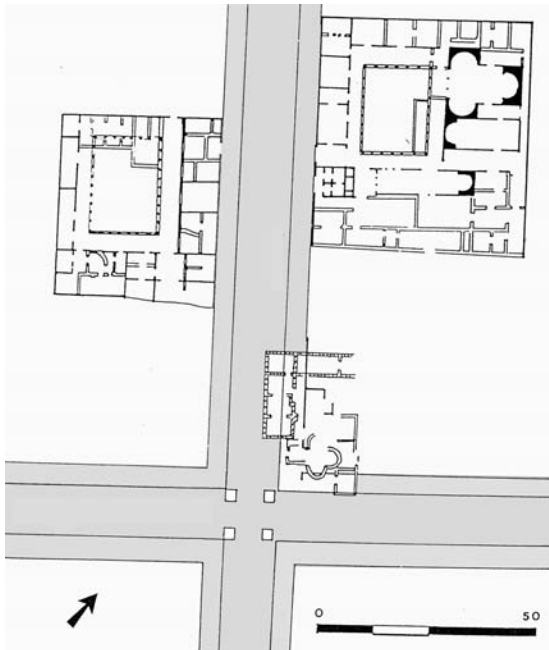


Fig. 5 Ptolemais, late antique houses (Ward-Perkins, Little and Mattingly 1986).

Ptolemais (fig. 5),⁵³ Thuburbo Maius,⁵⁴ Philippi,⁵⁵ (fig. 6) and Ravenna (*domus* of via d'Azeglio,⁵⁶ fig. 7).

The examples of Philippi and Ravenna, where monumental complexes were erected near the Octagonal and St. Euphemia churches respectively, show that streets could be appropriated by ecclesiastical property. In general, however, the legislation supplies little information on the relationship between the regulation of construction and the development of Christian architecture. The laws known to us do not typically deal with churches or ecclesiastical properties, rarely provide specific permission for such buildings, and, as a rule, do not consider the clerical occupation of public property, either for public or private religious functions. The development of Christian monumental architecture must have been supported by specific exemption and permissions, which form part of the privileges accorded by magistrates to wealthy families and their entourages.⁵⁷

The situation at Athens was completely different. The early 5th c. 'Palace of the Giants' was erected at the same time as the abandonment of pagan monuments in the Agora. This was probably in response to the legislation of Theodosius II, and demonstrated a desire to change the organisation and use of the classical plaza, a symbol of pagan culture. Such an event must have been connected to other legislative acts promulgated by the same imperial family, concerning repairs, new buildings and the creation of palace-type buildings as new focal points of monumental city centres (fig. 8).⁵⁸

BUILDING ACTIVITY

In the first half of the 4th c., Constantinople was the focus of extraordinary levels of building activity. In A.D. 334 and 337 (*Cod. Theod.* 13.4.1–2), the architects and buildings involved in this activity were exempted from taxes. Under Constantine and Constantius II they received free bread and, after A.D. 361, a hereditary grant depend-

⁵³ Ward-Perkins, Little and Mattingly (1986) 144–49; Baldini Lippolis (2001) 315.

⁵⁴ From the end of the 5th c. A.D., Baldini Lippolis (2001) 307, with references.

⁵⁵ Baldini Lippolis (2001) 203–205, with references.

⁵⁶ Baldini Lippolis (2001) 259; Baldini Lippolis (2004).

⁵⁷ Delmaire (1989) 642–45; Dagron (1992) 503–25; Caseau (2003) 63. On the earlier phases see also Provoost (1989).

⁵⁸ Baldini Lippolis (2001) 157–58; Baldini Lippolis (2003).

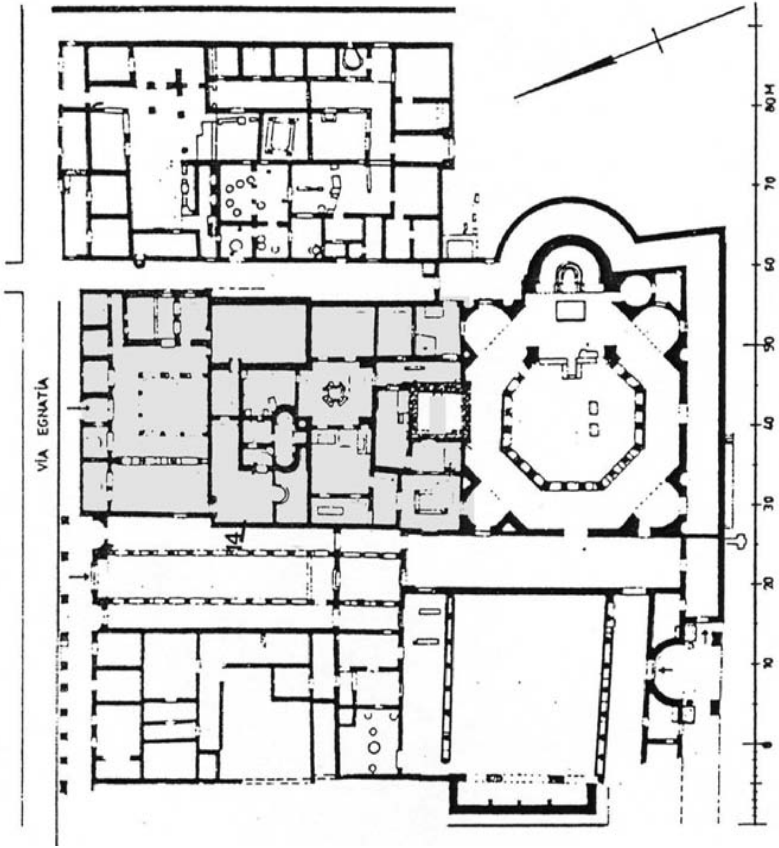


Fig. 6 Philippi, Octagonal Church and late antique house (Baldini Lippolis 2001).

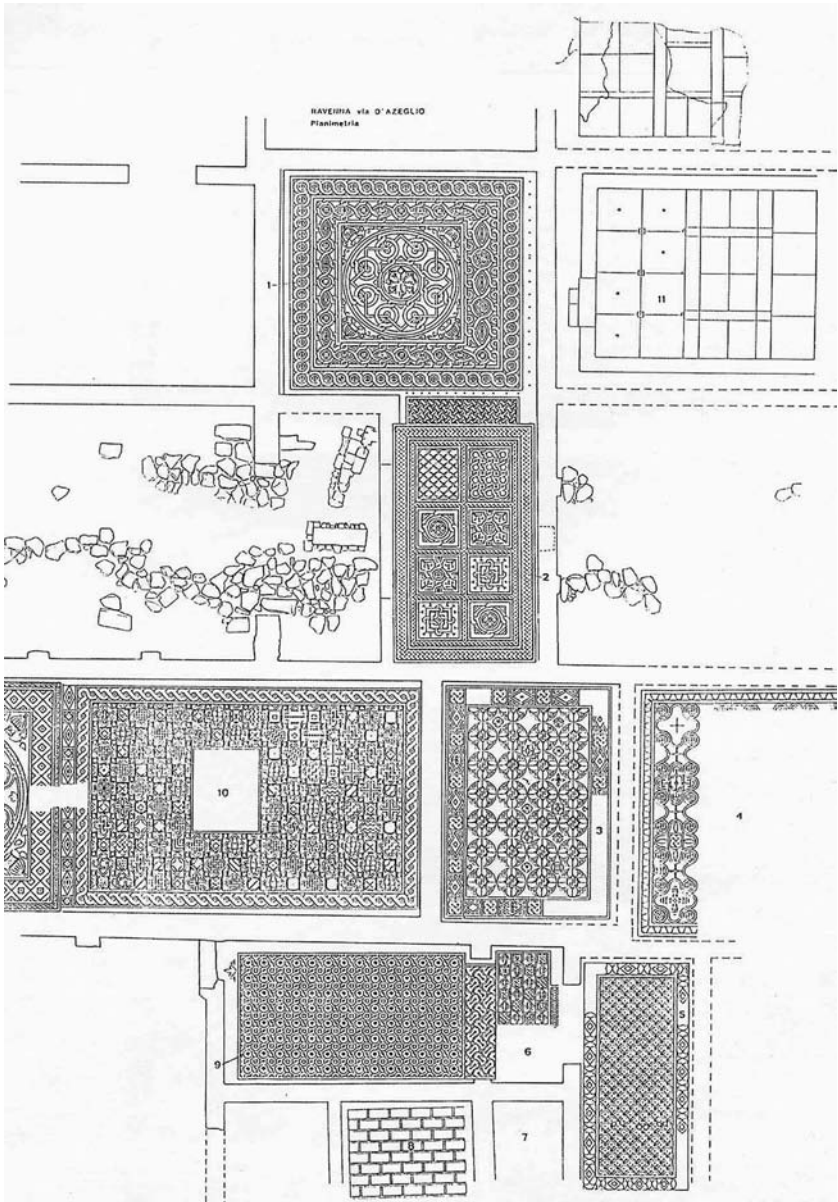


Fig. 7 Ravenna, *Domus* of via D'Azeglio (Baldini Lippolis 2004).



Fig. 8 Athens, *Palace of the Giants* in the Agora (Baldini Lippolis 2003).

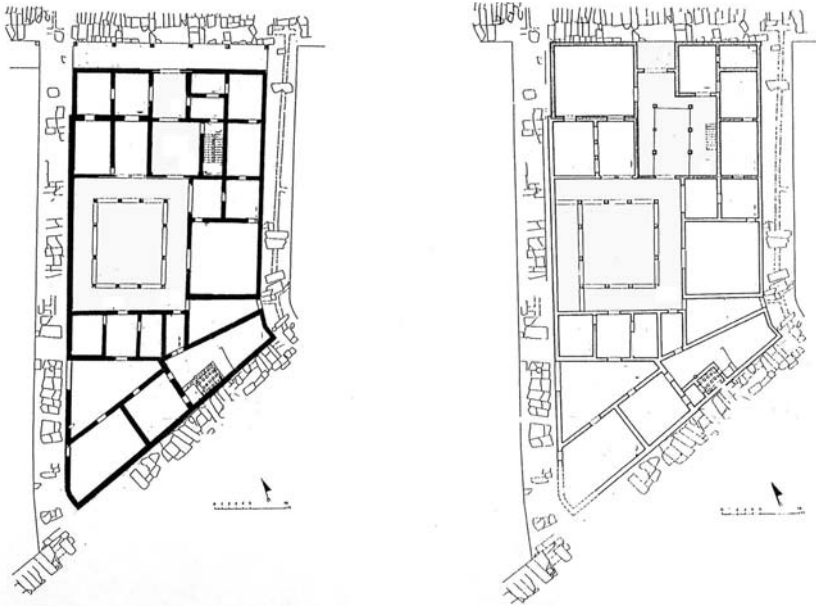


Fig. 9 Philippi, House on the Via Egnatia street (Baldini Lippolis 2001).

ing on the privilege they originally enjoyed (*Cod. Theod.* 14.17.1, 17.7, 17.11–13; *Cod. Iust.* 10.66.1–2).⁵⁹ After A.D. 438, the tenants of imperial lands in Asia Minor were obliged to build new houses in the capital (*Nov.* 5.1).⁶⁰

The legislation pertaining to building outside Constantinople, on the contrary, clearly points to the need to regulate both the construction of new buildings and the restoration of pre-existing structures in order to maintain the urban image and heritage of private and public buildings. A number of edicts required imperial officials to put off new construction work until older buildings had been restored. These were enacted in A.D. 326 (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.3 to the provincial governors), A.D. 364 (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.11, to Symmachus, urban prefect of Rome),⁶¹ A.D. 365 (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.15, Africa, *Cod. Theod.* 1.14 and

⁵⁹ Sodini (1979) 107; Dagron (1992) 528. On architects and the other related jobs, see Sodini (1979) 79–80; Baldini Lippolis (2001) 42–44; Bouras (2002) 542, with references.

⁶⁰ Dagron (1992) 528.

⁶¹ Alchermes (1996) 173.

16, to Mamertinus, *Cod. Theod.* 15.1.17 to the governor of *Picenum*),⁶² A.D. 380 (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.21, in Constantinople and in Egypt, *Cod. Theod.* 15.1.20), A.D. 393 (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.29, Constantinople), A.D. 395 (*Cod. Iust.* 8.11.11), and A.D. 472 (*Cod. Iust.* 8.11.22). In particular, the law of A.D. 380 addressed to the prefect of Egypt, specifically established that the *iudex* would restrict building work to a rate of one new building for every three restored.

Some laws allude to the restoration of houses, for instance, the laws of A.D. 321 (*Cod. Iust.* 8.10.6.1) and A.D. 377 (*Cod. Iust.* 8.10.8 pr. and 8.10.8.1). A law dated to A.D. 378 (*Cod. Theod.* 10.2.1), addressed to the *comes sacrarum largitionum*,⁶³ specifically refers to the damage caused to imperial residences by the carelessness of imperial officials and negligence of the *rationales*. Consequently, the *iudices ordinarii* were ordered to put such structures up for auction. In case they were too large to be put to private use, they were to be restored and re-used as the seats of provincial governors (*iudicium provincialium*). Similarly, a law of A.D. 412 authorised the renovation of the Honorian Baths at Constantinople, involving the addition of floors to this pre-existing structure. In A.D. 439 (*Cod. Iust.* 8.11.20) a decree permitted, without imperial permission, the insertion of streets and porticoes within houses. This was evidently based on earlier practice involving the enlargement of residential properties at the expense of public spaces. Laws of A.D. 476–79 (*Cod. Iust.* 8.10.12) continued to emphasise that in domestic renovations, it was necessary to respect the relationship between adjacent houses, especially by maintaining the height and total surface area of the house in question.

Archaeology very rarely (and in situations too specific to be considered generally applicable) makes it possible to verify the conservation of the upper floors of restored buildings. Many examples, on the other hand, show that when there were changes in their plan, the overall area of late antique buildings did not usually alter. For instance, the remains of a house on the Via Egnatia in late 5th c. Philippi, show that new porticoes were added to its front at the same time as substantial changes were carried out to its interior spaces and passageways (fig. 9).⁶⁴ Similarly, late antique houses at Ostia did not normally exceed

⁶² Alchermes (1996) 173.

⁶³ Delmaire (1989) 18–21.

⁶⁴ Baldini Lippolis (2001) 204–205.

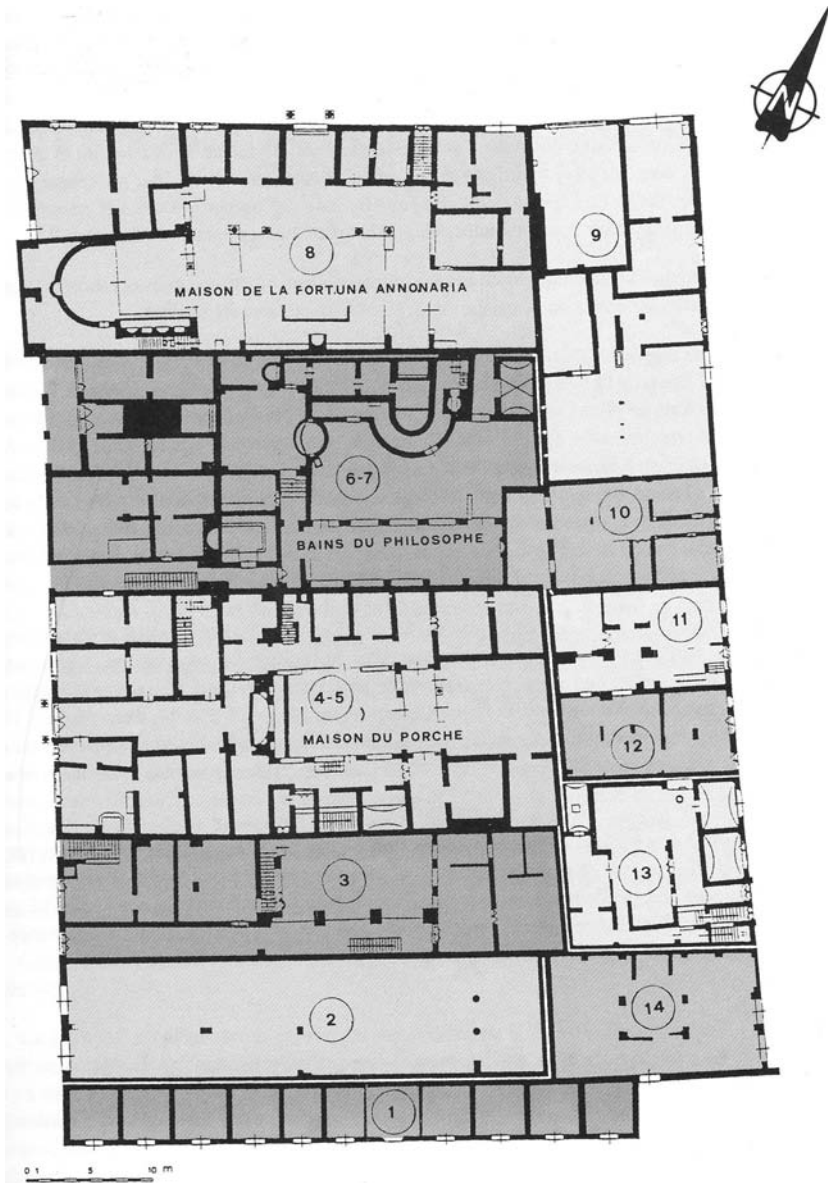


Fig. 10 Ostia, Late antique houses (Saliou 2004).

their original ground plan, but were changed by way of internal subdivision (Fig. 10).⁶⁵

Other specific legal provisions concern *spolia*, that is re-used building materials and decorative elements removed from earlier monuments, and the general problem of their relationship with pre-existing buildings. These directives, attested also in literature,⁶⁶ have important precedents in imperial legislation going back to the reign of Vespasian.⁶⁷ According to some literary and legislative references, the granting of permission to use *spolia* in private contexts was an imperial prerogative, which depended partly on the maintenance and supply of building material.⁶⁸ The phenomenon of re-use in domestic construction essentially involved the upper classes, and especially imperial officials. In A.D. 321, Constantine (*Cod. Iust.* 8.10.6pr and 8.10.6.1) authorised an eastern magistrate to allow marbles and columns to be carried from one city to another, and from one residence to another belonging to the same owner, on the condition that the public *decus* was maintained.⁶⁹ The law, however, prohibited a similar transfer of *spolia* from an urban residence to a country house, even if, once again, they were the property of the same person.⁷⁰ Therefore, it was forbidden to transfer to the country

⁶⁵ Tione (1999) 202.

⁶⁶ Amm. Marc., 31.1.4, for example, observes that the walls of Chalcedon were destroyed in order to build a bath in Constantinople. Inscribed statue bases show that in the late antique period, sculptures from neglected buildings were carried (*translata de sordentibus locis*) into the western baths of Cherchel (2nd c. A.D.), Baldini Lippolis (2001), with references. For certain aspects of the meaning of re-use, see the contributions to the scientific debate of Deichmann (1975); Ward-Perkins (1984); Brenk (1987); Vaes (1989); Alchermes (1996); Ellis (1998); Elsner (2000); Coates-Stephens (2003); Leggio (2003). Euseb., *Vit. Const.* 3.54.1–7 reports on the despoliation of temples during the Constantinian period: the emperor habitually ordered the destruction of temple doors and the removal of their decorative elements. In other cases, the roof-tiles were removed at the emperor's behest and the structure of the temples deteriorated; in the meantime, the sculptures and the furnishings were taken away.

⁶⁷ For instance, an edict issued by the Emperor Vespasian (renewed by Alexander Severus in A.D. 222: *Cod. Iust.* 8.10.2), forbids the demolition of buildings in order to appropriate building lots and materials. It even prohibits the transfer of marbles from one house to another when such a transfer alters the *publicus aspectus* of the town: '*...Negotandi causa aedificia demoliri et marmora detrahare edicto divi vespasiani et senatus consulto vetitum est. ceterum de alia domo in aliam transferre quaedam licere exceptum est: sed nec dominis ita transferre licet, ut integris aedificiis depositis publicus deformetur aspectus*', Zaccaria Ruggiu (1990) 84.

⁶⁸ On the problem of the marble supply in the storehouses of Porto and Ostia and on the *negotatores marmorum* and the public buildings, see Pensabene (1998).

⁶⁹ This practice had been forbidden by a law issued during the Hadrianic period, Zaccaria Ruggiu (1990) 85.

⁷⁰ Zaccaria Ruggiu (1990) 85.

spolia with special decorative value, derived from urban structures. Finally, when *spolia* were extracted for use in public monuments, the main concern was to preserve the urban *decus* and historical tradition of cities.⁷¹ In A.D. 346, this principle was extended to the suburban temples of Rome (*Cod. Theod.* 16.10.3).

Laws were issued in A.D. 349 and A.D. 357 (*Cod. Theod.* 9.17.2 pr.; *Cod. Theod.* 9.17.3–4) against the spoliation of sepulchral monuments for building material. It criticised the stripping of marbles and columns, both for integral re-use and for the making of lime.⁷² An edict addressed in A.D. 357 to Flavianus, the proconsul of Africa, (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.1) banned the transfer of decorative elements from an earlier period from one town to another.⁷³ In A.D. 362–63, Julianus prohibited the *vicarius* of Africa (*Cod. Iust.* 8.10.7 and *Cod. Theod.* 8.15.16) from moving columns and statues between provinces, regardless of the material from which they were made.⁷⁴ In an evident attempt to curb abuses by imperial officials, the emperor also specifically forbade the transfer of privately owned materials with public vehicles. Ammianus Marcellinus condemned the behaviour of members of the imperial court ‘sated by the spoils of temples’.⁷⁵

Another imperial act delivered in A.D. 365 to Mamertinus, Praetorian Prefect in Italy (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.14), addressed the ravaged state of abandoned buildings, specifically criticising the behaviour of magistrates asking to remove statues, columns and marbles from lesser towns in order to embellish more important cities. The ban prohibiting new construction work until existing monuments were restored was confirmed.⁷⁶ In the same year, Symmachus, prefect of Rome, was reminded of the importance of watching over temples to prevent their plunder and destruction (*Cod. Theod.* 16.1.1).⁷⁷ The urban prefects and

⁷¹ On these considerations, which are also present in earlier imperial legislation, Zaccaria Ruggiu (1990) 87; Geyger (1993); Pensabene (2000) 341.

⁷² Chuvin (1991) 44. An edict of A.D. 382 (*Cod. Theod.* 16.10.8) records the decision to preserve a temple, probably in Edessa, Alchermes (1996) 171. For Rome, a constitution of A.D. 342 (*Cod. Theod.* 16.10.3) stipulated the preservation of a number of suburban temples, on account of their relationship with traditional games and circus spectacles, Alchermes (1996) 172.

⁷³ Janvier (1969) 116–17; Alchermes (1996) 175.

⁷⁴ Deichmann (1975); Zaccaria Ruggiu (1990) 85.

⁷⁵ *Amm. Marc.*, 22.4.3; Delmaire (1989) 642.

⁷⁶ Alchermes (1996) 175; Ellis (1998) 234; Baldini Lippolis (2001) 86.

⁷⁷ The letters of Symmachus (*Ep.* 1.10; 1.12; 1.31–32; 2.26) also contain references to residential building and restoration in the area of Naples and Capua.

magistrates of Rome were again forbidden to undertake the erection of new buildings in A.D. 376 (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.19).⁷⁸ In A.D. 398, a reiteration of the ban was addressed to the western prefect Theodorus (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.37),⁷⁹ and in the same year, another law (*Cod. Theod.* 8.11.13pr.) prohibited the theft and transfer of bronze and marble statues still adorning the urban environment unless permission was gained (*Cod. Theod.* 8.11.13pr.). A pronouncement of A.D. 398 (*Cod. Iust.* 8.11.15) re-affirmed that a request to use public monuments would be granted only if they lay in ruins. Another edict of A.D. 399 (*Cod. Theod.* 16.10.15) reminded the *vicarii* of Hispania and the five provinces of the need to protect the decorative elements of public monuments from depredation.

From the beginning of the 5th c. A.D., anti-pagan legislation excluded temples and altars (A.D. 408, *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.19.1–2) from the works to be protected. Pronouncements such as the one issued in A.D. 435 (*Cod. Theod.* 16.10.25) instead ordered their destruction. In this way, pagan monuments become commodities for re-use, with important consequences for their economic exploitation and transfer, overseen by imperial officials, to private use. It was still important, however, to preserve non-religious monumental traditions that had similarly fallen out of use, both for functional reasons (organisational changes in the public administration), and on account of the difficulties inherent in the management of a vast architectural heritage during a period of intense economic crisis. In Constantinople, the general concern to preserve the appearance of the city was reflected in a law issued in A.D. 458 (*Nov. Maj.* 4). This imperial pronouncement forbade the kinds of urban transformation attempted by the *officium civitatis*, which is harshly criticised for ordering the destruction of ancient buildings under the pretext of the pressing need for material for new public works and renovations to monuments apparently less important than the buildings in ruins. Explicit censure is directed against the construction of private buildings with *spolia* taken from public places, a practice made possible by lax magistrates. These high officials together with their subordinates in the chain of command were subject to prosecution under the terms of the new law.⁸⁰ It is clear that, at that time, the appropriation of *spolia*

⁷⁸ Janvier (1969) 178–79; Deichmann (1975).

⁷⁹ Janvier (1969) 238–39; Alchermes (1996) 174.

⁸⁰ Janvier (1969) 288–93; Alchermes (1996) 177–78.

by the social elites (which also included the public magistrates) was a widespread phenomenon. The Gothic king Theodoric seems to have had recourse to the same sort of administrative procedure and legislation regarding abandoned houses in A.D. 507–11, when he asked the *patricius* Festus (Cass. *Var.* 3.10) for permission to remove marble from the *domus* ‘Pinciana’ in Rome.⁸¹ Another text of Theodoric attests the request by Albinus, consul in A.D. 493, and Praetorian Prefect at the beginning of the 6th c., to extend his residence in Rome above the *porticus absidata* at the end of the Forum Transitorium.⁸²

The transfer of private houses to the public sector is a phenomenon that can be clearly traced. As the sources indicate, the difficulty of administering large imperial or private complexes that no longer served their original functions gave rise to the development of various management solutions. For example, the historical sources indicate free transfers to the local ecclesiastical authorities,⁸³ as well as sales and renovations. Even if it is not always documented in the sources, the adaptation of residential properties for liturgical use occurred with great frequency.⁸⁴ In Constantinople, the palace of Antiochus (*praepositus* under Theodosius II) is an important example. This elite residence was transformed into the church of St. Euphemia in the 6th c.⁸⁵ Literary texts make note of similar patterns in the cases of the houses and properties of St. Olympia,⁸⁶ and other aristocratic residences adapted to serve as monasteries, hostels and hospices.⁸⁷ One of the houses built by Constantine in the heart of the new capital for a member of the senatorial aristocracy is mentioned in the *vita* of St. Marcianus.⁸⁸ According to this biography, in the 5th c., Marcianus negotiated the purchase of the house from a widow. It was his intention to create in its place a church of St. Anastasia, but friends of the woman convinced her to rescind the contract.⁸⁹ Similarly, the *vita* of St. Olympia reveals that in Late

⁸¹ Baldini Lippolis (2001) 276: ‘*marmora, quae de domo Pinciana constat esse deposita.*’

⁸² Cassiod., *Var.* 4.30; Baldini Lippolis (2001) 263, 269–70.

⁸³ See also the request of Ennodius to Boethius regarding the donation to the Church of a neglected house in Milan: Ennodius, *Ep.* 8.1.24; 8.31.8; 8.37.10; 8.40.7.

⁸⁴ Ample documentation concerning donations exists also for Rome, e.g., the *domus* of Junius Bassus and the house under the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli, Guidobaldi (1986) and (1993).

⁸⁵ Müller-Wiener (1977) 123–25; Müller-Wiener (1993) 163, with references.

⁸⁶ Dagron (1992) 509–13.

⁸⁷ Baldini Lippolis (2001) 179–88, with references.

⁸⁸ Sozom. *Hist. Eccl.* 2.3–4; Zos. 2.31.3; Dagron (1992) 529.

⁸⁹ Dagron (1992) 528–29.

Antiquity the aristocratic *domus* was a complex ensemble, which could include numerous houses and shops for rent and, therefore, constituted in itself a source of income. According to G. Dagron's definition, these *domus* were the economic nuclei of urbanisation throughout the city.⁹⁰ The literary references and above all the archaeological evidence of building renovations attest that such activities were more frequently undertaken than construction *ex novo*.⁹¹ A desire to economise is usually invoked to explain the preference for renovation, but it was possibly also motivated by a legislative campaign which discouraged new construction and favoured re-use, or by an abundance of derelict properties and available building materials.

It is also worth considering the re-use of construction material derived from public buildings when attempting to distinguish the stages during which such material became available to private persons in various urban centres. At Thuburbo Maius, for instance, the first decades of the 5th c. witnessed an acceleration in the abandonment of public monuments. In some cases, they were converted into artisan workshops and materials were taken from them for re-use in private buildings. The 5th c. reworking of the 'Maison du Cratère' can be easily identified by the presence of re-used blocks taken from the Capitolium.⁹² At Ostia, as at other sites, re-used materials also included gravestones (Domus of the Columns, Domus of Eros and Psyche). P. Pensabene has observed that in this case, it is necessary to posit the systematic despoliation of sections of the necropolis that had fallen into disuse, and the establishment of depots of embossed, engraved stone, ready to be sold as decoration both for houses and public buildings (e.g., the Forum Baths).⁹³ The archaeological remains of Ostia also point to the gathering of sculpture and large marble slabs from public monuments such as the 'Fasti Ostiensi' and the 'Fasti' of the 'Collegium of the Augustales'. Re-used fragments have come to light in private and public buildings, spanning a number of centuries in date, some deriving from the 3rd c. This serves as evidence for the ready availability of decorative materials such as marble.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ *V Olymp.* 5; Dagron (1992) 536, 539.

⁹¹ For example in Apamea, Aphrodisias, Antioch, and Athens, Baldini Lippolis (2001) 106–108.

⁹² Baldini Lippolis (2001) 307, 315.

⁹³ Pensabene (1998) 37; Pensabene (2000). On the re-use of material from tombs, see also Coates-Stephens (2003) 350–52.

⁹⁴ Pensabene (1998) 37.

In some cases, the re-use of *spolia* reflected *ornatus*, the aesthetically pleasing decoration of houses by wealthy urban elites. In other words, the re-deployment of building materials in elite residences, on which considerable financial resources were lavished is probably not indicative of decline in either building practices or the wealth of house owners. It reflects instead an acute awareness of the decorative and symbolic value of urban residences. Conversely, in other cases, *spolia* contributed to easier and cheaper building works in an environment where urbanism and imperial institutions had radically changed.

To conclude this section, it is necessary to investigate both the provenance of the materials of re-utilised *ornatus*, as well as its significance to the intermediaries who benefited from the demolition of vacant buildings, sanctioned by local or imperial authorities. Such material seems to have been readily available to the Christian clergy, who, thanks to the emperor, evidently had rather easy access to public buildings, especially after the 5th c.⁹⁵ In many cases, the construction of religious monuments seems to have been closely related to the instigation of organised demolition campaigns intended to recover and re-use building material and decoration. The systematic use of *spolia* in the churches at Gortyn is particularly significant. For example, the construction of the Christian basilicas of Mavropapa⁹⁶ and Mitropolis⁹⁷ was made possible by dismantling at least two large pagan religious buildings which had notable public functions, one housing the archives of *proxenia* decrees issued by the *polis*, the other a depository for other public legislation. The church of St. Titus⁹⁸ was also built thanks to a systematic re-use of materials from a large building on the Agora, probably a portico. This phenomenon also benefited private buildings, especially their street facades, as shown by two houses of the 5th–6th c. on the street west of the *Praetorium*, and a third of the 6th–7th c., built over the Hellenistic temple.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Delmaire (1989) 642–43.

⁹⁶ Baldini Lippolis (2002).

⁹⁷ Farioli Campanati (1998), with references; Farioli Campanati (2000).

⁹⁸ Baldini Lippolis (1998).

⁹⁹ See f. 39.

PRIVATE ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISTIC LEGISLATION

The aim of legislation governing the physical protection of property was not only to ensure that existing buildings were safe from the encroachment of new structures, but to protect them from a decline in appearance and value. Of key concern were a number of technical and architectural features (related, for example, to the size of the new structures and their functional and natural lighting requirements),¹⁰⁰ as well as certain aesthetic factors, such as the preservation of house owners' views, whether of the sea, mountains, gardens, or other urban amenities. A celebration of both natural and man-made settings is a constant theme, in the legislation and in literary works by authors such as Julian of Ascalon. For instance, an epigram of the *Anthologia Palatina* celebrates the view over the Bosphorus and the mountains of Bithynia, enjoyed from a house located in mid-5th c. A.D. Constantinople.¹⁰¹

As has already been seen, imperial regulations were designed to restrict the height of new buildings and regulate the minimum distance between them. In Constantinople, the minimum distance diminished from 100 ft in 326 A.D. to 15 ft in 406 A.D. and to 10–15 ft in 423 A.D. This can be explained by the increasing density of settlement in the East Roman capital. The latest provision, dated to A.D. 513, made possible extensions to houses, even when separated from neighbouring houses by streets less than 10 ft wide. This issue of overcrowding is also attested in the literary sources. For instance, Zosimus observed that, in around A.D. 500, 'the dwellings [in Constantinople] were so numerous and close to one another that the citizens, whether they remained at home or were out on the street, were packed chock-a-block and did not walk without danger, on account of the great number of people and animals.' For this reason, houses were constructed on platforms set on piles along the seashore.¹⁰² Under Justinian, after the fire of A.D. 532, an attempt was apparently made to re-establish earlier standards of urban beauty, by re-iterating the requirement that new structures be located 100 ft from existing buildings; its measure of success is not known.

¹⁰⁰ On these matters during the Principate, see Zaccaria Ruggiu (1990) 86.

¹⁰¹ Saliou (1994) 243–45; Baldini Lippolis (2001) 187.

¹⁰² Zos. 2.35; Dagron (1992) 531; Baldini Lippolis (2001) 96.

Other legislation sought to preserve the views from old houses located near buildings constructed *ex novo* or significantly renovated (provisions of Leo, A.D. 457–74, and Zeno, A.D. 476–79). These laws took into account the special significance of the formal, public rooms of the house, as opposed to the utilitarian service spaces.¹⁰³ A directive of A.D. 538 defines the view of the sea as a source of pleasure.¹⁰⁴ This was protected at the same time by another prescription, which also notes the importance of such a view, even when it was indirect.¹⁰⁵ The evidence of legal provisions is reinforced by Julian of Ascalon (*Hex.* 47–51),¹⁰⁶ who mentions both the minimum distance of 100 ft between houses and the significance of the sea view, making it clear that a direct view, whether of a harbour, anchored ships or mountains, was preferred. Julian also considers views over gardens or cultivated areas, fixing a minimum distance of 50 ft (*ca.* 15 m) between buildings, so that they did not obstruct one another's pleasant view. Lastly, Julian specifically cites the importance of preserving views of figure paintings displayed in public places. He argued that newly erected buildings should be established no closer than 50 ft from such decorative public art.

The author also deals with the need for privacy among neighbours, a matter that was to be taken into account before the construction of a new building by the appropriate placement on the façade of windows and balconies (*Hex.* 32–33),¹⁰⁷ or the subsequent use of curtains and shutters (*Hex.* 50). At the same time, Julian (*Hex.* 28) reflects the concern to prevent the natural illumination of houses from being shut out by new buildings. If a new structure was to be built along the wall of an extant house, which included windows at least ten years old and lacked other sources of natural lighting, the gap between the buildings was to be sufficiently wide to ensure the continued natural illumination of the older structure.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, a letter of Procopius of Gaza (*ca.* A.D. 465–530), recounts a dispute that arose between two neighbours when one built a new structure blocking the windows of the other.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ For example, see Baldini Lippolis (2001).

¹⁰⁴ Saliou (1994) 238, 242.

¹⁰⁵ Saliou (1994) 238–41.

¹⁰⁶ Hakim (2001) 13–15.

¹⁰⁷ Hakim (2001) 15.

¹⁰⁸ Saliou (1994) 227.

¹⁰⁹ Proc. Gaz. *Ep.* 37 (edd. Garzya and Loenertz (1963)); Saliou (1994) 226–27.

MANAGEMENT AND WATER SUPPLY OF PRIVATE BATHS

The water supply for private baths was also subject to legislative regulation. According to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, the majority of private baths in Constantinople were located in *regio X*.¹¹⁰ As at Rome and Ostia, the hydraulic systems of baths belonging to the wealthiest owners had pipes marked with personal stamps.¹¹¹ In A.D. 369, legislation was directed against private individuals drawing water from the conduits that supplied the Palace of Daphne. They had abused this privilege by using pipes wider than those officially allowed (*Cod. Theod.* 15.2.2).¹¹² In fact, in A.D. 382, an order addressed to the urban prefect of Constantinople (*Cod. Theod.* 15.2.3) determined the diameter of pipes to be used in private baths, providing for three categories of houses: pipes of half an *uncia* in diameter for the private baths of the least spacious houses; an *uncia* and a half for mid-sized houses (*domus mediocres et inferioris meriti*); and no more than two *uncia* in width for the elegant baths of the most important residences (*summae domus*). In exceptional cases, on account of their particular *dignitas*, certain houses might require yet more water, in which cases the maximum diameter was set at no more than three *unciae*.¹¹³ An imperial order of A.D. 381–82 or A.D. 389 (*Cod. Theod.* 15.2.4) required the urban prefect of Constantinople to ensure that private persons did not appropriate the water of the public aqueduct.¹¹⁴ Another decree sent in A.D. 389 to Albinus, urban prefect of Rome (*Cod. Theod.* 15.2) confirmed earlier regulations regarding the public water supply; in A.D. 395/96, the same legislation was enacted for Constantinople (*Cod. Theod.* 15.2.6).¹¹⁵

In both Julian of Ascalon and Roman legal documents, the private water supply system was not in itself an object of legislative attention, but was instead addressed by laws that generally encompassed public

¹¹⁰ *Notitia dignitatum*, Baldini Lippolis (2001) 97.

¹¹¹ E.g. Palace of Antiochus in Constantinople, Baldini Lippolis (2001) 184, with references. For Rome and Ostia see Bruun (1999); Geremia Nucci (1999); Jansen (2000) 115–20. For late antique brick-stamps, Sodini (1979) 73–75.

¹¹² Saliou (1994) 141–42. On the diversion of public water in Rome at the end of the 1st c. B.C. see Humphrey, Oleson and Sherwood (1998) 302–304, with references.

¹¹³ Dagron (1992) 89; Saliou (1994) 177–78. On the text of Frontinus, *De aquaeductu urbis Romae*, and the water supply lines in the Roman period, see Humphrey, Oleson and Sherwood (1998) 300–304; Jansen (2000) 111–20, with references.

¹¹⁴ Dagron (1992) 89.

¹¹⁵ Dagron (1992) 89–90.

property.¹¹⁶ When, for example, underground pipes needed repair (*Hex.* 75–76), the owner of each house was expected to cover expenses for the segment of pipe that served his property and ran to his neighbour's property, and so on, as far as the public supply. If the public supply was considerably further from the final house, the cost of the additional section was to be divided proportionately amongst all the owners.¹¹⁷ If a private person wished to build a cistern on his property, they were permitted to do so, provided that it was located at least 6.66 cubits (*ca.* 3 m) from their neighbour's wall, so that it did not damage the latter through leakages (*Hex.* 76–77).¹¹⁸ The same distance was prescribed for latrines (*Hex.* 78), except with a reduction to 5 cubits (2.5 m) if the latrine walls were made of stone and sheathed with bronze.¹¹⁹

Julian also established the minimum distance between houses and private baths, whose furnaces and chimneys were to be located at least 20 cubits (9.36 m) away if the house was located to the north or to the east, comprised two or three floors, or had windows facing the baths. If the house instead stood to the south or west of the bath, the distance between them could not be less than 30 cubits (14.4 m), with additional regulations taking into account the position of the buildings in relation to one another and their number of floors (*Hex.* 13).¹²⁰ Other provisions listed by Julian (*Hex.* 14–27) dealt with the prescribed distance between houses and workshops from which fires could potentially spread (i.e. potteries and gypsum workshops), or which emitted unpleasant odours (i.e. installations for the preparation of *garum*, oil presses, fulleries, stables), or which were noisy and active during the night (taverns, bakeries).¹²¹

PRIVATE MULTI-FAMILY DWELLINGS

Literary references provide evidence for the presence of multi-family, multi-storey houses in the most important cities of the Empire: Con-

¹¹⁶ Saliou (1994) 123.

¹¹⁷ Saliou (1994) 179; Hakim (2001) 19–20.

¹¹⁸ Saliou (1994) 123; Hakim (2001) 20.

¹¹⁹ Hakim (2001) 20.

¹²⁰ Saliou (1994) 269; Hakim (2001) 11.

¹²¹ Saliou (1994) 270; Hakim (2001) 11–13.

stantinople during the 4th and 5th centuries,¹²² Antioch,¹²³ and cities in Palestine and Syria.¹²⁴ Under Leo (*Cod. Iust.* 8.10.12.4), the maximum building height was set at 100 ft (*ca.* 30 m). According to Julian of Ascalon (*Hex.* 28–29), a three-storey building could rise to a height of *ca.* 9 m,¹²⁵ even if each floor were a different height. For example, the ground floor might be higher than the second floor, while the third floor could be split into two levels, all belonging to the same owner.¹²⁶

The costs of administering and maintaining a private multifamily building were divided among the owners according to a proportional scheme governed by specific rules (*Hex.* 83–85),¹²⁷ instituted above all with the stability of the structure in mind. The *Liber Syro-Romanus* suggests the following scenario, in which one man owns the lower floor of a house and another the upper floor:

...if, when the upper floor falls into ruin, the owner of the lower floor asks his neighbour upstairs to pay for the damaged pavement in the downstairs flat but the man upstairs does nothing, then the owner of the downstairs flat has the right to bring in workmen and to pay for the repair of the pavement. If he pays the money and has the repair done, the work should be completed within four months. If at the end of this period, the owner of the upper floor has not paid the expenses for the repair of the upper floor to the owner of the lower floor, the former will have to pay to the latter, who had the work done, double the cost of the repairs with interest...¹²⁸

To finance repairs, a division of the building into horizontal levels was envisaged, with each owner responsible for their floor and sharing responsibility for the ground level.¹²⁹ The prescriptions mentioned by Julian of Ascalon guaranteed the stability of the whole building and regulated the remodelling of interior spaces. For instance, if structural changes on the ground floor of a house were planned, such as the

¹²² Zos. 2.30; *Lib. Or.* 1.102–103; Dagron (1992) 526–29, 537; Saliou (1994) 192; Baldini Lippolis (2001) 179.

¹²³ *Lib. Or.* 11.225; Saliou (1994) 192.

¹²⁴ Saliou (1994) 192.

¹²⁵ Saliou (1994) 192; Hakim (2001) 15.

¹²⁶ Saliou (1994) 192.

¹²⁷ Saliou (1994) 77–78; Saliou (2001) 16.

¹²⁸ Saliou (1994) 70, n. 185.

¹²⁹ Saliou (1994) 79.

provision of a new pier for a column, the latter would have to be half the width of the pier in diameter (*Hex.* 30).¹³⁰

It is not easy to identify the physical traces of the subdivision of a single structure into properties belonging to different owners. Nevertheless, one example is provided by a single-family house at Tipasa which, in the 5th c. A.D., was split into four flats, with entrances on two sides of the building and with new partition walls inside.¹³¹ Other examples of distinct residential units, partitioned by walls, and consequently subject to the regulations that governed this kind of shared structure, have been noted at Ephesus¹³² and Alexandria.¹³³ In Ostia, in contrast, the separation of spaces pertaining to individual habitations was marked with an *ambitus* (a separating space), in conformity with classical Roman practice.¹³⁴

CONCLUSIONS

Late antique legislators did not involve themselves in the technical aspects of building, except with regard to the preservation of public property and the social order. This legislation was developed from the laws of the Early Empire to take account of the new exigencies and concerns of Late Antiquity. Certain aspects emerge as more important than others and reflect a desire to respond to discontinuous and at times contradictory social phenomena. This overview of certain archaeological and documentary evidence presents only one aspect of the complex business of public management, and the administrative procedures which were involved.

Most of the architectural and urban features revealed by archaeological investigation were not the product of casual choice. Legislative sources show that they were instead generated by an administrative framework put in place by the central authority of the imperial bureaucracy. Conversely, there are few indications in the literary

¹³⁰ Saliou (1994) 79; Hakim (2001) 16.

¹³¹ Baldini Lippolis (2001) 315.

¹³² Saliou (1994) 28.

¹³³ Saliou (1994) 35.

¹³⁴ On the most ancient references about the distances between buildings in Rome, see Zaccaria Ruggiu (1990) 79–81. For Ostia, see Saliou (1994) 29. On the meaning of the word *ambitus* in the Roman period, see Zaccaria Ruggiu (1995) 191–95 with references.

sources of the social aspects of labour: work crews are only rarely and incidentally mentioned,¹³⁵ with particular reference to their privileges or punishment.¹³⁶ Indeed, the different penalties prescribed for different social groups are particularly interesting in this respect. The most severe punishment was imposed on manual labourers found guilty of misdemeanours. In contrast to convicted property owners and builders, labourers were sentenced to corporal punishment and banishment. Those involved in the production and transport of lime, on the other hand, seem to have enjoyed significant privileges;¹³⁷ for instance, they were closely linked to the exploitation of abandoned public buildings, an activity authorised by the imperial authorities. Further, the producers and transporters of lime seem, on occasion, to have been exempted from the restrictions imposed on despoiling public monuments, perhaps because lime production was implicitly understood as an activity conducted in close collaboration with the state. At the same time, the state had a vested interest in the lime-working industry because of its economic worth and organisational significance.

The documentary sources demonstrate that the restoration and modernisation of buildings was preferred to new construction work, a trend which is also clear from the archaeological record. There was a conscious effort to distinguish between various forms of private building, on the basis of the wealth and social status of the property owner in question, as well as the size and monumental nature of the construction. These were important criteria for evaluating whether or not building services and authorisations were to be granted. The private building sites discussed in the legislation usually belonged to the ruling classes. Making use of *spolia*, and the state transportation system for gathering such materials, these building sites were turned into public and private sites and monuments, with the complicity of the magistrates, justified by the need to preserve the urban *decus*. At the opposite extreme of the social scale were the humble wooden huts (*tabernae*), shacks (*tuguria*),

¹³⁵ On Byzantine craftsmen and building activities after the 6th c. A.D., see Bouras (2002), with references.

¹³⁶ An important epigraphic document dealing with late antique *collegia* of builders comes from Sardis, Foss (1979) 19–20; 112–13, n. 14 (dated to 459).

¹³⁷ For example, see the concession of privileges to the *collegia* of the *calcicoctores* and of the *vectorarii*, possibly in relation to the reconstruction of the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine in A.D. 363 or the building of the so-called Bridge of Valentinianus, *Codex Theodosianus cum perpetuis commentariis Iacobi Gothofredi* (repr. ed. Ritter (1736–43)), commentary to *Cod. Theod.* 14.6.2.

hovels (*casae*), and sheds (*parapetasia*), which the ancient sources consider only insofar as they adversely affected the appearance and security of the city and, therefore, are typically cited only when condemned.

In the second half of the 4th c., the range of factors contributing to the dismantling of the traditional monumental heritage seems to have increased, with the situation worsening in the first half of the 5th c. During this period, the legislation of Theodosius II instigated the systematic elimination of pagan monuments. Once emptied of their furnishings, such temples could be destroyed, along with the altars and structures of temples and shrines (*fana* and *delubra*) that invited the performance of illicit, non-Christian religious rites. These temple properties became an integral part of the imperial holdings and, consequently, an important source of income.

Lime-makers and transporters played a prominent part (*Cod. Theod.* 9.17.2, A.D. 349; *Cod. Theod.* 15.1.1, A.D. 357; *Cod. Theod.* 14.6.3, A.D. 363) in the vast process of dismantling pagan monumental architecture; an activity systematically carried out by the representatives of the state. *Iudices* and magistrates from the upper classes promoted and favoured this process. The destruction of temples, the appropriation and transfer of temple furnishings and statues, and the occupation of public spaces and properties, provided them with commodities that were sometimes put on the market, either directly by these public officials, or through donations. Sales and public auctions could also involve houses that had been abandoned or considered beyond recovery. This phenomenon of conversion and urban transformation, the mechanisms of which require further detailed investigation, recalls (with obvious differences) the analogous availability of religious properties after the French Revolution, when new laws gave access to church buildings, furnishings, religious properties, and land.

The patrons for whom building crews worked are only occasionally mentioned. They were probably, in the main, public magistrates, imperial functionaries, and aristocrats. Building crews and construction technologies, therefore, represented a marked continuity with the past, even though the ever widening social gap between the ruling and subordinate classes changed the patronage networks through which their work was organised.

The widespread availability of *spolia* in the first half of the 5th c. was probably a critical factor in the transformation of building traditions. Craftsmen specialising in *spolia* (less frequently considered in

the scholarly literature), and experts in dismantling, recovering, and distributing building materials intended for structural as well as decorative purposes, probably worked alongside regular construction crews. The importance ascribed to the producers and transporters of lime reveals one of the principal technological traditions required in the construction of great public works and private commissions for the ruling classes with re-used building materials. This was the use of a 'Roman' construction technique (to be identified with a mortared masonry), cited in the sources as necessary both to ensure the public safety and maintain the urban *decus*. This was clearly significantly different to humbler building techniques mainly involving wood.

The problem of re-use as a commercial venture is therefore closely linked with the far-reaching and systematic appropriation of the traditional monuments of pagan cities, which contributed to the creation of conditions completely different from those of earlier centuries. This situation may have led to the decline of traditional building workmanship. In its place, new building practices and a new technological culture based on the assembly of pre-disposed materials came to the fore. In time, this system prevailed and led to a progressive transformation of society, systems of patronage, and building crews. However, in order to achieve a full understanding of this phenomenon, which cannot be examined simply on a global, general basis, its regional and urban contexts must be analysed, so as to identify different circumstances and time-frames.

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PUBLIC USE AND PRIVACY IN
LATE ANTIQUE HOUSES IN ASIA MINOR:
THE ARCHITECTURE OF SPATIAL CONTROL

Lale Özgenel

Abstract

Large numbers of visitors frequented the town houses of influential patrons in Late Antiquity. The owners responded to this increased public access, and hence met their heightened need for privacy, by adopting certain architectural measures to isolate and/or redesign reception rooms, especially audience halls, which received unpredictable numbers of people of varying status. This paper looks at architectural and spatial features, such as planning, circulation, location, accessibility and design in late antique houses in Asia Minor. It outlines and comments upon the ways in which their reception spaces were designed and distinguished to control public intrusion and access.

INTRODUCTION

Late antique town houses have been studied less in terms of public and private usage than the houses of the Imperial Roman period, for which both the material evidence and secondary interpretations are more plentiful.¹ Little work has been carried out on how public areas were incorporated into the late antique house and how the publicly prominent owners, who devoted their time to hosting regular receptions involving a variety of activities with spatial requirements, managed this interaction with the public.² One way to approach the use of space in late antique domestic contexts is to look at architecture. The plan, location, accessibility, form and function of some distinctive spaces can provide salient clues about how these public areas were spatially distinguished

¹ For the private and public use and privacy of the Pompeian house, see Dunbabin (1994); Grahame (1997); Wallace-Hadrill (1988) 58–77 and (1991) 17–37; Riggsby (1998).

² See the works of Simon Ellis in the bibliography.

within the house, thus respecting the owners' need for privacy. This paper addresses these issues in the architectural context of late antique houses in Asia Minor. Because it focuses on the architectural evidence, it does not discuss in detail fittings, furniture or textual evidence.

The Houses

It is necessary to look at houses with common architectural characteristics and settings. In this case, large houses found in Aphrodisias, Sardis, Ephesus, Halikarnassos, Perge and Xanthos will be considered.³ These were all town houses of considerable size and spatial variety, often occupying prominent locations within the urban fabric. Most were transformed from pre-existing houses in the 5th and 6th centuries, and they continued to be occupied, with changes, until the 7th and/or 8th centuries. Although the state of archaeological survey, excavation, and preservation vary from site to site, when taken together, the remains of these houses provide useful information on the domestic architecture of the period in Asia Minor. Throughout the text I have preferred to use the traditional names coined by the excavators. However, it should be noted that there is no archaeological evidence for identifying the 'Bishop's House' in Aphrodisias as the residence of a bishop or the 'Governor's Palace' in Ephesus as the residence of a governor in Late Antiquity.⁴

In Aphrodisias, the houses include: the 'Bishop's House' (fig. 1a), 'North Tenemos House' (fig. 1b, partial plan), and the 'Priest's' or 'Atrium House' (fig. 1c, partial plan).⁵ Following the recent stratigraphic

³ For this reason, other well-known examples of late antique houses in Asia Minor, like the terrace houses in Ephesus, the episcopal residences found in the ecclesiastical contexts, or the suburban villas in Antioch, are not included in this discussion. For the same reasons, comparative examples outside of Asia Minor are limited to town houses, and exclude villas and palaces, except for a few examples included for spatial comparison. For a discussion of houses dating to Late Antiquity and later periods in western Asia Minor, see Türkoğlu (2004).

⁴ Lavan (1999) 149–50.

⁵ There are more examples in Aphrodisias, but little has been excavated of and published on these houses. In the so-called 'Byzantine House' by the Tetrapylon, the only visible part is a small courtyard with columns, but a bath room and another adjacent room were recorded in the excavation reports: Erim (1969) 110 and (1986b) 543; Campbell (1991) 16–19 and (1996) 195; Baldini Lippolis (2001) 120. In the 'Cryptoporticus House', short-term excavation work revealed the basement of a late antique house and the remains of an apsidal room behind a colonnaded courtyard: Erim (1990) 13 and Smith (1996) 48–50; in the 'North Byzantine House' (or the 'Water Channel

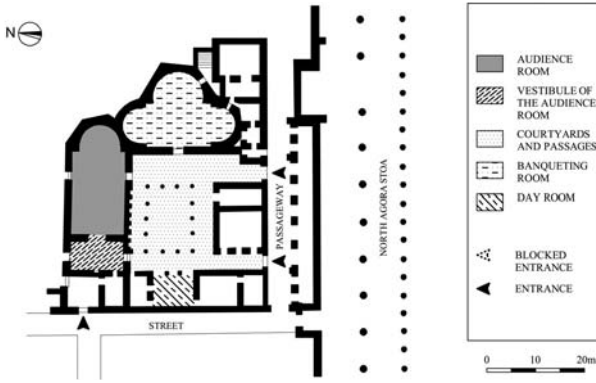


Fig. 1a Aphrodisias, 'Bishop's House' (after Berenfeld 2002).

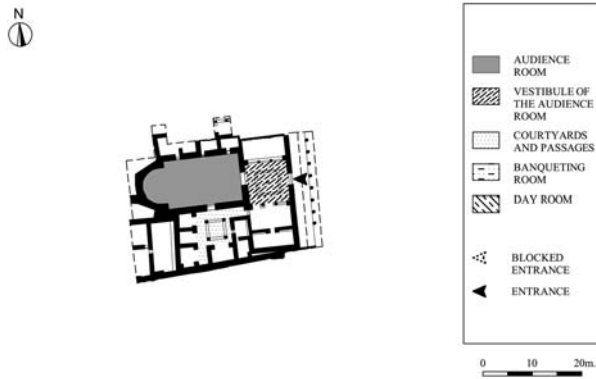


Fig. 1b Aphrodisias, 'North Temenos House' (after Dillon 1997).

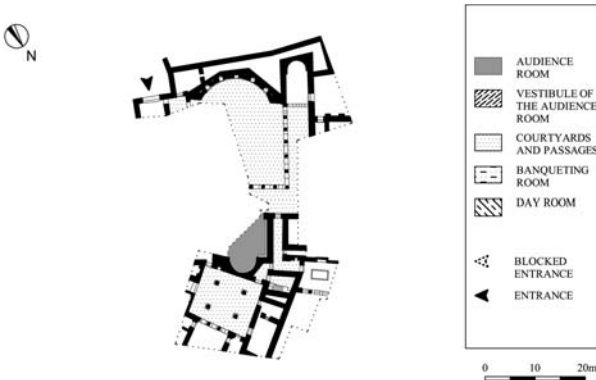


Fig. 1c Aphrodisias, 'Priest's (Atrium) House' (after Smith 1990).

studies it is generally accepted that the 'Bishop's House' took its form between the early 5th and the late 6th c.⁶ The 'North Tenemos House' was occupied from the late 3rd to 4th c. to the 6th c. This is clear from the stylistic evidence, like the pilaster capitals in the apsidal hall, which suggests a late 3rd or 4th c. occupation. Meanwhile, an inscription found on the marble revetment in the same hall may indicate a 5th c. repair, and fragments of a stamped ampulla found embedded in a floor suggest that the house was also in use in the late 6th c.⁷ The 'Priest's' or 'Atrium' house was formed when an Early Roman *atrium* house was incorporated by an apsed peristyle complex to its south.⁸ The large apse in the peristyle seems to have been built in the 2nd–3rd c. Numismatic evidence derived from the small apsidal room on the southwest corner indicates that it underwent an alteration in the late 3rd c. According to architectural remains, the main apse was articulated with an aedicular façade sometime in the 4th c. Stylistic factors demonstrate that the mosaics in the house are dated to the mid to late 5th c. The house itself was occupied until at least the 6th c.

Meanwhile, the residential area of Perge was developed between the 1st and the 6th centuries. The 'Late Antique Residence' (fig. 2), to be looked at in this paper, seems to have taken its final shape between the 5th and 6th centuries.⁹ This is suggested by the excavations, stratigraphy and the comparative analysis of different wall techniques. 'The Late Roman Villa' (fig. 3, partial plan) at Halikarnassos contained the remnants of mosaics, the latest level currently dated to the mid to late

House'), some rooms, including a large room with wall-paintings and a small apsidal room, were found: Erim (1986b) 543–44, (1987) 353–54 and 377–79.

⁶ The most recent and thorough study on this house is Berenfeld (2002) 120–36, who provides a detailed archaeological account of the building between the early 5th and the late 6th c. A.D.; also see Erim (1964a) 160–61, (1964b) 89–90, (1965) 139, (1966) 62 and (1986a) 71–73; Campbell (1991) and (1996) 189–92; Ellis (1997a) 42–43; Ratté (2001) 129–30; Ratté and Smith (2003) 162–66.

⁷ Ratté (2001) 134; also see Erim (1966) 2 and (1986a) 73–74; Campbell (1991) 1–4 and (1996) 188–89; Dillon (1997) 731–34; Smith and Ratté (1998) 230–33; Baldini Lippolis (2001) 120–21; Ratté (2001) 134.

⁸ Smith (1990) 130; Ratté (2001) 136; also see Erim (1989) 279 and (1990) 15–18; Smith (1990) 128–30 and (1991) 144, 158; Campbell (1991) 22–26 and (1996) 192–95; Ratté (2001) 136. For the date of the mosaics, see Campbell (1996) 195.

⁹ Zeyrek (2002) 19–24, 195; Abbasoğlu (1996) 108–109, (1997) 42 and (2001) 183.

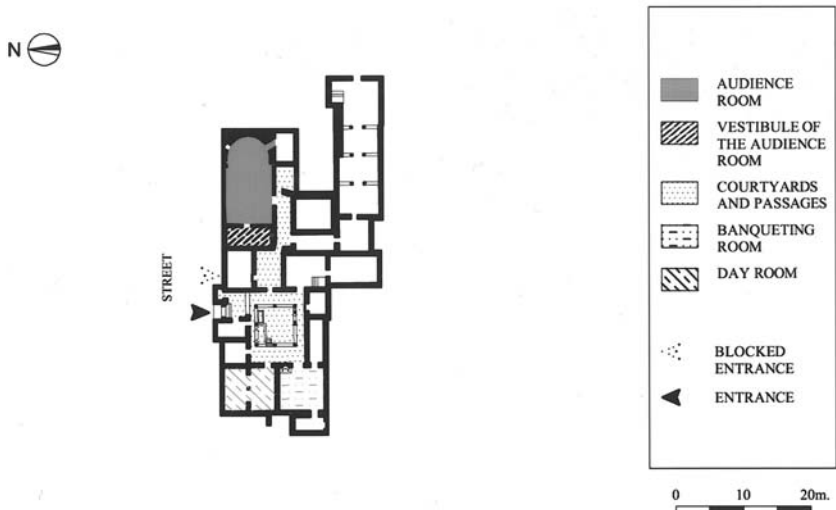


Fig. 2 Perge, 'Late Antique Residence' (after Zeyrek 2002).

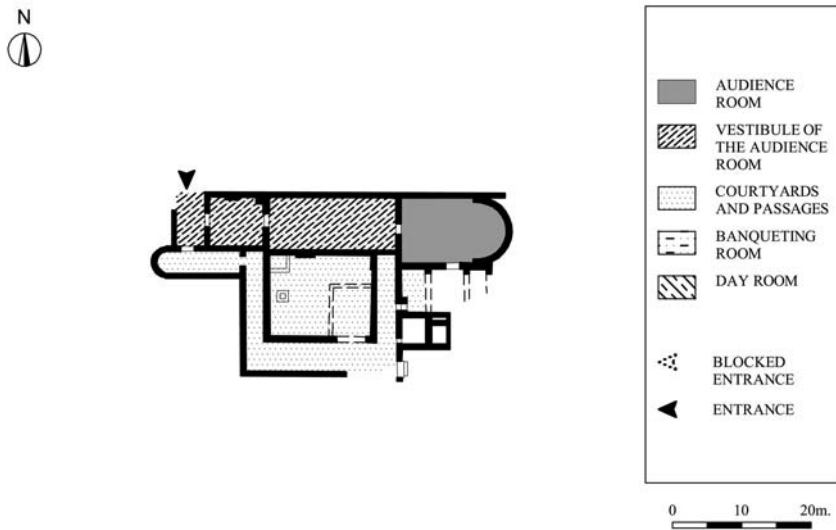


Fig. 3 Halikarnassos, 'Late Roman Villa' (after Poulsen 1995).

5th c. on stylistic grounds.¹⁰ The surviving layout seems to originate in the 5th c., while the earliest mosaic level excavated in one room indicates that the house was constructed in around 100 B.C.¹¹ The lack of traces of fire; fallen roof tiles and bricks, and the presence of few utensils have led archaeologists to generally accept that this grand residence was already abandoned before its collapse; the final abandonment might have been related to the Persian attacks or Arab assaults in around the early or mid 7th c., or to an earthquake, which is less likely as the region is not known to be seismologically active.¹² Two important late antique residences excavated at Sardis will also provide vital case studies in this discussion; these are 'The Late Roman House' (fig. 4a) and the 'Twelve Room House' (fig. 4b).¹³ Diagnostic Late Roman pottery, the monogram of the Emperor Heraclius (610–41 A.D.) found stamped on glass weights, and two coins of Heraclius are used to date the final phase of the 'Twelve Room House'.¹⁴ Extensive alterations to the 'Late Roman House', such as the re-building of walls, the raising of floor levels and subdivision, indicate that it was inhabited most densely between the 5th and 7th centuries.¹⁵

'The Northeast House of the Lycian Acropolis' (fig. 5) at Xanthos, discussed elsewhere in this volume, represents another important late antique elite residence recently studied.¹⁶ Archaeologists have posited several building phases of which the earliest dates to mid 4th c.¹⁷ Their analysis of the stratigraphy at various points in the house has led them to argue that this mansion was altered in the late 5th to 6th centuries. Further major renovations were apparently carried out in the course of the 6th and probably 7th centuries, when destruction debris

¹⁰ Two more houses with mosaic floors are recorded but these are not published: Poulsen (1995) 206 and n.59.

¹¹ Poulsen (1994) 130.

¹² Poulsen (1997) 11–12; also see Isager (1995) and (1997); Pedersen (1995) 328–29; Poulsen (1995) and (1997); Ellis (1997a) 44–45; Baldini Lippolis (2001) 124–25.

¹³ Greenewalt, Ratté and Rautman (1993) 6–12, (1994) 7–11 and (1995) 6–8 on the 'Late Roman House' and Greenewalt (1997) 515, (1998) 704, (1999) 2 and (2000) 1 on the 'Twelve-Room House'.

¹⁴ Greenewalt (1998) 704.

¹⁵ Rautman (1995) 56–64.

¹⁶ Manière-Lévêque (2002) and in this volume. There are more houses with mosaic floors on this acropolis, see des Courtils and Cavalier (2001) 165–66.

¹⁷ Manière-Lévêque (2002) 235; also see des Courtils and Laroche (1998) and (1999) 376–79; des Courtils, Laroche *et al.* (2000) 346–48; des Courtils *et al.* (2001) 231–32; des Courtils and Cavalier (2001) 165; Manière-Lévêque (2002) 235–43.



Fig. 4a Sardis, 'Late Roman Town House' (after Rautman 1995).

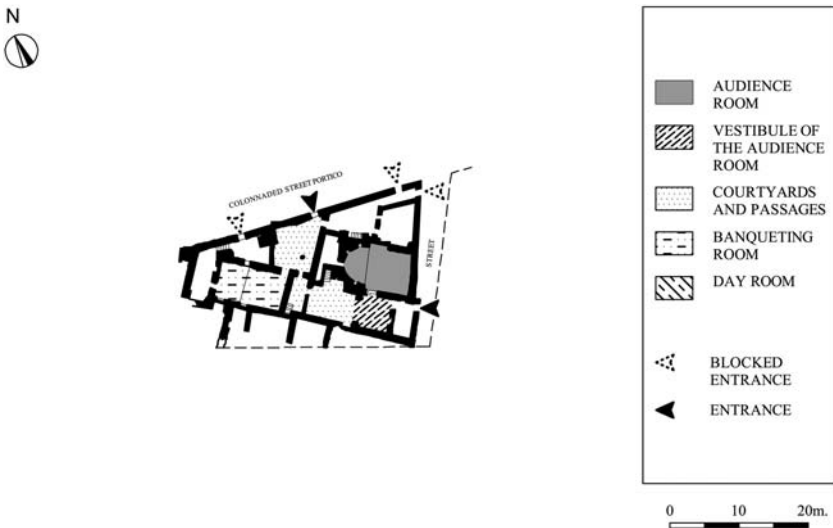


Fig. 4b Sardis, 'Twelve Room House' (after Greenwalt 1999).

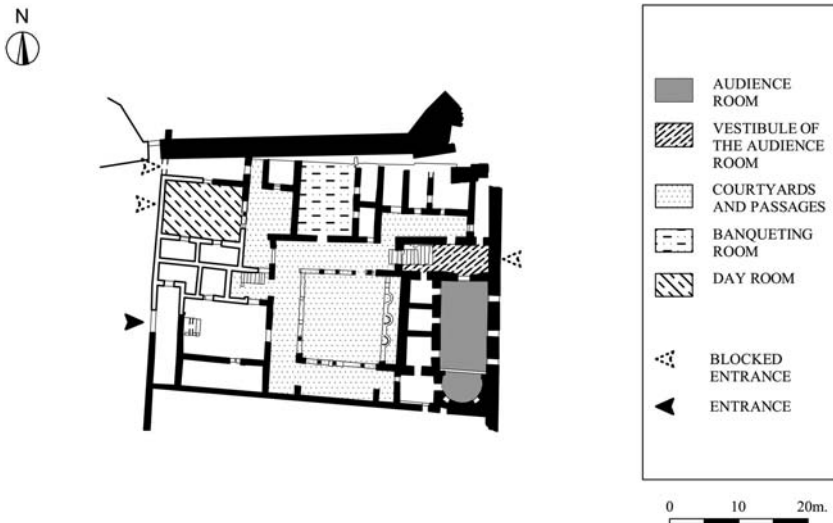


Fig. 5 Xanthos, 'Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis'
(after des Courtils *et al.* 2001).

demonstrated that the house was damaged, possibly after an earthquake. The surviving plan bears witness more or less to the 6th c. phase.

Finally, the 'Villa above the Theatre' (fig. 6a) and 'Governor's Palace' (fig. 6b, partial plan) at Ephesus serve as important examples of late antique urban residences. The former has been dated to the 5th c. A.D. and was enlarged and remodelled from a Hellenistic residence.¹⁸ The dating of the latter has been a matter of some controversy, some arguing that it was erected in the 4th c. A.D. according to historical and stylistic considerations, others, the 6th c. citing the building technique.¹⁹ The remains of this large structure were originally interpreted as those of a bath building and were only later understood to have been part of a residence with a private bath, perhaps belonging to the Governor. That a chapel was later added to this complex would imply that it was used for residential purposes throughout Late Antiquity.²⁰

¹⁸ Thür (2002); also see Miltner (1958) 79–81; Ellis (1997a) 43–44.

¹⁹ Foss (1979) 51 and n. 9; also see Miltner (1955) 44–50, (1956) 3–14 and (1959) 243–52; Veters (1966) 278–81; Foss (1979) 50–51; Wiplinger and Wlach (1996) 64–65; Baldini Lippolis (2001) 195–96. Foss (1979) 50–51 and Lavan (1999) 148–49.

²⁰ Foss (1979) 50–51 and Lavan (1999) 148–49.

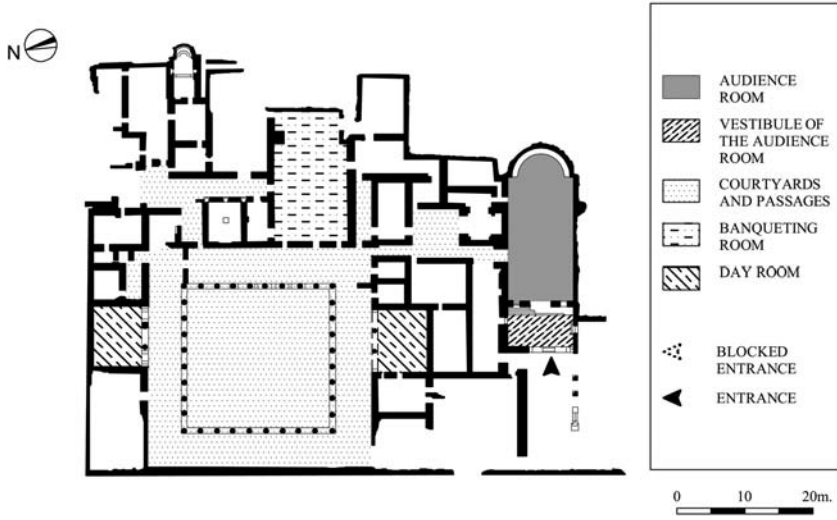


Fig. 6a Ephesus, 'Villa above the Theatre' (after Miltner 1958).

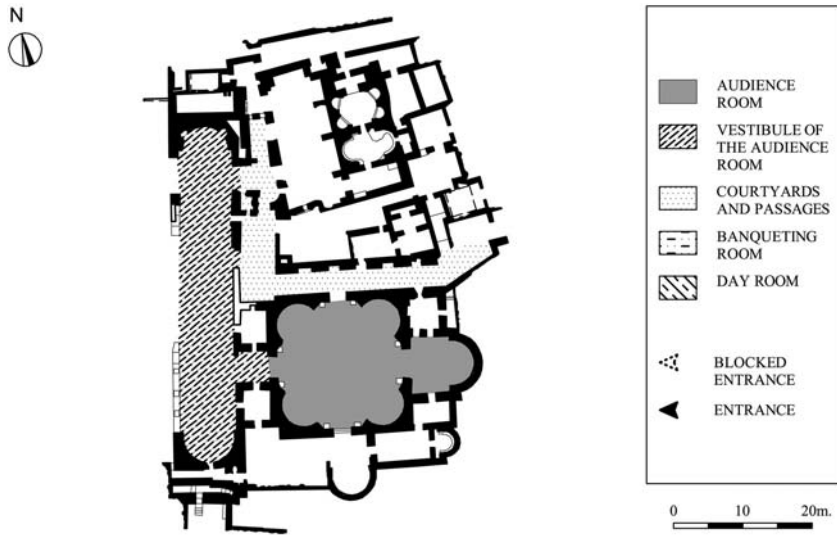


Fig. 6b Ephesus, 'Governor's Palace' (after Miltner 1959).

These houses have been discussed in different contexts elsewhere and there is no need to describe them individually once again.²¹ Instead, a brief overview will concentrate on the following architectural features: i) Plan layout (courtyards), ii) Circulation (entrances, passageways, corridors, staircases), and iii) Distinctive Spaces (apsidal rooms and other substantial rooms).

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

Plan Layout: Courtyards

The plan of all the houses was determined by at least one open and paved central courtyard. The size of the courtyard was often determined by the available building space, and thus some houses received large and imposing courtyards, often adorned with colonnades, as seen in the house in Xanthos, the 'Villa above the Theatre' in Ephesus and the so-called 'Bishop's' and 'Priest's' Houses in Aphrodisias. Houses that were built on smaller and/or polygonal lots within the urban core were also organised around central courtyards of differing size and decoration. The houses in Perge, Halikarnassos and Sardis, for instance, had relatively smaller but rather elegant courtyards.²² Multiple courtyards are often found in large and complex residences, like the large house in Sardis,²³ the 'Villa above the Theatre' in Ephesus, the house in Xanthos, and the 'Priest's House' in Aphrodisias. In houses with two courtyards, one was primary, as indicated by its size and association with substantial and well-decorated rooms placed in commanding positions. The secondary courtyards were smaller and surrounded by several other rooms of more modest appearance with a limited view of the main courtyard.

Water tanks, pools or other displays were common functional or decorative features of courtyards. Two good examples can be found

²¹ Sodini (1997) 472–79; Ellis (1988) and (1997a); Baldini-Lippolis (2001).

²² The courtyard in the Villa at Halikarnassos is a closed one, though at an earlier stage it could have been an open court and possibly even included a peristyle, Poulsen (1995) 203.

²³ Both courtyards had peristyles, Rautman (1995) 56, 58. The south-east wing of the house, organised around a colonnaded courtyard, was in fact an independent peristyle house in the 4th c. A.D. In the 5th c. A.D., it was enlarged, first by the addition of the northern wings, and later by the south-east wing, to take its final shape, Rautman (1995) 57, 59–60.

in the 'Late Antique Residence' in Perge, where a well, a cistern and a number of water basins dominate the peristyle courtyard, and in the houses in Sardis, where several water tanks and basins are found.²⁴ The most elaborate water display, however, was the fountain assemblage in Xanthos. Here, one wall of the courtyard was articulated with a series of semi-circular basins, a design reminiscent of two small but elegant late antique houses in Ostia ('House of Cupid and Psyche' and 'House of the Nymphaeum').²⁵

*Circulation*²⁶

1. *Entrances*

It is often difficult to locate all of the entrances to a house because these could change to meet new spatial requirements during different periods, and because many houses have not been sufficiently excavated. Multiple entrances were common, and can be detected in several houses. The fully excavated 'Bishop's House' in Aphrodisias was approached from two streets and had three different entrances.²⁷ The 'Priest's House' must have had two entrances; one was on the south-east corner, near the large apse, and the other was presumably located in the northern section of the house.²⁸

In the 'Late Roman Town House' in Sardis, there was one entrance from the north and one from the colonnaded street to the south, though more could have existed in this large and chronologically complex

²⁴ In the 'Twelve Room House' in Sardis, a large square basin was located in one corner of the courtyard, while in the other house, six water basins were found in different wings. In the latter house, two water basins were located at the turn of the wide corridor in the north-east wing and in the large room in the north-west wing respectively; both of these seem to have been utilised as water display units. Of the remaining three, two were found in the two small rooms adjacent to the northern ambulatory, and one in the large room adjoining the courtyard in the south-west wing, Rautman (1995) 54, 57–59; this last one had a cross on its front face.

²⁵ For Ostia, see Becatti (1948) 105–107, 109–11 and Meiggs (1973) 259–61; though very little is known of any spaces other than their dining halls and mosaics, the suburban residences in Antioch, especially 'House of the Boat of Psyche', 'House of Cilicia' and 'House of Menander', had elaborate fountains of different forms placed on one wall of their courtyards, see Stillwell (1961) and Dobbins (2000). Semi-circular fountains are also common in North African houses, see Thébert (1987) 361–62.

²⁶ On circulation in the Roman houses, see Ellis (1999) and (2000) 166–70.

²⁷ Berenfeld (2002) 209.

²⁸ The northern part of the building remains unexcavated, but a street entrance was, in all likelihood, located in this part of the house, Smith (1990) 128.

residence.²⁹ In the smaller ‘Twelve Room House’, there were three entrances, one from the side street on the east and two from the colonnaded avenue to the north. Of the latter two, one opened onto the courtyard and the other into a basement room adjacent to the courtyard further west.³⁰ In the houses at Sardis, some earlier entrances were later converted into spaces with totally different functions.

The house in Xanthos welcomed visitors through different entrances in different periods.³¹ In its late 4th c. phase, it was entered from the room in the north-west corner, now partially preserved under the rampart wall. Another door gave access to the rectangular room in the south-east corner, which, at this point, did not have an apse: the door set in the corner that later contained the apse. In the second phase (end of the 5th, beginning of the 6th c.), a second entrance that led to the vestibule of the apsidal room was opened in the east wall, and the previous entrance in the apsed corner was transformed into a window. During the same period, but presumably later than the opening of this entrance on the east wall, the entrance in the north-west corner was shifted to the neighbouring large room that faced the small courtyard on the west. Later on (6th–8th centuries), the eastern entrance was blocked, and the house could now be approached only from the entrance lobby in the south-west corner.

The ‘Villa above the Theatre’ in Ephesus was a large and complex residence with an entrance near the apsidal room. Its northern and western sides rested on terrace walls, although it may have had another entrance on the east. The ‘Late Roman Villa’ at Halikarnassos had at least one major entrance, but it is plausible that this large house also possessed numerous points of access. A single entrance has been recorded in the house at Perge, even though it once had at least one

²⁹ The entrance to the south-west wing was previously a larger space and presumably also used as the main entrance lobby in the earlier 4th c. A.D. peristyle house. In the 5th c. A.D., this vestibule was divided into two halves, of which the eastern became the entrance to this part of the house, Rautman (1995) 57. There was once another entrance on this side that opened into the narrow space behind the large room in the south-west wing. This entrance provided access to the rooms in the south-east wing before it was blocked, and a latrine inserted in the later 5th c. A.D., Rautman (1995) 60.

³⁰ The house had two other doors on its north-east corner that once opened out onto the side street and a colonnaded portico. These were later blocked, and a latrine was placed in this corner, Greenewalt (2000) 1.

³¹ des Courtils and Laroche (1999) 377–78.

other street access through an opening in its north wall, which was later blocked.³²

Although the location and number of their entrances changed, most houses in our sample could be entered from at least two points. However, articulated entrances in the form of columned doorways or porches, standing on or projecting towards the pavements or streets, like those in the houses of Roman Africa, are only recorded at the house in Perge, whose entrance was placed in a slightly recessed alcove.³³ All entrances gave access to courtyards of different forms, most through some sort of modest vestibule. This scheme appears in all but two examples. In the 'Twelve-Room House' in Sardis, the northern entrance door opened straight into the courtyard, and in the 'Bishop's House' in Aphrodisias, the two southern entrances opened into the courtyard through passageways, and not separate vestibules.

2. *Passageways and Corridors*

Circulation within the houses was determined through their courtyards and adjoining passages. Ambulatories around the courtyards and other wide passages provided direct access to the most important rooms. Rooms located away from the courtyards and main arteries were more indirectly reached through narrow paths or corridors. Long corridors appear to have been avoided. A good example of circulation is provided by the 'Late Roman Town House' in Sardis, where an L-shaped, wide passage connected different wings of the house; other passages and short corridors opened into this spine.

At Xanthos, two of the ambulatories around the courtyard also functioned as principal arteries, and were connected to corridors on both sides.³⁴ A second smaller courtyard, and an adjacent corridor on the north-west, connected the cluster of rooms in this wing to one of the ambulatories. Similarly, the northern ambulatory flowed into another

³² The blocking of the entrance took place in the third building phase, which is dated to 5th–6th centuries A.D. according to the architectural evidence: Zeyrek (2002) 86, 94.

³³ The best examples for such columned entrances come from the imperial Roman houses in various North African sites: see the plans in Kraeling (1962) 83–89 and 119–39 and Thébert (1987) 337, 359–60, 379; for examples from late antique Africa, see Stucchi (1975) 493, 495. Apamea is the closest example to Perge, see Duval (1984).

³⁴ The role of the southern ambulatory in the circulation of the house is uncertain, as it is unknown how it was connected to the square room, and hence the apsidal room located at a lower level on the south-west corner, des Courtils and Laroche (1999) 377.

corridor on the north-east that provided access to the small rooms in that area. In the ‘Villa above the Theatre’ at Ephesus, there were at least two similar, secondary courtyards, one with a colonnade, located on both sides of the large rectangular room on the west. Here, several rooms on both sides were organised around these courtyards and accessed through several short passages and corridors. Meanwhile, in the ‘Priest’s House’ at Aphrodisias, an L-shaped corridor separated the small courtyards and surrounding rooms from the area of the apsidal chamber and peristyle.

Occasionally, little rooms or alcoves, usually found on points of junction, connected different wings. At Perge, for example, the apsidal room and adjoining spaces were reached from the peristyle through a small room functioning as a passage, or rather an intermediary vestibule, with doors on both ends. In some houses, rooms with several doors functioned as connectors and circulation nodes. For instance, two such large rooms with multiple doors featured in the ‘Late Roman Town House’ at Sardis. Both rooms were decorated with wall paintings, marble niches and tile floors, and hence could have served both as living spaces and spatial connectors. The ‘Twelve Room House’ in Sardis is not an architecturally complex dwelling, but here too, a large room on one side of the courtyard had a second door to the rear that gave access to a narrow room and the basement. In the same house, next to the apsidal room, a closed, paved courtyard with a well was found. This space communicated through an entrance with the street. In this house, rooms that opened into each other compensated for an absence of passageways or corridors.

DISTINCTIVE SPACES

In Late Antiquity, two vital social gatherings, namely meetings with clients and banquets, continued to take place in spatially distinct public rooms.³⁵ These reception rooms can be distinguished in the archaeological record by their location, form, size and decoration. Such major rooms occupied two recognisable locations. First, they were usually positioned in close proximity to the street, that is, in a

³⁵ Ellis (1991), (1997b) and (2000) 172; Lavan (2001) 47–48. For the dining rooms in late antique villas, see Rossiter (1991).

lateral location with respect to the rest of the house, and well-suited to the spatial requirements of an audience hall used for hosting the crowds attending patron-client meetings. Second, they could be found far from the main entrance, usually on the opposite side of the house, adjacent to the courtyard, and, therefore, in a central location that accorded well with the spatial requirements for dining. Most wealthy late antique houses, including those in our sample, incorporated both types of reception room.

Audience halls could be connected with the rest of the house in two ways: via the doors located in separate, preceding vestibules that opened directly into the courtyard, or via adjacent, smaller rooms that accommodated the service facilities necessary for social gatherings. Therefore, in both cases, an intermediary space was provided between the audience hall and the courtyard. Reception rooms were usually bigger than most of the other rooms, and designed with an apse facing their entrance, or occasionally a series of apses, most commonly in the form of a triconch, or three-apsed room.³⁶ The floor of the apse was often laid at a higher level than the floor in the preceding rectangular part of the room; this emphasised and differentiated it.

Apsidal Rooms

Apsidal rooms existed in every house in our sample. In the 'Villa above the Theatre' at Ephesus, an apsidal room with an individual vestibule and separate street entrance is found in an almost exactly lateral location, like in an audience hall, with respect to the remaining rooms of the house. There were two doors on one long wall of this hall. From the door located near the apse, one could enter a group of small rooms via a series of passages. The second door served as an exit to a longer passageway that culminated in the eastern ambulatory of the imposing peristyle. This passage also communicated with a number of interconnected spaces on both sides.

In the 'Bishop's House' at Aphrodisias, there were two ample rooms distinguished by their apses. One of these occupied almost the entire northern wing and was entered from the street through a vestibule.

³⁶ For triconch reception rooms, see Lavin (1962); Gorges (1979) 127–39; Bek (1980) 92–93; Wilson (1983) 29–32; Duval (1984); Ward-Pekins *et al.* (1986) 143–49; Ellis (1988) 570–72 and (1991) 119; Morvillez (1995); Dumbabin (1996) 77–79 and (2003) 172–74; Bowden, Hodges and Lako (2002) 201–209 and Bowden (2003) 47–50.

This vestibule had two further doors, one opening into the courtyard, and the other into the entrance lobby in the north-west corner of the house. The audience hall was of the usual type and décor, and was reached from a central door in the vestibule and two other entrances, one on each long wall.³⁷ These opened into the eastern ambulatory of the courtyard and into a room added at a later date respectively.³⁸ The room had a screen immediately in front of the apse, clear from a row of marble blocks with cuttings to hold the panels, embedded in and flush with the floor.³⁹ The second apsidal space in this house was a triconch hall that occupied the eastern wing.⁴⁰ It was primarily entered from the courtyard, through a door that faced the wider central apse. The triconch was also connected with the other parts of the house. In the middle apse, an off-centre door opened into a staircase that linked the triconch with the upper rooms, while a second door in the southern apse led to a series of small rooms, presumably comprising the service quarter.⁴¹ Its formal scheme and courtyard location indicate the use of this triconch as a dining room.⁴²

The location and spatial organisation of the apsidal room in Perge was similar to that of the ‘Villa above the Theatre’ at Ephesus.⁴³ In an earlier stage, this had been a large rectangular room. In its third phase, between the 5th and the 6th centuries A.D., it received an apse with niches, a vestibule, and an entrance connecting it to other rooms. Its vestibule, however, did not have a separate street entrance. Instead, upon entering the house, visitors turned left to the apsidal hall or right to the courtyard. Three small, narrow, interconnected rooms were situated along one long side of the apsidal hall. One of these communicated with the apse itself through a passageway. Hence, typically for an audience hall, the apsidal room could be reached by different routes from

³⁷ For the decoration of the apsidal room, see Berenfeld (2002) 39–40; Campbell (1991) 14–15 and (1996) 190–92.

³⁸ Berenfeld (2002) 39.

³⁹ Berenfeld (2002) 39.

⁴⁰ In an earlier stage this space could have been designed as a single apsidal hall, Berenfeld (2002) 47; for the decoration in the triconch, see Berenfeld (2002) 49.

⁴¹ Pliny the Younger mentions a similar private staircase used for service in one of the dining rooms in his Tuscan villa, Plin. *Ep.* 5.6.30.

⁴² Fragments of *sigma* tables with inscriptions were found in the earlier excavations: Berenfeld (2002) 126, n. 87.

⁴³ This apsidal room was identified first as a private chapel, then as an apsidal reception room, and finally as a *basilica privata*; more recently it has been identified as a reception hall with a religious function, see Zeyrek (2002) 91–92.

different parts of the house. Among the finds from this room were a small, rectangular pool located next to an entrance on the south wall, and fragments of small columns and balustrade pieces, possibly from a screen that divided the apse from the rectangular space before it.⁴⁴

The apsidal hall in Xanthos is our only example of such a room being located at a lower level than both the courtyard and the rest of the house. It is, nonetheless, in all other respects an almost exact replica of its equivalent in the house at Perge.⁴⁵ It was located on the periphery of the house, had a vestibule opening onto a group of small, possibly utility rooms located at the same level, and a street entrance that was still in use in the 6th c. Four rooms were connected individually to this apsidal hall. One of these opened straight into the apse, which was elevated above the remainder of the hall. The hall, which was identified as a *trichinium* by the excavators, was remodelled to include an apse and three high windows on its east wall sometime in the 6th or 7th centuries.⁴⁶ During the same period, other changes were implemented: the eastern entrance into the vestibule was blocked; the apsidal room was re-decorated; the *nymphaeum* in the courtyard was re-constructed; and the western entrance lobby was shifted to its final location, shown on the plan. It is very likely that, in this phase, the street entrance in the east wall provided access to the vestibule of the large rectangular hall in the south-east corner (which, according to the excavator, received its apse after the blocking of the east door).

Prior to the remodelling, the earlier rectangular hall was conveniently placed and designed to be used as an audience hall. This is because it had a separate vestibule and street entrance, was laterally located in the plan, and was architecturally detached from the elaborate central courtyard. Judging by its close proximity to the courtyard, it is likely that, in this earlier stage, the large chamber with its two small rooms, located in the northern part of the house, was used as a dining room. The purpose of the remodelling of the earlier rectangular hall could have been to create an impressive reception room with an apse, designed to function as a *trichinium*. The redesigned space was now reached only from the courtyard, as was common for dining halls. Therefore, it is

⁴⁴ Zeyrek (2002) 88–89. Remains of coloured plaster and paint, as well as marble revetments found *in-situ* on the lower level of the west wall indicate that the apsidal room was decorated, Zeyrek (2002) 25.

⁴⁵ For the decoration in this room, see Manière-Lévêque (2002) 236.

⁴⁶ des Courtils and Cavalier (2001) 165; Manière-Lévêque (2002) 236.

reasonable to suppose that the owners overcame restrictions imposed by the city rampart and changes affecting the floor levels of the house by making alternations of form and function to the largest available interior space.

The apsidal audience hall adjacent to the street at Halikarnassos was preceded by three rooms of varying size. This was an atypical arrangement in which the approach to the apse was delayed and dramatised by the sequential placement of numerous rooms, some of which may not have functioned as vestibules. There are indications that, as in the 'Bishop's House' at Aphrodisias and the house in Perge, the apse was separated from the rest of the room by a low screen or parapet. This arrangement distanced the patron from his visitors.⁴⁷ Like the examples described above, the apsidal room here had another door on its long wall that joined it to the neighbouring room.⁴⁸ A small yard was positioned between this room and the courtyard.

In the partially excavated 'North Temenos House' in Aphrodisias, the remains of the apsidal room exhibit the familiar size, placement and composition.⁴⁹ Three rooms opened off its northern wall, while in the remaining long wall, another door opened into a small colonnaded courtyard and another wing of the house. The main entrance to the apsidal room led to an almost square vestibule that opened into a colonnaded corridor, which, in turn, was presumably connected to a street on the east. This vestibule, designed with two columned rooms on both sides, is one of the most spacious vestibules in our sample. Despite its fragmentary plan, the architectural configuration and the colonnaded streets on both sides strongly suggest that the apsidal room in this house was used as an audience hall.

Some of the apsidal spaces in our sample do not display the usual location and design. Both houses in Sardis had apsidal rooms, but these were arranged differently in relation to other spaces. In the 'Late Roman Town House', two apsidal rooms, both in a central location, distinguish two of the four wings. One of these opened directly into the courtyard on the south. It had a small room on one side, and a

⁴⁷ Poulsen (1995) 194; Ellis (1997a) 45.

⁴⁸ Poulsen (1995) 196; the doors in the vestibules and those in the apsidal room are tentatively marked on the plan here, as their exact locations were not shown on the published plan.

⁴⁹ For the decoration, see Campbell (1991) 1–4 and (1996) 188; Dillon (1997) 734.

large rectangular alcove separated by a raised floor on the other.⁵⁰ This location, right next to the courtyard, was well-suited for a dining room, perhaps a semi-circular dining space or *stibadium*, as in this case.⁵¹ The second apsidal room to the north was more difficult to access directly from either the entrances or the courtyards, but, nevertheless, had two doors.⁵² One of the doors was located near the apse and opened into a large neighbouring room, while the other was placed opposite the apse and opened into the L-shaped passage that divided the house into different wings.

The first impression is that this room was not suitable for use as a dining space, or as an audience hall. Nevertheless, together with the adjacent room, it is more likely to have functioned as an audience hall. The apsidal room in the 'Twelve Room House', on the other hand, was situated right next to the street, as was typical for an audience hall. However, this is the only example in our sample of an audience hall placed adjacent to a street on its short side.⁵³ One of the two doors in this room was positioned along the longer side and opened into a square vestibule, the other one was situated in the centre of the apse and opened into an irregular, small room containing a latrine.⁵⁴ The former served as the main approach to the room. The square vestibule behind it opened onto the entrance lobby of the house and a secondary courtyard that contained a staircase. This apsidal room had a window placed on its street façade, rare for a room of this type.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ This section took its final form in the 5th c. A.D., when the rectangular room received an apse on one end and a brick partition that separated the remaining southern part of the room. The same room also received a door opening onto the adjoining room north of it, which was previously an independent room that opened into the courtyard, Rautman (1995) 58–59; for decoration, see Rautman (1995) 58.

⁵¹ In the 4th c. A.D. phase, dining presumably took place in the large rectangular room that occupied the northern side of the courtyard and hence faced the entrance, Rautman (1995) 58.

⁵² For its decoration, see Rautman (1995) 56.

⁵³ For the decoration in this room, see Greenewalt (1999) 1.

⁵⁴ The room once had another door on its north wall that connected it with the trapezoidal room in the north-east corner. This could have previously been its vestibule, as suggested by the earlier street entrance found in this corner, Greenewalt (2000) 1. Two examples of latrines attached to an apsidal room are found in the Palace at Apollonia, where a door in the apse of the audience hall opens into a narrow space, which leads to a latrine in the north-west corner of the house, Goodchild (1960) 249–51, and in the 10–11th c. A.D. settlement in Selime Kalesi, where a latrine was placed next to the *trichinium*, see Kalas in this volume.

⁵⁵ Greenewalt (1999) 2.

The less well-known ‘Priest’s House’ in Aphrodisias had a spectacular and monumental apse, engraved with a series of niches. It enclosed a vast open space marked with colonnades on at least two sides.⁵⁶ An apsidal room was placed opposite this large *aedicular* apse, and, together, these spaces constituted a reception suite, unique in terms of genre and ambiance.⁵⁷ As this is an exceptional design, found in a partially excavated building, it is difficult to judge the overall context and hence function of this suite. Two suggestions can be made. First, the plan suggests it could have been an exceptionally majestic audience hall: the apsidal room faced the apsidal courtyard surrounded with colonnades, and the two together were separated by a corridor with doors at both ends, from another set of domestic rooms. Second, it could have been a dining room, since it was paired with the colonnaded courtyard and not located in a peripheral location typical of Late Roman audience halls. In either case, private and public areas in this house were designed and integrated on a different scale and had a very different ambiance. A further small apsidal room, immediately adjacent to this monumental room, faced a long passageway. This slightly elevated, small apsidal room might have functioned together with the larger space as a supervision point, while the long passage, other than connecting different parts of the house, could have served as a waiting lounge or vestibule.⁵⁸

In the partially excavated ‘Governor’s Palace’ at Ephesus, an elaborate combination of apsidal spaces have been excavated. The most ornate reception hall here was a tetraconch connected to two small apsidal

⁵⁶ It is understood that the niches were designed to accommodate the marble shield portraits of pagan philosophers found dumped in the alley behind the apse. This led the excavators to identify the building, or at least this part of it, as a philosophical school, Smith (1990) 130, 153–55 and (1991) 157–58; the rest of the building included some more rooms whose layout and spatial organisation suggest a private use. Whether it was used as a school or not, the remains of this building exhibit the more elaborate versions of architectural elements common in the public spaces of large late antique houses. A similar large and elaborate apse is found in the ‘House of Proclus’ in Athens, Karivieri (1994).

⁵⁷ The apse in the courtyard was articulated, probably in the 3rd c. A.D., with fluted columns, Corinthian capitals and entablatures. The complex was altered in the 4th or 5th centuries A.D.; the large apse in the courtyard was redesigned with carved pediments for the shield portraits, whilst the atrium court was paved with a mosaic floor, and the apsidal room was built over some rooms of the atrium house, Smith (1990) 129–30. Both apses, in the courtyard and in the room opposite, had marble revetments, Smith (1990) 129–30.

⁵⁸ Traces of a stone slot in the floor indicate that a screen or a parapet separated this room from the long passage, Smith (1990) 129.

rooms.⁵⁹ The tetraconch was entered through a long passageway, a longitudinal vestibule terminating with apses at both ends. This vestibule opened into a small square anteroom which was, in turn, flanked by small rooms. An apsidal space and two further small rooms projected from the side of the tetraconch facing the anteroom. Another apsidal room protruded from the tetraconch on the south, serving as the narthex of a possible chapel (also apsed) attached to it.⁶⁰ This scheme is particularly reminiscent of the 'Priest's House' in Aphrodisias. There too, a long, rectangular passage, which could have functioned as a vestibule, terminated with an apse on at least one end, and was placed next to an imposing apsidal courtyard and the apsidal room.⁶¹ Nonetheless, the remains of the mansion at Ephesus display by far the most ambitiously designed reception complex found in a residential setting in late antique Asia Minor.⁶²

Substantial Rooms

Other rooms in our houses were distinguished not by their apses, but by their size and location. They were often rectangular in form and smaller than the apsidal rooms, but larger than the remaining rooms in the house and usually found on one side of the courtyard. It is possible that these rooms accommodated less crowded and more private receptions, or were used as day rooms by the members of the household.⁶³ The house in Xanthos, for instance, possessed three such large rooms, of which two looked into the courtyard. One of these opened into the western ambulatory and was reached by a few steps from the street entrance to the west. Meanwhile, several other doors on the remaining three sides connected it with the main courtyard and the rest of the house. Its direct link with the street entrance, ample size and multiple access points suggest that this room served a public

⁵⁹ For the decoration, see Foss (1979) 51.

⁶⁰ A small apsidal room in the 'Villa above the Theatre' at Ephesus has also been identified as a possible chapel, Ellis (1997a) 44.

⁶¹ A similar long passage with apses on both ends separated the eastern wing from the rest of the vast residence in Piazza Armerina. Here too, a monumental apsidal room opened into this elaborately paved passage: Carandini, Ricci and de Vos (1982) 194–230.

⁶² A close parallel to this spacious and elaborate mansion in Ephesus is the 'Villa at Yakto' in Antioch, Lassus (1938) 95–147.

⁶³ I use the term 'day rooms' to denote the substantial rooms that could have been used for a variety of daily activities by the family members.

function, perhaps as an audience hall.⁶⁴ The inhabitants might have intended the room as both an ample entrance lobby and an audience hall after the transformation of the rectangular hall, possibly the previous audience hall, into an apsidal dining room. The other substantial room facing the courtyard on the north was sufficiently spacious and conveniently located to be used as a dining room. A third large room marked with a columned entryway was found on the north-west corner, and opened into a small courtyard and neighbouring spaces on both sides. It could be reached from a door placed at this end of the northern ambulatory. Its scale, its association with a secondary courtyard, and the distance from the main courtyard all suggest a private use; possibly as a day room for the family.

A substantial room has been investigated in 'The Villa above the Theatre' at Ephesus, that had many interconnected side rooms and a triple entryway from the courtyard. Its commanding courtyard location and ample size indicate that it was a dining space. Two other noteworthy, but smaller rectangular spaces were found in the same house. They were placed on opposite sides of the courtyard and faced one another. In addition to their courtyard orientation and axial alignment, two columns marking their entrances signal the domestic significance of these rooms, perhaps day rooms or semi-public chambers.⁶⁵

At Perge, two large rectangular rooms were situated adjacent to one another on the same side of the courtyard. One was connected to smaller rooms on both sides and had a fountain or a small pool built into one wall. Apparently, this was typical of *triclinia* with fountain decorations.⁶⁶ The neighbouring room, on the other hand, was visually divided by two protruding spur walls with a column between them.

⁶⁴ The excavators also identified this room as a *tablinum*, Manière-Lévêque (2002) 236. Such ample entrances are found in the Roman houses in Africa, and are interpreted as having had the dual function of an entryway and a space for meeting with clients, see Thébert (1987) 355, 358–59. Grand entrance lobbies can be found in other late provincial houses, such as the Theodosian Palace in Stobi, Kitzinger (1946) fig. 162; Wiseman (1973) 44–45.

⁶⁵ Such open rooms located around the peristyle are called *exedra* in Campanian houses, and could be used for a number of purposes, including sitting and viewing the garden. *Exedrae* were found in the North African houses as well, see the plans in Thébert (1987) 366, 372, 373, 376.

⁶⁶ Viewing a water element placed opposite the dining room in a courtyard was a common feature in ancient Roman houses, and water elements found within dining rooms themselves clearly indicate the desirability of the view of a fountain. See Thébert (1987) for similar examples in Africa, especially 'House of Ass' in Djemila in p. 356; Dobbins (2000) for Antioch.

This room was not orientated directly to the courtyard, although it was entered from this open space. It is more plausible that this room was a day room, for it would not have met the architectural requirements of a large social gathering. Nevertheless, it might have functioned well as a small and private reception space, for more personal and private meetings.⁶⁷

In both of the houses at Sardis, one rectangular room was distinguishable by its size and location. In the 'Twelve Room House', it was situated immediately opposite the main entrance and opened into both the courtyard and a back room. Part of the floor was slightly raised, like a platform, at one end of the room.⁶⁸ Its proximity to the courtyard, size, and elevated floor suggest that it functioned as a dining room, though it was also large enough to be used as a day room. Likewise, in the 'Late Roman Town House', large rectangular rooms flanked the courtyard in both the south and the north wings. The southern room opened onto the courtyard, faced the apsidal chamber, and had another door to the south-east that gave access to rooms beyond it.⁶⁹ Although the remains of a marble *sigma* table found in this room imply that it operated as a dining room, it was large enough to accommodate a family gathering.⁷⁰ The other substantial room was located in the north-west wing and opened onto the apsidal room, the courtyard, and a neighbouring small square room.⁷¹

The archaeological remnants of two houses in Aphrodisias exhibit rooms of similar design. In the 'Bishop's House', a rather small but elegant room located opposite the triconch was probably used as a

⁶⁷ According to the excavator, this room may have been used as an atelier or a shop in an earlier stage, as a large threshold block is found on its north wall, Zeyrek (2002) 82. Fragments of a round marble table, found in the northern section of this divided room and dated to the latest phase of the house, are taken as evidence that this room was an *oecus*, Zeyrek (2002) 90.

⁶⁸ A marble *sigma* table, or a semi-circular table, was found on the elevated part of this room, Greenewalt (1997) 515.

⁶⁹ Like many other rooms in this house, this large space consisted of smaller spaces before it was transformed into a large hall in the 5th c. A.D., Rautman (1995) 59.

⁷⁰ Rautman (1995) 59. However, though a marble *sigma* table is often taken as an evidence of a dining function, the exclusive association of such tables with dining is not firmly established, see Akerström Hougén (1974) 106–107 and also Morvillez (1995). This may have been another dining room as well as a day room in which the same type of table was used for dining, or for different purposes, both by the male-head and his visitors, or else by the remaining family members.

⁷¹ This room was transformed into a large space with several doors on three sides, by combining the four smaller rooms used in the 4th c. A.D., Rautman (1995) 56.

day room. This room had a view of the peristyle through a double-columned entryway. In the 'Priest's House', the archaeological evidence, though incomplete, indicates that at least one room with a colonnaded entrance was positioned in view of the small and stylish peristyle courtyard located behind the apsidal chamber.⁷² It is possible that a similarly designed room existed next to the small peristyle courtyard in the 'North Temenos House'.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE ARCHITECTURAL EVIDENCE

Having introduced the architectural features of late antique houses in Asia Minor, some introductory remarks will now be made regarding the organisation of their public spaces. This discussion will follow the same course as in the preceding section, beginning with the layout of the houses, and moving onto circulation patterns and the significance of different rooms.

Like many western villas and town houses, all of the houses in our sample had one central courtyard. They did not have front and back courtyards, a strong axial emphasis, and a sequential flow of spaces, features often seen in the domestic architecture of Roman Italy.⁷³ The central courtyard plan of the eastern houses offered direct access to a large number of rooms, unlike the linear scheme which would only gradually reveal the house to a visitor. The houses in our sample were compact and introverted, their rooms looking into central courtyards. This is certainly not a scheme unique to or developed in Late Antiquity. Instead, the Roman and late antique houses in the eastern provinces, including Asia Minor, continued the Greek tradition of building around an open, paved, colonnaded and often central courtyard.⁷⁴

Whether central or not, a courtyard was by definition a public space, since both visitors and inhabitants were required to cross it in order

⁷² Smith (1990) 128.

⁷³ For houses with linear disposition in Campania, see Wallace-Hadrill (1991) and Pesando (1997); for Western provinces, see Meyer (1999).

⁷⁴ For the Roman houses of the imperial period in Anatolia, see the following: Mansel (1978) 241–55 for Side; Mitchell (1991) 170–71 for Ariassos; Radt (2001) 93–110 for Pergamon; Bayburtluoğlu (2003) 142–59 for Arykanda; Mitchell (1995) 158–75 for Cremna; Kennedy and Freeman (1998), Ergeç (1998) and (2000), Abadie-Reynal and Bulgan (2001), Abadie-Reynal and Darman (2003) and Early *et al.* (2003) 19–43, 51–55 for Zeugma.

to go from one part of the house to another. In a way, the courtyard functioned as a kind of domestic piazza, a large public place representing the spatial centre of daily life. Here, as in an urban piazza, status and wealth could be displayed to an audience using a variety of architectural and decorative assemblages on a large scale. Domestic courtyards were prominently located to act as the centre of attention and action, and special care was given to their appearance and arrangement, irrespective of size. This was done in a number of ways. First of all, a large floor area was reserved for courtyards. Even where limitations, such as a lack of land or the density of built structures nearby, necessitated the construction of small courtyards, as in Sardis, a comparatively large area was still reserved for a single courtyard or even two courtyards. Second, all the courtyards were decorated with costly pavements of stone, marble or mosaic, paintings embellishing ambulatory walls, and water displays. Third, they were articulated, and hence given a monumental aspect, with towering colonnades. Even the smaller courtyards received columns or colonnades to add elegance and extra space. Architectural features, including a centralised location, large scale and rich decoration, indicate the public role of the courtyard. Nevertheless, the house was still a private setting, and its reception of outsiders required supervision and control.

One way to control public intrusion and traffic within a residential building is to influence its internal circulation by varying the routes, distances and difficulties of access to different parts and rooms of the house. Further, the provision of multiple entrances can create alternative routes into and away from public spaces. In Late Antiquity, architects typically controlled public access and circulation by providing direct access from the street to some rooms, and more lengthy and indirect access to others. The houses in our sample were designed according to such strategies, incorporating multiple entrances, from different directions, usually from both a side and a main street. These offered alternative routes into the house, especially into public reception rooms.

Another way to spatially distinguish public and private spaces is by adding an upper storey. This is perhaps one of the most appropriate and efficient architectural means of providing rooms with different levels of accessibility and privacy in houses constructed by limited urban confines. Although it is not immediately apparent from their plans, most of our houses had whole or partial upper storeys, which, in fact, had much larger floor areas than their ground floor plans suggest. The existence of multiple staircases in some cases indicates that certain upper

floor rooms could have been accessed separately from the lower level. In these cases, it would appear that the ground floor was extensively exploited for public interaction, and the upper level, which was out of sight and indirectly accessible, probably devoted to more private activities. In comparison with a group of houses outside of Asia Minor, in which both the reception and living spaces were found on the upper levels, the reception rooms in the houses under consideration here are located at the entrance level.⁷⁵

Therefore, in late antique houses in Asia Minor, two groups of significant public rooms can be distinguished: apsidal rooms and other substantial rooms without apses. Both types of rooms were found on the ground level of the houses, though similar reception rooms might have existed on the upper floors as well. The placement of these rooms differed in relation to the courtyard. The apsidal rooms were detached from the courtyard, paired with a separate vestibule and found in a peripheral location.⁷⁶ They can be identified as audience halls and were presumably used predominantly by the male head of the household for business meetings. Multiple doors and separate entrances and exits for the outsiders and the host, and the visual and physical segregation of the guests in a closed space, were the architectural measures that segregated patron and client in the audience hall. The substantial rooms without apses on the other hand, were placed in the centre of the houses, often adjoining a courtyard and were not adjoined to preceding vestibules. They were often placed in a commanding position in the courtyard and, being perforated by windows or multiple entryways, might be more open than the apsidal spaces. These rooms could be used to host dinner guests, who were often invited to attend business meetings, or else by household members during the day. Indeed, dining was not an exclusively male occasion; both men and women could dine together according to the Roman custom.

⁷⁵ Late antique houses with living and reception spaces found on the upper floors are taken to represent the early appearance of *piano nobile*, seen in the later Byzantine and medieval domestic architecture, see Polci (2003) 97–105 for different arguments.

⁷⁶ The triconch in the 'Bishop's House' at Aphrodisias is one exception, but this is a multi-apsed room for which there is no parallel in Anatolia. The *tetraconch* in the incomplete 'Governor's Palace' at Ephesus is another multi-apsed room, but unlike the 'Bishop's House' it does not face a courtyard.

THE ARTICULATION OF PUBLIC SPACES

Audience Halls

Visiting and consulting influential patrons continued to be an important domestic ritual in the later empire, with some variations. These included the social context, spatial locus and accommodation of such visits.⁷⁷ Unlike its Early Roman predecessor, the *tablinum*, which was at the centre of the earlier *atrium* house, the late antique audience hall for business callers, strangers, or regular visitors, was moved to a peripheral location, usually next to a street.⁷⁸

Four possible influential factors in moving the audience hall closer to the street were the increase in the number of callers, their diverse social status, the need to control their entry into the house, and a desire to make waiting clients visible in the street; a large crowd was waiting to greet the influential patroness Hypatia in front of her house in Alexandria which made Cyril the Bishop jealous of her reputation.⁷⁹ Late-antique patrons had influence at court, in the city and in the countryside. They exerted influence over and represented a much larger group of people than their Early Roman counterparts.⁸⁰ These grandees frequented and probably spent more time in their audience halls than their predecessors had done in their *tablina*, for they were obliged to settle matters originating from a much wider clientele than ever before.⁸¹ As such, there was a need, first of all, for a large space in which to accommodate greater crowds of people, and second, a different

⁷⁷ Ellis (1985) 24 and (1991) 118; Wallace-Hadrill (1989) 64–65; Garnsey and Woolf (1989) 162–65. For the western aristocrats see Salzman (2002) 24–27, 55; for the mention of clients see *Amm. Marc.*, 14.1.6, 14.1.12–13, 28.1.10, 28.4.12, 30.4.8, 30.4.14; *Jer., Ep.* 66.5 (from Garnsey and Humfress (2001) 127); *Sid. Apoll., Epist.* 1.9.

⁷⁸ For *tablinum* and the morning visits in the atrium houses, see Dwyer (1991) 27–28.

⁷⁹ According to Damascius, fr.104: Haas (1997) 311. I thank Luke Lavan for suggesting this last factor and for this reference.

⁸⁰ Brown (1971) 37; Ellis (1997a) 46 and (1991) 123; for patronage in Antioch and of Libanius see Liebeschuetz (1972) 193–208; Smith (1997) 178 illustrates how audience rooms with independent entrances were also adapted in the country houses or villas in the western provinces where the owners exerted power over numerous clients and tenants.

⁸¹ In Late Antiquity, a patron could have used even the most humble dependent, perhaps not so much for personal political promotion, rivalry or elections, but rather to hold a force in reserve for local political manoeuvres or security, see Arce (1997) 28. Also see Liebeschuetz (1972) 192–93; Salzman (2002) 52–53; for other examples related to patronage, see Brown (1992) 79–80, 95.

architectural scheme to control their presence and movement in the house. It was no longer suitable or even socially relevant to expose the private areas of one's house to people with such diverse demands. In addition, it allowed a patron's power and reputation to be recognised by his wider group of callers. Therefore, an audience hall located near the street seems to have served two functions: it respected the privacy of the household by segregating callers from private quarters; and enhanced the public image of the patrons.

Four features characterise the newly devised architectural scheme for the audience halls: size, location, accessibility and form. The audience halls of this period, including those in Asia Minor, were built on an imposing scale.⁸² They were large and monumental in size, and can be more appropriately described as halls rather than rooms to emphasise their architectural grandeur. The need to include a much enlarged public space without disturbing the functional and architectural integrity of the remaining spaces led to these rooms being placed on one side of the house rather than in a central location. By doing so, the patron was also able to physically separate the heart of his dwelling from an anonymous crowd of callers of varying status and number, restrict their presence to a particular location, and prevent them from entering or seeing into the depths of his home. Indeed, audience halls could be physically isolated by shutting the doors leading from them to the innermost parts of the house. Furthermore, with the exception of Sardis, none of the audience halls discovered so far in Asia Minor contain firm archaeological evidence for any other openings such as windows. Their peripheral location and separate street entrance functioned together to create a short and direct path into, and out of, these audience halls.⁸³ The existence of doors near the apses in many examples illustrates that the patrons also reserved a separate entrance for themselves and hence avoided using the same route taken by their subjects.

We can also observe an increasing tendency to use elongated and basilical forms in late antique audience halls. These designs accentuated the segregated nature of the reception area, directing people's gaze

⁸² The 'Palace of Dux' at Apollonia is a good comparison. Here, the audience room is large, located on the periphery of the house, had a separate entrance and a vestibule with benches, and, in addition, two more doors that connected it with the rest of the spaces, Ellis (1985).

⁸³ Apsidal spaces with a similar location and independence are also found in some large imperial houses in Roman Africa. For two examples, see Thébert (1987) 334–39, 378 and 397.

on the patron, seated at a higher level in the apse, by their inherent depth and axial organisation.⁸⁴ Further, in contrast with the callers of earlier times, who were taken inside the house and allowed to see many adjoining spaces, the audience of the late antique patron was deliberately barred from the main body of the house and directed by means of apsidal arrangements to focus their attention solely on the patron. In Xanthos, the reception hall (in its earlier rectangular phase when it could have been used as an audience hall with a separate street entrance), was located at a lower level, and in this way physically detached from the elaborate courtyard. This illustrates how the complete physical separation of each room could be achieved within multi-storey houses.

Apsidal audience halls were used in different ways in the two houses of Sardis. The limited floor area in the 'Twelve Room House' prompted its inhabitants to construct a second storey and align the apsidal room at a perpendicular angle to the street. The room had a separate vestibule, but was not placed on the same axis as the apse to allow for an axial approach to the patron. Otherwise, the overall architectural composition and placement of this apsidal room are not unusual.

Another model is suggested by the plan of the 'Late Antique Town House' in Sardis. This opulent house was built or developed on an L-shaped lot. This must have posed several planning difficulties, one being the impossibility of including an imposing central courtyard. Instead, the builders shaped this house around two courtyards and several passageways, a scheme that resulted in many alternative routes of circulation and the spatial isolation of several rooms. There are two likely candidates for the audience hall in this house, neither conforming to the usual type. One is the square room in the north-east wing. This room was not longitudinal, basilical in form, or accessible from a street through a separate vestibule and entryway. It was, nonetheless, positioned in close proximity to the street entrance, from which two small vestibules, one with benches, led into a wide and well-paved axial

⁸⁴ For the apsidal spaces in general, see Lavin (1962); Sodini (1984); Dunbabin (1991); Ellis (1985), (1991) and (1997b); Lavan (1999) and Baldini Lippolis (2001); see also Becatti (1948) 122–24 for Ostia; Goodchild (1960) for Apollonia; Kitzinger (1946) 117–29, Wiseman (1973) 34–36 and 40–49, Sokolovska (1975) for Stobi; Duval (1984) for Apamea; Little (1985) and Ward-Perkins *et al.* (1986) 126–43 for Ptolemais; Argoud, Callot and Helly (1980) and Dazewski (1985) 279–86 for Cyprus; Frantz (1988) 34–48 for Athens; Hostetter (1994) 133–53 and Hansen (1997) 113–14 for Rome; Ellis (1995a) for Britain; Kuzmanov (2000) for Bulgaria.

passageway that culminated solely in this room. In other words, even though this audience hall was not typical, with the usual placement, access and apsidal form, it was nevertheless designed to function in a similar manner. There was a direct and linear flow from the wide passageway into this room which meant that these two spaces were of similar width and architecturally integral. This scheme almost exactly replicated a basilical space without an apse. Moreover, this group of spaces was firmly separated as a unit from the rest of the house, both by the surrounding passageways, and by the doors placed at the ends of these passageways.

A second possible audience hall might have been the apsidal room in the neighbouring north-west wing. This room was also detached from the courtyards of the house. This isolated and rather unattractive location implies a formal use as a reception room rather than a dining area. Further, alternative routes of access led to this room. It could be reached from the courtyard, through the adjacent large hall in this wing, and also from the wide passageway; the spine of the house with which its apse was orientated. Although this apsidal room was a long distance from the main entrance, its importance as a public room is clear from its apse, designed to focus attention on a patron, and the rooms and passages surrounding it, which might have served as vestibules for waiting clients. Like the square audience hall and its auxiliary spaces in the opposite wing, the apsidal room and adjoining rooms were physically separated from the rest of the house by a wall that stood at the very end of the wide passageway.

Clearly, a single model does not suffice for every house. Several factors must have contributed to the development of variations or alternatives. Economic considerations might have discouraged some late antique owners from undertaking a costly renovation to include vast, ornately decorated audience halls. If houses had irregular layouts and spatial limitations, it was more difficult to accommodate large and/or basilical audience halls within their layout.⁸⁵ In houses such as the 'Late Antique Town House' at Sardis, spaces which lay parallel to the street, or rooms

⁸⁵ There is also a possible audience hall incorporated into a house in Hierapolis. The 'House of the Ionic Capitals' continued to be occupied in Late Antiquity when part of the peristyle was closed to create a room. This room was richly decorated with marble floors and panels, riveted and painted walls, and had a separate entrance hall, a waiting room with a stone bench, d'Andria (2001) 113. A partial plan shows an apsidal room with preceding rooms reached from a street entrance, Zaccaria Ruggiu (1995) 292; also see Sodini (1997) 477–78 and more recently d'Andria (2003) 144–46.

which did not communicate directly with the courtyard, could function as audience halls. Conversely, the presence of two such arrangements side by side in this house may suggest that one could have been used as an audience hall while the other (more likely the apsidal one) had a different function, perhaps as a day room.

In addition, it should be remembered that not all late antique house owners had an identical social and political status. Some patrons of modest means in small communities with smaller groups of callers might have survived who did not need large audience halls, let alone those with a basilical design. For such patrons, a room near the entrance or even around the courtyard might well have sufficed for their lower key cliental meetings. Indeed, it is less likely that a small group of callers crossing the courtyard would pose a major threat to the privacy of a household than the crowds drawn to the residences of more influential patrons.

When spatial and economic requirements were met, owners could build elaborate audience halls, apparent from the 'Late Roman Villa' at Halikarnassos and the 'Governor's Palace in Ephesus. In the former, several stylish rooms preceded the audience hall, the first being the vestibule, embellished with sophisticated floor decorations, the latter, the reception room, which was designed according to the rare and flamboyant form of a tetraconch.⁸⁶ A far more conspicuous and monumental example is the apsidal room and preceding gigantic apsidal courtyard in the 'Priest's House' at Aphrodisias. In spite of the uncertainties regarding its identification as a house and incomplete plan, the apsidal hall here seems to have been designed and articulated as a sumptuous room for a large audience.

Dining Rooms

Throughout Roman Antiquity, dining remained an important requirement of social and political relationships, and in every house at least one substantial room around the courtyard was reserved for this purpose. Dining rooms opened onto the courtyards, and indeed, the two areas were spatially paired, as the dining room was open on its entrance side

⁸⁶ For the mosaic floors in the Halikarnassos villa, see Poulsen (1995) 203–206, and the footnotes and references in Poulsen (1997); this is also a rare case where the name of the owner was mentioned in a floor mosaic, for inscriptions in the mosaic floors, see Isager (1995).

and thus had a view of the courtyard. The starting time of dining and the number and status of the dinner guests were fixed in advance. This select group of diners were allowed visual and physical access to the heart of the house.

The dining room also remained at the heart of the house in Late Antiquity.⁸⁷ Despite undergoing certain changes in form and use, its location remained the same. The houses with complete plans in our sample demonstrate that dining rooms, with the exception of those in the 'Villa above the Theatre' at Ephesus and the 'Late Roman Town House' in Sardis, were now designed with much narrower doorways and openings, and most had a single doorway to the courtyard.⁸⁸ This apparently diminished visual contact between the dining room and the courtyard. Dining rooms could be very large in width and depth, as were those in the 'Twelve Room House' in Sardis and the 'Villa above the Theatre' at Ephesus. In this architectural scheme, the diners, who were seated at one end of the room, could hardly see the rest of the house beyond the walls of the dining room. Therefore, according to architectural evidence, ceremonial dining had become a more introverted activity; a spectacle focused upon itself. The dining room was, in this respect, similar to the audience hall, another private area visually detached from the courtyard. However, unlike audience halls, dining rooms had windows, and although designed as introverted spaces, were not physically closed.⁸⁹

Dining rooms in Late Antiquity were often articulated with apses.⁹⁰ The form was suitable for an introverted activity because it restricted the dining area to the apse and created an internal focus at one end of the room which, in turn, resulted in a far larger service and performance

⁸⁷ For late antique dining, see Dunbabin (2003) 141–74; Ellis (1997b); for banquets in *praetoria*, see Lavan (2001) 47–48; banquets mentioned in Amm. Marc. 28.4.13 and 30.4.14.

⁸⁸ Even in the 'Bishop's House' at Aphrodisias the large triconch room was entered by one narrow door, though as Ellis (1997a) 43 mentions, one would expect to find the traces of an earlier, more elaborate and wide entryway.

⁸⁹ Windows are recorded in the apsidal rooms in the 'Twelve Room House' in Sardis and in Xanthos. Few studies have been done on lighting in ancient houses, on Late Antiquity, see Ellis (1995b), (2000) 150–51 and also in this volume.

⁹⁰ Though the form was used earlier, in the 1st c. A.D., in the palace of Domitian, it appears in town houses and villas only from the late 3rd c. A.D., Ellis (1991) 119; for apsidal dining rooms with semi-circular couches or *stibadia* and the rectangular dining rooms with semi-circular couches, see Dunbabin (1991), (1996) 66–80 and (2003) 169–74; Ellis (1988) and (1997b); Akerström-Hougen (1974) 101–17.

area in front.⁹¹ This fashion does not seem to have been widespread in Asia Minor. Only two apsidal dining rooms are found in our sample: at the 'Late Roman Town House' in Sardis, and in Xanthos.⁹² The triconch was a popular extravagant dining room that was found across the empire. The 'Bishop's House' in Aphrodisias is the only example in Asia Minor where an imposing triconch was placed in a dominating position on one side of the courtyard.⁹³ This was a large and impressive space, but was entered through a single and unpretentious door, an arrangement that might reflect the desire to internalise and confine the dining activity within a theatrical setting.

Day Rooms

Day rooms constituted another group of substantial rooms which were usually smaller than the public reception halls, but bigger than many of the remaining rooms. Like dining rooms, they were often found within easy reach of either central courtyards, as in Perge, Sardis, Ephesus, and the 'Bishop's House' in Aphrodisias, or else a secondary courtyard with more indirect accessibility, as at Xanthos. Such sizeable rooms had less privacy than rooms on the upper floors. In the Roman *atrium* houses, rooms of modest size that could accommodate few people were found adjacent to reception rooms or around the *atrium* and the courtyard. These are identified as *cubicula*, traditionally translated as 'bedrooms'. A *cubiculum*, however, might have been used for a number of functions, such as resting, reading, retiring, or even as a small and private

⁹¹ Ellis (1997b) 45, (1997a) 43 and (2000) 150. This is also evident in the Late Roman palatial architecture where the dining room was designed as a closed hall, attracting attention to the emperor and the event itself rather than to the view outside, Bek (1983) 93–98.

⁹² The apsidal hall in Xanthos was included on the assumption that it was used as a dining room at some point in the history of the house. The apsidal room in the 'Priest's House' at Aphrodisias cannot be excluded either. In Perge, the apsidal room is identified as a *triclinium* in the second phase, and as a reception room with religious use in the third phase; of the three building phases, both the second and the third correspond to the 5th to 6th centuries A.D., according to the architectural evidence, Zeyrek (2002) 83–84, 91–94.

⁹³ The 'House of the Triapsidal Hall' in Ptolemais has a similarly located triconch dining room. In this house the triconch had been further elaborated with two columns that marked the deep apse facing the wide and the columned entryway, Ward-Perkins *et al.* (1986) 126–43 and Little (1985).

reception room.⁹⁴ As well as not displaying the characteristic features of reception rooms from this period, the substantial rooms found in the sample houses discussed in this paper differed in certain respects from traditional *cubicula*. They were not only bigger and located in more central locations, but frequently had multiple doors and were nodal locations that could be accessed from different parts of the house. These architectural features suggest that these rooms had a wider variety of uses for larger groups of people.

These rooms might be interpreted as the living and/or day rooms of the late antique household. After all, houses were inhabited not only by their patrons, but also by women, children, senior family members and other dependents who might have needed spaces to come together, work and entertain their own visitors.⁹⁵ Evidence on the domestic and public activities of women in Late Antiquity is scanty except for those involved in religious sphere. Nevertheless, it is not unlikely that during the day, women or other family members could occasionally receive guests, who might have included friends, neighbours and relatives.

Day rooms were also conveniently located for meeting with a family member in large and complex houses, as well as for exercising control over the daily routine. In addition, it is possible that such rooms could have been used both as family rooms during the day, and as dining rooms during the evening.⁹⁶ This might have been the case in the relatively modest 'Twelve Room House' in Sardis, where there were few substantial rooms on the ground floor. Here, the large rectangular room opposite the entrance was sufficiently large and conveniently placed to accommodate a dining party during the evening, as well as family activities during the day. The substantial room located on the north side of the house in Xanthos suggests another possible use of such spaces. According to the excavators, this room was once the *triclinium* and was later transformed into a *cubiculum*. They reached these

⁹⁴ Ellis (2000) 194 identifies *cubiculum* as a retiring room; a room used for sleeping or seeking privacy. For the different associations of *cubiculum* in the ancient literature see Riggsby (1998).

⁹⁵ For women involved in religious sphere in Late Antiquity, see Clark (1993) 94–118. Houses became the base for patronage of heresy and dissent with matrons and women also involved, see Maier (1995).

⁹⁶ Pliny the Younger also mentions about the multiple use of rooms, Plin. *Ep.* 2.17.7–10.

conclusions after having associated the apsidal room with the new dining room.⁹⁷ Other possible identifications include a modest dining room with a view of the courtyard, a day room that enjoyed the same privileged view, or both.

CONCLUSION

Public and private spheres had to co-exist in the ancient houses, even though they could be separated by way of architectural measures within different rooms, or on different floors. Ironically, however, more is known about the public face of domestic architecture, a by-product of the dominating location and distinct layout of the reception rooms. In the late antique houses, the operation of privacy and the separation of the 'private' and the 'public' can be seen most clearly in the case of the domestic receptions, which continued to distinguish visitors and residents by spatial arrangements.⁹⁸ It is known from earlier periods that the regulation of boundaries, and hence the operation of privacy, was related to status, and manifested by spatially segregating people according to different categories. These included 'household member' and 'outsider', 'invited' and 'uninvited', 'inferior' and 'superior'.⁹⁹ In this respect, a visitor's social status and culturally generated access rights would determine whether or not they were allowed into the innermost locations of the house, an arrangement perhaps not much different from the situation today. The relative physical and visual accessibility of rooms beyond the public reception rooms played a major part in reifying these social distinctions.

The 1st c. A.D. Campanian house can serve as a model for comparison.¹⁰⁰ Here, the exposure of the house to one's social peers on certain formal occasions, such as dinner parties, neither caused an awkward situation, nor violated the privacy of the household. The house was designed to welcome this select group into its heart. In contrast, callers

⁹⁷ Manière Lévêque (2002) 237.

⁹⁸ On privacy in the Roman period see n. 1.

⁹⁹ Wallace-Hadrill (1994) 8–16.

¹⁰⁰ Because well-preserved and abundant in number, the Campanian house type is often taken as a model for describing and discussing the 'Roman house', but its representational validity is a disputed topic, see most recently Allison (2001) 189–92.

of lower social status, who visited the same house for various short-term meetings, would be accommodated in the semi-open audience space, the *tablinum*, and the preceding *atrium*, both of which were not situated deep inside the house. During such visits, guests could see the rooms adjoining the *atrium*, but were not allowed to explore any further the remaining spaces beyond the *atrium*. They might have a chance to glimpse into the courtyard and the private areas at the back of the house only if the *tablinum* lacked a rear wall or the screens on the rear wall were open and not blocking the view. Therefore, as long as they kept their positions and did not move beyond the *tablinum*, their presence did not conflict with the privacy of the household. In short, private and public areas were defined according to rank and access, but not physically separated by having different access routes. Even though they were designed to accommodate different types of visitor, the audience hall and the dining room were not entirely segregated because they were reached from the same path.

In Late Antiquity, however, these blurred and indistinct physical and social boundaries, between both the house and its public spaces and between the public spaces themselves, were more firmly set. An increased spatial hierarchy and seclusion prevailed, best exemplified by the audience hall. Considered a purely public space, this room was now much enlarged, moved into a peripheral location with respect to the courtyard, and given a more introverted and closed form with a separate vestibule and immediate street access. This architectural adjustment not only enabled the owner to control public access to his house, but also spatially delineated the public and private areas within certain rooms in his house. This was put into practice in audience halls, but not in dining rooms. In none of the examples in our sample was the dining room given a separate vestibule or deliberately positioned a long way from the courtyard. Despite losing its unlimited visual contact with the courtyard, the dining room was never physically detached and moved elsewhere in the houses researched to date in Asia Minor. In Late Antiquity, unlike in the Campanian model, callers and visitors could be taken into a separate vestibule and then to an audience hall, whereas the more intimate dinner guests could be escorted to the grand dining-room. In this way, the two reception spaces could now be firmly separated and distanced.

In ancient private houses, the entrance level was exploited mostly for public use. In Late Antiquity both the reception rooms and day areas

were found on this level of the house.¹⁰¹ In this period, the houses of influential patrons attracted and accommodated members of the public more regularly and in greater numbers. Nevertheless, the physical limits of this intrusion depended primarily on the invitation status and purpose of the visitors. A combination of several architectural measures in the design and use of the reception rooms meant that these public spaces could be controlled more carefully. In Asia Minor, the layout of the late antique houses illustrates that they were designed to welcome only a select group of visitors into their hearts.

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¹⁰¹ The presence of a triconch on the upper floor of the late antique palace in Bostra raises the question, did the custom of locating the public reception rooms on the entrance level continue more persistently in the late antique houses in Asia Minor? See Polci (2003), for the suggestion that the reception and the main living spaces of the late antique elite houses were eventually taken upstairs and relocated on the first floor in Early Medieval town houses.

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SHEDDING LIGHT ON LATE ROMAN HOUSING

Simon Ellis

Abstract

Lighting was an important element in the design and use of late antique housing. Daylight was channeled through windows and doorways, but important social activity also took place at dawn and after dark when artificial lighting was required, and commonly used. Modern IT techniques, particularly the use of ray-tracing, allow conclusions to be drawn about the way that lighting was used in houses. Lighting was used to create a 'theatrical' atmosphere during dinners. Blanket lighting of rooms was not available, and lighting was used to create areas of light and shade complementing the décor of the room. The distinction between male control of the house at night and female control during the day was also one between night time with artificial lighting, and daylight.

INTRODUCTION

The central role played by lighting in the design and use of Roman houses is a completely neglected area of study.¹ It was as important an aspect of house design in Roman times as it is today, yet there is virtually no research on the topic. Vitruvius states clearly (*De Arch.* 6.4.1, and 6.7.6–7) that good lighting was an important element of house design. This paper presents textual and archaeological evidence for the use of lighting, natural and artificial. It uses computer reconstruction to suggest the impact of these patterns of lighting and draws conclusions about the pattern of use of rooms in the late antique house. The reasons for the lack of research on lighting are not hard to see. Until about 1990 there were no tools for historians to investigate the subject. As a result, analysis was limited to ad-hoc observation on how natural light entered the house in today's environment. The huge expansion in

¹ This study updates research that I have been pursuing on and off for the last ten years on Roman lighting. My first publication on the subject of lighting was Ellis (1995), since when very little further scholarship has appeared.

digital ray-tracing programmes has completely changed this picture. It is argued here that ‘ray-tracing’, together with texts and archaeological information, can indeed shed light into areas of the Roman house that have remained in darkness.

METHODOLOGY

It is important to note the limitations of modern digital work at the earliest opportunity. Many have dismissed computer-aided reconstruction as a serious tool for research.² They would argue that even with detailed texturing it is impossible to provide a fully accurate picture of what an ancient building looked like. However, the object of computer-based research, I would argue, is actually not to reconstruct the building. It is a study undertaken according to the principles of experimental archaeology.³ These principles maintain that:

- 1) The object of the exercise is to test whether certain lighting arrangements were possible in ancient times rather than to suggest an exclusive single solution to the problems of Roman lighting.
- 2) Even when reconstruction has found a plausible solution or interpretation, it does not necessarily mean that the Romans actually adopted this solution.

Bayliss has stated “visualisation needs to be integrated as a medium for interpretation and structured thought within our research programmes”.⁴ Constant advances may put technology increasingly beyond the detailed understanding of archaeologists, but it is their responsibility to keep up with such advances in order to ensure that the latest techniques are applied in historical analysis. To ignore the potential of new technology is to consign the study of archaeology itself to the past.

The object of this article is not to reconstruct an accurate model of a Roman house, but rather to examine the possible effects of its lighting. Indeed, there are some specific rules that we need to establish in reconstructing Roman lighting. It is possible to suggest the location of light and direction of the shadows it casts, but not its intensity. There

² See for example Miller and Richards (1995).

³ For these principles see Coles (1980).

⁴ Bayliss (2003).

are many theories as to whether the oil lamps used in antiquity produced smoke, and how bright they were. The ability of the human eye to adjust to darker lighting and coloured lights must also be remembered. A reconstruction which seems unduly dark or coloured may not have seemed so if one was sitting in the same room, especially to eyes that had never suffered from fluorescent strip lights! All in all it seems impossible to give an objective estimate of the intensity of light which could be appreciated by the human eye. Instead we should concentrate on its location, direction, and as a consequence, the incidence of shadows that it casts.

Reflectivity and textures are vitally important. To identify patterns of shadow we need to know the distance light might travel before fading to zero. In order to do this we need to have a very good idea of the reflectivity of materials, especially mosaic and wall plaster. It should be said at the outset that in this area there is much that remains to be done. Modern computer programmes have much to commend them in terms of the huge variety of textures and reflectivity they can demonstrate, but we have little scientific observation of the reflectivity of Roman surfaces. Scientific measurement of the reflective properties of these surfaces could yield results that would help. It is unclear to what extent mosaic floors and wall surfaces were polished to clean them, to increase their shine, or the intensity of colours. Nevertheless, the measurement of reflectivity might provide some parameters with which to judge these matters.

DAYLIGHT

It is immediately apparent that lighting had a role to play in Roman housing that it does not have today. Apart perhaps from using lighting to create 'atmosphere' in restaurants and theatres, we rely today on 'blanket' lighting. The object of modern lighting appears to be to spread as much light as possible in all directions. A standard lamp may be sited in the corner of a room to create a certain effect, but others that cover the rest of the room with light usually accompany it. It is a premise of this paper that 'blanket' lighting is a modern conception, and that in Roman times there would have been a much more subtle use of light and shadow.

A second important distinction, which has less significance for modern times, is that between day and night. We are used to extensive street

lighting (some did exist in antiquity, but it was rare) and to a multitude of electric lights and torches. There is no reason for the activity of anyone in the modern era to be restricted by nightfall, whereas in the Roman world nightfall could signal the impossibility of carrying on with a wide range of daytime activities.

Texts indicate that the Roman day was divided into 12 hours, which formed equal divisions of daylight; no matter how long daylight lasted. Roman hours could thus vary from 45 to 75 modern minutes. Furthermore, in the case of the aristocrats on whom this paper will concentrate, the time of day in the house had a significant impact on its use and function. The aristocrat would receive his clients first thing in the morning, but would then be away on public duties from the second to about the ninth hour, when he came home for dinner with friends. During the absence of the *pater familias*, the lady of the house would govern the household.⁵

This has a number of implications. The head of the household took the final decisions on most matters when he was present, whilst for the majority of the day his wife was in charge. Laurence⁶ presents an overall view of the temporal distinction between the husband and wife's control of the home

The space was male-dominated at the *salutatio* and at the dinner at the ninth hour. Therefore the beginning and end of the day were male-dominated, whereas the central portion of the day was female-controlled.

Since the husband was mainly at home at dawn and from late afternoon onwards, artificial lighting was the main form of illumination during male-led activities in the house. Daylight and artificial light would thus be a gendered distinction. Many texts indicate that both the husband received his clients and the wife ran the house and received guests during the day from the *tablinum*, or the *atrium* in the Early Roman house.⁷ Treggiari⁸ sums up the conclusion from legal and other texts

The *matrona* could conveniently receive callers of all kinds during the working-day while she supervised the house-hold from a chair or couch in the *atrium*.

⁵ Laurence (1996) 127–32 and Treggiari (1981).

⁶ Laurence (1996) 127.

⁷ Treggiari (1981) 414–27.

⁸ Treggiari (1981) 421, from Ov. *Ars am.* 1.421–22; Livy 1.57.9.

The temporal distinction between the husband and wife's command of the household was more important than the spatial distinction since the *atrium* and *tablinum* formed the locus for both male receptions at dawn and dusk as well as female reception of visitors during the day. It would be interesting to examine Vesuvian evidence to see whether it might be concluded, on the basis of physical evidence as well as from texts, that artificial lighting was mainly used to illuminate rooms used by men or themed paintings appropriate for male-led activity. This is not to suggest that women had no role in situations with artificial lighting, but rather that the male head of the household was more likely to take decisions regarding the overall settings of artificial lighting, as well as significant spaces like reception rooms.

Archaeology clearly demonstrates that by the end of the 1st c. A.D. the *atrium* had gone out of use. Most houses found in the Roman provinces, and indeed Italy, from the Imperial period had one major reception room, which was located across the peristyle from the main entrance. There was normally one peristyle surrounded by rooms on all four sides. The main reception room had a view onto the peristyle opposite the entrance, and other rooms such as bedrooms, and storerooms would be located on the other sides of the peristyle or in groups of rooms reached by corridors, often located behind or to one side of the reception room. The lighting arrangements for this type of reception room can also be considered using texts and computer-based reconstruction.

For Vitruvius (*De Arch.* 4.1–2), a winter dining room ought to be orientated towards the south-west to catch the final sun of the day, while a summer dining room should face north to keep it cool. Spring and autumn dining rooms should face east so that they are neither too hot nor too cold. Bedrooms should also face east to catch the morning light. He thus sees the orientation of the dining room as determined more by heat than by lighting arrangements, though the bedroom is placed with the latter in mind. Winter dining rooms required artificial light because the day was shorter, whereas summer dining rooms would require artificial light because they were not orientated to face the sun. In archaeology it is possible to find dining rooms in all compass orientations. Topography, access routes, and the locations of other pre-existing buildings had as much impact as the requirements of heat and lighting. Vitruvius' theoretical model was rarely followed in practice.⁹ Lighting

⁹ See Ellis (1995) discussing African houses.

was important as Vitruvius states, but, as he himself was aware (*De Arch.* 6.7.6), practical circumstances often intervened to limit designers' abilities to respond to lighting conditions.

A computer-based reconstruction of lighting in the dining room of the 4th c. British villa at Lullingstone, which faces south-east, suggests that daylight had largely disappeared from the room at about 4pm. The reconstruction used a 'plug-in' that reconstructs the position of the sun for different geographical positions.¹⁰ Since there were three Roman hours between the normal time for a Roman dinner (the ninth hour) and sunset, given the lavish nature of aristocratic dining, it is not surprising that social activity in the Roman house required artificial lighting. At Lullingstone, the reconstruction indicates that, although daylight may have had an initial impact as guests assembled (perhaps to view the sunset as Vitruvius (*De Arch.* 6.5.1) suggests for winter

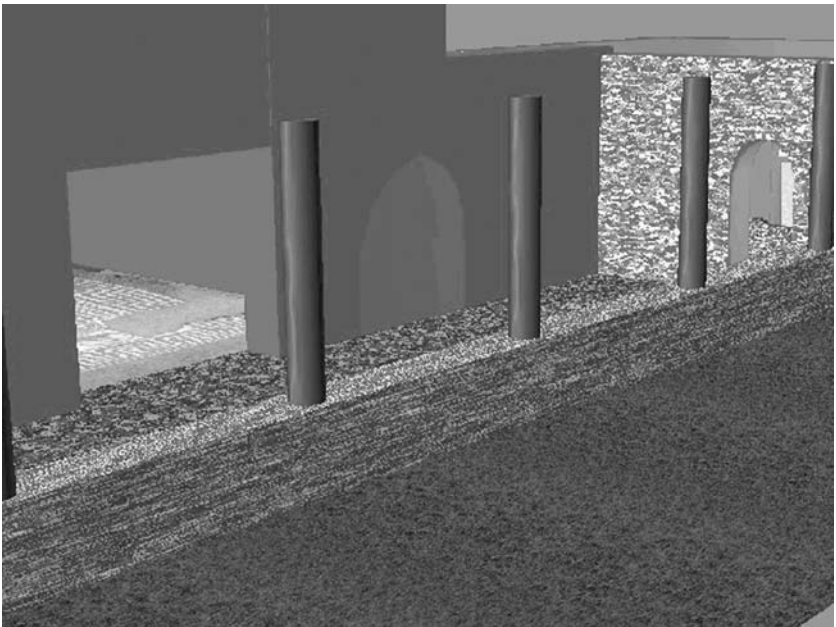


Fig. 1 Roman villa at Lullingstone at 4pm (current GMT). Note: roof of portico removed to allow better visibility.

¹⁰ The software used for this reconstruction was Truspace. Reconstructions using Simply 3D and Maya have produced the same effect.

dining rooms), the 'mood' during the evening dinner was determined by artificial lighting.

ARTIFICIAL LIGHTS AND THEIR LOCATIONS

I will now concentrate on the location of artificial lights and the potential impact they would have had on the architectural settings of the Roman house. The recorded location of lamps and other traces of artificial light provide many problems of interpretation. Artefacts may have moved a considerable distance from their place of use. Even in Pompeii there is considerable evidence to suggest that people returned to the site to remove possessions after the initial eruption, dropped articles while leaving, and that artefacts were even placed in rooms not designed for their use. The latter includes cases for example where houses were still under restoration after the earthquake of A.D. 61.¹¹ There is indeed no reason why rooms within Roman houses should have been used the way their designers and artists intended. Nevertheless social pressure and social acceptance can normally be expected to ensure that a room that was designed as a bedroom was used as such. On the other hand the relatively standard design of aristocratic houses themselves suggests a society in which design reflected actual behaviour, in which people were less likely to seek alternative designs or room arrangements.

Discussion will mainly focus on the aristocratic houses of Late Antiquity. Through much of the imperial period the main forms of artificial lighting were candles and terracotta lamps, which are ubiquitous finds on excavations. In Late Antiquity, from perhaps the 4th or 5th c., terracotta lamps were being challenged by those made from glass.¹² Bronze lamps, more expensive but more durable, also seem to have found their way into houses. Bronze candlesticks are found, and it may be assumed that plain tallow candles were common, though leaving no archaeological traces. Finally, we should not forget the use

¹¹ See Laurence (1996) and Ellis (2000) 145–60.

¹² I know of no work that documents this change, though it is one familiar to most excavators working on the period. This may be because market shifts have to be assessed on quantitative data, and shifts in quantity are hard to judge based on the complex patterns of re-deposition that occur in archaeology (see discussion later in this article). Lamps of both types can be found in the catalogues of virtually every late antique site, and there is a substantial specialist bibliography for both artefacts.

of other modes of lighting such as brands or torches made out of suitably combustible material.

The artificial light of choice—cheap, durable, re-usable—in the majority of houses was the lamp. Glass lamps, in the form of a simple cone, had several advantages over pottery lamps. They were lighter, allowing them to be used in large numbers in complex candelabra, or lamp holders. Since they were glass, they created more of a downward light than the ceramic alternative. They may have broken more easily, but may have been cheaper or easier to replace. The ubiquitous nature of finds of Roman terracotta lamps, introduces another important limitation on interpretation of archaeological evidence—the question of re-deposition. In order to interpret lamps as *in situ* finds it is important to be sure that the deposits in which they are found have not been moved.

Frequently, ‘occupation’ deposits are actually rubbish that had been moved around the building or deliberately dumped and discarded up to several centuries after use. Even in the case of Pompeii it can be difficult to be sure that an object was actually used where it was found, as noted above. There is also a risk of misinterpreting a find such as a lamp based, on the presumed use of the room in which it was found. Thus again at Pompeii the *atrium*, normally viewed as an elite reception room was in one case found to have been full of *amphorae* (for wine storage) and in another to have been the parking place for a carriage. These objects were therefore *in situ* where they were used, but if their remains had been fragmentary, archaeologists would probably have dismissed them as re-deposited finds which had been used in other rooms, based on the assumption that a reception room such as the *atrium* must have been tidy.¹³

As a result of these difficulties it is not possible to present a general view of the location of artificial lighting based on archaeology. Instead, in subsequent sections argument will be based on individual houses where the context of finds of lighting can be carefully assessed, and on computer reconstruction, where it is possible, to judge the relative utility of lighting locations based on the principals set out at the beginning of this article.

¹³ Berry (1997) and Allison (1997).

DINING ROOMS

The most obvious place to look for artificial lighting is in the Roman *triclinium* or dining room, since this is the public room that was most likely to be in use after dark. Much is known about dining room furniture. As has been stated, archaeology indicates that in imperial times this was a single reception room, which texts would associate with the terms *triclinium* or *oecus*, rather than the two types of reception room, *tablinum* and *triclinium*, commonly found in Pompeian houses. Physical remains clearly show that the late antique reception room normally opened onto the peristyle opposite the main entrance to the house. Conventionally, it had a triple doorway onto the peristyle, allowing the diners a view out onto this open area where one would find a garden or a fountain. The remains of such fountains suggest that in Late Antiquity it was common to construct a monumental fountain opposite the dining room.¹⁴ The water would have provided a pleasant 'rustic' noise during dining and the quality of the reflection from the water would have enhanced the lighting. The use of free running water in the Mediterranean context was also a sign of wealth. The view of the garden with nature (garden), natural light and natural sound (fountain) contrasted with the 'artificial' images (wall painting and mosaic), lighting (lamps), and sound (music, conversation) inside.

It is unclear how often the dining room was lit by exterior windows. The walls of the majority of late antique houses are not preserved to a great height. However, since almost every dining room was flanked by other rooms, clerestory lighting, as commonly adopted in the basilica, would seem to have been the most likely solution, if indeed daylight was required before night fell on the celebrations. Clerestory lighting would also have created something of a spotlight effect, as reconstructions show it glancing down from high on the walls, like light from windows in a modern church.

The lighting of the major reception room could be changed by the use of wooden screens and shutters, or *valvae*, which are discussed in texts and preserved in the remains of cities around Vesuvius. Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* 2.17.5 and 5.16.19) at the beginning of the 2nd c. A.D. in Italy and Sidonius Apollinaris (*Ep.* 2.2.12 and *Carm.* 22.215–20) in 5th c.

¹⁴ See for example the Theodosian Palace at Stobi, Kitzinger (1946) and the House of the Buffet Supper at Antioch, Stillwell (1941).

Gaul, emphasised the way in which reception room shutters could be opened to reveal views of the countryside outside their villas. For those in town houses or more awkward settings wall paintings of rural scenes could be used to evoke the countryside.¹⁵

The most important example of artificial lighting in a late antique dining room is in the House of the Bronzes in Sardis.¹⁶ On entering the apsidal *triclinium*, one groped to the right of the door for a small niche in which lay a small conical glass lamp, found *in situ* by the excavators. This was effectively the light switch! It would be lit and then carried to the apse of the dining room where there was a six-lamped circular candelabra, also known as a *polykandelon*.¹⁷ This lit a marble semicircular dining table, or *sigma*. The *polykandelon* was found on the chord of the apse with the *sigma* table nearby. In short, all these finds were discovered in their original locations thanks to the fire that destroyed the house in the early 7th c.

More information on this kind of lighting arrangement, and its impact on the dining room can be obtained from the author's reconstruction of a similar arrangement in the 4th c. A.D. British villa at Lullingstone. This villa is a key monument of the Roman period in several respects.¹⁸ Firstly, it has a very compact 'advanced' design. 'Advanced' in an almost evolutionary sense, as it reduced the villa to all the main social spaces required in a house, while leaving out less important rooms. Secondly, it was well-preserved. The *triclinium* mosaic is very fine, and the site is renowned for the wall painting of one of the only known Christian house-chapels. The *triclinium*, or *stibadium*, is semicircular, 6.4 m in diameter, with a door 2.5 m wide. The mosaic shows the nymph Europa carried away by Jupiter as a bull, and the inscription alludes to the scene in the style of Ovid. The image and the inscription were to be read by someone sitting on the semicircular dining couch that would have surrounded the scene. The illustration and the inscription were intended to emphasise the cultural sophistication of this late Romano-British magnate.

¹⁵ Bergmann (1991).

¹⁶ Hanfmann (1960) and Waldebaum (1983).

¹⁷ Other *polykandela* have been found in houses at Apamea, Beth Shean, Ephesus, and Corinth: Ellis (2000) 150–51.

¹⁸ For the excavations at Lullingstone, see Meates (1979). The finds are either in the site museum or, as in the case of the wall paintings, on display in the British Museum.

It was common from the earliest Roman times to leave a blank or simple geometric design below the area of the dining room that would have been occupied by the dining couches. Very few semicircular *triclinium* panels of this type are known from Britain. While the couch would have been above the blank mosaic, the figured panel would have been covered by the 0.50 m diameter dining table. We know of several large *triclinium* mosaics, such as the Buffet Supper at Antioch,¹⁹ where furniture would have covered intricate designs. Perhaps in such cases the furniture concerned was temporary or the room was re-arranged for other forms of reception.

For the purposes of the reconstruction, I have assumed that a semi-dome covered the room in Lullingstone. This is the most logical architectural design. Such semi-domes are often preserved over small apses in bath buildings. Mosaic floors in apses often show a seashell or ribbed design, which is thought to mirror painted, stucco or mosaic designs in the dome.

When a *polykandelon* is suspended above the table as it is at Sardis, it creates a lighting effect similar to that of a spotlight. The green glass of the lamps creates a low ambient green light over much of the room. The bronze ‘collar’ of the lamp holder, or *polykandelon*, creates a shadow at the roofline. The brightest light is directed upward from the open



Fig. 2 Lullingstone *stibadium* at dusk.

¹⁹ See Stillwell (1941) and Levi (1947). A very finely decorated panel follows the outline of the table which would have been placed above it.

top of the lamps and reflected down the ceiling, whose domed form concentrates it like a spotlight on the central table.

The interpretation stemming from this reconstruction is as follows. A *polykandelon* allowed the diners to sit in a low-light intimate atmosphere, while creating a spotlight effect on the food they were about to eat. They looked out through the rectangular central space of the villa that normally formed part of the *triclinium* itself. It was in this area that entertainment took place, as attested by texts, and by late antique manuscript illumination.²⁰ Beyond this was the main doorway into the peristyle garden or the exterior. This would allow them to see the sun setting on the fountains and plants. It is noticeable in late antique dining rooms that the diners are often somewhat ‘crammed’ into the far end of the room while up to two-thirds of the room’s area in front of them is left open for entertainment and display.

The reconstruction of Lullingstone, and an earlier one undertaken by myself of the House of the Stuccoes at Salamis, both suggest that the domed roof and lighting in semicircular *triclinia* were designed to concentrate light on the diners and especially the dining table.²¹ This end of the room was deliberately designed as both the furthest from natural light and the most intimate area. Note also that, according to the reconstruction, light from the *polykandelon* would barely reach outside the apsidal room, and the natural light of dusk would still be seen faintly illuminating the mosaic beyond. By contrast, the light from the *polykandelon* seems to have ‘drowned out’ the main motif of the mosaic in the apsidal room with green light. It should be emphasised that both the intensity of the light and its colour seem somewhat exaggerated to an outside observer. The colour effect in particular would dissipate, in the same way as a person’s eyes adjust quickly to the use of coloured sunglasses.

Lighting of late antique dinners, as in modern restaurants, seems to have been used to create an ‘atmosphere’ or ‘ambiance’, as demonstrated by the ‘theatricality’ of the dinner setting. The diners look out past food displays—platters, and amphorae—to the entertainers such as musicians and poets, and hence into the sunset of the garden or court with its fountain or nymphaeum. Themes of wall and floor décor provided bucolic, mythic, or heroic imagery to spark discussion

²⁰ Ellis (1997).

²¹ Ellis (1995).

and to construct the social framework for elitist intellectual debate.²² Lighting's role in this was literally to 'spotlight' particular people or settings; *polykandela*, such as those reconstructed at Lullingstone and found at Sardis, shone down on the host and the dinner table while shadows, sound and music played in front of them.

BEDROOMS AND OTHER FORMS OF RECEPTION ROOMS

In bedrooms, as in the majority of other rooms, the most likely form of lighting was not the grand *polykandelon*, but the more humble single lamp stand. *Cubicula* were 'retiring rooms' used for conversation after meals, for reading, or for sleeping.²³ Vitruvius (*De Arch.* 6.4.1) suggests that bedrooms should face east to catch the morning sunlight. Well-preserved examples of *cubicula*, or retiring rooms, suggest that they rarely had windows, and passers by were not meant to see inside. A lamp stand would probably be placed adjacent to one wall rather than in the middle of the room, where it would limit the placing of furniture and reduce the overall free space to half the width of the room. This location would be out of the way of people moving through the room who might upset the light stand, spilling burning oil on the floor. The most convenient place, often the site for standard lamps today is a space about 0.5 m–1 m equidistant from two sidewalls, in one corner.

Some evidence for this may be found in Roman wall painting. For example, in the fourth style at Pompeii a figured panel is placed in the centre of a wall while in the corners of the room the painting recedes in a series of architectural pavilions. A lamp stand placed in the corner of the room would illuminate the architectural elements strongly while lighting the central tableau with a glancing light. A good example of this fourth style, which is designed for such artificial lighting, is the Ixion reception room in the House of the Vettii in Pompeii.²⁴ Although the use of narrower windows and doors could be said to be the result

²² Ellis (1997).

²³ I use the term 'retiring rooms' to cover all the activities mentioned here. The letters of Pliny the Younger give a good idea of the range of uses of such rooms: Ellis (2000).

²⁴ Clarke (1991) 223–35. Other less dramatic examples include the *cubiculum* (couch preserved) in the House of Opus Craticum at Herculaneum, and *cubiculum* 5 of the Antonine House of the Yellow Walls at Ostia: Clarke (1991) 259–61 and 308–10 respectively.

more of a privacy requirement than a wish to reduce daylight in the *cubiculum*, privacy was always limited in Roman houses and shutters might equally have been used to create a 'private' atmosphere. It would seem therefore that the Romans consciously chose a darker atmosphere for *cubicula*.

SHOPS AND STREET LIGHTING

The shop is the smallest type of 'classical' house that is clearly identifiable in archaeology. Roman shops conventionally consisted of one or two rooms. Where there were two rooms, the second room, located behind or above the commercial space, was a living area. It is certain that a large number of lower quality housing existed, including wooden round huts and tent like structures, but these are difficult to identify or classify in terms of architecture. The shop on the other hand does have certain characteristic features. The commercial space or street front room, for example, usually included a production area, storage, and a cash box. Counters might be located within the shop, in the street front, or encroaching onto the adjacent public space.

The shops alongside the gymnasium at Sardis provide a good example of their kind in Late Antiquity; burnt with many possessions *in situ* in the early 7th c. A.D. Several shops in the line of forty show no sign of commercial activity. There are two possible interpretations for this state of affairs:²⁵

- 1) they may have been occupied by service industry, such as the 'shop' of scribes, who we know from Egyptian papyri were used by the common illiterate to compose letters and legal documents.
- 2) they may have been houses of people who owned the other shops, or houses rented as a commercial activity.

When given due consideration, it is clear that a shop was a very desirable residence. It was located in a good part of town, offering good prospects for commerce. It was a very solid stone structure and may have been subject to maintenance by the landlord. We know from Libanius that shopkeepers in Antioch were required to maintain lights in the porticoes in front of their property. The street lighting in Anti-

²⁵ Crawford (1990) and Ellis (2000) 78–80.

och was famous even in Late Antiquity. It is assumed that it was the shopkeepers' duty to maintain it, indicating that they were perhaps in overall terms a somewhat wealthier class than in other cities.²⁶ Libanius (*Or.* 33.6) describes the plaintive cry of a widow living above a shop when asked to carry out her duty: 'How can I light them [the lamps in the street]? Where do I get oil?' Characteristically living on the floor above the shop, whence she could hear the shout of the official, she was clearly reluctant or incapable of leaving to obtain oil. Perhaps she had an absent landlord, or perhaps she had rented the shop below to an absentee commercial tenant after her husband's death. Her lack of oil raises the question of how, or whether, she lit her own property. In 5th c. A.D. at least some oil for the street lamps seems to have been publicly funded. In Edessa, according to the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite*,²⁷ the governor cut the regular supply of oil to religious foundations and diverted it to light the street porticoes. Trombley and Watt consider that this measure was because of an oil shortage, in which case it would suggest that the governor believed the citizens' safety in this life was more important than their salvation in the next!

Lamps were also needed within shops. One group of artefacts that are not given sufficient consideration as possible lights are the plain hexagonal or octagonal bronze 'censers' that are regularly discovered in late antique houses. Several of these were discovered in shops and houses at Sardis.²⁸ It is usually assumed that, along with their larger counterparts discovered in churches, they were incense holders. There is in fact no reason why they should not have been so, functioning to dispel smells like the pomanders of herbs worn in the Medieval West. On the other hand they could also have functioned as braziers or lamps; a use perhaps more necessary than a deodorant.

An example of this kind of lighting arrangement may be provided in Sardis shop E9. The shop had a table, or perhaps a counter, inside the main door to the right. Behind this was an area of brick flooring, which either functioned as storage or served to reduce wear behind the counter. Behind this on the rear right wall of the shop under the stairs was a toilet. This arrangement of toilets was common in Roman shops.

²⁶ Liebeschuetz (1972) 55–59 and Petit (1955).

²⁷ *Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite* 87 (transl. Trombley and Watt (2000) 107).

²⁸ Other sites at which simple bronze censers have been found in houses include Jerusalem, Corinth, Stobi, Gerash, Beth Shean, Ellis (2000) 150–51.

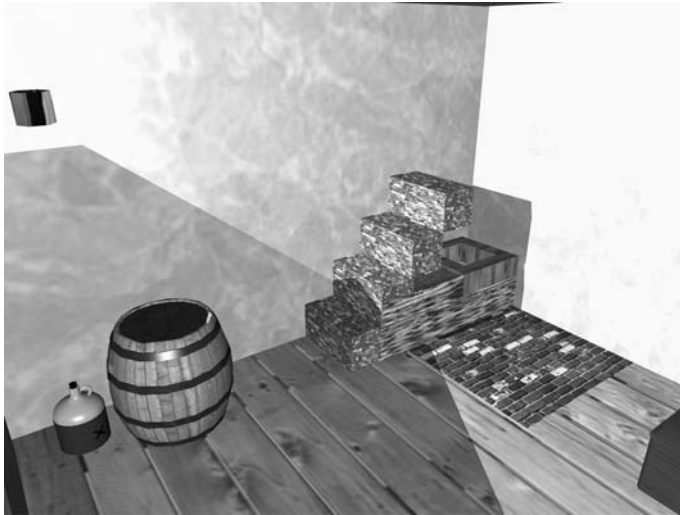


Fig. 3 Shop E9 at Sardis. Barrel and jar added. Other features as found including chest at bottom right.

The effects of shadows cast by the light from different positions can be conveniently and dramatically realised by creating an animation in which the light moves slowly around the room. This uses a similar animation to that for the Lullingstone *triclinium* which showed the sun slowly setting to observe the effects of declining natural daylight. Computer animation of light sources can thus also be a useful technique in these studies. Animation is here used appropriately as the light in the room changes continuously as the sun moves. It is this continuous movement, or the ‘path’ of the light as animators call it, which brings out the power of the animation technique to derive hypotheses about the best location for the light.

A bronze censer was found in the rear left corner, at the bottom of the staircase that passed over the toilet. If the censer had been suspended as a light then it would have been positioned in the perfect place to light the stairs, but it was less convenient for the centre of the room, which would consequently have been in shadow. Positioning the censer in the opposite corner of the room would have lit the chest but cast shadows on the stairs. The former position, in which the censer was found, was indeed preferable. Vitruvius (*De Arch.* 6.6.7) notes that lighting for stairs is important to avoid accidents and collisions with people carrying loads. It might also be noted that the censer was

positioned in the corner of the room just a short distance away from the walls in the same position that was suggested as appropriate for standard lamps in *cubicula* in the preceding section. In many ways the shop is a similar shape and size to a *cubiculum* and the same principal of positioning artificial lights applies.

CHANGING PATTERNS OF LIGHTING BETWEEN THE HIGH EMPIRE AND LATE ANTIQUITY

The techniques and studies suggested in this paper continue to be very experimental, despite many years of work by the present author. It is thus dangerous to speculate too much on broad historical trends. It has been suggested that the range of artificial light in Late Antiquity was somewhat larger than in the Early Empire. Bronze and glass lamps seem to have become more common, and in some ways overtook ceramic as a preferred material for lamps. Glass in particular, as a translucent material, had the advantage of downward lighting in a way not possible with ceramic or bronze. Glass may have been chosen because of the favouring of 'spotlight' effects at the dinner table. The well-known late antique aristocratic preference for apsidal dining rooms and 'theatrical' effects may also be associated with the development of more 'spot' lighting. One might suggest that such a lighting arrangement can be identified in Early Roman buildings such as Nero's Golden House, or in the various *oculi* of Early Imperial roofs, including those of public baths. Nevertheless, the impression remains that a dramatic use of downward glancing light was restricted in Early Imperial times to a few very large houses or palaces.²⁹ It may indeed be possible that the 'spotlight' effect is yet another aspect of more 'grandiose' architecture that entered the late antique architectural vocabulary.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper has demonstrated the importance of lighting in Roman houses, and how it may be studied using computer rendering techniques.

²⁹ An early example of clerestory lighting is the Egyptian *oecus* of the House of the Mosaic Atrium at Herculaneum, Clarke (1991) 237–39.

It is appropriate to use computer rendering to study lighting patterns as long as certain principles are followed. The object is not to produce a totally accurate reconstruction of a Roman building. While the locations of artefacts within a building can be very misleading or can suggest that a room was used for a very different purpose than its design (mosaics, wall painting, architectural context) would suggest, the very conservative nature of aristocratic house design maintained a broad empire-wide model throughout the Roman Empire for at least 500 years, suggesting that normally design does reflect function.³⁰

As regards the specific operation of Roman lighting it has been suggested that these techniques can be used to identify the best potential locations for lights. Thus artificial lights in dining rooms concentrated on the apse, at the far end of the dining room, at Lullingstone, Sardis House of Bronzes, and Salamis House of the Stuccos. These lights functioned very much as spotlights. Artificial lights or standard lamps may have been placed just off the corners of the room. This location is convenient for circulation and avoids being too close and hence discolouring walls. At Sardis shop E9 this was found to be a convenient location for lighting the stairs.

The techniques described can be used to suggest some new uses for objects, and indicate how they may have functioned. Thus it has been suggested that bronze censers could also have been lights and a lamp in a niche near the door at Sardis could have functioned as a 'light switch' to light others. The use of the spotlight may have been a distinctive characteristic of late antique dining rooms. This spotlight effect can be contrasted with the front part of the dining room, which was lit by glancing light from the peristyle and garden. The dining room thus made careful use of light and shade, daylight and artificial light. This contrasts with many modern buildings, where strong blanket lighting of all spaces is common.

It has also been suggested that studies of Roman lighting can indicate distinction in the way the overall house functioned in the daytime and in the dark. The lighting of the traditional Roman house can be related to the social round of its owners. The distinction between the times of day during which a husband and wife took charge of an aristocratic Roman house is substantively one between night and day respectively.

³⁰ Ellis (2000) 6–9 and 145–46.

It is to be hoped that this article has demonstrated that computer reconstruction is the only way to examine the effects, such as the direction or position, of ancient lighting. The present author does not have access to sufficient computing power to fully test these results, so it is hoped that others might be inspired to take forward this area of research. Equally this article has sought to make clear the importance of recording where evidence of lighting is recovered during excavations. Although lights can be carried round a building, this paper has suggested that they were logically placed in a number of specific locations: but this hypothesis remains to be confirmed or rejected by further excavation, or re-examination of archaeological records.

There remains much work to be done. Although here data on houses has been discussed, the lighting of other buildings can also be studied in the same fashion. It has often been suggested to me that for example church lighting was designed to illuminate certain paintings or mosaics at certain times of the day or the year. The means now exist to test such hypotheses, and they deserve attention. But even in the case of housing, it would seem doubtful that we have exhausted all avenues. There are potentially more lighting positions to be identified, and there is the question of chronological change. What for example was the favoured pattern of lighting in a *triclinium* before the use of glass lamps? Despite over ten years of work on the part of the present author, no-one has so far taken up this challenge.

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REGIONAL STUDIES

THE URBAN DOMUS IN LATE ANTIQUE HISPANIA: EXAMPLES FROM EMERITA, BARCINO AND COMPLUTUM

Javier Arce, Alexandra Chavarría and Gisela Ripoll

Abstract

This paper examines the characteristics, evolution and decline of the late antique *domus* of Spanish towns, using case studies from three cities: Augusta Emerita, Complutum and Barcino. It discusses how, during the 4th c. A.D., urban town houses were dramatically renovated and lavishly redecorated according to the tastes of their owners, the urban elites. These *domus*, which frequently replaced the public buildings and open spaces of the Early Roman era, acquired large, apsidal and basilical spaces, in many cases decorated with mosaics and paintings. This study also charts the decline of these domestic buildings, when, from the late 5th, and in some cases the 6th c., they were re-built using poorer materials, subdivided, or re-used for agricultural or funerary purposes.

INTRODUCTION

Whilst the rural habitat of Late Antiquity has been the object of extensive studies in the Iberian Peninsula,¹ late antique urban housing has been generally neglected.² Despite scattered references to the *domus* in the archaeological record and literary sources for Hispania, there is no overall study (unlike other parts of the Empire³) devoted to late antique housing in this region. Consequently, themes such as the architecture, decoration, evolution and disappearance of residential structures, have been neglected. Nevertheless, the subject is obviously

¹ Gorges (1979); Fernández Castro (1982); Arce (1997a); Chavarría (2005); Chavarría (2007).

² The doctoral thesis of Prof. Balil had a similar approach, but it has never been published (see however Balil 1959 and Balil 1972–74). See also *La casa urbana hispano-romana* (1991) and Beltrán Lloris and Mostalac Carrillo (1997).

³ Ellis (1988), (1997) and (2000); Guidobaldi (1986) and (1999). A *status questionis* is in the catalogue by Baldini Lippolis (2001). Notes concerning late antique *domus* in different towns can be found in Ripoll and Gurt (2000).

crucial to an understanding of late antique urbanism and closely related to the transformation and decline of Roman culture in the Iberian Peninsula. This paper addresses a number of issues that are often the subject of scholarly debate: the characteristics of the late antique *domus* of Spanish towns; the similar evolution of both urban and rural domestic structures; the archaeological interpretation of this change; and, finally, the end of the Roman *domus*.

In some cities in Hispania, the transformation of the *domus* and the re-occupation of public buildings and spaces for residential purposes seem to have been widespread. Cities such as Emporiae witnessed the abandonment of their monumental centre in the 2nd c. A.D., when the *cryptoporticus* and the *tabernae* in the local *forum* were occupied by housing.⁴ At Baelo, the inhabitants seem to have lived among the ruins of the *macellum*, the temple of Isis, and the *basilica* as early as the 2nd c. (fig. 1). In this case, the decay was probably rapid, as suggested by the citizens' dedication of a statue to the Emperor Trajan at an earlier date.⁵ The lack of extensive excavation prevents us from understanding whether these were isolated or widespread phenomena. The progressive flight of the local elites from their civic duties, and the political and military convulsions affecting the Empire, were probably the root causes of the demise of certain towns. In contrast, other cities were revitalised by Diocletian's administrative reforms.⁶

However, recent research has countered the traditional view of historians, regarding Hispania as well as the rest of the Western Empire, that cities declined and were abandoned in the 4th c. A.D., leading to the 'ruralisation' of the ruling class, and the extraordinary flowering of *villa* architecture.⁷ Instead, it has become common knowledge that the 4th c. was a period of relative prosperity for Spanish towns and the countryside. In many cities, significant building activity renewed

⁴ These houses were used down to the 3rd c. A.D., when the settlement shifted to Sant Martí d'Empúries, Aquilué, Mar, Nolla, Ruíz de Arbulo and Sanmartí (1984) 111–13 and 204–205. A recent synthesis is in Nolla Brufau (2000).

⁵ The statue was 3 m high and is nowadays in Museum at Cádiz: Sillières (1995) 111–12 (statue), 176–78 (houses). On the transformations in general see Sillières (1993).

⁶ Garnsey (1974).

⁷ A *status questionis* with an ample bibliography is provided by Chavarría and Lewit (2004).

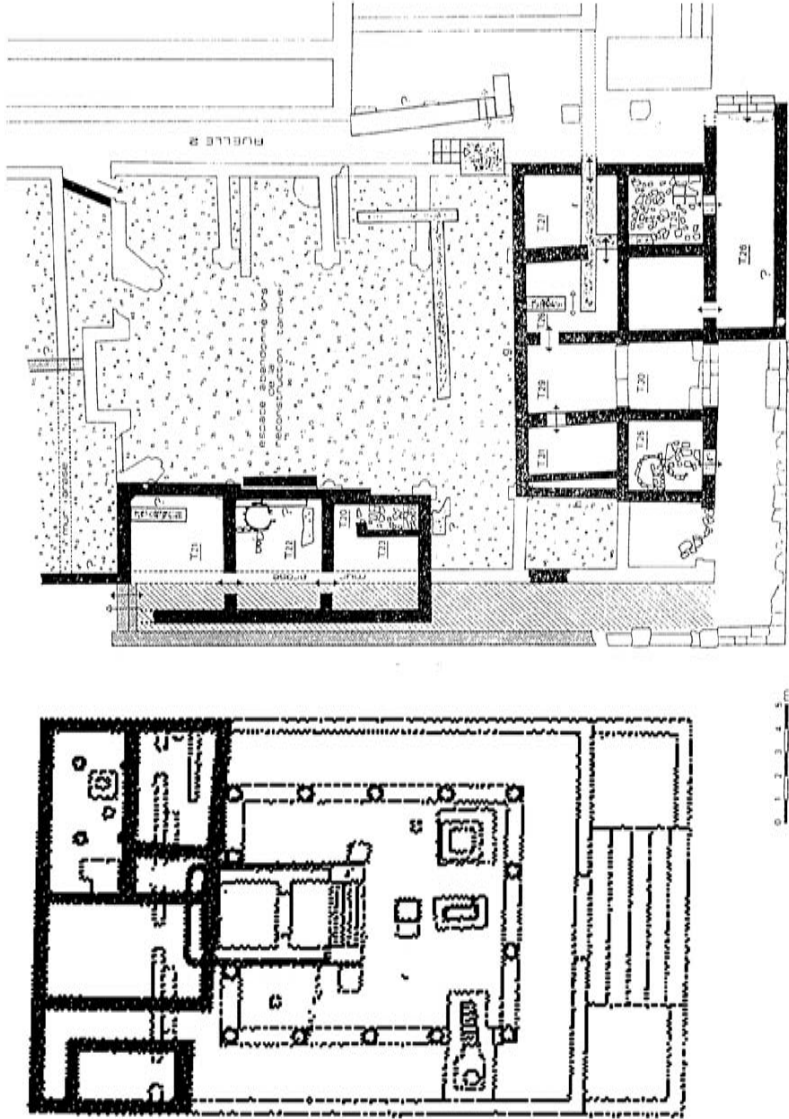


Fig. 1 Baelo Claudia, *domus* built in the Temple of Isis and in the *macellum* (from Sillières 1993).

the most important public spaces and buildings.⁸ As part of this building drive, a large number of houses were transformed, rebuilt, enlarged, or re-decorated with new paintings and mosaics, according to the taste of the period. This was apparently an expression of the new social ideology shared by the urban elites of the Empire.⁹ Indeed, the flowering of both urban and rural architecture owed much to the same ruling class. This is clear from the common plans of residential houses, the similar themes employed in their mosaic and frescoed decorations, the material culture of their occupants, and, lastly, the testimony of the written sources.¹⁰

This paper concentrates on the *domus* of three towns, particularly relevant to our discussion of late antique Hispania: Augusta Emerita (Mérida), Barcino (Barcelona), and Complutum (Alcalá de Henares). During Late Antiquity, these cities witnessed a revival of domestic architecture and civic activities. The city of Emerita (Lusitania) was the administrative capital of the *diocesis Hispaniarum*; Barcino (in Tarraconensis) was a thriving seaport for nearby Narbonensis; and Complutum (in Carthaginiensis) was an important road junction in the Meseta. Each city held a different economic and administrative position, but all three saw similar developments. These changes are attested by good textual evidence, which can act as a check on the abundant archaeological material from recent excavations. The different nature of the three cities gives a more representative picture of the evolution of urban housing in late antique Hispania, thereby responding to the questions posed at the beginning of this paper.

There are not many places in Hispania where one can study the evolution of the *domus* for the duration of the Roman occupation. The majority of Roman urban settlements are now occupied by modern cities, hindering archaeological excavation. The three cities presented are those in which it is easiest to follow the evolution and transformation of the late antique *domus*. Nevertheless, the conclusions drawn will be inevitably incomplete because they are derived from only a small number of the houses in each city.

⁸ On late antique urbanism in Hispania: Arce (1993) and (2002); Gurt, Ripoll and Godoy (1994); Kulikowski (2004) and Gurt and Esparraguerra (2000–2001) for a later phase.

⁹ See the catalogue in Baldini Lippolis (2001).

AUGUSTA EMERITA

The remains of the *domus* of Augusta Emerita show characteristics and signs of an evolution typical of Late Antiquity (fig. 2).¹⁰ The so-called ‘Casa-Basílica’ (figs. 3–4), in the south-eastern sector of the city adjoining the closing wall of the theatre’s *postscaena*, remains an enigmatic structure. The house, probably built during the Tiberian-Claudian era, already existed in the 2nd c. A.D. During the 4th c., new rooms with apses were added. One of these, identified as a *tablinum* or a *triclinium*, had an apse with wall paintings depicting figures clad in luxurious clothes and jewels.¹¹ Next to the *triclinium*, an identical, though slightly smaller room was revealed, whose side-niches suggest

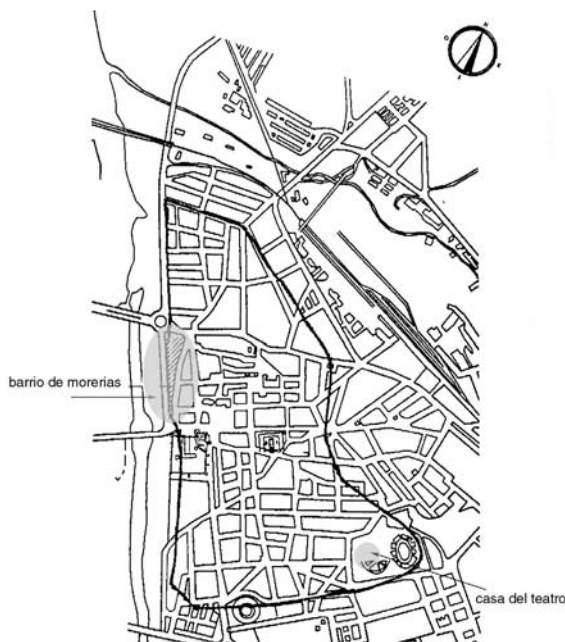


Fig. 2 Emerita, plan of the city (Mateos 2000).

¹⁰ For the main characteristics of the city and its evolution during Late Antiquity see Mateos (2000).

¹¹ For the wall-paintings see Abad Casal (1976) and Mostalac (1997). On the building see Duran (1991).

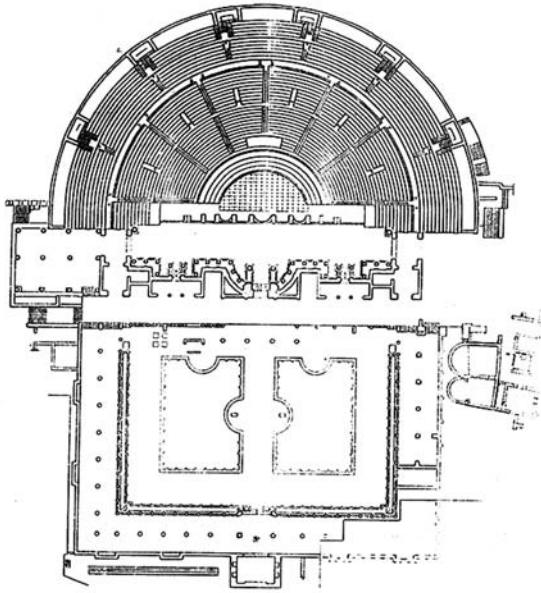


Fig. 3 Emerita, theatre (Mostalac 1997).

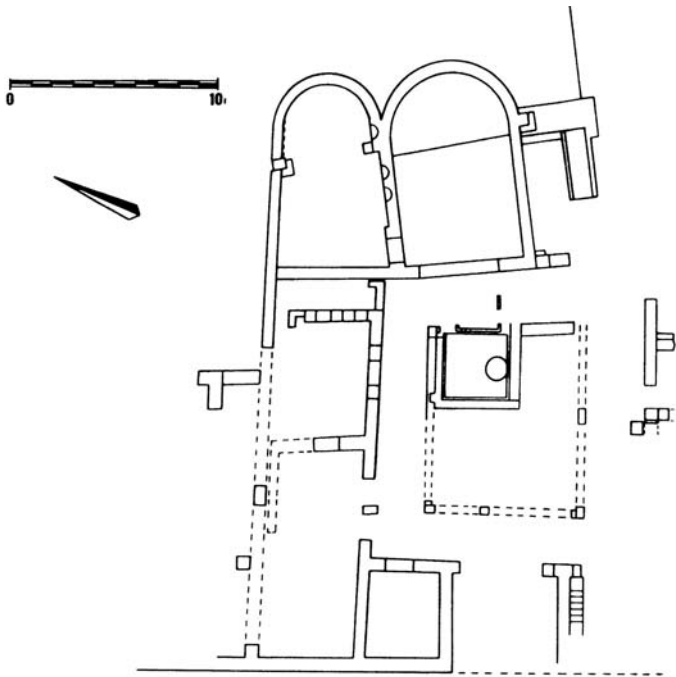


Fig. 4 Emerita, House of the Theatre (Mostalac 1997).

that it was a library or another *triclinium*, decorated with statues. The street outside of the east entrance to the house had no portico. Instead, on this side of the house there was a vestibule, flanked by two rooms which did not communicate with it. They were probably shops or separate apartments. From the vestibule, one crossed the peristyle, passed the *impluvium*, and then entered the *triclinium* decorated with paintings, mentioned above. It must be stressed that both the vestibule and the *triclinium* were not found in locations typical of late antique residential buildings. A series of quadrangular rooms were positioned to the north-west of the peristyle. The presence of two reception rooms, the anomalous axial arrangement, the frescoes depicting the proprietors as patrons, and the proximity of the building to the theatre, all seem to imply that the building was the seat of a *schola* or a *collegium*. Interpreted in the past as a Christian basilica,¹² and then as a *domus*, the building has traits typical of *scholae* and *collegia*.¹³

The 'Casa Basilica' at Emerita is evidence for the vitality of building activity in the city during the 4th c. Inscriptions recording activity in the circus, as well as in the theatre, point to an urban centre re-acquiring its traditional landscape. A similar revival can be observed in the private sphere with the extension and re-decoration of many houses, including the so-called 'House of the Mithraeum', with its famous 4th c. cosmological mosaic.¹⁴ If the 'Casa Basilica' was a *collegium*, it is evidence of the cultural vibrancy and financial resources of Mérida. In this case, the figures depicted in the apse of the *triclinium* might have been the wealthy patrons of the *collegium*.

The other *domus* that will be discussed in this paper was part of the late antique housing quarter, today known as Morerías, situated in the western sector of the city near the walls running along the course of the river Anas (fig. 4). The walls and the street-grid delimited regular blocks (83 m × 34 m), occupied by three adjacent houses or by a vast single house, as in this case. The archaeological report of one of the houses has been published in detail. The 'Casa de los Mármoles' had a trapezoidal plan due to the narrowing of the wall-circuit, and covered

¹² The interpretation of the building as a Christian basilica was first denied in Batllé (1947); Iñiguez (1955); de Palol (1967) (who omits the monument from his works) and Balil (1976).

¹³ Gros (1997), even though he admits that there was no standard plan for these structures.

¹⁴ And not of the 2nd c. A.D. as previously assumed, see Arce (1996).

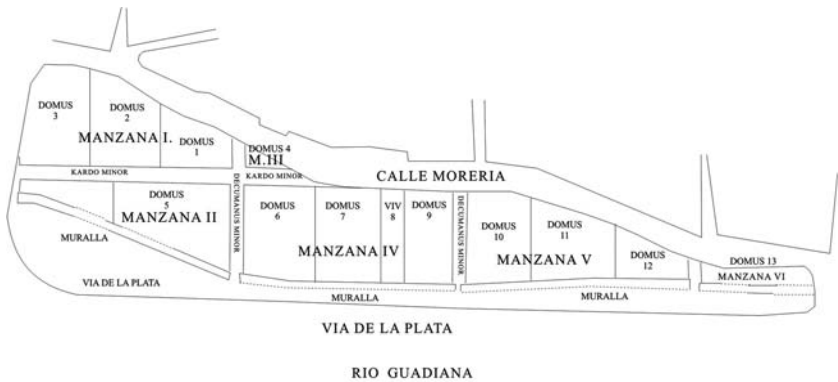


Fig. 5 Emerita, Morerías (Mateos 2000).

an area of *ca.* 1000 m² (fig. 5).¹⁵ During the 4th c., many rooms of the house were restored or built *ex novo*. The house was organised around a peristyle with a central well, onto which apartments opened, including an exedra identified as a *triclinium*, and two bathing complexes. There may have been an upper floor. There was a floor paved with marble slabs, but no mosaics, and walls decorated with frescoes. Part of the house encroached upon public spaces, including streets and porticoes. The whole quarter was destroyed and temporarily abandoned during the 5th c. Later, at the end of the 5th c. or at the beginning of the 6th c., the *domus* was subdivided and the rooms were reused for habitation and agricultural activities, including pastoralism. In this phase, the house lost its decorative elements, and the peristyle was put to communal use, probably because of the presence of the well. The *domus* in Morerías provide the best examples of the urban vitality of Mérida in the 4th c., perhaps reflecting the presence of *officiales* or *possessores* in the diocesan capital. On the other hand, they also exemplify the complex transformation of urban buildings with the subdivision of the great residences and their occupation by various family units from the 5th c.

¹⁵ For the study of this *domus* and its transformations see Alba Calzado (1997), (1999) and (2004a).



Fig. 6 Emerita, “Casa de los mármoles”, 4th c. (Alba Calzado (1997)).

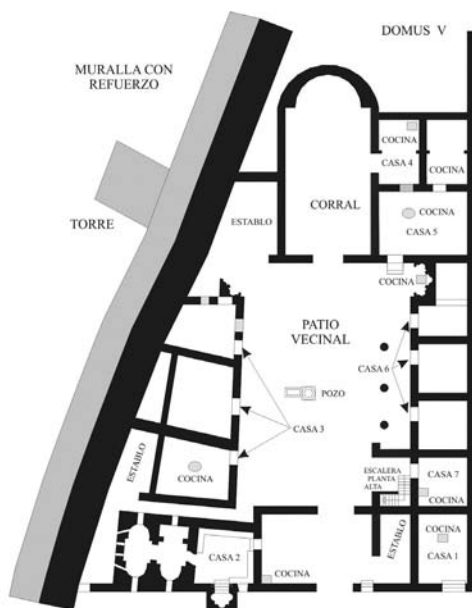


Fig. 7 Emerita, “Casa de los mármoles”, late 5th/6th centuries (Alba 1997).

BARCINO

At Barcino, the forum retained its traditional form and function as the nerve centre of the city until the 5th c.¹⁶ At the same time, an important part of the city was occupied by houses, which, in most cases, respected the earlier insulae, resulting in the fossilisation of the street-grid. The north-west quarter of the city is little known because the Jewish quarter was later established there. Late antique remains are scarce, and known only from occasional rescue excavations in the southern and eastern quarters of the walled area. For the most part, archaeology has concentrated on the great residences of the local elites.

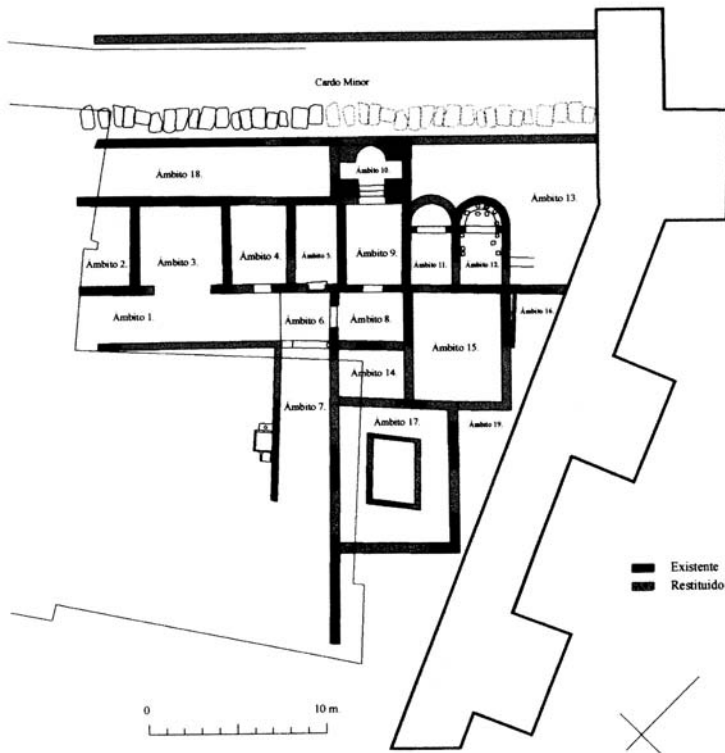


Fig. 8 Barcino, plan of the house in the calle Bisbe caçador (Martín, Miró and Revilla 2000).

¹⁶ For the evolution of Barcino, see Ripoll (2000); Gurt and Godoy (2000) and Beltrán de Heredia (2002).



Fig. 9 Barcino, rider painting and main reception room of the house in the calle Bisbe caçador.

A *domus* dating to the 2nd c. A.D. was discovered in the south-western part of the *forum* (nowadays Plaça Sant Miquel), and identified by some scholars as the house of the senatorial family of Minicio Natalis.¹⁷ Its location within the Jewish quarter makes the exploration of this site difficult. The *domus* extended for 600 m², was restored in the 4th c. A.D., and, even though it was not particularly luxurious, had a number of private spaces and reception rooms located around a central atrium. During the 6th and 7th centuries A.D.,¹⁸ the area of this *domus* and the nearby public baths was occupied by new domestic structures, built with poor materials.¹⁹ Notwithstanding the lack of archaeological

¹⁷ Rodà (1988).

¹⁸ Chronology established through the finds (Hayes 64, 67, Reynolds 7, amphorae Keay LIII).

¹⁹ Gurt and Godoy (2000) 450–51.

and literary data, some form of continuing use seems likely since the 10th c. church of San Miguel (demolished in 1868) reused the mosaic of the *tepidarium* in its floor. Traditionally, this area has been linked to the *palatium*, where, according to historical documents, Visigothic kings lived (and died) when *Barcino* was used as a royal capital.²⁰ However, no archaeological evidence of such a palace has been discovered. A great mosaic (8.50 m x 3.61 m) depicting a chariot race in the circus, with the names of the horses and one of their stables, was brought to light during the 19th c., in the south-western sector of the town, underneath the medieval Palau Reial Menor (Calles Condesa de Sobrediel and Ataúlfo). Its imagery reflects the taste of the 4th c. elite, suggesting that the house was property of an important member of the local community.²¹

One of the most interesting complexes explored in the 1990s is the so-called *domus* of the calle Bisbe Caçador, in the south-eastern sector of the city, near an angle of the walls. This residence of Augustan origin was renovated at the turn of the 3rd c. However, the modification most relevant to our discussion occurred in the 4th c. A series of private quarters, reception rooms, and a *balneum*, articulated around a central peristyle, date to this period. The rooms had floors of polychrome mosaic, *opus signinum*, and, in one case, an *opus sectile* of reused marble. A wall painting in a corridor leading to the reception room depicted a rider on a harnessed horse, a synthetic abstraction typical of the period.²² This urban mansion successively underwent various changes during the 6th c. First, it was restored, and subsequently extended, so that it encroached upon the *cardo minor* which formed the north side of the *insula*, and obliterated the *intervallum* of the city walls by the addition of a bath complex. Some areas of the *domus* were already abandoned in the 6th c., while other areas continued in use until the turn of the 8th c.

²⁰ *Chronica Caesaraugustana* 223: *Gesalecus Goericum Barcinone in palatio interfecit*, see for this subject Ripoll (2000) 379–80.

²¹ Darder Lisson (1993–94).

²² de Palol (1996). A recent synthesis concerning the *domus* of the calle Bisbe Caçador can be found in Puig and Verdaguier (1999).

COMPLUTUM

Complutum is a third Hispano-Roman town in which archaeologists have recorded evidence for the 4th c. revival and later evolution of both public and domestic building.²³ Complutum was an important road junction where the roads linking Augusta Emerita with Caesaugusta and Tarraco met, communicating with other towns of the northern Meseta and the east coast of the Peninsula. Between the end of the 3rd and the middle of the 4th centuries, some of the public buildings in and around the *forum*—a great basilica, baths and a market—were restored to monumental proportions. At the same time, several *domus* were built, for instance, the ‘House of Bacchus’, the ‘House of Leda’, the ‘House of Cupid’, and the ‘House of the Fishes’, all decorated with late antique mosaics. The *domus* re-occupied buildings of Early Imperial date (second half of the 1st c. A.D.), with the possible exception of the ‘House of Cupid’, which it has been suggested was built *ex novo* in the 5th c.²⁴ The *domus* of the city, which have been researched so far, were abandoned in the 5th c., save for the ‘House of Cupid’, which was occupied into the 6th c.

The public buildings were abandoned and obliterated during the 5th c., and many of those, in particular in the *forum* (baths and basilica) and the northern quarter of the city, converted by the construction of poor houses built over their ruined structures using *spolia*, wood, wattle and daub and adobe. Finds of the 6th and 7th centuries were associated with these buildings.²⁵ The abandonment of the urban nucleus of Complutum may relate to the birth of a new settlement in the area of Campo Laudable (nowadays Alcalá de Henares, near the cathedral). This place has traditionally been associated with the *martyrium* of the relics of the children Justus and Pastor, referred to by Prudentius and Paulinus of Nola. An episcopal residence was later established on top of this complex.²⁶

²³ For a general analysis of the town and its *domus*, see Rascón Marqués (1995) and Rascón Marqués, Sánchez Montes (2000).

²⁴ Rascón Marqués (1995) 60–87.

²⁵ Rascón Marqués (1999) 53–57; Sánchez Montes (1999).

²⁶ Rascón Marqués, Sánchez Montes (1999) 240–41.

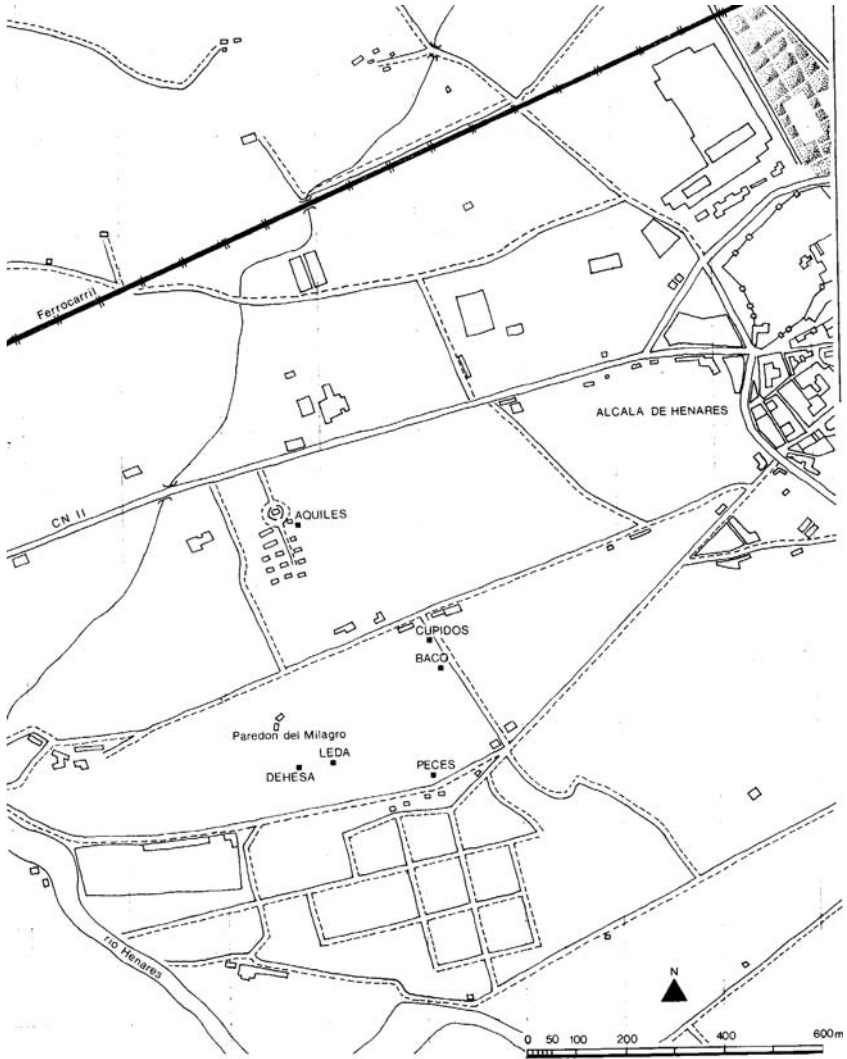


Fig. 10 Complutum, plan of the city with main *domus* (Rascón Marqués 1999).

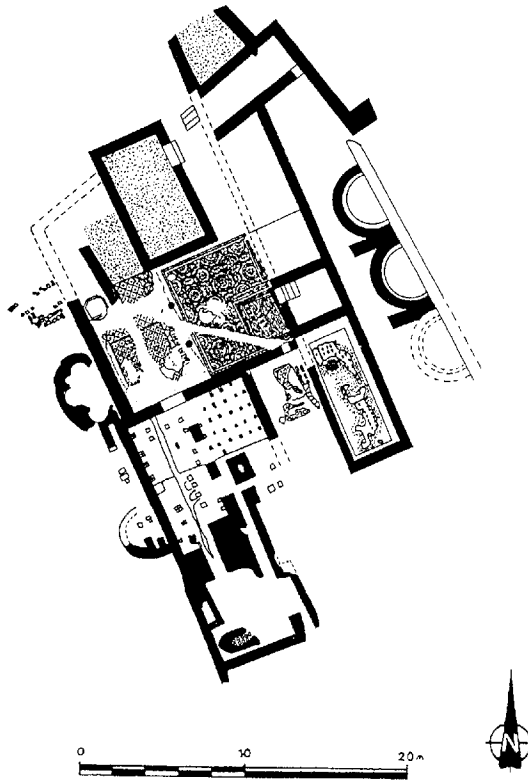


Fig. 11 Complutum, 'Baths of Hyppolitus' (Rascón Marqués 1997).

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SUBURBAN *DOMUS*

From the 3rd, and, in particular, 4th centuries, a variety of contradictory trends can be identified in the domestic architecture of the *suburbium*. On the one hand, the abandonment of many suburban buildings and their re-occupation for funerary purposes has been well-documented in towns such as Tarraco and Augusta Emerita;²⁷ on the other, there is the development of the great suburban *domus*. The suburban mansion in Tarraco, near the Francolí necropolis and the Parc Central complex,

²⁷ On this phenomenon see, for Emerita, Sánchez Sanchez and Nodar Becerra (1999); for Tarraco, TED'A (1978) and *Anuari d'intervencions arqueològiques a Catalunya* (1993) 254–60.

is one of the most interesting recent discoveries.²⁸ It consisted of an almost quadrangular building (23 m × 25 m), whose rooms, including an apsidal room and a bathing complex, opened onto a typical peristyle. Its construction has been dated to the second half of the 4th c., and its abandonment to the second half of the 5th c., although there is some evidence of later re-use. An enormous funerary basilica, of a later date, was unearthed close to the mansion. Neither the dimensions nor the decor of the building suggest that it was a 'villa-palacio', a name given by its excavators, or had any link with the nearby basilica.²⁹

At Complutum, a suburban *domus* has possibly been identified in the building known as the 'Baths of Hyppolytus', situated some 300 m outside of the city walls. Only its baths have been excavated.³⁰ It was probably constructed along with the earliest structures in this area from the 1st c. A.D. The style of the mosaic paving in one of the rooms indicates that the building was enlarged between the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th centuries. During the late antique phase, it presumably occupied a surface area of 5,800 m², of which 1,700 m² around the baths have been explored. The presence of a mosaic with marine scenes and the inscription *anniorvm (hedera) hippolytus tessellav[it]* led its excavators to assume that the building hosted a *collegium iuvenum*.³¹ It is, nonetheless, evident that such an identification is purely hypothetical.³² Later, some rooms were subdivided, and finally, the northern and western sectors were used as a cemetery with approximately 20 burials cutting through the abandonment levels. Notwithstanding the absence of datable material (a fibula and a ring of uncertain chronology), the first phase of the cemetery has been dated to the end of the 5th c.³³

Another interesting building, which may have been a suburban *domus*, has been brought to light in the *suburbium* of the town of Cauca (Coca), in the area of Las Pizarras. The building, of considerable size,

²⁸ Mar *et al.* (1996); López Vilar (1997).

²⁹ A critical examination of the whole complex is in Ripoll and Chavarría (2003).

³⁰ In addition to the previous references, see concerning the 'Hyppolitus mosaic': Rascón Marqués, Polo López, Gómez Pallarés and Méndez Madariaga (1995–97).

³¹ Rascón Marqués (1999) 57–58; Rascón Marqués and Sánchez Montes (2000) 237.

³² Less than the half of the assumed surface of the building has been explored: Polo López and Rascón Marqués (1996) 74. For a critique of this interpretation see: García Entero (2004).

³³ Polo López and Rascón Marqués (1996) 62–63.

incorporated a luxurious residential quarter, as well as some more utilitarian spaces. Aerial photographs revealed the existence of various buildings in close proximity, one of which had a rectangular plan, an apse, and an exedra. Archaeological finds suggest that this area was densely occupied in the 4th and 5th centuries.³⁴ The fact that the Emperor Theodosius was born at Cauca has led the researchers to speculate that the suburban complex could have been the residence of the Theodosian family, although there is no clear evidence for this identification.

The suburban complex of Cercadilla, 600 m from the north-western angle of the walls of Cordoba, is a more spectacular example, but again difficult to interpret.³⁵ Built at the turn of the 4th c. over residential structures of the 1st/3rd centuries A.D., the late antique complex includes a great semicircular exedra, with an internal diameter of 109 m, terminating in a prolonged *cryptoporticus*, with a vault 3.7 m high and 4.5 m wide. In the middle of the exedra stood a structure (Building B) with a basilical plan (22.5 m × 4.85 m). The end of this space contained an apse, 16.2 m in diameter and supported by buttresses. Other basilical rooms were located north and east of this Building B, one of which had wall paintings and mosaic floors. The baths, south of the central hall, were smaller than the rest of the spaces. A fragmentary inscription found in the *frigidarium* has been used to interpret the complex as the temporary residence of Maximian in Hispania during preparations for a military expedition to Africa in A.D. 296/97.³⁶ The inscription is fragmentary and its re-construction unconvincing, while the typological interpretation of the complex is not conclusive. Further, from a historical point of view, it is implausible that an emperor could have built such a residence simply for use as a military headquarters.³⁷ The site was abandoned from the middle of the 6th c., but part of the complex was re-used for religious and funerary activities, and, during the Arab period, given over to housing.³⁸

³⁴ Blanco García (1997).

³⁵ Dedicated to Cercadilla are two excellent monographs, fruits of the work of the team directed by R. Hidalgo: Hidalgo *et al.* (1996) and Hidalgo (1996).

³⁶ Hidalgo and Ventura (1994).

³⁷ Arce (1997b).

³⁸ Hidalgo (1996) 28. On the later phases of Cercadilla see also Marfil (2000) 120–23 who identifies it as an episcopal complex.

THE END OF THE URBAN *DOMUS* IN LATE ANTIQUE HISPANIA

Information regarding the evolution of other late antique Spanish cities is more fragmentary, but many of the developments witnessed at Emerita, Barcino or Complutum can also be seen elsewhere. Case studies from Hispania indicate that two important changes to urban domestic architecture occurred during Late Antiquity. First, during the 4th c., elite urban residences were renovated or constructed on a monumental scale, often over public buildings and space, and lavishly decorated. The occupation of entertainment venues: theatres, amphitheatres, and circuses, and other public buildings: *fora*, temples, baths and basilicas, is widely attested. Apart from Emporiae, Baelo or Complutum, many other examples can be cited. At Cordoba, the Piazza Ángel Saavedra cult area was re-utilised for the construction of residential structures in the 4th c., while other houses were erected over the provincial *forum*.³⁹ At Segobriga, the amphitheatre was abandoned at the end of the 3rd c., and a residential neighbourhood rose on the eastern side of the *proscænium* and *parascaenium*, and in the theatre area.⁴⁰ At Valeria, the *forum* basilica was occupied by houses.⁴¹ At Tarraco, in the 4th c., the public baths located in the port area were converted into a domestic quarter,⁴² and from the middle of the 5th c., houses sprang up over parts of the provincial forum and the circus.⁴³ At Carthago Nova, *tabernae* were replaced with domestic structures in the 4th c., while during the 5th and 6th centuries, a residential and commercial neighbourhood developed in the lower courses of the theatre.⁴⁴

Second, from the end of the 4th, and mainly in the 5th and 6th centuries, public spaces and buildings were re-occupied by poor-quality houses while the *domus* disintegrated and were replaced by simpler domestic units built with 'simpler' plans and construction materials (wood, earth, clay, *spolia*). These often completely disregarded the original structure of the *domus*.⁴⁵ A well-known example is, as we have seen, the *domus* of Morerías in Mérida, which was subdivided and

³⁹ Ventura Villaneuva (1991).

⁴⁰ Sánchez-Lafuente Pérez (1989).

⁴¹ Fuentes Domínguez (1992).

⁴² Macías Solé (2004) 74–76.

⁴³ Menchón, Macías and Muñoz (1994) 227.

⁴⁴ Ramallo Asensio (2000) 373–77.

⁴⁵ A *status questionis* is in Azkarate and Quirós (2001).

re-used from the 5th c. A.D. Similar cases have been documented in other parts of the town, such as the quarters of Ventosillas and of Sagasta, where there is evidence of residential occupation.⁴⁶ In the *domus* in Calle San Francisco of Astigi, inhabitants lit hearths on the pavements.⁴⁷ Various rooms were subdivided in the 'House of the Aqueduct of Tiermes'.⁴⁸ At Carthago Nova, in Calle Cuatro Santos n. 17, the peristyle of a Roman house was subdivided by poor quality walls and domestic spaces were created.⁴⁹ In Valentia, numerous examples of the subdivisions of residential buildings have been documented in different areas of the city.⁵⁰

By the 6th c., new forms of housing had appeared. Generally, they had quadrangular rooms organised around open central spaces, walls with stone basements, elevations of clay, and earth floors. In many cases, the roofs re-used Roman *tegulae*. Houses of this kind have been documented in Mérida (Morerías, amphitheatre or in the portico of the forum), in the quarter built over the theatre in Cartagena, at El Tolmo de Minateda, in Valentia (Banys de l'Almirall or the quarter built on the circus), and at the villages of Puig Rom and El Bovalar, among other places.⁵¹ Re-used or ephemeral building materials and rougher building techniques attest a radical change in the lifestyle of the inhabitants of these houses, very distinct from that of their aristocratic Roman predecessors. In the 9th c., a series of good quality stone houses with rectangular and symmetrical plans were built in some areas of Morerías, as well as in other parts of Emerita (Alcazaba, *podium* of 'Diana temple'), showing that the urban elites of this city still enjoyed some measure of prosperity.⁵²

⁴⁶ Palmar García (1999) 354 (for Ventosillas) and 357 (for Sagasta).

⁴⁷ Rodríguez Temiño (1991) 350–51.

⁴⁸ Argente Oliver (1991) 216–17.

⁴⁹ Ramallo Asensio (2000) 369.

⁵⁰ Ribera Lacomba (2000) 24–25.

⁵¹ Mérida in Alba Calzado (2004b); Cartagena in Ramallo Asensio (2000); El Tolmo de Minateda in Abad Casal, Gutiérrez Lloret and Gamo Parras (2000) 109; Valencia in Ribera Lacomba and Rosselló Mesquida (2000) 158; El Bovalar: de Palol (1989); Puig Rom: de Palol (2004).

⁵² Mateos and Alba (2000) 156–67. A similar revival of domestic architecture has also been detected for the 9th c. A.D. in some areas of Rome, Santangeli Valenzani (2004).

The significance of these changes in late antique residential architecture has been the subject of considerable debate.⁵³ It has traditionally been assumed that a crisis affecting some cities (and their *domus*) was related to the flight of their elites to the countryside (and the *villae*). More recently, it has been argued that the subdivision of urban houses and the re-use of public buildings for habitation were linked to an overcrowding caused by the depopulation of the countryside.⁵⁴ However, the processes of construction, restoration, transformation, embellishment, decline and disappearance, observed by researchers in the urban *domus*, have also been documented by work on the Hispano-Roman rural residences.⁵⁵ Therefore, urban and rural habitats seem to have experienced similar trends, casting doubt on the traditional theories outlined above. Indeed, recent analysis, showing that rural settlements enjoyed a similar revival to the urban centres, refutes the notion of a deserted countryside.⁵⁶

The Germanic peoples have been traditionally blamed for the fall of the western Roman world and its civilization. It is claimed that this 'new' population was responsible for destroying housing and introducing a new way of life that conflicted with Roman values. In contrast, our discussion of Augusta Emerita, Barcino and Complutum, suggests that these changes cannot be attributed to the invasions alone. This is because the extent of barbarisation in Spain was limited. We know that the Alans stayed in the Iberian Peninsula for only two years before some were partially integrated by the Suevi, and others departed with the Vandals. The Vandals, meanwhile, merely passed through the region on their way to Africa in A.D. 429. The Suevi, although making continuous incursions towards Lusitania, occupied Gallaecia alone. Indeed, it must be underlined that social and economic change throughout the Empire was not restricted to areas where the Germanic invaders settled, as clearly demonstrated by S. P. Ellis for the Eastern Empire.⁵⁷ However, it cannot be denied that the barbarians could have

⁵³ For the *villae*, see (among many others) Lewit (2003) and (2005); Chavarría (2004a) and (2004b). For the evolution of the countryside see the synthesis in Brogiolo and Chavarría (2005).

⁵⁴ Gurt and Esparraguera (2000–2001) 467.

⁵⁵ For an overview of the problems, see Ripoll and Arce (2000) and now Brogiolo and Chavarría (2005). For Hispania see Chavarría (2004a), (2004b) and (2007).

⁵⁶ Ariño Gil and Rodríguez Hernández (1997); Ariño, Riera and Rodríguez Hernández (2002) offer the most recent analyses for the territory of Salamanca.

⁵⁷ Ellis (1988) and (1997).

played some role in the disintegration and impoverishment of Roman urban elites. In Italy, for example, archaeology and textual documentation point to the negative impact of barbarian raids on Rome and other important cities, from the beginning of the 5th c.⁵⁸

Several researchers have attributed the transformation of domestic architecture to new cultural preferences. B. Polci, for instance, points to a new style of house, with a ground floor devoted to domestic activities (stables, hearths, cisterns) and an upper storey replete with reception halls and banqueting areas, decorated with less durable materials, such as stucco and paint, rather than classical marble or mosaics.⁵⁹ In some cases, archaeological evidence (the residential palace in Parenzo, the 'villa' of Pla de Nadal, or the 9th c. houses documented recently in the Nerva forum in Rome) seems to reinforce this perspective. Tamara Lewit argues that the evolution of urban (and rural) building style may reflect the new mentality and traditions of the elites, who had grown to prefer a style of living, which "although it may have been technologically inferior to that of their predecessors, was more culturally satisfying".⁶⁰

More recently, these architectural changes have been seen as the result of the growing polarisation of society between the upper classes and the lower orders. The problem inherent in this social interpretation is the difficulty in associating the archaeological evidence with the various prominent members of urban society known from the literary sources: soldiers, bureaucrats, great landowners, kings, and bishops. In Spain, for example, because very few episcopal residences have been excavated, it is difficult to reconstruct their appearance. The same is true of the palaces and administrative complexes of the Visigothic kings and their courts. One possible explanation is that Early Medieval aristocracies were much poorer than their Roman predecessors, and thus their presence in the Late Roman *domus* and *villae* (which could still have been inhabited by elites), or in these new Visigothic constructions, are much more difficult to identify in the archaeological record.⁶¹ Indeed: this discussion of the transformation of residential architecture

⁵⁸ For Rome, see the synthesis of Paroli (2004). For Brescia (where the settlement of barbarians in sunken huts has been archaeologically documented), see Brogiolo (2006) 90–96 and Rossi (2003).

⁵⁹ Polci (2003).

⁶⁰ Lewit (2005) 254–56.

⁶¹ On the transformation and impoverishment of Early Medieval aristocracies see Wickham (2005).

in late antique Roman Hispania demonstrates that the analysis of the issue is still in its early stages. Studies of archaeological artefacts and stratigraphy are needed, as well as studies of single sites, to provide a general overview of the evolution of late antique society and its elites in this region.

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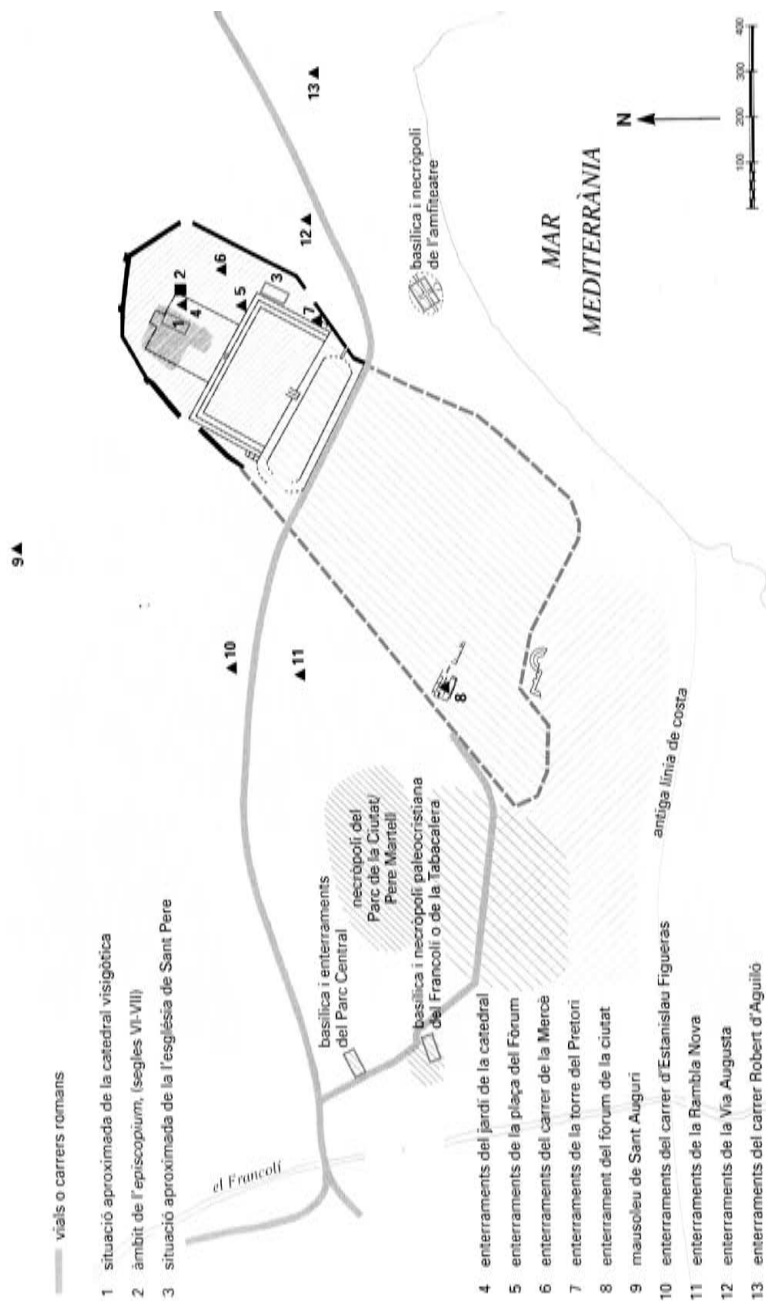


Fig. 12 Tarraco, plan of the city and its *suburbium* (de Palol and Pladevall 1999).

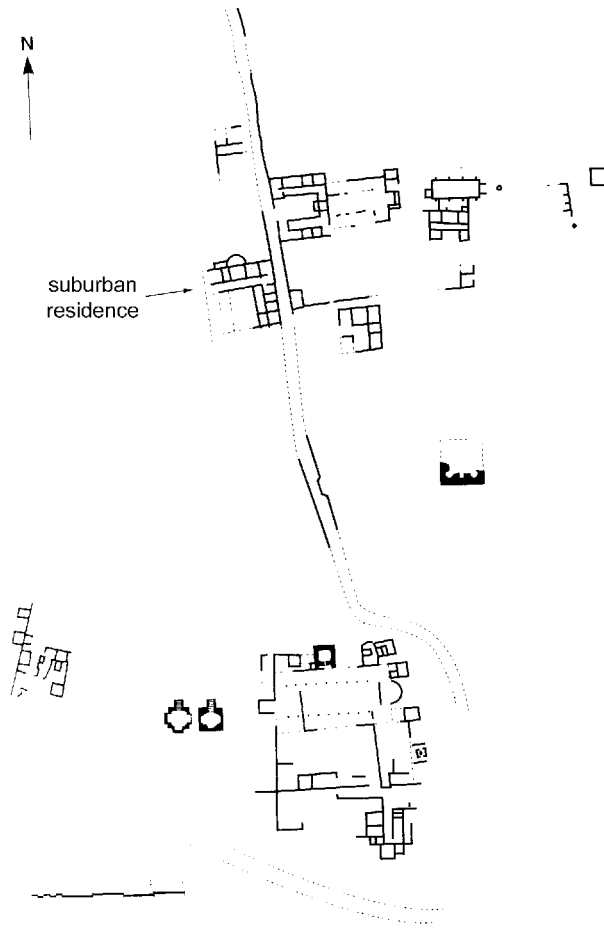


Fig. 13 Tarraco, suburban Christian complex and *domus* (de Palol and Pladevall 1999).



Fig. 14 Tarraco, suburban Christian complex and *domus* (de Palol and Pladevall 1999).

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LATE ANTIQUE DOMUS OF AFRICA PROCONSULARIS: STRUCTURAL AND DECORATIVE ASPECTS

Francesca Ghedini and Silvia Bullo

Abstract

This article serves as an appendix to a compilation of research which has been published on the residential dwellings in the Roman towns of modern Tunisia (1st–6th c. A.D.). It focuses on the houses that can be dated with certainty to the late antique period. From an architectural/structural point of view, these houses are little different from what is known of the aristocratic residences of preceding chronological phases, showing a preference for multiple large reception rooms. However, their figured mosaics cover new thematic areas (and related sub-areas and subjects) connected to the self-representational needs of the ruling social class.

INTRODUCTION

This article serves as an appendix to an extended study of private building in Roman Tunisia, published in the *Quaderni di Antenor* series.¹ The aim of this study was to create a databank that would enable an analysis of the typology of African *domus*, both horizontally (by large areas or sites) and vertically (by chronological phases). It was hoped that this would make it possible to compare them with contemporary houses throughout the Empire. The difficulties or limitations of this research mainly stem from its reliance on previous publications, many of which are based on incomplete documentary evidence. However, on a more positive note, it has provided a sizeable collection of plans (136) that have been reworked and commented upon, a re-contextualisation of decorative elements, and distribution maps by town and province. With these tools, it is possible to suggest certain new directions for future research on the late antique house, in the region of Africa Proconsularis corresponding to modern Tunisia.

¹ Bullo and Ghedini (2003); the study only included town houses and not villas.

The chronological limits of this paper will range from the Tetrarchic period to the 6th c. Within this period, it will consider both newly-founded *domus*, or peristyle houses, and *domus* that had been continually used, but subjected to significant structural and/or decorative changes.² 68 houses fall into these categories (see Appendix),³ of which only 20 (certain), or 31 (doubtful), were newly-founded.⁴ The remainder had only undergone decorative renovation work. As for their geographical distribution, it is worth noting that most of the houses that post-date the 4th c. with any certainty are situated in Zeugitana, the northern part of modern Tunisia (fig. 1). In spite of its limited size, this group of houses lends itself to various interpretations. In this paper, discussion will first focus on their architectural-structural characteristics, with particular reference to reception rooms, and the routes by which they were reached (S. Bullo). The latter section will examine the thematic content of figural mosaic decorations, and consider what these tell us about the attitudes and lifestyle of their aristocratic patrons (F. Ghedini). These separate analyses of architectural and decorative features are dictated by the inconsistent nature of the evidence (an integrated reading of the more significant cases will be presented elsewhere). Whereas some houses are easier to interpret from an architectural/structural point of view, and yet are completely devoid of decorative material, others include well-preserved decorative elements, but show no evidence of significant structural changes. [F.G.]

ARCHITECTURAL/STRUCTURAL ASPECTS: THE MAIN FEATURES

First of all, it is worth clarifying that late antique houses of Tunisia were not strikingly different in their plans from those of earlier periods

² On the other hand, the villas are not taken into account because they present different issues, above all from an architectural point of view.

³ A list of all the houses with a substantial late antique phase is given in the Appendix. Consecutive numbering is followed by a reference to the relative catalogue entry published in Bullo and Ghedini (2003), where a complete updated bibliography (not given here) can be found. In the course of the present article, the name of each house is followed by the reference number given in the Appendix.

⁴ In bold type in the table of the Appendix.

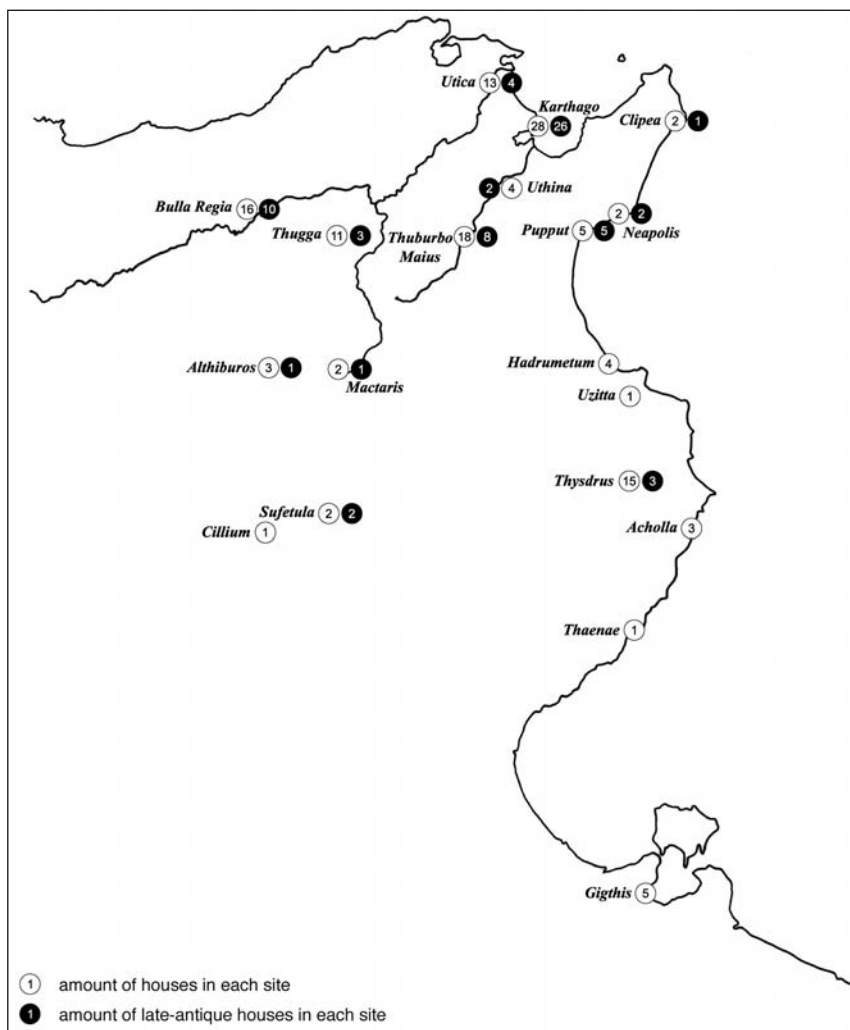


Fig. 1 Tunisia: distribution of late antique *domus*.

in the same region.⁵ The majority⁶ of the houses had a centralised plan, with most of the rooms facing onto a single, uncovered, porticoed courtyard.⁷ Conversely, only a few houses were subdivided into distinct nuclei of rooms, and these tended to be especially large and grandiose.⁸ However, of particular interest is the appearance of a new type of house, evident in the 'Building of the Satire and the Nymph' (43) and the 'House near to the Building of the Satire and the Nymph' (44), at the site of Puppūt. These could have been multifamily dwellings, in which various groups of rooms opened onto service areas that were presumably shared by the various families.⁹

The main entrance of late antique Tunisian houses typically gave access to a corner of the peristyle,¹⁰ thus protecting the interior of the house from prying eyes. Meanwhile, the pronounced axuality that characterised the 'Building of the Asklepeia' at Althiburos (1) and the *Nymfarum Domus* at Neapolis (40) (fig. 2), as well as the 'House of the Dolphins' at Thysdrus (61), must be dated to earlier building phases. Y. Thébert¹¹ has stressed that the proliferation of private baths was an important feature of this age: of the eight baths identified in Tunisia, as many as six can be attributed to renovation work datable within the chronological confines of this study.¹² Similarly, out of a total of six latrines, all but one belonged to houses that witnessed important restructuring work in Late Antiquity.¹³

⁵ In this case, the relevant summary is that of Ghedini (2003), where the author also outlines the issues relating to the typological definition of the Roman *domus*. On the late antique *domus* in general, see above all Baldini Lippolis (2001).

⁶ Out of the 68 houses identified in the course of our research, 48 have a plan that is sufficiently clear and fairly complete.

⁷ In 40 cases.

⁸ Also belonging to the nucleus category are the houses with underground floors of Bulla Regia, which continued to be built until the mid-5th c. A.D.; Thébert (1985) 333.

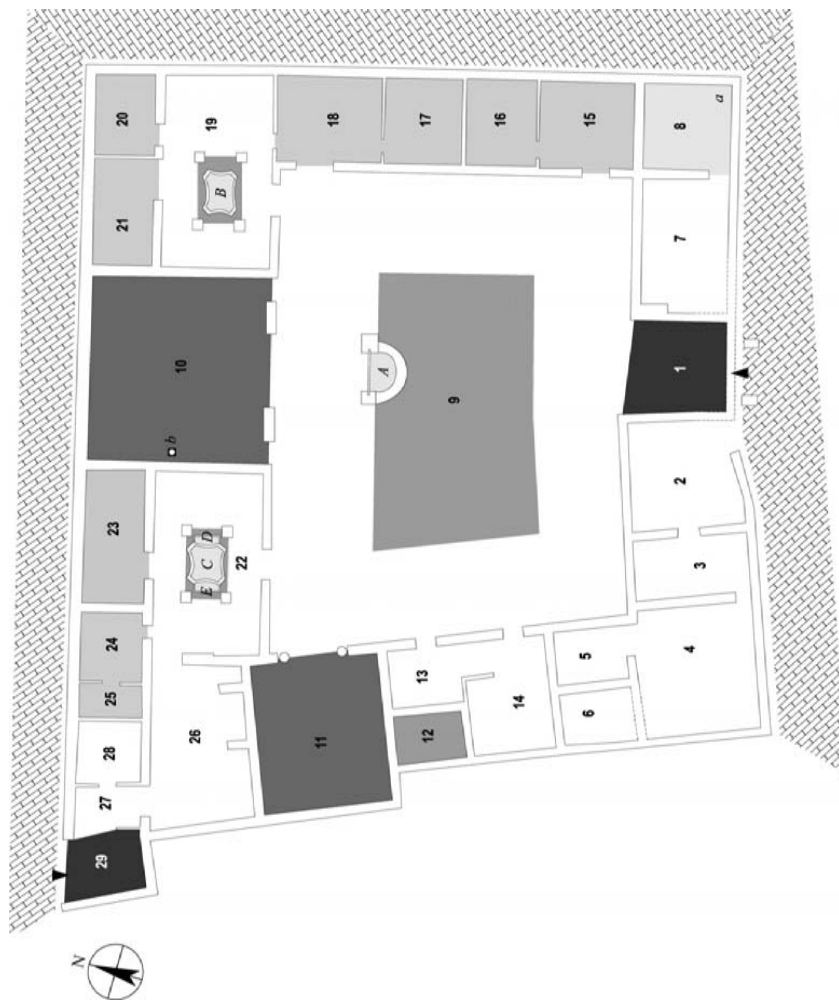
⁹ Ben Abed-Ben Khader (1994a) 246.

¹⁰ Above all: Bulla Regia: 'House of the New Hunt' (3), 'House of the Hunt' (4); Clipea: 'House of the Two Hunts' (12); Carthage: 'House of the Rotonda' (22), 'House of the Triconch' (27); Mactaris: *Basilica Iuvenum* (39); Puppūt: 'House of the Figured Peristyle' (45); Thuburbo Maius: 'House of the Protomes' (55), 'House of the Triumph of Venus' (56); Thugga: 'House of the Trifolium' (59).

¹¹ Thébert (1985) 367–68; Baldini Lippolis (2001) 64–66.

¹² See Ghiotto (2003); Althiburos: 'Building of the Asklepeia' (1); Bulla Regia: 'House no. 8' (2), 'House of the Hunt' (4); Carthage: 'House of the Cestini' (30), 'House of the Black and White Mosaics' (31); Puppūt: 'House of the Figured Peristyle' (45).

¹³ See Bonini and Rinaldi (2003) 197–98; Bulla Regia: 'House of the Hunt' (4); Clipea: 'House of the Two Hunts' (12); Mactaris: *Basilica Iuvenum* (39); Neapolis: *Nymfarum Domus* (40); Utica: 'House of the Hoard' (67).



- entrances
- reception rooms
- courtyards
- *cubicula*
- fountains, kitchens, baths and latrines

Fig. 2 *Nymfarum Domus* at Neapolis.

Further data can be derived from an analysis of the large reception rooms,¹⁴ which, of the various categories of room, are perhaps most representative of the particular aristocratic 'lifestyle' of the period.¹⁵ However, in order to glean this information, it is necessary to limit our inquiry to a more uniform sample, represented by 15 houses, selected largely on the basis of three criteria.¹⁶ First, their plans are to a large extent known. Second, they derive from a fairly well-defined and significant late antique architectural phase, and finally, they were all prestigious dwellings, representing the needs of a single social stratum. Within these 15 houses, 37 large reception rooms (see chart 1) were identified: only one house had one such room; 9 had two; three had three; one had 4; and one had 5.

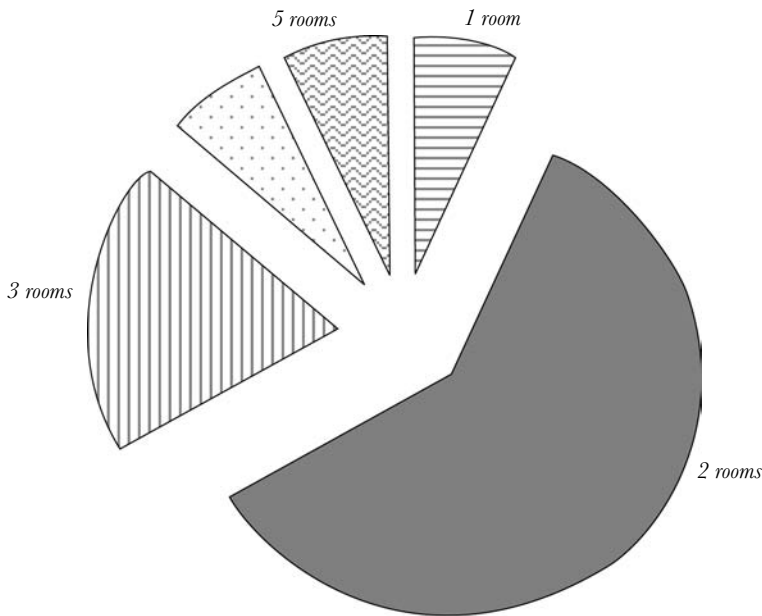


Chart 1 Number of reception rooms per house.

¹⁴ All the rooms identified were equal to or more than 5×5 m. in size and, according to their position and/or type of decoration, were suited to receiving a certain number of guests.

¹⁵ On the subject, see at least: Duval (1984), (1987) and (1997); Ellis (1985), (1988), (1991) and (1997); Guidobaldi (1986) and (1999) 62; Dumbabin (1991), (1994) and (1996); Scagliarini Corlàita (1995); Morvillez (1995) and (1996); Baldini Lippolis (2001) 57–61; Bullo (2003).

¹⁶ In italics in the table in the Appendix.

As a general rule, these rooms occupied a significant portion of the available space within each dwelling. Indeed, they were always allotted over 10% of the total surface area of the house, and could even cover an area that exceeded 20%. Out of the 37 rooms, 26 faced onto the main peristyle, while only 4—those of the two most imposing houses, the ‘House of the Hunt’ at Bulla Regia (4) (fig. 3) and the ‘House of the Protomes’ at Thuburbo Maius (55) (fig. 4)—looked into secondary peristyles. The remaining 7 were accessible through other rooms, which, in 3 cases, were themselves also large reception rooms.¹⁷ Various typologies of reception room (see chart 2) have been revealed. Indeed, out of 37 rooms, at least 10 different architectural types can be recognised. The rooms that have been investigated include: 17 quadrangular rooms, of which, in turn, there were three *trichinia*, identifiable from their floor design; 8 apsed rooms, including one with a transept; three *trichora*; two apsidal rooms; two with facing apses (both in the same house at Sufetula (47)); one room with a trefoil apse; one T-shaped room; one circular room; one rectangular room divided into two (with the end part heated, at least during the original phase); and one room with pilasters, with a niche at the end.

The trends revealed by this analysis clearly confirm what is already known about the reception rooms of late antique houses:¹⁸ their importance; the extent of their multiplication within the same house; and their variety of shapes.¹⁹ Further, almost half of all the reception rooms (43%) had some form of apse, compared with less than 1% in earlier periods. However, it is decidedly harder to identify the uses to which these spaces were put. For the most part, these functions can be deduced from the literary sources, and conjectured on the basis of a room’s dimensions, respective architectural or decorative features, and its location within the circulation system of a house.²⁰ The existence

¹⁷ ‘House of the Bassilica’ at Carthage (20) rooms 3 and 4; ‘House of the Protomes’ at Thuburbo Maius (55) rooms 2 and 3; ‘House of the Trifolium’ at Thugga (59) rooms 4 and 5. In these cases, the *‘percorso cerimoniale ascensionale’*, Baldini Lippolis (2001) 69–72, must have assumed particularly prestigious forms.

¹⁸ See n. 15.

¹⁹ The greatest novelty being the introduction of the apse; see, most recently, Bullo (2003) 79–84. Compared to the preceding periods, however, we must stress the disappearance of the *oecus corinthius*, which had formerly enjoyed reasonable popularity and had made it possible to build rooms over 10 m. wide, see Bullo (2003) 76–79.

²⁰ On this matter and on the relationship between ‘public’ and ‘private’ space in a Roman *domus*, see first: Thébert (1985); Zaccaria Ruggiu (1995); Grassigli (1998) 41–54.

of more than one reception room in certain houses leaves scope for hypotheses postulating a variety of uses, either in the context of a single occasion or, alternatively, on different occasions.

Both the quadrangular rooms, as in the *Nymfarum Domus* at Neapolis (40, Room 10) (fig. 1) or in the *insula* of the Hunt at Bulla Regia (4, Room 53) (fig. 3), and the apsed rooms, as in the 'Building of the Seasons' at Sufetula (47, Room 3) (fig. 5), were designed for formal dining. In each case, the design of the floor betrays the arrangement of a *triclinium*, or a *stibadium*, with its associated *sigma* table. The privileged status of the guests accommodated by such rooms is clear from the fact that these spaces could usually only be reached by crossing the very heart of the house.²¹ In contrast, the rooms directly accessible from the outside were, in all probability, more specifically used by the *dominus* for audiences with his lower-ranking dependants. Cases in point are the two-apsed rooms of Bulla Regia, in the 'House of the Hunt' (4, Room 23) (fig. 3) and 'House no. 3' (9, Room 6–8). The location of these spaces leaves little doubt about their purpose. Both were reached directly from the street, and the position of their doorways permitted the *dominus*, if he wished, to appear in the apse before the already assembled gathering, to great theatrical effect.²² The most immediate comparison to these rooms is the apsed room of the 'Palace of the *Dux*', in Apollonia (Room 2).²³

Discussion will now centre on this second type of large reception room. There is no space here to consider in great detail either the identities of its users, or the types of event that it hosted.²⁴ The correct term for such rooms would seem to be 'private basilica'.²⁵ Their main characteristics include a peripheral location, elongated shape, possession of an apse that focused the attention of an audience on one of the short sides, and a means of access that made it possible to move

²¹ Even to the extent of descending to the underground floor in the 'House of the Hunt' at Bulla Regia (4, room 53).

²² The hypothesis is that of Ellis (1985) 20, in relation to Apollonia. On this theme, see also Ellis (1988) 569 and Thébert (1985) 319–25.

²³ Ellis (1985).

²⁴ And the fact that they involved *clientes* and/or *coloni*; see first Thébert (1985) 344–45 and 360–64; Wallace-Hadrill (1989).

²⁵ On the advisability of using this term also in the private sphere, see first Vit. 6.5.2: *Nobilibus vero, qui honores magistratusque gerundo praestare debent officia civibus, faciunda sunt... basilicas non dissimili modo quam publicorum operum magnificentia comparatas...*, then also Servius *Aen.* I.698: *Unde apparet errare eos qui triclinium dicunt ipsam basilicam...* and *Hist. Aug. Gord. tres.* 32: *Domus Gordianorum etiam nunc extat... In qua basilicae centenariae tres...* For an analysis, see Luschi (1982) with bibliography, and also Thébert (1985) 364.

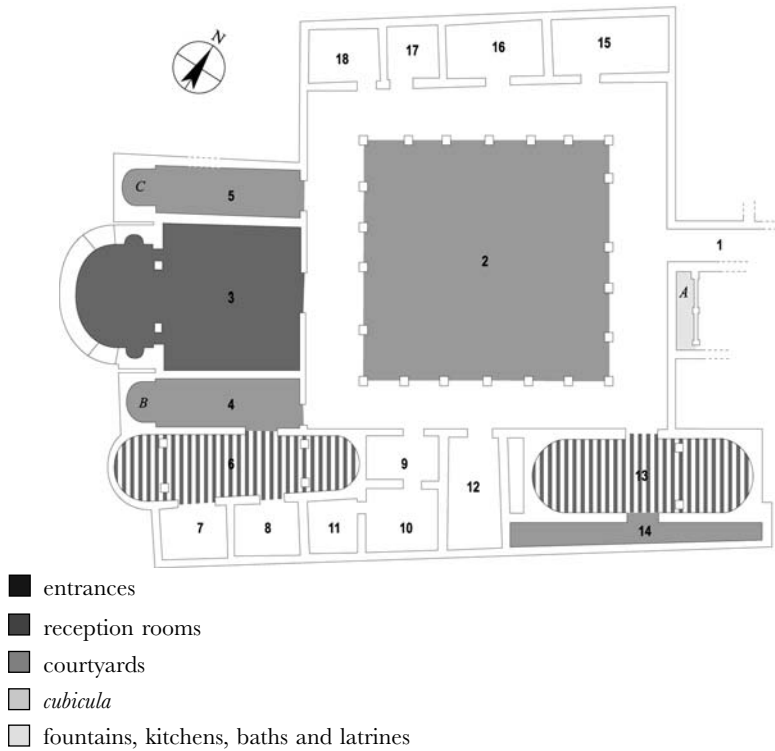


Fig. 5 'Building of the Seasons' at Sufetula.

freely within them. Given that these same features are found, at least in part, in one of the double-apsed rooms of the 'Building of the Seasons' at Sufetula (47, Room 13) (fig. 5)—that nearest to the entrance—this was presumably one such reception room.²⁶ The 'private basilicas' are also reminiscent of a type of room that has been identified by Duval at Apamea and Ptolemais.²⁷ This was distinguished by its particularly elongated shape and side entrances. Just as at Sufetula, these rooms were situated along one of the sides of a peristyle, and were sometimes created by closing off the inter-column spaces. However, unlike the

²⁶ The main apse was that at the north end, raised and separated from the main body of the room by two columns; Duval and Baratte (1973) 65.

²⁷ Duval (1984) 470; Apamea: House 'au triclinos' (room 3); House 'aux consoles'; House 'aux pilastres' (room AK/AO/AQ/W); Ptolemais: House T (room SPI/SPII); significantly all rooms with openings in the vicinity of the apse.

‘private basilicas’, these spaces were reached by routes that did not take in the colonnaded courtyard, but, at best, only incorporated the heart of the house in an absolutely marginal way.

Quadrangular audience rooms must have also featured prominently. Room N/M, in the ‘House of the Nymphaeum’ at Ostia,²⁸ is a good example. According to wall paintings, it has been convincingly argued that the landlord used this room for a ceremony during which his dependants brought to him the produce of his land.²⁹ This room was typically accessible both indirectly from the street, and directly from the residential quarter of the house. It was absolutely quadrangular in shape, and had a section at the end that was separated from the main apse before it by two short pilasters set against the wall. These extensive departures from a specific architectural typology show that house designs were essentially determined by internal circulation patterns: paths of access; and doorways. The latter determined the function of various rooms by dictating how they could be approached by guests and inhabitants. As a result, each house and room must be considered separately.

Bearing in mind the importance of circulation patterns, there is no reason why the triconch of ‘House T’ at Ptolemais (Room EII) should not be interpreted as an audience room,³⁰ even though, like all three-apsed rooms, one would tend to consider this design as more ideally suited for banquets.³¹ First, it was positioned in a corner of the peristyle and was directly accessible from outside the dwelling, through a secondary entrance.³² Second, it remains present certain characteristics that are hardly compatible with its supposed dining function and accommodation of three *stibadia*; above all, the balustrade, which physically separated the central apse from the body of the room, and the trace of a seat.³³ Another room that was probably used as an audience hall is the extraordinary room that gives its name to the ‘House of the Rotonda’ at Carthage (22, Room 4). Significantly, it had an apse and access to the back of the house in its immediate vicinity. However, its interpretation is far from certain, given that it was located close to the

²⁸ Becatti (1948) 109–12, fig. 9.

²⁹ Becatti (1948) 111 and 218, figs. 37–40.

³⁰ Ward-Perkins, Little and Mattingly (1986) 134–43, fig. 15.

³¹ Though with due caution, because they are suited to accommodating three *stibadia*; Ward-Perkins, Little and Mattingly (1986) 143; Morvillez (1995) 21–24.

³² Ward-Perkins, Little and Mattingly (1986) 136.

³³ Stucchi (1975) 451; mentions both features, and, in addition, notices the remains of a porphyry disc that could have indicated the place of the seat.

peristyle and on the main route into the house, rather than on one of the more marginal routes, which were typically used to access audience rooms. [S.B.]

ASPECTS OF DECORATION: FIGURED MOSAIC

Analysis of the decorative elements of the 68 late antique *domus* has revealed some interesting trends. The first is that the use of marble to decorate floors, thresholds and walls, was distinctly meagre.³⁴ This is surprising, considering that African patrons attributed a high representational value to marble, as confirmed by the numerous surviving examples of mosaic imitations of *opus sectile* paving.³⁵ The limited evidence of marble usage might possibly reflect the scarcity of archaeological remains: but this hypothesis is not very convincing, given that marble revetments generally leave significant traces that are unlikely to escape the attention of excavators. Nonetheless, this development deserves careful reflection, and should be compared to developments in the rest of the Empire. Conversely, the evidence for mosaic decoration, particularly figured mosaics, is far more plentiful. It must be stressed, however, that in the majority of cases, under 10% of the floor surface would have been covered with figured mosaics.³⁶ Further, for the most part (85/90 % of the total), these mosaics were located within, and at the entrances to (in corridors, thresholds and ‘*carrés de triclinium*’), both the principal and secondary reception rooms (*oeci*, *triclinia*, *stibadia*, *exedras*, etc.), or in the fountains, and hemicycles that imitated fountains, which faced the reception rooms.³⁷ Rich decoration was presumably

³⁴ See for example: Althiburos, ‘Building of the Asklepeia’ (1); Bulla Regia, ‘House no. 8’ (2), ‘House no. 3’ (9); Carthage, ‘House of Aelius Silvanus’ (14), ‘House of the “Volière”’ (21), ‘House of the Rotonda’ (22), ‘House of the Cryptoporticus’ (23) (though here the marble revetment perhaps dates to a previous phase), ‘House of Bacchus’ (28); Neapolis, *Nymfarum Domus* (40); Puppit, ‘Building of the Satire and the Nymph’ (43); Thuburbo Maius, ‘House of Neptune’ (54), ‘House of the Protomes’ (55).

³⁵ ‘House of the New Hunt’ at Bulla Regia (3) (threshold of the reception room); ‘House of the Triumph of Venus’ at Thuburbo Maius (56) (courtyard); ‘House of Venus’ at Thugga (57) (room 15), etc.

³⁶ With few exceptions: see for example the *Nymfarum Domus* of Neapolis (40).

³⁷ Even the few instances of mosaics in the entrance areas can be considered as belonging to the decoration of the public area of the house: Althiburos, ‘Building of the Asklepeia’ (1); Puppit, ‘House of the Figured Peristyle’ (45) and courtyards; Carthage, ‘House of the “Volière”’ (21); Puppit, ‘House of the Figured Peristyle’ (45); Thuburbo Maius, ‘House of the Protomes’ (55), ‘House of the Triumph of Venus’ (56). On the other hand, figured mosaics are rarely found in the *cubicula*. Among those that stand

confined to reception areas in order to impress visitors. Therefore, by examining the themes depicted in these figured mosaics, it might be possible to identify changes in repertoire from their predecessors of the 2nd–3rd centuries A.D. (hence also throwing light on the stylistic continuity/discontinuity vis-à-vis the rest of the Empire), and the ‘thematic specialisation’ of mosaics in different areas and routes within the late antique house.³⁸

Before looking in greater detail at these points, it is essential to outline certain methodological approaches. Since the goal of the study was to understand what governed the distribution of images within the house and, hence, the messages they carried, it was first necessary to quantify the various themes (in percentages). A classification grid was created in order to group images according to increasingly specific perspectives. These included both general and particular categories (from theme to scheme), and categories that communicated different information. The first broad subdivision incorporates those broad semantic containers, or *thematic areas*, which formed the basis of the African repertory, including amongst others, hunting, games and myth. These, in turn, can be subdivided into *sub-areas*;³⁹ and each *sub-area* broken down into different *subjects*.⁴⁰ Finally, the various *subjects* can be categorised according to *iconographic schemes* that can themselves be very different.⁴¹ By such a classification, each image forms part of a system that helps us to perceive the general tendencies in taste (*area* and *sub-area*), the personal choices of the patron (*subjects*), and, finally, the craftsman’s contribution to the realisation of the work (*iconographic schemes*).

out are the satire and nymph from the house of that name at Pupput (43). To these can be added the mosaics of the *Nymfarum Domus* at Neapolis (40), which are unique in both subject and stylistic quality: their exact interpretation is still elusive. In the *cubicula*, mosaics depicted birds on a bough inserted within geometric/vegetal sections: see, for example, ‘House of the Hunt’ (4) and ‘House of the New Hunt’ (3) at Bulla Regia; ‘House of Bacchus and Ariadne’ (49) at Thuburbo Maius, and ‘House of Venus’ (57) at Thugga. For a more general comment, see Novello (2007).

³⁸ The interpretations that follow have drawn extensively on the results of Marta Novello’s forthcoming research, which includes all those mosaics that most likely belong to private buildings, yet cannot be associated with a particular architectural context, Novello (2007).

³⁹ For example, the *thematic area* of myth can comprise the *sub-areas* of the loves of the gods, the feats of the heroes, etc.

⁴⁰ If, for example, the *sub-area* is that of the loves of the gods, this can include ‘Apollo and Daphne’, ‘Europa and the bull’, ‘Ganymedes and the eagle’, ‘Poseidon’ and ‘Amynone’, etc.

⁴¹ In representing ‘Europa and the bull’, the craftsman can show the girl as dressed or semi-nude, beside the animal or astride it, while the bull can be still on land or already in the water, etc.

The need to draw out the results of much broader research⁴² in this short paper means that it focuses on the viewpoint of the patron. Consequently, it considers the *areas*, *sub-areas* and *subjects*, and refrains from any analysis of the *schemes*. Glancing down the list of figured subjects, it is striking that, while most of them easily fall within recurrent *thematic areas* (the hunt, the circus, marine themes, Dionysiac themes, etc.), some have very original features that make them exceedingly difficult to classify. Examples include the ‘Building with Putti’ from the ‘House of the Triconch’ (27), the ‘tiger skin’ from the ‘House of the Cryptoporticus’

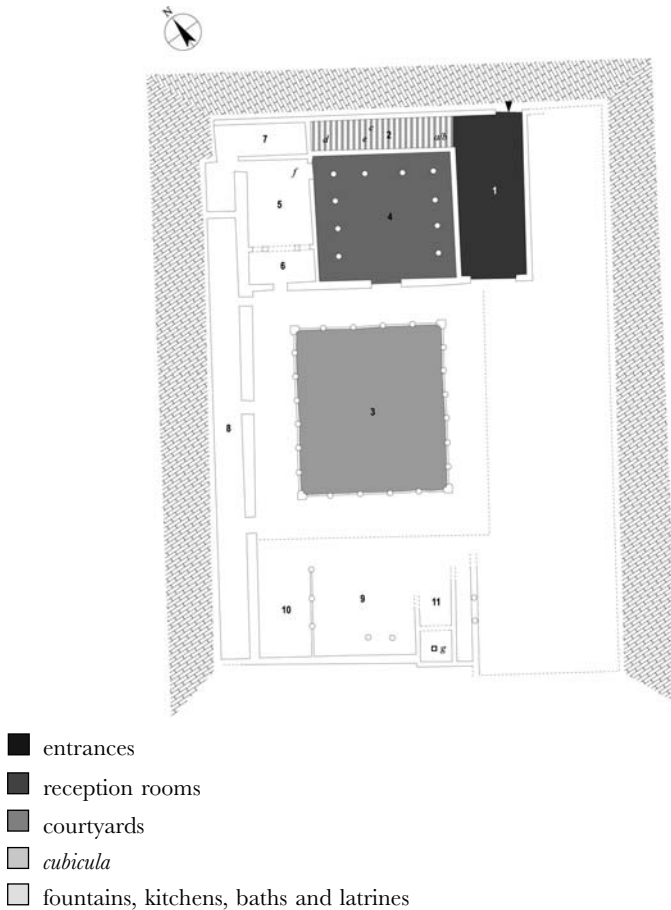


Fig. 6 ‘House of the Cryptoporticus’ at Carthage.

⁴² Novello (2007), whom I thank for allowing me to read her text before its publication.

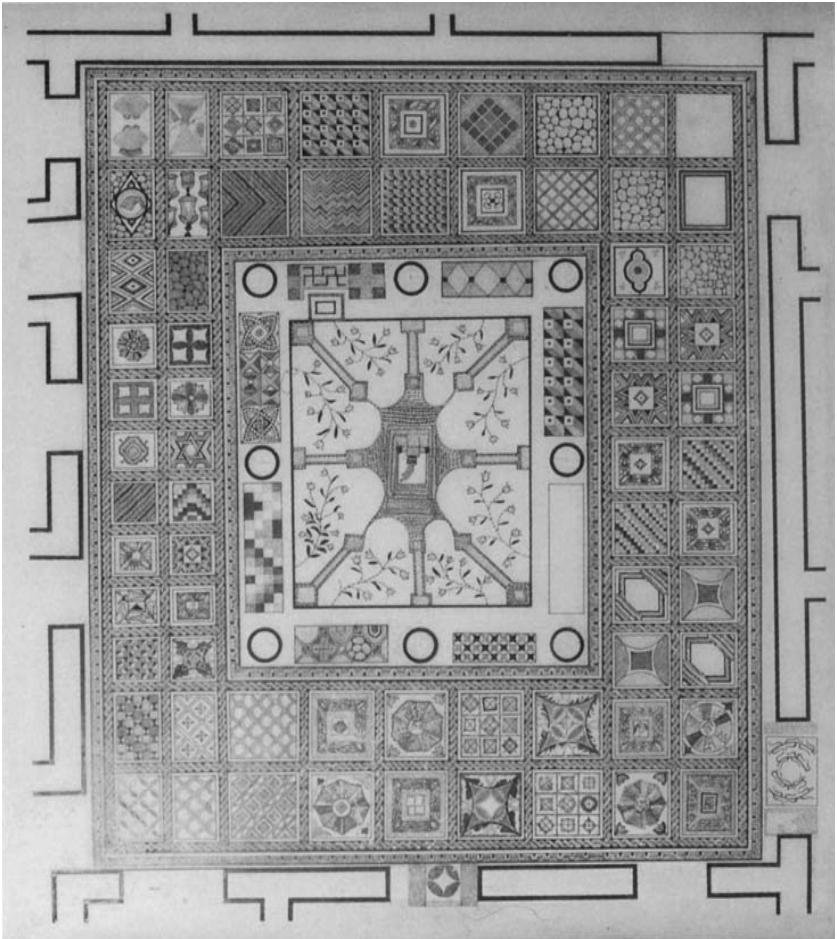


Fig. 7 Mosaic with the lighthouse from the 'House of the Figured Peristyle'
(Ben Abed Ben Khader (1994b) fig. 9).

(23) (fig. 6), ‘the Evangelists’ from the ‘House of the Vicus Castrorum’ (16), the ‘triumph of Venus’ from the ‘House of the Triumph of Venus’ (56), and ‘the lighthouse’ (fig. 7) from the courtyard of the ‘House of the Figured Peristyle’ (45). What this immediately suggests is that, in spite of the adherence to a shared imagery, the owners’ choice of decoration for the *domus* represented a strong assertion of individual patronage. Even within recurrent *thematic areas*, the watchword seems to be variety, and not only iconographical variety, as will be evident from the examples below.

For example, there are some 15 contextualised depictions of the *thematic area* of the *hunt*, one of the most common themes. These were situated in reception rooms, thresholds, ‘*carrées de triclinium*’ and corridors. One dozen more that are decontextualised can be added to this list.⁴³ First of all, there are two clearly differentiated *sub-areas* within this *area*, each the bearer of a different message: *hunting for sport* and *hunting for animal capture* (to procure animals for the amphitheatre). Significantly, the former is found more frequently in the African repertory, which is consistent with what is known regarding the increasing popularity of a sport, cultivated by patrons during their frequent retreats to country villas. The other type was more closely associated with the public side of this sport; the games held in the amphitheatres. After enjoying a brief period of popularity during the 4th c. A.D., this *sub-area* went into decline. Significantly, this occurred just as the iconography of such spectacles, against which the Church Fathers had directed their wrath, began to lose its importance.

Looking in more detail at the *thematic sub-area* of *hunting for sport*,⁴⁴ it is anything but uniform, including very different *subjects*. Alongside complex compositions that follow an entire hunting expedition from its departure to its return,⁴⁵ there are more specific scenes, ranging from

⁴³ Novello (2007).

⁴⁴ The numerous instances are distributed amongst the reception rooms: Althiburos, ‘Building of the Asklepeia’ (1); Clipea, ‘House of the Two Hunts’ 2 cases, (12); Carthage, ‘House of the Boar Hunt’ (33), ‘House of the Vicus Castrorum’ (16); ‘*carrés de triclinium*’ or thresholds (Thuburbo Maius, ‘House of the Triumph of Venus’ (56); Thugga, ‘House of Venus’ (57); Uthina, ‘House of Ikarios’ (63). The series of panels from the corridor of the peristyle of the ‘House of the Hunt’ at Utica (68) are an exception.

⁴⁵ See for example Althiburos, ‘Building of the Asklepeia’ (1); Utica, ‘House of the Hunt’ (68).

the hunting of savage animals⁴⁶ to hunts for rather less dangerous prey.⁴⁷ Despite alluding to a servile activity, the scenes showing the trapping of birds, often included in broader hunting contexts, nonetheless evoke the world of the villa, and belong to the same semantic area.⁴⁸ This variety of subjects and iconographies appears to be connected to the patrons' desire to personalise these images. A particularly good example is the highly original representation of a tiger skin, on the floor of the 'House of the Cryptoporticus' at Carthage (23) (fig. 6), which was situated in a non-public area (the only one of all the mosaics considered thus far to be located in such an area). Perhaps it recalled a glorious trophy that had been won in distant lands. Indeed, hunters today still commemorate their exploits in similar ways.⁴⁹ Therefore, the *thematic sub-area* of *hunting for sport* (with its two variants: aristocratic hunting; and hunting using servants, often coexisting in the same image) served as an inherent declaration of one's aristocratic status (a message that could also be hinted at in other images, as we shall see below). However, the differences in its content and iconography suggest that, in the absence of a codified tradition, these can be ascribed to the individual choices of the craftsmen and patrons.

The inherent message in the images belonging to the *sub-area* of the 'venationes' is decidedly different. This *sub-area* incorporates not only hunting scenes in which animals are captured,⁵⁰ including a parody featuring

⁴⁶ Of the lion: Utica, 'House of the Hunt' (68), and wild boar (Clipea, 'House of the Two Hunts' (12); Carthage, 'House of the Boar Hunt' (33); 'House of the Vicus Castrorum' (16); to which we can add the tiger hunt from the 'House of the Crane Sacrifice' at Carthage (Dunbabin (1978) 253, Carthage, (41).

⁴⁷ Of the hare: Clipea, 'House of the Two Hunts' (12); Althiburos, 'Building of the Asklepeia' (1); Thuburbo Maius, 'House of the Triumph of Venus' (56); Thugga, 'House of Venus' (57); Uthina, 'House of Ikarios' (63). Of deer: Utica, 'House of the Hunt' (68). Of the fox: Utica, 'House of the Hunt' (68); Uthina, 'House of Ikarios' (63). A hunting reference can also be detected in the gazelle of the 'House of the Trifolium' at Thugga (59).

⁴⁸ Trapping of birds: Althiburos, 'Building of the Asklepeia' (1); Clipea, 'House of the Two Hunts' (12); Utica, 'House of the Hunt' (68).

⁴⁹ Less likely, on the other hand, is the hypothesis that this image is intended to allude to a *venatio* organised by the owner of the house.

⁵⁰ Bulla Regia, 'House of the New Hunt' (3) (*triclinium*); Carthage, 'House of the Horses and the Seasons' (32) (*carvè de triclinium*); to which one can add the de-contextualised scene from the so-called 'House of the Hunted Animals' at Carthage (Dunbabin (1978) 252, Carthage, 24).

hunting cupids,⁵¹ but also animal *protomai*,⁵² and various other complex and original scenes. The latter include the ‘hunters, deer and tigers’ in the ‘House of the Horses and Seasons’ (32), the ‘horsemen and bears’ in the ‘House of the Peacock’ (25),⁵³ the ‘Amazons on horseback against lions’ in the ‘House of the Hidden Statues’ (26), and, finally, symbolic references, such as the ‘crown of the Pentasii’, which was reproduced several times in the ‘House of the Hunt’ at Bulla Regia (4) (fig. 3) and is also attested elsewhere.⁵⁴ These images seem to have been intended to celebrate the games promoted by patrons, and, at the same time, display individual characteristics by recourse to a plurality of subjects. Similar points can be made regarding the scenes inspired by the *circus*, which are again connected to the world of games, and were typically concentrated in reception areas.⁵⁵ Here again, there is significant iconographic variety, with some images of horses (often associated with cylinders, symbols of victory),⁵⁶ and others of charioteers.⁵⁷ Conversely, the circus building itself, or part of it, was rarely depicted, and found only in the parodistic, de-contextualised mosaic in the ‘House of the Circus Race’ at Carthage (34).⁵⁸

Images of buildings, especially villas, are of a marked self-representational character and belong to the *area* of *daily life*. Together with the hunting scenes, they evoke the life-style of late antique aristocrats. They

⁵¹ See the ‘*carré de triclinium*’ of the ‘House of the Hunt’, Bulla Regia (4), to which one can add the mosaic with child *venatores* from the ‘House to the North of the Cothon’ of Carthage (Dunbabin (1978) 253; Salomonson (1965) 35, tab. XXVIII, 1–2).

⁵² Carthage, ‘House of Ariadne’ (35); Thuburbo Maius, ‘House of the Protomes’ (55) reception room; to which one can add numerous de-contextualised examples, Novello (2006).

⁵³ Significantly associated with another game reference that was becoming increasingly prominent in that period, that of the circus: see f.56.

⁵⁴ Seen, for example, in the ‘Building of the Asklepeia’ at Althiburos (1); to which one can add the symbol of the Telegenii in the ‘House of the Dolphins’ (61) at Thysdrus, though perhaps belonging to a preceding phase.

⁵⁵ Four in reception rooms: Clipea, ‘House of the Two Hunts’ (12); Carthage, ‘House of the Horses and the Seasons’ (32), and ‘House of the Peacock’ (25); Thuburbo Maius, ‘House of the Chariot’ (53). Two on thresholds: Carthage, ‘House of the Greek Charioteers’ (38); ‘House of Ariadne’ (35). Two in the ‘*carrés de triclinium*’: Thugga, ‘House of the Trifolium’ (59); Carthage, ‘House of the Circus Race’ (34).

⁵⁶ Clipea, ‘House of the Two Hunts’ (12); Carthage, ‘House of the Horses and the Seasons’ (32), ‘House of the Peacock’ (25); Thugga, ‘House of the Trifolium’ (59); see also a threshold in the ‘House of Ariadne’ at Carthage (35).

⁵⁷ Thuburbo Maius, ‘House of the Chariot’ (53); Carthage, ‘House of the Greek Charioteers’ (38).

⁵⁸ The mosaic with the representation of craters, millet stalks and an inscription (*felix populi veneti*) from the ‘House of the Horses and Seasons’ of Carthage (32) also alludes to the circus.

are found, above all, in Carthage, both contextualised (the 'House of the Vicus Castrorum', 16; the 'House of the Bassilica', 20, figs. 7 and 8) and decontextualised (*Dominus Iulius*, fig. 8).⁵⁹ The most famous example, however, is certainly that of Tabarka, where an image of urban and rural buildings was inserted into the three apses of the *trichorum*, clearly intended by the patron to show-off different views of his property to the guests he received in this large room.⁶⁰

Having discussed the figural evocation of the various aspects of the aristocratic lifestyle (entertainment, evergetism, property, etc.), we will now consider the mythological area. In our period, there was a distinct decline in the artistic representation of this area, even if certain sub-areas, such as the Dionysiac, continued to enjoy a certain degree of favour among patrons. However, the portrayals of this god, or of his thyasos, displaying the customary variety of subjects, were for the most part confined to more secluded areas of the house. Among the few exceptions, it is worth mentioning the original composition of Bacchus and Ariadne, from the house of that name at Thuburbo Maius (49) (figs. 9 and 10). In this residence, the Dionysiac reference was re-asserted in the second reception room. Given that guests could reach this room directly from the outside, without crossing the heart of the house, it was clearly used not only for dining, as is apparent from the design of its floor, but also for receiving clientes. Here, in fact, a reproduction of the popular iconography of the grape-picking putti has been found. This subject boasts an ancient tradition and is also featured in the courtyard of the 'House of the Protomes', again at Thuburbo Maius (55) (fig. 4).⁶¹

Similar considerations apply to images connected with the sea. Although they are much less frequently attested than in the preceding period, when they regularly occupied prominent locations in the main reception rooms, they continued to be reproduced, above all, in rooms associated with water (fountains, baths). Significantly, one can

⁵⁹ Dunbabin (1978) 252, Carthage 32.

⁶⁰ Alongside these images, which fall into a consistent pattern in spite of the iconographic diversification, we can mention one of the more controversial images, which decorated the southern apse of the 'House of the Triconch' at Carthage (27). It alludes to some ceremony, the original meaning of which is difficult to decipher. A building with columns and towers also embellished a threshold of the *Nymfarum Domus* at Neapolis (40).

⁶¹ See also a similar scene from the 'House of the Greek Charioteers' at Carthage (38); on the grape-picking *putti*, see most recently Ghedini (1997).

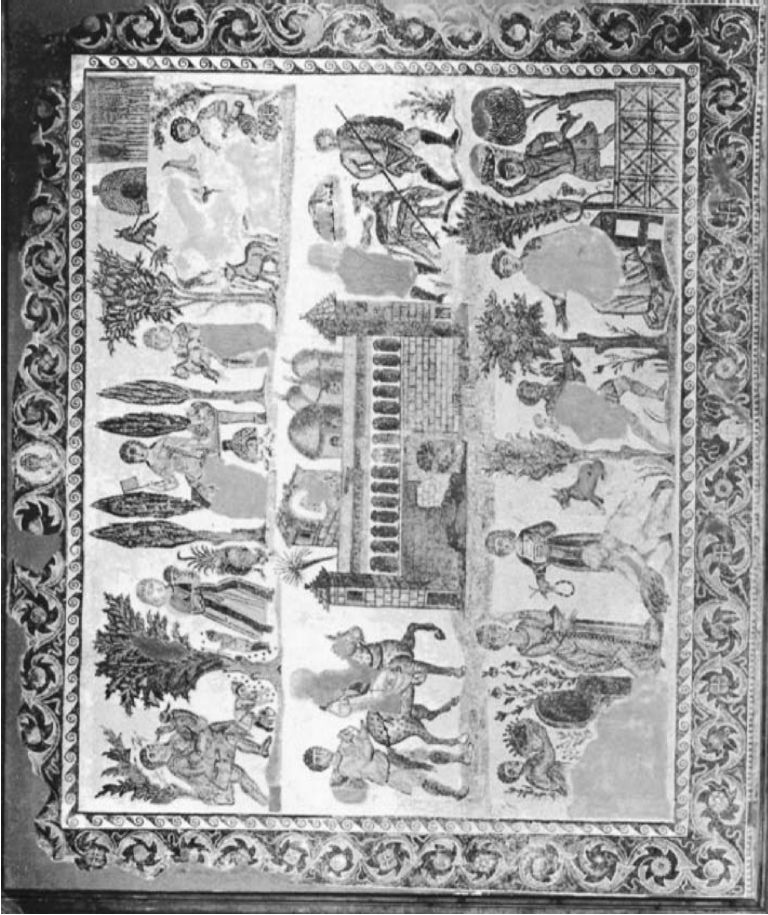


Fig. 8 Mosaic of *Dominus Julius* from Carthage (Dunbabin (1994), pl. XLIII, fig. 109).



Fig. 9 Mosaic of Bacchus and Ariadne from the ‘House of Bacchus and Ariadne’ at Thuburbo Maius (Alexander and Ennaifer (1994) pl. XVII, fig. 376A).

again identify a plurality of *sub-areas* and *subjects* in this category. On the one hand, we find images inspired by daily life (fish and fishermen, for the most part in fountains or *exedrae*,⁶² but also in reception rooms⁶³ and corridors),⁶⁴ or genuine landscapes (also featuring buildings) that

⁶² See for example ‘House of Nicentius’ at Thuburbo Maius (51); ‘House of the Hidden Statues’ at Carthage (26).

⁶³ See for example ‘House of the Protomes’ (55) or ‘House of the Triumph of Venus’ (56) at Thuburbo Maius.

⁶⁴ Thuburbo Maius, ‘House of Bacchus and Ariadne’ (49); see also the ‘*carré de triclinium*’ of the ‘House of the Nighed Viridarium’ at Pupput (46).

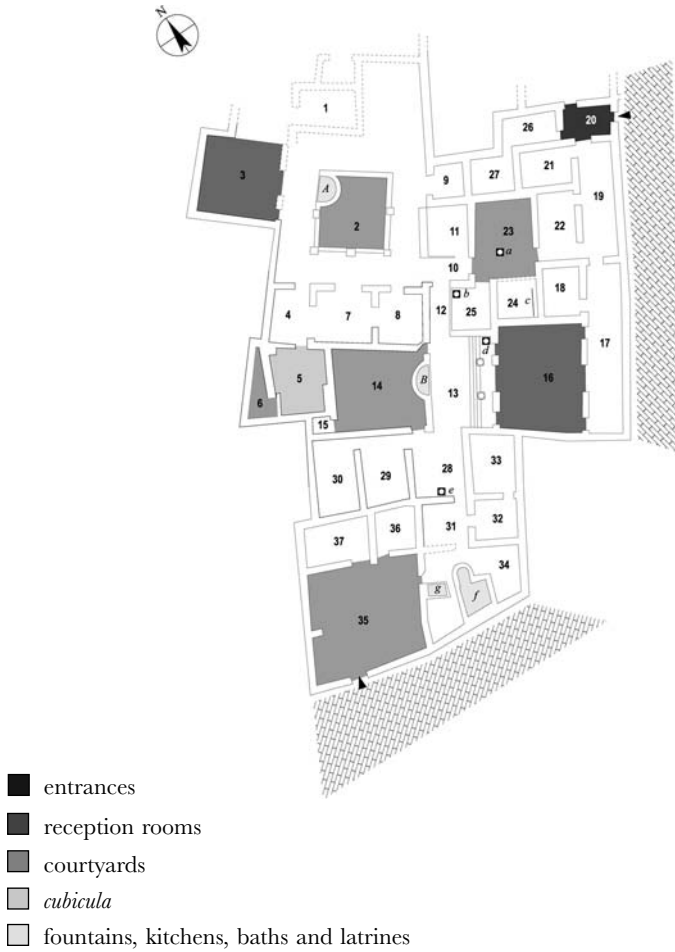


Fig. 10 'House of Bacchus and Ariadne' at Thuburbo Maius.

generically evoke either densely or sparsely inhabited coastlines.⁶⁵ On the other hand, a great number of scenes survive that can be linked to a consolidated mythological repertory, such as the head of Oceanus,⁶⁶

⁶⁵ But where the building seems particularly well-connoted—for example, the 'House of the Hidden Statues' (26) and the 'House of the Basilica' (20) at Carthage—these scenes can be related to the property of the *dominus* and are thus comparable with those of villas.

⁶⁶ Thuburbo Maius, 'House of Bacchus and Ariadne' (49); see also a threshold of the 'House of Ariadne' at Carthage (35).

generally used to decorate fountains or basins, or more complex marine *monsters*⁶⁷ or Triumphs of Venus,⁶⁸ which were the final descendants of a popular tradition. Marine images with extremely specific associations are particularly worthy of mention, such as the catalogue of ships at the entrance to the 'Building of the Asklepeia' at Althiburos (1), which has led Novello⁶⁹ to an intriguing interpretation of the patron's social status. Another mosaic, discovered in the 'House of the Figured Peristyle' of Puppūt (45), refers to the sea as an object of economic interest by its representation of a lighthouse in a courtyard (fig. 7).

In conclusion to this rapid survey, which naturally makes no claim to being exhaustive,⁷⁰ it is possible to assert that the mosaics documented in the late antique African *domus* (including a few necessary references to decontextualised mosaics that certainly belonged to private buildings)⁷¹ are thematically different to those of the early empire. This may quite plausibly be linked to social change. Among the 'new' themes, aristocratic hunting and villas have been singled out. Both express the same self-representational message, evoking the economic potential of the *dominus*, who could afford luxurious residences out of town; country mansions to which they could retreat for long periods and pursue leisure activities. At the same time, the repertory linked to the amphitheatre was progressively replaced by images of the circus games, which gradually filled the gap left by the bloodier spectacles that had been condemned by the Church. Perhaps for the same reason, there

⁶⁷ See for example the 'Building of the Seasons' at Sufetula (47) (reception room), 'House of Bacchus and Ariadne' at Thuburbo Maius (fountain) (49), and the mosaics, which can no longer be precisely contextualised, from 'House no. 90 of Falbe' at Carthage (13) and from 'House of the Trifolium' at Thugga (59).

⁶⁸ Thugga, 'House of Venus' (57); Carthage, 'House of the Hidden Statues' (26); here we find the mythological theme associated with scenes of fishing and a building on a small island, perhaps referring to property belonging to the patron (see f.70).

⁶⁹ Novello (2003).

⁷⁰ As well as the images listed here, we continue to encounter other themes attested in the preceding repertory. Examples include the *xenia*, frequently situated in reception rooms, mythological scenes, theatrical scenes and even the images of the Seasons, which are distinguished for their originality of treatment and hence deserve separate discussion; on which see Novello (2006).

⁷¹ An interesting confirmation of the plausibility of this statistical reading is the fact that there is no change in the percentages whether we consider just the contextualised mosaics or the surviving mosaics as a whole.

was also a radical decline in theatrical images, which were attested in only a few mosaic fragments.⁷²

It is also particularly interesting that the generic repertoire of *themes* is not matched by a corresponding similarity in the specific *subjects* and iconographic *schemes* of the mosaics. This would seem to suggest that patrons and craftsmen wished to distinguish their choices within the shared imagery of the late antique world. In a broader context, the mosaics from Africa Proconsularis show significant affinities with contemporary mosaic production, as well as (indeed above all) with other categories of decorative elements, especially those qualified as minor arts: ornaments made from glass, textiles, contorniate medallions and precious materials.⁷³ In all cases, there are significant similarities relating to the more frequently attested *thematic areas*. It seems, therefore, that the methods of self-representation employed by late antique African aristocrats should be reconstructed by a process of analysis, which examines all the fixed and movable decorative elements that made up the surroundings within which they lived and moved.

Finally, the *domus*, in both its architectural/structural and decorative aspects, provides evidence for developments that are wholly consistent with the situation in the rest of the Empire. These trends confirm the continuity of elite lifestyles, which were clearly not always affected by (or sometimes show absolutely no traces of) the great historical events that were, at the time, upsetting the political and social equilibrium.⁷⁴ [F.G.]

APPENDIX: LATE ANTIQUE HOUSES IN CITIES OF ROMAN TUNISIA

Out of the 68 published houses in the towns of Roman Tunisia, which present a building phase that can be defined as late antique (4th–6th c. A.D.), those indicated in bold type are those that—with either a greater (20 in all, marked by a number) or lesser degree of certainty (11 in all, marked by a question mark)—it may be assumed were designed in the

⁷² See, for example, the masks from the ‘Byzantine House on the Byrsa’, Carthage (37).

⁷³ See, for example, the decoration of the Sevso treasure: Mundell Mango and Bennet (1994), and that of Kaiseraugst: Cahn and Kaufmann-Heinimann (1984). For textiles, see Ghedini (1996), for contorniates: Alföldi and Alföldi (1976) and (1990), and for dinner services: Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli (1991).

⁷⁴ This is particularly evident in the case of the Vandal invasion.

late antique period. These are indicated in italics for the purposes of our analysis of the reception rooms (15 in all). The ‘catalogue entry’ refers to the catalogue entries in volume 2 of the volume, edited by Bullo S. and Ghedini F. (2003) *Amplissimae atque ornatissimae domus (Aug., civ. II.20.26): l’edilizia residenziale nelle città della Tunisia romana (Antenor-Quaderni 2)* (Rome 2003). We refer to this work for all the bibliographical references concerning each house.

	catalogue entry	name	first phase	late antique phase
1	Althiburos 1	Building of the Asklepeia	beginning of 3rd	4th
2	? Bulla Regia 3	House no. 8		3rd/4th
3	<i>Bulla Regia 4</i>	<i>House of the New Hunt</i>	*	<i>second half 4th–5th</i>
4	<i>Bulla Regia 5</i>	<i>House of the Hunt</i>	<i>mid 3rd</i>	<i>mid 4th</i>
5	Bulla Regia 7	House to the North of the insula of the House no. 1	3rd	4th
6	? Bulla Regia 8	House to the South of the insula of the House no. 1		4th/5th
7	? Bulla Regia 10	House no. 7 BQ		end 4th
8	Bulla Regia 12	House no. 7 BP	*	4th
9	<i>Bulla Regia 14</i>	<i>House no. 3</i>	*	<i>3rd/4th</i>
10	? Bulla Regia 15	House no. 5		3rd/4th
11	? Bulla Regia 16	House no. 4	*	3rd/4th
12	1 <i>Clipea 1</i>	<i>House of the Two Hunts</i>		<i>second half 5th–6th/7th</i>
13	Karthago 1	House no. 90 of Falbe	1st	end 4th/5th
14	? Karthago 2	House of Aelius Silvanus		3rd/4th
15	? Karthago 3	House of the Lady of Carthage		4th–6th
16	Karthago 4	House of the Vicus Castrorum	2nd	6th/7th
17	2 Karthago 5	House no. 1		beginning of 5th
18	3 Karthago 6	House no. 2		beginning of 5th
19	? Karthago 7	House near the Aedes Memoriae		mid 6th–7th
20	4 <i>Karthago 8</i>	<i>House of the Basilica</i>		<i>4th</i>
21	Karthago 9	House of the ‘Volière’	2nd/3rd	3rd/4th
22	5 <i>Karthago 10</i>	<i>House of the Rotonda</i>	2nd	second half 5th
23	Karthago 11	House of the Cryptoporticus	1st	beginning of 5th
24	Karthago 12	House of Tellus	1st/3rd	end 3rd–5th
25	Karthago 13	House of the Peacock	*	4th
26	Karthago 14	House of the Hidden Statues	*	4th/5th
27	6 <i>Karthago 15</i>	<i>House of the Triconch</i>	*	first half 5th
28	Karthago 16	House of Bacchus	3rd	first half 5th
29	Karthago 17	House of the Marine Animals	2nd	4th
30	7 Karthago 19	House of the Cestini		5th
31	8 Karthago 20	House of Black and White Mosaics		5th
32	9 Karthago 21	House of the Horses and Seasons		beginning of 4th–4th/5th
33	10 <i>Karthago 22</i>	<i>House of the Boar Hunt</i>		<i>4th–6th</i>
34	11 Karthago 23	House of the Circus Race		second half 4th

Table (cont.)

	catalogue entry	name	first phase	late antique phase
35	Karthago 24	House of Ariadne	*	beginning of 3rd or 4th
36	12 Karthago 26	'Vandal Palace'		4th/6th
37	Karthago 27	Byzantine House on the Byrsa	*	6th
38	13 Karthago 28	House of the Greek Charioteers		end 4th–6th
39	<i>Mactaris 2</i>	<i>Basilica Iuvenum</i>	*	<i>3rd/4th</i>
40	<i>Neapolis 1</i>	<i>Nymfarum Domus</i>	2nd	<i>mid 4th</i>
41	Neapolis 2	House of the Salt Factory C.	2nd	4th
42	Pupput 1	House of the Black and White Triclinium	2nd	4th ?
43	14 Pupput 2	Building of the Satire and the Nymph		end 4th/ beginning of 5th
44	15 Pupput 3	House near to the Building of the Satire and the Nymph		end 4th/ beginning of 5th
45	16 Pupput 4	House of the Figured Peristyle		4th–mid 5th
46	Pupput 5	House of the Nighed Viridarium	*	mid 4th
47	17 Sufetula 1	Building of the Seasons		4th/6th
48	18 Sufetula 2	House near the Building of the Seasons		4th/5th
49	Thuburbo Maius 1	House of Bacchus and Ariadne	3rd	5th
50	Thuburbo Maius 2	House no. 13	3rd	4th
51	Thuburbo Maius 4	House of Nicentius	2nd/3rd	beginning of 4th
52	Thuburbo Maius 7	House of the Crater	beginning of 3rd	5th
53	? Thuburbo Maius 9	House of the Chariot		3rd/4th
54	Thuburbo Maius 13	House of Neptune	beginning of 3rd	beginning of 4th
55	19 Thuburbo Maius 15	House of the Protomes		mid 4th
56	20 Thuburbo Maius 16	House of the Triumph of Venus		mid 4th
57	Thugga 4	House of Venus	3rd	4th/5th
58	Thugga 9	House of the Duck and the Seasons	3rd	first half 4th
59	<i>Thugga 10</i>	<i>House of the Trifolium</i>	<i>3rd</i>	<i>4th</i>
60	? Thysdrus 2	House of Lucius Verus		3rd/4th
61	Thysdrus 13	House of the Dolphins	3rd	beginning of 4th
62	Thysdrus 14	House of the Peacock	3rd	second half 4th
63	Uthina 1	House of Ikaros	mid 2nd	3rd/4th
64	? Uthina 2	House of Industrius		3rd/4th
65	Utica 1	House of the Partitions	mid 2nd	4th/5th
66	Utica 4	House of the Figured Basin	*	4th
67	Utica 6	House of the Hoard	*	4th
68	Utica 10	House of the Hunt	*	second half 4th

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DOMUS AND VILLA: LATE ANTIQUE HOUSING IN CARTHAGE AND ITS TERRITORY

Jeremy J. Rossiter

Abstract

This paper looks at the evidence for housing in Carthage in the period from Diocletian to the Arab conquest (4th–7th centuries A.D.). A wide range of evidence is examined including excavation reports, representations of houses in art, and a variety of relevant literary texts. The paper offers a new synthesis of this evidence, with the aim of bringing discussion of Roman and late antique housing in Carthage up to date. It incorporates much new information from recent house excavations in and around the ancient city. Although the emphasis is mainly on élite housing, the smaller quantity of evidence for non-élite housing in Carthage is also discussed. In addition, the paper looks at some of the evidence for late antique housing outside the city and considers the nature of rural settlement in the Carthaginian hinterland. The paper concludes with a discussion of the role of the traditional Roman ‘villa’ in the countryside around Carthage, raising questions about the future directions of housing studies in North Africa.

INTRODUCTION: APPROACHING THE EVIDENCE

Our knowledge of late antique housing in and around Carthage derives from three main types of evidence: in part from the results of excavation (which in the case of Carthage means more than a century of work on a number of late antique house sites in the city and its immediate surroundings); in part from occasional glimpses of domestic life and property ownership in the few, if often problematic, written sources for the period; and in part from a small number of mosaic representations of houses and villas which date from the period.¹ In

¹ For the purposes of this paper, ‘Late Antiquity’ means the period from the establishment of the Tetrarchy in A.D. 286 to the Arab capture of Carthage in A.D. 698. For general accounts of late antique Carthage: Courtois (1955); Clover (1982) 1–22; Cameron (1989) 171–90.

Carthage, as in most other Mediterranean cities, Late Antiquity was a period of sporadic and sometimes dramatic change: political power in the city belonged at different times to Roman proconsuls, Christian bishops, Vandal kings and Byzantine generals. But while Carthage suffered through repeated changes of political fortune, the fabric of the city seems to have remained remarkably unchanged. Potters, mosaicists, sculptors and builders continued to market their wares and skills and produce goods, following time-honoured models. Late antique Carthage was a city rooted in its past, one which clung to tradition and enjoyed the rewards of a sophisticated urban culture which had evolved over many centuries. As Claude Lepelley has noted: “life in the African cities of Augustine’s day cannot be understood without constant reference to the same cities two hundred years earlier, as they are revealed to us by the evidence of inscriptions, law and archaeology”.²

The study of ancient housing invites a range of approaches, some more theoretical than others.³ Houses can be looked at in terms of their architecture and decoration; they can be studied as social systems, places where groups of individuals live and interact; and they can be looked at as components of a larger urban dynamic involving a complex mix of public and private building. In the case of Carthage, there have been few attempts to study ‘housing’ as a discreet topic. Most of the published information available on Carthaginian houses is highly focused, treating individual sites and buildings, with little reference to the larger urban context. The domestic architecture of Roman Carthage is still a major topic awaiting serious study.⁴ At present there are only a few works which deal with Carthaginian houses in any sort of ‘collective’ way. Audollent’s study of Roman Carthage, although now very out of date, still offers one of the best syntheses of Carthaginian history and archaeology; this includes some limited discussion of housing in the city based on the evidence available at the turn of the last century.⁵ More recently, Isabella Baldini Lippolis has produced a useful, though far from complete, compendium of late antique houses throughout the Mediterranean world, which includes a well-illustrated

² Lepelley (1992) 50–76.

³ Laurence and Wallace-Hadrill (1997); Wallace-Hadrill (1994) 5–13; Ellis (2000).

⁴ Most general books on Roman housing have tended to include only brief mention of Carthage: e.g. Ellis (2000) 142, 152; Gros (2001) 171.

⁵ Audollent (1901) 266–307.

section on Carthage.⁶ There is also a lot of valuable new information on Carthaginian housing in the recently published Vol. 4 of the *Corpus des Mosaïques de Tunisie*, which focuses on a group of late antique houses excavated in the *Parc des Thermes d'Antonin*.⁷

One of my aims here is to bring the discussion of late antique housing in Carthage up to date by integrating the evidence available from the earlier periods of excavation in Carthage, particularly from the 'Delattre' and 'Gaukler' eras, with the newer evidence now available from the recent UNESCO projects, and from work done since the UNESCO campaign officially ended in the mid-1990's.⁸ My approach to the topic will be broadly based, taking into account not only the wealth of archaeological data now available from the city, but also some of the important textual evidence, which constantly needs to be re-assessed in light of the changing archaeological picture. The textual evidence may not be prolific, but the few tantalising references to housing and domestic life which survive—in letters, poems, sermons and inscriptions—offer vital clues to the ways in which late antique Carthaginians viewed the physical and cultural environment in which they lived.⁹

In the pages which follow, I will look firstly at house design, in particular at the evidence for architectural continuity and change in the houses of Carthage; then at house decoration and what this reveals about the cultural tastes of house owners in Carthage; and thirdly, at housing in the extra-urban territory of Carthage and the question of North African 'villas'. The focus throughout will be, unavoidably, on high status housing. I say unavoidably, because in reality this is where the bulk of both the archaeological and the literary evidence lies. Much as it would be desirable to know more about the houses and habitations of the city's poorer classes, there is at present only a small amount of evidence on which to base an assessment of such buildings. This will be included in the discussion, but by necessity the more abundant evidence for high status housing will have to take priority.

⁶ Baldini Lippolis (2001) 170–73.

⁷ Ben Abed-Ben Khader, Alexander and Metraux (1999).

⁸ For an account of the archaeological work done under the UNESCO banner in Carthage, see Ennabli (1992).

⁹ The value of textual evidence is keenly debated: for contrary views, see, for example, Wallace-Hadrill (1994) 6 and Smith (1997) 6.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE NORTH AFRICAN *DOMUS**High Status Houses*

The traditional model for high status housing in both Roman and late antique Carthage was the Graeco-Roman peristyle house.¹⁰ As excavations at the Punic site of Kerkouane have demonstrated, this type of residence, designed around the core of a central, usually pillared, courtyard was introduced into North Africa long before the Roman period.¹¹ From the earliest days of the Roman colony, the 'peristyle model' continued to dominate the design of high status housing in Carthage. Among the more than two dozen 'elite' houses which have been excavated in the city, it is hard to point to a single one which does not conform to this traditional architectural type. For many of these houses, however, precise dating is hard to establish. It is only since the 1970s that targeted 're-excavation' of some Carthaginian houses has allowed close dating, at least for the different phases of paving within the buildings. Not surprisingly, most of the houses which have been studied have been shown to have a long history of occupation. While many have produced occupation material datable to the High Roman Empire (e.g. the *Maison du Cryptoportique*, the 'House of Bacchus', the *Maison du Triconque*, the *Maison de la Volière*, all with 2nd or 3rd c. A.D. phases), most of these same houses also show continued use and remodelling well into the 5th c. It is of course nearly always the latest phase of development that is best represented in the archaeological record. As a result, some Carthaginian houses are known almost entirely in their Late Roman form, although earlier phases of occupation should not be ruled out. Such 'Late Roman' houses include the 'House of the Greek Charioteers' and the *Villa aux bains*, as well as the smaller *Maison des corbeilles* and *Maison des mosaïques noires et blanches*, the latter both with pavements dated to the 5th c.¹²

Typically, the late antique peristyle house plan was dominated by a large reception room overlooking an interior courtyard. This was the

¹⁰ Rebuffat (1974) 445–99; Thébert (1987) 313–409; Sodini (1995) 151–91, especially 179–81, figs. 41–42.

¹¹ Fantar (1984); Lancel (1995) 280–88, fig. 153.

¹² For the *House of the Greek Charioteers*: Humphrey (1976) and (1992). For the *Villa aux bains*: Hansen (2002); Styrenius and Sander (1992). For the *Maison des corbeilles* and *Maison des mosaïques noires et blanches*: Ben Abed Ben Khader, Alexander and Metraux (1999) 27–29, 31–37; Baldini Lippolis (2001) 170–73.

triclinium (sometimes labelled the *oecus*), the room used to entertain guests at dinner. In the houses of Early Roman Carthage, this was usually a large rectangular room with a wide, sometimes tripartite, doorway opening onto the courtyard (e.g. in the *Maison du Cryptoportique*). At a later date, a new type of *triclinium* was introduced, the design of which included an apse. This change was related to changing dining fashions. The new apsidal dining rooms were designed to accommodate a *stibadium*, a semicircular dining couch, a style of dining room furniture which became widely popular among the élite classes of Mid to Late Roman society. Exactly when this change in dining fashion occurred in North Africa is not certain. The usual view is that the *stibadium* was a Late Roman innovation, attested commonly in houses of the 4th c. A.D. and later but rarely in earlier contexts. Dunbabin has argued that the *stibadium* first became popular as an apparatus of outdoor dining in Italy in the 1st c. A.D.¹³ In Carthage, there is no hard evidence for apsidal dining rooms in houses before the 4th c. A.D., although it should be emphasised that the dating of many of the excavated houses is far from certain. Examples of apsidal dining rooms can be seen in the *Maison des Chevaux*, the Phase 4 rebuilding of the *Maison dite de la Rotonde* and in the *Maison du triconque*, the latter now re-investigated as part of the recent Carthage mosaics project in the *Parc des Thermes d'Antonin* (figs. 1 and 2).¹⁴ This last house provides the only surviving example in Carthage of a multi-apsed dining-room of a type familiar from Late Roman houses in other North African cities (for example, in the *Maison du trifolium* at Dougga), and in the nearby province of Sicily.¹⁵

A possible clue as to the earlier introduction of the *stibadium* to Carthage is found in the text of Apuleius' *Golden Ass*. In Book 5 of the *Golden Ass*, Apuleius describes the setting of a banquet prepared for Psyche in the halls of Cupid's palace.¹⁶ His account of the palace

¹³ Dunbabin (1996) and (2003); Ellis (1997). According to Ellis, examples of *stibadia* are seen "in most Roman provinces" from the late 3rd c. A.D. For further comment, Duval (1997).

¹⁴ Salomonson (1965) and Broise (1999).

¹⁵ A second example which is listed in Baldini Lippolis (2001) 173 as the *Maison du kiosque* would appear to be the same house as the *Maison du triconque*. Rebuffat's description of the *Maison du basilica* also talks of a "triconch" but the accompanying illustration (which is actually a plan of the *Maison du triconque*) suggests some confusion: Rebuffat (1969) 680 and (1974) 455–56. For multi-apsed dining-rooms in Sicilian villas: Wilson (1990) 204–10.

¹⁶ Brodersen (1998).

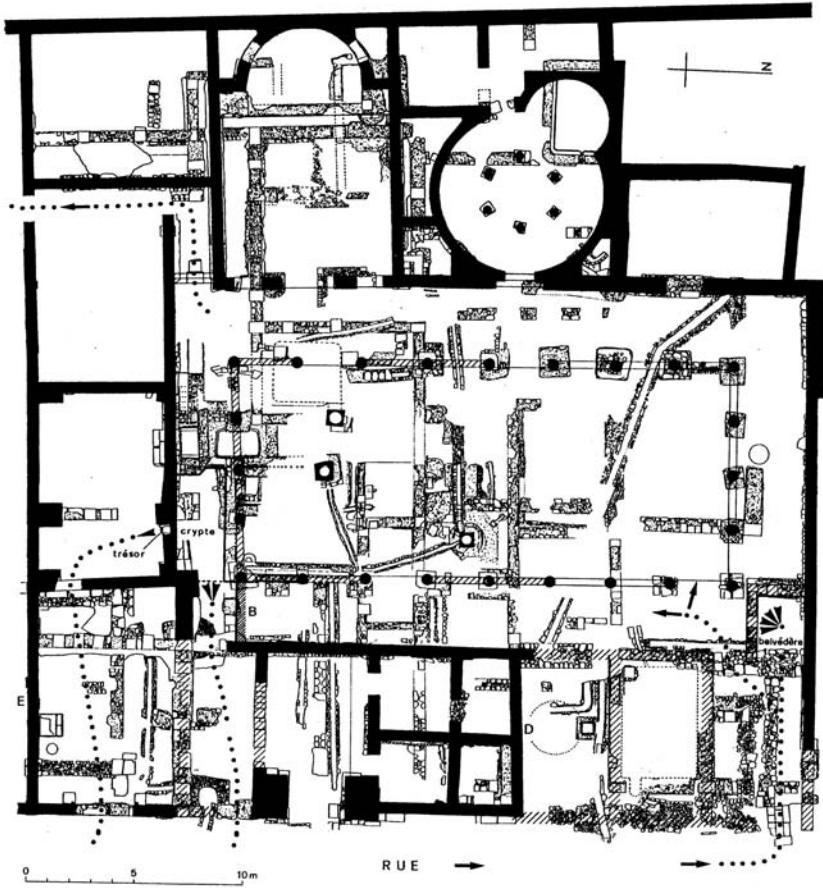


Fig. 1 Carthage, *Maison dite de la rotonde* (Broise 1999).

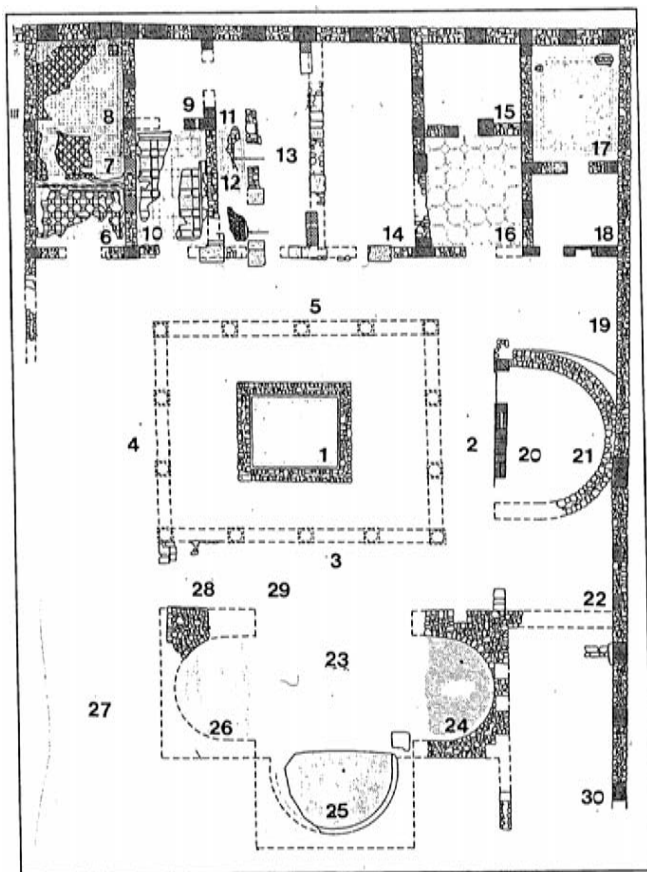


Fig. 2 Carthage, *Maison du triconque* (Baldini Lippolis 2001).

includes mention of an apsidal dining-room, thereby implying the use of a *stibadium*. Of course we cannot be sure what inspired Apuleius' architectural vignette, but as an African writer living and writing in Carthage in the 2nd c. A.D., his inspiration may well have derived from local models of domestic, or perhaps palatial architecture. Indeed, we learn from Procopius, writing about the Byzantine assault on Carthage many centuries later, that the Vandal Palace (perhaps the old Roman proconsular palace) in Carthage contained a grand banqueting hall known as the '*Delphix*', a room which contained three '*stibades*' (i.e. curved dining couches, presumably masonry) which had been there 'from

ancient times'.¹⁷ Could this perhaps be the dining hall which centuries earlier had inspired the work of Apuleius? If so, the introduction of *stibadium* dining to Roman Africa, and the corresponding adaptation of the architecture of the *triclinium*, could well have been considerably earlier than the 4th c. date usually proposed.

Apart from rooms intended for dining and the reception of guests, the function of the other rooms in excavated houses is hard to determine. Occasionally, rooms can be interpreted by their size and decoration as bedrooms (*cubicula*), for example by the presence of a plain mosaic couch setting. Bath suites and latrines are nearly always readily identifiable (e.g. in the *Maison des corbeilles* and the *Villa aux bains*). But often we cannot be sure what rooms were used for, or by whom they were used. The kind of artefact distribution analysis applied in recent years to domestic space in Pompeii has not been tried in Carthage and in the case of most of the older house excavations probably could not now be done. Problems of soil redistribution, noted at many excavation sites, suggest that such an exercise might, in any case, be of limited value. The conclusions from Pompeii, however, may well be instructive, inasmuch as they imply that the use of rooms in Roman houses was probably not as discreet as one might assume according to modern tastes. Space was defined more in broad terms of public and private use and less in terms of specific household functions.¹⁸

If the domestic architecture of Late Roman Carthage was dominated, at the higher socio-economic levels, by the traditional peristyle house, what can we determine regarding the fate of this urban 'archetype' in the centuries after the end of Roman rule? The small amount of archaeological data available to us suggests the widespread continuing use of Late Roman houses in the Vandal and Byzantine eras, in most cases represented by significant amounts of 5th to 7th c. occupation material (especially pottery and coins) from excavated contexts. Houses with firmly-dated long occupation periods include the *Maison du crypto-portique*, with dated contexts ranging from the late 1st to 7th centuries A.D.,¹⁹ and the 'House of the Greek Charioteers', which was built

¹⁷ Lavan (2001). Lezine's (1968) attempt to identify this palace with the remains of a Late Roman building found on the Byrsa is not convincing. The remains in question are more likely those of a church.

¹⁸ Allison (2004); Berry (1997); Ellis (2000) 145–65.

¹⁹ CTEMA-CNRS (1990).

around A.D. 400 but continued in use well into the 6th c.²⁰ In both cases, these houses were refitted with new pavements on more than one occasion. In some houses, we can also detect signs of the re-configuration of interior living space within the *domus*. It has been argued that one of the defining features of late antique housing in many parts of the Mediterranean world was the ‘subdivision’ of once grand houses into smaller residential units.²¹ It is hard to point to extensive evidence for this process in the elite housing of late antique Carthage, but there may be some hints of it in the changing interior layout of the *Maison du triconque*, which in its latest phase (6th to 7th centuries A.D.) saw a ‘fragmentation’ of its earlier spatial arrangements.²² More usually, however, houses of Late Roman date appear to have remained in use with little major structural change.

Non-Élite Houses

Along with the many high status houses which have been found in Carthage, a few houses give us a glimpse of urban life at a less elevated social level. These houses show few, if any, signs of conspicuous wealth and are characterised by non-luxury building materials and simple types of decoration. The best evidence for such ‘non-élite’ housing in late antique Carthage comes from two sites excavated during the UNESCO campaign, both close to the edge of the city, one in the north and one in the south. The former site, usually referred to as the ‘Theodosian Wall’ site, was excavated by Canadian archaeologists between 1976 and 1986. Among this site’s main features was a series of modest ‘Late Roman’ houses which yielded significant amounts of occupation material dating from the late-4th to the mid-5th centuries.²³

The most extensively excavated of these houses, House 2, was built around a small peristyle court, colonnaded on at least two sides and paved (in its latest phase) with a geometric mosaic (fig. 3). Below the north side of the peristyle was a bottle-shaped cistern for water catchment. The rest of the house consisted of a series of small rooms, some

²⁰ Humphrey (1976). To these can be now added the recently published *Maison des bains* (Roman Complex II), the occupation of which appears to extend from the late 2nd to perhaps as late as the 7th c. A.D. (Hansen 2002).

²¹ Thébert (1987) 389; Ellis (2000) 110–12 and (2004) 47–50.

²² Baldini Lippolis (2001) 172.

²³ Wells and Wightman (1980); Wells, Freed and Gallagher (1988).

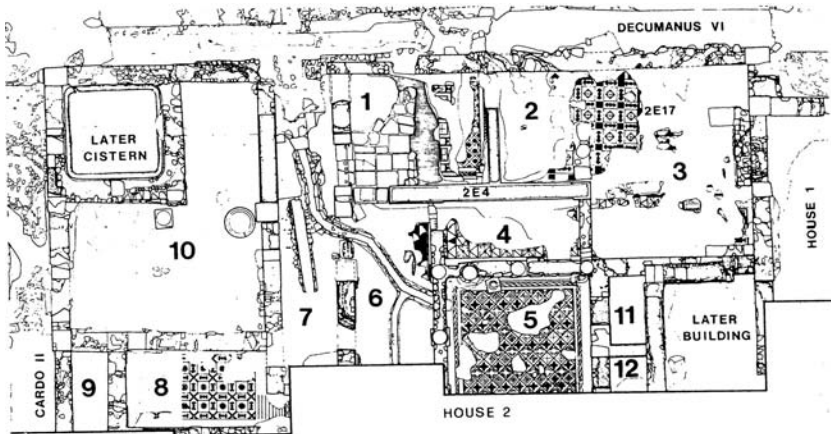


Fig. 3 Carthage, 'Theodosian Houses' (Wells, Freed and Gallagher 1988).

paved with geometric mosaics. The function of most of these rooms is hard to determine, but in many cases appears to have changed in the latest period of occupation. House 1, which was only partially excavated, was similar in its general layout and dimensions. The house occupied the north-east corner of the *insula*, with rooms flanking both *decumanus* VI north and *cardo* III east. Two of the excavated rooms had geometric mosaic pavements, the others had floors made of *opus signinum*. The house was destroyed in the late 5th or early 6th c. and replaced, in the 7th c., by a modest mud-brick and timber-frame building.²⁴ These two houses are important because they provide an illustration of housing at a different social level from that of the more familiar élite *domus*, and because their securely dated construction phases offer good evidence for the evolution of housing during the last centuries of the late antique city.

The other area which has yielded new evidence for non-élite housing is located on the opposite side of Carthage, but similarly just inside the urban area as defined by the 5th c. city wall. This site, commonly referred to as the *Avenue Habib Bourguiba* site, was excavated by British archaeologists in the 1970's, revealing the poorly preserved remains of a number of houses, unpretentious in appearance.²⁵ One, probably

²⁴ Wells and Wightman (1980).

²⁵ Hurst and Roskams (1984) 13–25.

dated to the 2nd c. A.D., was built with a small interior court and with only limited use of stone (Building 1). The building appears to have been partially demolished and rebuilt by the mid-4th c., but remained in use into the 5th c. Another building on the same site may be seen as representing low-level housing of the Byzantine era. Building 2 is dated by the excavators to the mid-6th c. It was simple in its design and construction, with a small interior court. However, as the excavators stress, the surviving features in this part of the site were in a very sorry condition and our knowledge of the building is far from complete. Nevertheless, these two buildings are of interest in that they yield well-excavated evidence of non-elite housing in a critical and transitional period of Carthaginian history.

THE DECORATION OF THE NORTH AFRICAN *DOMUS*

For an understanding of the interior arrangements and decoration of the North African *domus* we have to depend almost entirely on the archaeological record. Glimpses of life and art within the *domus* are rare in the written sources for the period and even when they do occur, they tend to be rhetorical, like Augustine's picture of a wealthy North African house (*domus dives*) replete with 'servants, paintings, marble (?statues), carved columns, open courtyards and [countless] rooms'.²⁶ The same 'rich man's house' apparently contained numerous vessels of gold and silver (*vasa quam multa ibi aurea, sed et argentea*)—an exaggeration perhaps, but not entirely implausible in the light of finds like the 'Carthage Treasure', a collection of fine Late Roman silverware found in the 19th c. on the Byrsa Hill.²⁷ Such valuable household possessions contrast sharply with the more humble utensils which Augustine is said to have employed in his own house. Here, according to Possidius, the bishop customarily dined using dishes made of pottery, wood and marble (the spoons were made of silver).²⁸ Of course there is a moral point to be made here, but Possidius' comment reminds us of the gulf

²⁶ August. *In psalmis* 64.8 (= *PL* 36–7, col. 779): *ipsa denique domus quam delectat picturis, marmore, laquearibus columnis, spatiis, cubiculis*; Frend (1985) 35.

²⁷ Baratte, Lang, La Niece and Metzger (2002).

²⁸ Poss. *V Aug* 22 (= *PL* 32, col. 52): *cochlearibus tantum argenteis utens, caetera vasa quibus mensae inferebantur cibi, vel testea, vel lignea, vel marmorea fuerunt*.

in material wealth which separated Carthage's richest families from their less affluent fellow citizens.

As noted above, theoretical approaches to the study of everyday objects from excavated house sites in Carthage have not yet been attempted. For the moment we can be thankful that the latest excavations of houses have started to recognise the importance of smaller household objects in the overall composition of the domestic environment. Previously undervalued categories of finds from house sites—metal and bone objects, glass, and fragments of stone—are now increasingly seen as having the potential to yield valuable information about household economics and local consumer markets. Thus work at the site of the 'House of the Greek Charioteers' and at the 'Theodosian Wall' site has included studies of domestic glass, worked bone and pottery, as well as a detailed analysis of the range of local and imported stones used in the construction of walls and floors.²⁹ Similar studies have now also appeared on the various categories of finds from the site of a Late Roman house excavated by Canadian archaeologists on the south slope of the Odeon Hill.³⁰ This house is noteworthy for the extraordinary preservation of its painted wall plaster ("pour l'instant elles sont uniques à Carthage"), a detailed study of which is promised in the near future.³¹

Decorative cut marble (*opus sectile*) floors have been found in only a few Carthaginian houses. One of these is the 'House of the Greek Charioteers', where an ornate marble pavement was laid in the dining room during renovations of the 6th c. Study of this pavement has shed new light on the techniques and processes used to create *opus sectile* flooring.³² Results here can be compared with those from the *Maison du Cryptoportique*, where excavation below the marble pavement of the *oecus* has also yielded valuable information about techniques of construction and dating.³³ More recently, another major *opus sectile* pavement has been found by Dutch excavators working in the field immediately to the north of the *Supermarché de Carthage*.³⁴ According to preliminary reports, this pavement comes from a square corner room, tentatively interpreted as

²⁹ Hayes (1978), Bullard (1978). For a catalogue of worked bone and ivory from the 'Theodosian Wall' site, Leclerc (1982).

³⁰ Senay (2000) and (2002); Caron and Lavoie (2002).

³¹ Senay (2000) 124; Chabot (2000).

³² Dunbabin (1976) and (1999) 257.

³³ CTEMA/CNRS (1990).

³⁴ Docter (2002).

a *biclinium*, forming part of a substantial Roman *domus*. Further details of this important house excavation are eagerly awaited.

Despite these new directions of research, the study of mosaics still tends to dominate the archaeology of houses in North Africa. While it is well beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the quality and iconography of the many mosaic pavements found in late antique houses in Carthage, it might be useful to mention here some of the more common iconographic themes of domestic mosaics, not least because they can provide important clues about the lifestyle and social interactions of the house owner. Particularly common are scenes of the amphitheatre and circus, exemplified most famously by the great 'Race Horse' mosaic from the Late Roman *Maison des Chevaux* discovered in 1963.³⁵ This shows scenes of race horses and charioteers which strongly suggest a link between the owner of the property and sporting events in the local circus. Other examples include a 3rd c. mosaic which shows a bird's-eye view of the Carthage circus with several competing charioteers, and the early 5th c. 'Charioteer' mosaic from the 'House of the Greek Charioteers', which shows four charioteers, labelled with Greek names, each dressed in a different faction colour.³⁶ The circus was not the only focus of interest. Other pavements, like those from the 4th c. *Maison du Paon*, show amphitheatre scenes with animals and *venationes* in progress. These mosaics generally occupied prominent 'public' spaces in the *domus*, especially dining-rooms and porticoes (the latter generally giving access to the former), and were probably intended to remind those who saw them of the house owner's involvement, rather than simply interest, in the public life of the community. They most likely commemorate actual arena events and confirm the owner's fulfilment of his civic duties and financial obligations to his *patria*.

Another popular theme of display in private houses was the ownership and use of property outside the city. Included here are images of rural estates, including villas, stables and plantations, as well as images of rural 'leisure activities', especially hunting. In the first group is a series of pavements, which show what appear to be rural or suburban 'villas', residential buildings set in lush landscapes, usually among trees or by water. The best known of these is the 4th c. 'Dominus Julius' mosaic,

³⁵ Salomonson (1965).

³⁶ On these and other North African circus mosaics, see Dunbabin (1978) 88–108; Humphrey (1986) 208–46.

from a house on the Hill of Juno, which shows a large 'villa' surrounded by images of seasonal produce and donation (fig. 4).³⁷ The building itself has an awkward appearance, with walls, columns and roofs piled up in a highly unrealistic manner. A similar image occurs on a fragment of a later, possibly Vandal, mosaic found in a house on the Hill of Borj Jedid.³⁸ We should be careful not to see these as 'photographic' images of late antique buildings. What they represent are artistic 'composites' of Late Roman villa architecture, images which incorporate all the 'display' components of high status houses (baths, porticoes, turrets), but present them in a non-literal way, offering not so much a likeness but an impression of contemporary villa architecture.³⁹

Along with images of country life and villas, another enduring theme of domestic art in late antique Carthage is the hunt. This quintessentially aristocratic activity is illustrated in the mosaic art of high status houses throughout the period. An early example, probably from a private house, is the 3rd c. 'Boar Hunt' pavement from the Hill of Juno.⁴⁰ Later examples include the 'Hunt Mosaic' from Dermech and the 'Falcon Mosaic' from Borj Jedid.⁴¹ To the same iconographic tradition belongs another pavement from Borj Jedid, usually dated to the 5th or 6th c., the surviving fragments of which show a number of hunters and horsemen, one riding away from a building which would appear to represent a villa or a town (fig. 5).⁴² If the 5th–6th c. date of this pavement is correct, these scenes remind us of the continuing popularity of hunting imagery in Vandal contexts, a theme reinforced by the many references in Vandal-period literature to hunting grounds near Carthage favoured by the new 'barbarian' aristocracy.⁴³

³⁷ Dunbabin (1978) 119–21, Carthage 32; Sarnowski (1978) fig. 2. On the theme of seasonal festivals commemorated here, see Salzman (1990) 98. The context of donation is worth noting; it suggests rituals of interaction between the owner of the estate and his rural *clientela* which took place *outside* the villa. There is nothing here to suggest that clients had access to their patron's houses.

³⁸ Sarnowski (1978) fig. 14.

³⁹ For various attempts to transform these mosaic images of villas into 'real' buildings, see Duval (1986) 163–76; Gros (2001) 339.

⁴⁰ Dunbabin (1978) 48–49, Carthage 31.

⁴¹ Dunbabin (1978) 53–59, Carthage 24 and 9.

⁴² Dunbabin (1978) 59–62, Carthage 6; Duval (2002) 333–40. Duval argues that the building shown is a town, not a villa, and questions the traditional Vandal date of the pavement.

⁴³ Courtois (1955) 250.

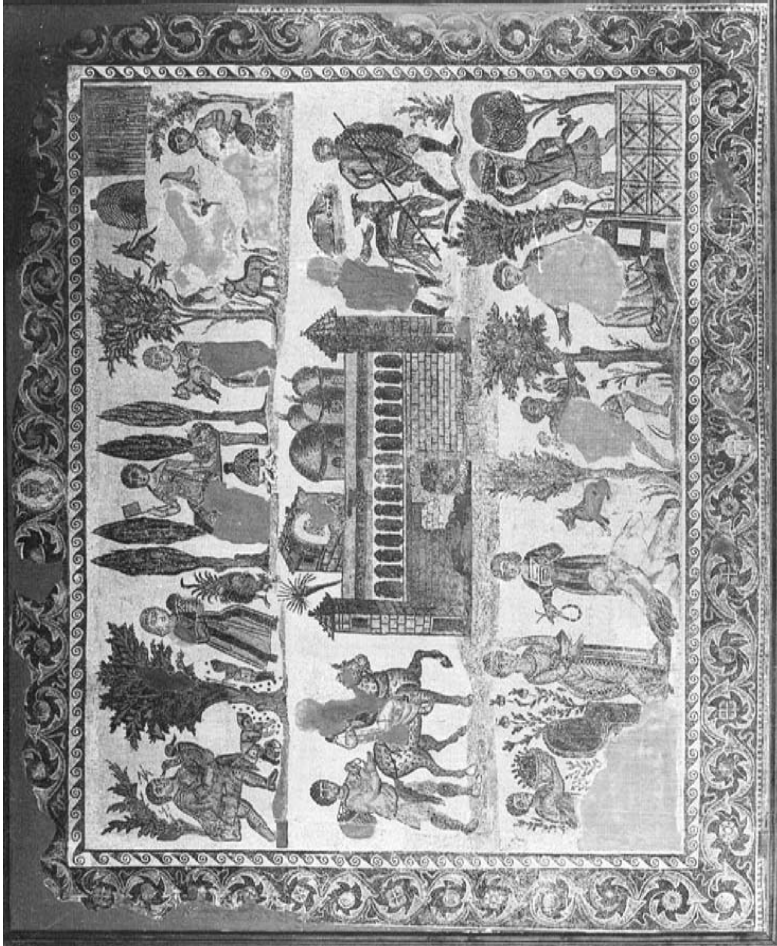


Fig. 4 Carthage, Mosaic from 'House of Julius'
(Musée du Bardo).



Fig. 5 Carthage, Mosaic from Borj Jedid (British Museum).

VILLAS AROUND CARTHAGE

The written sources for late antique Carthage contain a number of references to high status houses built outside the city. Sources of the 3rd c. mention a villa (referred to as a *praetorium*) used as a retreat by the Roman proconsul Galerius Maximus; it was here in A.D. 258 that the Carthaginian bishop Cyprian was tried and executed.⁴⁴ We do not know the location of this ‘proconsular’ villa; we are told only that it lay outside Carthage and was reached by way of the city’s *stadium*.⁴⁵ The trial itself is said to have taken place with the proconsul ‘sitting

⁴⁴ Pontius *Vita et passio Sancti Caecilii Cypriani* 16 (= PL 3, col. 1555): *ubi ad praetorium ventum est...*; on the use of the Latin word *praetorium* in late antique sources to mean ‘villa’ or ‘rural residence’, see Ripoll and Arce (2000) 63–114; Martin (1976) 116, n. 3. *Acta proconsularia Sancti Cypriani* 3 (= PL 3, col. 1561): *in [agrum] Sexti perduxerunt ubi idem Galerius Maximus proconsul bonae valetudinis recuperandae gratia secesserat* (‘they took him to [the estate] of Sextus where the proconsul Galerius Maximus had withdrawn to restore his good health’).

⁴⁵ Pontius *Vita et passio Sancti Caecilii Cypriani* 16 (= PL 3, col. 1555): *eundi autem interfuit transitus stadii*. For the possible location of the Carthage stadium, see Lézine (1961) 64.

in the *atrium* of the villa, a phrase which would seem to indicate that this was a peristyle house.⁴⁶ We hear elsewhere that Cyprian himself had a house outside Carthage where he stayed when visiting the city (*in suis hortis manebat*).⁴⁷ Sources for Vandal Carthage also mention elegant houses located near the city.⁴⁸ Luxorius refers to a country house (*turris*) owned by the Vandal nobleman Fridamal, where ‘beautiful courtyards shine with colourful works of art’ (*artibus ac variis atria pulchra micent*).⁴⁹ The house is noted for a fine mosaic (or perhaps painting) showing Fridamal killing a wild boar. In another poem Luxorius alludes to the rich marble decoration of the king’s ‘audience hall’ at Anclae.⁵⁰ The building in question is almost certainly the same suburban building (in Greek *proasteion*) to which Procopius later refers when describing events following the fall of Carthage to Belisarius’ army in A.D. 533.⁵¹

Although late antique textual evidence gives some indication of the use of high status housing in the territory around Carthage, is this picture supported by archaeological evidence? At the moment, this is not an easy question to answer, since the level of archaeological exploration in the territory of Carthage remains very low. Recent work at Carthage has tended to focus primarily on the city’s major urban monuments and, to a lesser extent, on urban housing, leaving the city’s territory and hinterland relatively unexplored. Several seasons of field survey carried out by American and Canadian archaeologists between 1979 and 1983 in parts of the Carthaginian *territorium* remain largely unpublished.⁵² More recently, results from another survey in the region of El Mahrine in the Mejerda Valley have been published, but with the emphasis mainly on a series of ARS kilns.⁵³ The material collected

⁴⁶ *Acta proconsularia* 3 (col. 1562): *et ita idem Galerius Maximus proconsul eadem die Cyprianum sibi offerri praecepit in atrio saucio sedenti* (‘and so the proconsul Galerius Maximus on that same day ordered Cyprian to be brought to him, seated in the ‘Courtyard of Horrors’). On the significance of the word *saucio* (from the Latin verb *saucio* = I wound) see, Migne, *PL* 3, col. 1562 n. 15; Ennabli (1997) 21–26. For the use of the word *atrium* meaning a peristyle, Verg. *Aen.* 6.444 (referring to the courtyard of the royal palace at Carthage) and Apul. *Met.* 2.4 (referring to the peristyle of Byrrhena’s house).

⁴⁷ *Acta proconsularia* 2 (col. 1560).

⁴⁸ Rossiter (1990) 221–27.

⁴⁹ *Anth. Lat.* 299; Happ (1986) 83; Rosenblum (1961) 122–23.

⁵⁰ *Anth. Lat.* 194, titled *In anclas: in salutarium domini regis*.

⁵¹ *Anth. Lat.* 299; Procop. *Vand.* 1.7.13. On the possible location of Anclae, see Chalon and Devallet (1985) 231–41.

⁵² Greene (1986) and (1992) 195–97. I am grateful to Dr. Greene for providing me with a copy of his unpublished thesis.

⁵³ Mackensen (1993).

from the first of these surveys led the team to propose some significant changes in settlement density in the Carthage territory in the period of Late Antiquity. According to Greene, there was a major increase in the number of rural 'sites' around Carthage between the 4th and 5th centuries (55, increasing to 81). This trend continued into the 6th c., reaching maximum levels of settlement around A.D. 550. By the late 6th c., however, the number of sites starts to decline, with only a handful of sites showing continued occupation after *ca.* A.D. 700.

Greene's data, while undoubtedly important, is not without methodological problems. To begin with, the area covered by the survey was only a fraction of the Carthaginian *territorium* and may not be representative of the larger territorial environment. Secondly, there is no clear definition of what a 'site' actually means. The proposed distinction between large 'village' sites and smaller 'villa' sites is unsatisfactory, since it appears to be based simply on the size of the sherd scatter, for which there could be an alternative explanation. Thirdly, there is the problem of ceramic dating, particularly in the later centuries of settlement. The occupation and abandonment of sites is determined on the basis of supposed pottery dates, but (as Greene himself points out) these dates are not always well defined. The only reliable way to determine the nature of the sites identified by the survey is through excavation, but, as Greene again notes, the actual number of excavated sites in the Carthage *territorium* is very small. Nevertheless, there are some which have yielded major archaeological finds and which can contribute usefully to the debate about the nature of rural settlement and housing.

A number of sites around Carthage have produced mosaic pavements strongly indicative of high status housing.⁵⁴ The sites mainly cluster in the close environs of Carthage, especially in the coastal zone in and around Sidi Bou Said and Gammarth. In most cases, we can be fairly sure that these mosaics belonged to houses, although a few appear to have decorated bath buildings, perhaps themselves linked to houses. The only clearly identified Roman peristyle house outside of Carthage is the so-called 'Villa of Scorpionus', excavated near the amphitheatre in the late 19th c., but this is so close to the city that it should really be considered an urban rather than a suburban residence.

⁵⁴ Many are included in Paul Gaukler's catalogue of North African mosaics: Gaukler (1910). For a list of probable villa sites near Carthage, see Rossiter (1993).

The date of this building is uncertain, but it may be contemporary with an adjacent bath-house which new excavation has revealed to be of Antonine date.⁵⁵

An image of what may be a late antique *villa maritima* appears on a mosaic found in a partially excavated bath-house at Ard-Jouillia just south of the Roman amphitheatre in Carthage (fig. 6).⁵⁶ This shows a collection of seaside buildings which would appear to represent a pretentious private dwelling. These buildings include a colonnaded structure (possibly a peristyle), a large gabled hall, and several domed structures which may represent the rooms of a bath-house. As with the 'Dominus Julius' mosaic discussed above, it would be wrong to interpret this scene as a literal representation of a specific property. However, once again the mosaicist's intent is clear: to portray a group of suburban buildings in a more or less realistic manner, thereby suggesting the likelihood that such buildings were a familiar part of the suburban landscape.

Further afield from Carthage, the nature of rural settlement and housing is still poorly understood. Late antique written sources suggest a landscape dotted with large, privately owned estates and nucleated village-type settlements.⁵⁷ Augustine, in particular, makes frequent mention of rural estates (he uses a variety of Latin terms: *fundus*, *possessio*, *villa*) which have at their centre a cluster of village buildings, usually including baths, granaries, cottages, and a church. One, located in the Mejerda Valley, belonged to Petronia, a *clarissima femina* of Carthage; another, located inland from Hippo, was the property of Hesperius, *vir tribunicus* (*De civ. D.* 22. 8). According to another Late Roman text, the Latin *Vita Melaniae*, such villages might become virtual 'towns'; the African property owned by Melania and Pinian in the vicinity of Thagaste boasted not one, but two bishops (one Catholic and one Donatist), as well as baths and numerous skilled artisans (*V. Mel.* 21), the latter presumably employed on local projects like the decoration of baths.⁵⁸

Archaeological evidence for this type of settlement in the territory of Carthage is scarce. The most significant evidence to have emerged in recent years comes from the excavation of a Late Roman 'villa' site at

⁵⁵ Rossiter (1998) and (2003).

⁵⁶ Saumagne (1928–29); Dunbabin (1978) 254.

⁵⁷ Whittaker (1998).

⁵⁸ On Melania's African property, see Clark (1993) 97.



Fig. 6 Carthage, Mosaic from Ard-Jouillia
(Musée du Bardo).

Sidi Ghrib in the Mejerda Valley.⁵⁹ The excavated buildings include a richly decorated bath-house and what appears to be a peristyle house, both dated to the 4th c. (fig. 7). The house contained an apsidal *triclinium* decorated with a mosaic showing a hunting scene. This is an important site since it provides the first evidence in the Carthaginian hinterland for high status housing in a remote rural setting—i.e. a ‘villa’ site of the type well attested in other western provinces, for example, in nearby Sicily or in Spain.⁶⁰ Until now, there has been little in the North African record to support the existence of such luxurious, urban-style ‘villas’ in remote rural locations. Nonetheless, Sidi Ghrib is at present unique, and it would be rash to assume that it necessarily represents a more general pattern of ‘villa’ settlement. It might in fact be more

⁵⁹ Ennabli (1985) and (1986); Ennabli and Neuru (1994).

⁶⁰ Wilson (1990) 194–214; Gorges (1979). See also, for Aquitania, Balmelle (2001).

judicious, until further evidence arises, to see the buildings at Sidi Ghrib not as a solitary example of Roman villa building in the North African countryside, but rather as part of a larger ‘village’ settlement of the type alluded to in the sources. Parallels for this type of settlement can be found elsewhere in the North African countryside, for example in the excavated bath buildings at Oued Athménia in Algeria and at Sidi Abdallah in northern Tunisia.⁶¹ In both of these cases, the baths were adorned with images of race horses, suggesting an important source of income from the surrounding estates. The considerable investment involved in erecting these village buildings served to emphasise the patron’s economic status and generosity to his (or her) rural *clientela* on whose labour and loyalty the patron ultimately depended.

With only this scattering of archaeological material, and an equally fragmentary textual record, it is hard to speak confidently about settlement patterns or the development of rural housing in the territory of Carthage in Late Antiquity. What the evidence seems to suggest is a pattern familiar from other, better explored, North African city territories. This consists of the development of an ‘inner zone’ of wealthy estates and villas in the immediate vicinity of a city, in the case of Carthage especially the coastal zone to the north of the city, with a less developed ‘outer zone’ of farmland and villages: here the populations of large estates lived and worked under the patronage of rich city dwellers, who visited from time to time, to keep an eye on the efficient management of their lands and ensure the welfare of their dependent workers.⁶²

I will conclude with a brief comment on settlement around Carthage in the period following the Arab conquest. Greene’s Carthage survey offers a picture of dramatic settlement erosion in the Carthaginian countryside during the 7th and 8th centuries. He talks of the “near abandonment” of the city and its surrounding territory by the 8th c. In this respect, it is worth noting the recent excavations which have taken place at Bir Ftouha, a site about 1 km north of Carthage. New work here by American and Canadian archaeologists has revealed an active Arab ‘settlement’ dating to the late 10th to early 11th centuries.

⁶¹ Dunbabin (1978) 267–68. In both these buildings, the name of the estate patron is recorded in a mosaic inscription found in the baths. A newly discovered bath-house at Nasr Allah near Kairouan in central Tunisia almost certainly belongs in the same category: Ennaifer and Ben Lazreg (2005).

⁶² For a well documented example, Leveau (1984).

This occurred on the site of a former Byzantine ecclesiastical complex, suggesting that this suburban area, was to a certain degree, 're-occupied' in the Early Medieval period.⁶³

The picture of housing in late antique Carthage and its surrounding territory, which I have given here, does not claim to be complete. There are undoubtedly issues, which I have not addressed, and sites which I have not discussed in detail. Work on houses in the city continues at an unremitting pace; significant new information is expected soon from excavations on the south slope of the Byrsa and at Bir Massaouda in the lower city.⁶⁴ For the future, there are several clear directions which need to be taken to further our knowledge of housing in the late antique city and its territory. Firstly, there is a need to broaden the study of housing well beyond the traditional confines of art history; the study of housing needs to move beyond the study of houses. There is still much to be learnt from excavation and artefact analysis about household activity and private life. Secondly, there is a need to increase the volume of data on non-élite housing. Our knowledge of housing in Carthage is still very 'top-heavy', with much more known about how the rich lived than about the living conditions of the urban poor. The excavation of 'ordinary' houses remains a major priority. Thirdly, many questions remain about housing outside Carthage. There is a considerable need for further work to clarify the nature of development within and beyond the city's suburbs and determine the full settlement hierarchy of the city's rural territory.

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⁶³ Stevens, Kalinowski and van der Leest (1998); Rossiter, Reynolds and MacKinnon (forthcoming).

⁶⁴ For new work on the Byrsa, see Zitrides and Walker (2005).

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- Fig. 7. Sidi Ghrib Late Roman villa (Ennabli and Nehru 1994).

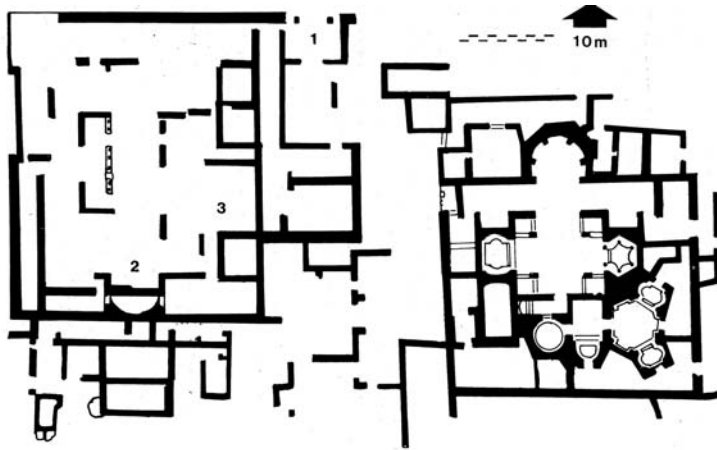


Fig. 7. Sidi Ghrib Late Roman villa (Ennabli and Nehru 1994).

CAPPADOCIA'S ROCK-CUT COURTYARD COMPLEXES:
A CASE STUDY FOR DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE
IN BYZANTIUM

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Abstract

Until recently, our knowledge of the Byzantine house has been severely limited by the paucity of available evidence. In the last few years, however, surveys have been conducted in Cappadocia, central Turkey, where archaeologists and art historians working at separate sites recently realised that places formerly understood to be monasteries were actually domestic complexes of the rural elite.¹ High above the Peristrema Valley in western Cappadocia, a medieval estate known as Selime Kalesi extends over 100 m in length along a cliff of volcanic rock. Once thought to be a monastery, this too is now recognised as one of a number of aristocratic domestic residences that provide our first extensive information about the Byzantine house. Selime Kalesi is the largest and most elaborate example in design and decoration of over a dozen similarly designed residences that belong to the same settlement. This especially prominent site offers an excellent case study for examining Byzantine domestic architecture and secular use of space.²

INTRODUCTION

Of all the rock-cut courtyard dwellings recorded thus far from Byzantine Cappadocia, the double-courtyard mansion known as Selime Kalesi presents the largest and most elaborate example in design and decoration. Within its two separate courtyards and associated rooms, we can come to a better understanding of Byzantine domestic architecture

¹ Kalas (2000) and (2006); Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews (1997); Ousterhout (1997a) and (2005).

² I thank the Program in Hellenic Studies at Princeton University for a post-doctoral research fellowship that allowed me to present versions of this material at the *Fifty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Denver, Colorado, April 2003, and at the colloquium *Byzantine Habitat: Class, Gender, and Production in the Eastern Mediterranean*, Princeton University, May 2003.

and secular use of space. Selime Kalesi, moreover, is only one among fifteen similarly designed residences newly surveyed in the Peristrema Valley, around the modern Turkish villages of Selime and Yaprakhisar in western Cappadocia. These houses are contemporary with one another and together form an entire Middle Byzantine settlement dating from the 10th to 11th centuries. They provide a rare glimpse into the material culture and daily life of Byzantium's famous Anatolian aristocracy. In the 9th c., Arab emirates of northern Syria conducted yearly raids into Byzantine territories through the region of Cappadocia and twice besieged Constantinople, the empire's capital. As a result of this steady onslaught, Byzantium reorganised its military administration and, by launching a counter-offensive, regained a large portion of its former eastern lands. During this time of security and prosperity, from the 10th to 11th centuries, a large population living in Cappadocia carved their dwellings and places of worship into the peculiar, cone-like formations of the region's soft volcanic rock.³

When European travellers and explorers of the 18th and 19th centuries came upon Cappadocia's exotic landscape of volcanic rock formations, and the abundant dwellings carved therein, they formulated the idea that monks once settled the region. According to a predominantly romantic outlook, monks sought refuge from the world by digging into the saintly isolation of Cappadocia's volcanic landscape. In the 20th c., research focused almost exclusively on the region's myriad painted churches while neglecting the diverse secular aspects of Cappadocia's rich material culture. Given modern scholars' fascination with Cappadocia as a site for medieval monasticism, it is surprising that no contemporary Byzantine sources refer to the area in this way. Although the region is indeed mountainous, Cappadocia has nothing to compare with Byzantium's famous holy mountains such as Latros, Olympos, and Athos for which ample evidence exists.⁴ In addition, the region is often associated with monasteries because of the Cappadocian origins of Basil the Great, the father of the Orthodox Church who wrote and established the rules of Orthodox monasticism.⁵ Basil was indeed born in Caesarea of Cappadocia, but he flourished in the 4th c., a full 500

³ Bernardini (1992); Cheynet (1990); Haldon and Kennedy (1980); Kaplan (1981) and Whittow (1996).

⁴ Cappadocia is not included, for example, in Janin (1975).

⁵ Lowther Clarke (1913) and Quasten (1963).

years before the main period of settlement in Cappadocia's volcanic valleys. More importantly, the mere presence of churches and chapels, of which there are an estimated 400 in Cappadocia, need not dictate the presence of monasteries. Emperors and aristocrats built private chapels within their imperial palaces and mansions in Constantinople and its environs. Prosperous families in rural village communities also included private chapels on their estates and within their homes. Most of Cappadocia's churches, in fact, clearly served as burial chapels for the local population, and did not belong to any exclusive or public foundation, monastic or secular.⁶

The reinterpretation of many of Cappadocia's complexes as aristocratic residences is especially significant, given the distinct lack of evidence for secular architecture in Byzantium. Very little physical evidence remains from Constantinople, the empire's capital, where not a single Middle Byzantine house survives. Even the vast palace complex of the Byzantine emperors is now mostly destroyed. One section of the imperial palace, an elevation in the Boukoleon area, offers spectacular views out to the Marmara Sea, but very little of the building behind it.⁷ The more fully preserved Tekfur Sarayı at the north-west corner of the city belongs to the Paleologan emperors of the Late Byzantine period and is thus beyond the scope of the present investigation.⁸ Only the foundations of the 10th c. palace of Emperor Romanos Lekapenos, attached to the Middle Byzantine church of the Myrelaion, survive, though a hypothetical reconstruction drawing can provide welcome relief from the dire absence of evidence.⁹

Outside of the capital, in cities and in the countryside, some additional evidence has come to light. At the opposite end of the spectrum from Byzantine palaces are non-elite residences excavated at various classical and prehistoric sites of the eastern Mediterranean, such as Athens, Corinth, Pergamon, and Boğazköy.¹⁰ These Byzantine houses consist of an assortment of domestic complexes whose principal characteristic is a courtyard surrounded by rooms. Their plans have yet to be collected and studied systematically for an overall understanding of

⁶ For a discussion of the problems concerning the monastic interpretation of Cappadocia see Kalas (2004) and Ousterhout (1997b).

⁷ Müller-Wiener (1977) 225–28.

⁸ Müller-Wiener (1977) 244–47.

⁹ Striker (1981) fig. 26.

¹⁰ Bouras (1974); Eyice (1996); Frantz (1988); Rheidt (1991); Neve (1986) and Scranton (1957).

household organization.¹¹ One problem is that often these houses were built within pre-existing ruins. Thus some plans were preconditioned and may not reveal the design of medieval domestic buildings or an organization of spaces dependant upon household sociology. In addition, many of these houses were found randomly, uncovered at sites where the primary research interests were the classical remains. Charalambos Bouras laments this state of affairs: "It is unfortunate that of all the chance finds of mid-Byzantine houses in Athens, none has been the subject of a special study and rarely has yielded the complete plan of a single house."¹² Moreover, the majority of medieval houses found at these sites are rather small in scale. Their courtyards and associated rooms for the most part do not present characteristics distinct enough to further an understanding of patterns of circulation. They do not explicitly demonstrate which areas may have been separated or secluded from others, or if there was an exclusive place within the home.¹³ Cappadocia's rock-cut courtyard complexes, however, complement this evidence and broaden our understanding of the Middle Byzantine house. A whole new chapter in the study of the Byzantine habitat has been opened. In between the palace and the non-elite house stand the aristocratic residences of Cappadocia.

Because Cappadocia's complexes often preserve complete floor plans with full elevations, they allow for a more concrete assessment of room types and their functions. Clearly definable rooms sometimes retain their original rock-cut furnishings, thereby revealing the kinds of activities that would have taken place there. Unlike small finds in excavated contexts, furnishings carved into these structures remain in their original place and can be used fairly accurately to assess room types. The manner in which one room provides access to another can be seen to regulate and guide movement through the house. How one space looks out onto another, while at the same time blocking other views, can help define which areas were the most private and which the most public. The relationship between areas reserved for daily activities of work and production and areas reserved for leisure and ceremonial life can now be discussed using an actual Byzantine house as an example. With a sociological approach to Cappadocia's courtyard complexes, the

¹¹ For the Greek context, see Sigalos (2004) and Kourellis (2005).

¹² Bouras (1982–83).

¹³ Sigalos (2004) 57.

organisation of spaces can be seen to reflect the underlying sociology of household members and their guests.

THE SETTLEMENT

The settlement at Selime-Yaprakhisar exhibits over a dozen newly discovered rock-cut complexes that display characteristics recently defined as belonging to a typical Cappadocian mansion owned by local elite families.¹⁴ The architecture of this newly discovered settlement reveals the fundamental social hierarchy of medieval secular society. At Selime-Yaprakhisar, the core of each complex is a courtyard surrounded by rooms (Fig. 1: Selime-Yaprakhisar Site Diagram).¹⁵ Courtyards were created either by quarrying a rectangular space directly out of the rock or by placing rooms along the naturally-formed volcanic landscape. A courtyard carved out of the rock is generally four-sided and enclosed. An elaborately carved façade often articulates the wall of the courtyard with the doorway into the main hall of the complex. This façade is located directly in front of the visitor as they enter the courtyard. The other courtyard type is simply formed by the outdoor space between the rock formations into which rooms were carved.¹⁶

Rooms that open off the courtyards include ceremonial spaces, such as halls and churches, and utilitarian spaces, such as kitchens, stables, baths, and, thus far, only one latrine. Many rooms associated with each complex are not articulated in any particular fashion and lack features to indicate their function. They are multi-purpose. A ceremonial hall may have also hosted multiple functions, but is architecturally more elaborate and usually located at the centre of the complex. Throughout the complexes each kind of room is similarly designed. For instance, a certain type of kitchen appears throughout the settlement. Almost all the churches attached to each unit remained unpainted and most display the domed, four-support, nine-bay plan. This church plan became the dominant type in Cappadocia during the Middle Byzantine period. Its presence at Selime-Yaprakhisar offers an overall 10th to 11th c. date

¹⁴ See footnote 1.

¹⁵ I would like to thank the following architects and surveyors for their help at various stages of producing the diagrams and plans in this study: Anthony Emrick, Kemal Gülçen, Deniz Gündoğdu, Bora Işık, and Zeynep Kutlu.

¹⁶ Kalas (2006).

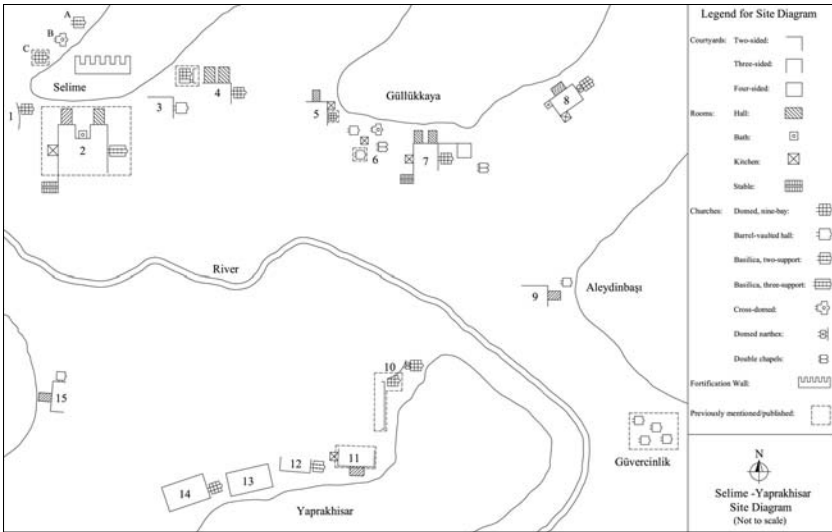


Fig. 1 Selime-Yaprakhisar, site diagram.

for the settlement. Painted inscriptions in funerary chapels throughout the settlement confirm this date. At the head of a tomb in a newly discovered chapel associated with House 9, a painted inscription refers to Eustathous, perhaps a feminine form of Eustathios, who died and was buried in 1035. The elite status of the deceased can be surmised from the clearly written Middle Byzantine uncial script of the inscription.¹⁷

Other common characteristics shared by the complexes further indicate that they should be understood as a group, erected around the same time, for a similar purpose. In addition to similarities of form in each room type, ensembles of rooms were arranged in comparable ways. For example, halls are generally placed at the apex of the courtyard and a church to one side, creating a hall-church sphere of space. The remaining constituent rooms, such as stables and kitchens, are loosely arranged around this primary sphere of hall and church and are generally met first upon arrival at the courtyards. Thus, the various kinds of household activities, from utilitarian to formal, from animal to human, were separated into different spheres. Finally, each complex relates to the landscape in a similar fashion. Every courtyard has the river and

¹⁷ Kalas (2006).

accompanying farmland as its focal point. The designers carefully maintained the required east orientation of the church, so that the side of the courtyard onto which the church was placed depended on the orientation of the courtyard. Because of these considerations, the layout of the complexes on the south slope at Selime mirrors the layout of the complexes on the north slope at Yaprahisar (see Site Diagram).

Though the complexes appear to have been established at about the same time for a similar clientele with comparable needs, variations appear in their scale, degree of elaboration, and prominence. Some complexes are larger than others; some are more elaborately designed and decorated than others; and some occupy more prominent positions in the landscape. In other words, each example is a variation on the basic theme of a courtyard surrounded by rooms. Because of these divergences in scale, elaboration, and prominence, I believe that the settlement's architecture reflects the underlying social hierarchy of Middle Byzantine secular society. A few important examples from the survey will elucidate these points.

THE HOUSES

House 7 in the settlement is located in an area called Güllükkaya ('rock formations like a bed of roses') and presents an above-average courtyard house. Several well-defined rooms are arranged around two courtyards that spread out 70 m along the landscape (Fig. 2: House 7, plan).¹⁸ This ensemble of rooms, courtyards, and the landscape in between them occupy an area of 1000 m². House 7, in fact, is approximately one-third the size of Selime Kalesi, the largest house on site. In House 7, the first courtyard (1 on the plan) is the open space between the rooms carved into the naturally occurring volcanic formations. Ascending the hill toward this first courtyard, the stable (2) is encountered first. In this rectangular room five mangers are carved into a high ledge along one wall. After the stable three small rooms (3–5), perhaps used for storage, are encountered, followed by the kitchen (6). The kitchen is typical in form; a square room with a conical ceiling, a ventilation shaft at its

¹⁸ Kalas (2000) 91–100.

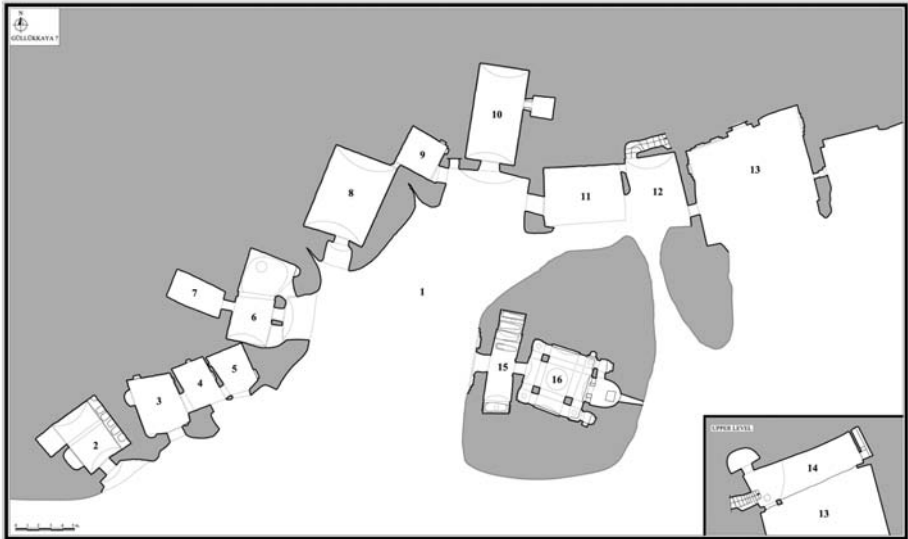


Fig. 2 House 7, plan.

summit, and a semi-circular hearth carved out of one wall.¹⁹ Another feature typical of Cappadocia's kitchens is the additional room (7) adjacent to the main room with the conical ceiling that provided extra space for storage and food preparation. Directly across the courtyard from the kitchen is the church (16) with a long narthex (15) displaying empty burials on the floor. The church, located to the right upon approaching the courtyard, has its entrance marked by a carved, triple-arched façade within a frame. The church was placed carefully at the centre of a single tuff cone, so that its west entrance opens onto the courtyard and its apse is oriented to the east. This precisely calculated layout allowed for a window at the apse to let light into the sanctuary. Finally, two barrel-vaulted halls stand at the apex of the courtyard. One hall (8) faces the kitchen and may have been directly related to the kitchen in function. The other hall (10) faces the courtyard, and may have been the daily living area.

The second courtyard (13) stands behind the church and is separate from the primary living spaces. This courtyard was sculpted directly out of the rock and includes four sides. A partly collapsed façade with three superimposed registers decorates the wall of the courtyard that

¹⁹ See Kalas (2000) 87–89 for a fuller treatment of the Cappadocian kitchen.

faces the visitor upon arrival. A blind arcade articulates the lowest register. A verandah with an open arcade forms the middle register. The uppermost register is the shortest, with a continuous row of blind niches surmounted by triangular pediments, which would have originally spanned the entire length of the façade. At one corner of the uppermost level, the collapsed façade reveals a room with dovecotes used to collect pigeon guano, most likely intended for use as fertiliser. Agricultural production must have been one of the main occupations of the settlers. By designing this manor house around two courtyards, the carvers separated farming activities from spaces designated for human habitation. Therefore, a considerable concern was shown for a particular style of living.

Comparable in dimensions and layout is House 8, located in the same area of settlement as House 7.²⁰ From a distance, the volcanic outcropping into which it is carved reveals nothing of an entire Middle Byzantine residence lying within. In many areas the complex has collapsed and is buried under landslide debris. Nonetheless, upon closer scrutiny, the house begins to show itself. Rooms are arranged on two levels around four sides of a courtyard sculpted out of the rock (Fig. 3: House 8, plan). Upon entering the courtyard (1), several doorways lead to various rooms. The entrance into the principal hall (9) of the complex is at the centre of the courtyard wall that faces the visitor upon entry to the courtyard. This wall is also marked by a sculpted façade. The church (10) is to the right. Of all the features in this and in the other complexes, the church, the hall, and the façade here are architecturally defined to the highest degree. In this example, carved crosses and geometric designs decorate the hall's ceiling, emphasising the room's importance.

As in House 7, the main hall of House 8 and the church occupy one corner of the courtyard. Diagonally across the courtyard, in exactly the opposite corner, stand the various other kinds of rooms. One collapsed room (2) reveals part of a conical ceiling indicating that it must have functioned as a kitchen. Another small square room (6) appears to have been a type of bathing area. A cupola is carved on the ceiling, and a square basin covered with a thick layer of plaster is carved on the floor. A bench surmounted by an arched niche appears along one wall of the room. Several second-story rooms (11–15) lie above

²⁰ Kalas (2000) 101–106.

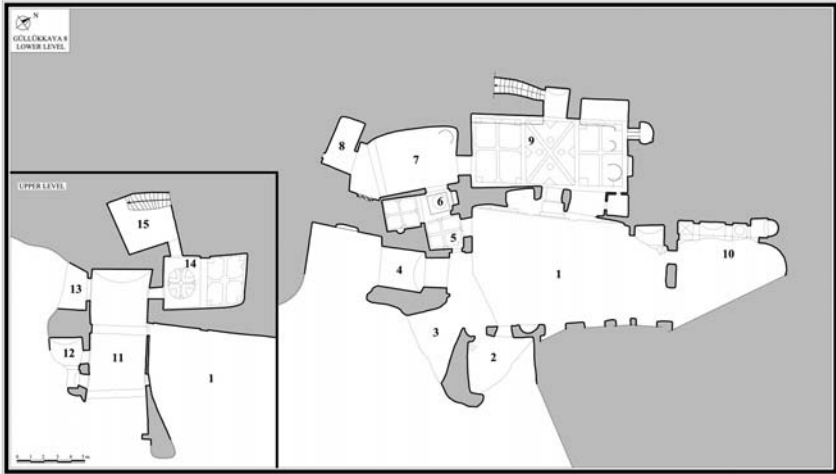


Fig. 3 House 8, plan.

this half of the house. A vast, barrel-vaulted hall (11) with a door that overlooks the courtyard below allows light, air, and household members to circulate on the upper level.

In addition to a varying degree of architectural elaboration, the relative significance of the rooms can also be seen in the way they are arranged in relationship to each other. To understand how these houses were organised, two distinct spheres of activities can be delineated. The main reception hall and the church, the ceremonial sphere, occupy one corner of the main courtyard. Along the opposite corner are the other household rooms once reserved for daily activities mostly relating to household production. In House 8, an imaginary diagonal line drawn north-west to south-east across the courtyard separates the Hall-Church sphere (9–10) from the remainder of the complex (2–8). In House 7, a similar line can be drawn north-west to south-east across the first courtyard to separate the Hall-Church sphere (8–10, 15–16) from the remainder of the complex (2–7). The additional, second courtyard and associated rooms (11–14) are placed far away from and behind the church, thereby further separating farming activities from the primary living areas. With this kind of spatial arrangement, a visitor to the house could enter the more prestigious or ceremonial areas, the reception room and the church, while at the same time not being exposed to rooms used for household activities of work and production. Perhaps Cappadocia's courtyard houses were arranged in



Fig. 4 House 11, view of façade (author).

this way with the needs of the visitor to the household in mind. This organisational principle points once again to the elite status of the families who lived here.

In the courtyard houses at Yaprakhisar, located across the river from Selime, the particular concern to impress visitors becomes especially apparent. Monumental, multi-register sculpted façades clearly direct the visitor's attention to the main entrance of the central hall of the house. At Yaprakhisar the courtyard complexes display the most spectacular rock-cut façades in all of Cappadocia. They offer a rare glimpse into non-ecclesiastical Middle Byzantine architectural elevation (Fig. 4: House 11, view of courtyard and façade). In contrast, the original façades of most other complexes in Cappadocia have collapsed, so that only interior features remain. For each façade, a series of superimposed registers display two types of layout. House 11 at Yaprakhisar exhibits the first type. Pilasters divide the registers into an odd number of bays, and blind niches decorate each bay. House 14 displays the second type. Here, registers are not divided into bays but are decorated, instead, by a blind arcade consisting of an odd number of arches. The principal

entrance into the main hall of each complex is placed in the central bay or central arch of the lowest register of the façade. In every case, the doorway is flanked by an even number of bays or arches so that the façades are designed in exact symmetry.²¹

The style and execution of Yaprakhisar's façades have close parallels in medieval secular architecture. In particular, palaces and gatehouses from the Sassanian and Early Islamic Near East show striking similarities in design. These medieval buildings of the Near East, mostly built of brick and plaster, display a common style of articulating wall surfaces. The façade of the Sassanian palace of King Chosroes, the Taq-i Kisra in Ctesiphon, is one among many examples. This remarkable building served as a model according to which Early Islamic architects measured their achievements.²² Its architectural style may be one source of influence for Cappadocia's façades, especially since the region stood for almost two centuries as a cultural borderland between the Byzantine and Islamic worlds.²³

SELİME KALESİ

Selime Kalesi survives as the largest and most elaborate complex, in design and decoration, not only of all the complexes at Selime-Yaprakhisar, but also of all the examples recorded thus far throughout Cappadocia (Fig. 5: Selime Kalesi, plan).²⁴ Its two courtyards (1 and 32) and surrounding rooms, including two astounding ceremonial halls (12 and 22), a large kitchen (2), and a basilica church (27), occupy approximately 3000 m² of rock. In addition, Selime Kalesi occupies the most notable position in the landscape. Carved into the massive tuff outcropping at Selime, the complex soars 50 m above the level of the valley floor and overlooks the entire settlement (Fig. 6: View of Selime's cliff). From its place high on the cliff at the head of the settlement, it could survey all the other complexes and guard the entrance to the valley and the gorge. Both courtyards at Selime Kalesi have

²¹ Kalas (2000) 107–17 and (2006).

²² Hillenbrand (1994) 390–91.

²³ As articulated by Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews (1997); see also “Chapter 7: Residential Architecture” in Ousterhout (2005).

²⁴ The state plan of Selime Kalesi shown here was measured and drawn during the 2003 field season at Selime-Yaprakhisar, and is based on a sketch plan published by Rodley (1985) fig. 13; see also Kalas (2006).

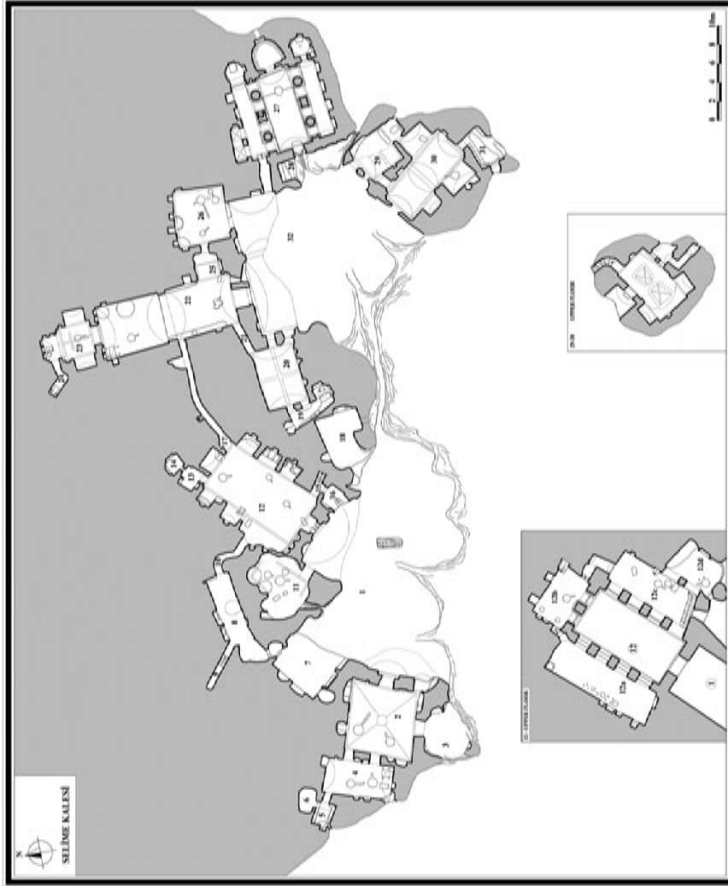


Fig. 5 Selime Kalesi, plan.

excellent southern exposure. Further, this is the only complex that has an exclusive approach by way of a steep ascent through a long, narrow tunnel entered at the bottom of the cliff, practically on the valley floor. From the complex itself, another tunnel ascends a further 100 m to the plateau directly above the complex. On the plateau above Selime Kalesi stands a fortification wall over 100 m in length. The owners of Selime Kalesi had direct access to a military installation that could guard not only the valley itself with its rock-cut settlement, but also the entire region. These special features of great size, elaborate design, and salient positioning demonstrate that Selime Kalesi may have formed the principal complex of the settlement. Indeed, it surpasses the other complexes of the settlement and stands out as the exceptional Capadocian mansion.²⁵

As with the other houses on site, at Selime Kalesi distinct spheres of activities are separated spatially along opposite parts of the complex. Because Selime Kalesi is the largest and most impressive house, however, this degree of separation is much greater. The two spheres, each occupying its own courtyard, can be distinguished from one another in terms of design. The only one way to arrive at this double-courtyard mansion is through the passageway mentioned above, whose entrance is near the level of the valley floor. This passage very clearly leads the visitor up, through the living rock, and into the first courtyard (1). From here, a wide path along the rock face leads the visitor from the first to the second courtyard (32). The first rooms that open off the first courtyard as one ascends and approaches the complex are the kitchen (2) and Hall 1 (12). The highly decorated and ceremonial spaces of the complex (Hall 2 (22) and the basilica church (27)) open off the second courtyard, about 40 m away. Even here, a guest could easily reach the second courtyard with the principal hall and church—the ceremonial sphere—without entering into any other areas of the household.

The rooms of Selime Kalesi may have been reserved for human habitation only. Near the entrance to the passageway at the level of the valley floor is a stable, which may be associated with the complex lying above. On account of the narrowness of the passageway and location of the stable, animals were probably kept below, nearly at ground level. Inside the rectangular room of the stable, seven evenly spaced mangers on each long wall exhibit deep, oval niches for holding fodder. The

²⁵ Kalas (2000) 132–57.

mangers are placed high along the walls, and each manger has a single ring for tethering one animal individually. These rings and the high placement of the mangers indicate that tall, transport animals, such as horses, as opposed to grazing animals, such as sheep, were stabled here, as many as fourteen at any given moment. One way to assess the relative scale of Cappadocia's complexes is to compare the sizes and shapes of their stables. This example at Selime Kalesi is one of the larger types. At House 7, the stable exhibits only five mangers and is much smaller. Nonetheless, if the number of mangers could be seen to indicate the number of transport animals owned by each household, five horses still demonstrate an elite household status. According to a Late Byzantine source, only the richest peasant could afford, at most, half a horse.²⁶ Cappadocia's great landowning aristocratic families were famed as horse-breeders, raising prize animals to supply both the imperial army as well as their own local contingents. Therefore, Cappadocia's comfortable stables, with their large number of mangers, ranging from five to twenty in each, point to the elite status of their owners.

Going from the stable to the passageway and clambering up through the living rock, we eventually arrive at the first courtyard (1), over 50 m above the valley floor. The kitchen (2) is to the left, and Hall 1 (12) is straight ahead. The kitchen at Selime is typical in form but larger than most examples. The main room (2) where cooking took place is square (measuring 7.5 m²) with a conical ceiling and ventilation shaft at its summit (h. 8.30 m). Rooms added to this main square room almost doubled the space for storage and food preparation. In the main room of the kitchen, a semi-circular hearth is carved out of the north wall and a huge oven structure carved out of the floor. This type of oven structure, called *tandır* in modern Turkish, is still used today in Cappadocia for both cooking and heating.²⁷ Fire is lit in a circular pit carved out of the floor and a hot plate is inserted into a lip around the rim of the pit making it level with the surface of the floor. Oxygen enters the pit by way of a passage that opens at the floor's surface to one side of the pit. Two types of cooking devices found in the kitchen at Selime signify the preparation of large and generous meals, perhaps

²⁶ Kazhdan (1997) 53 and Kazhdan and Nesbitt (1991).

²⁷ They are frequently found in medieval layers of ancient sites as well; see for example "Early Byzantine oven-structure" in Devreker and Vermeulen (1994) fig. 9; for a discussion of the *tandır-evi*, literally the 'oven-house' in contemporary Cappadocia, see Stea and Turan (1993) 191.

of great variety. Flatbreads could be cooked on the *tandır* while meats were grilled in the hearth.

Leaving the kitchen and crossing the courtyard, a tall, barrel-vaulted porch highlights the entrance to Hall 1 (12). Hall 1 presents a spacious interior (Fig. 7: Selime Kalesi, Hall 1 (12), interior view). The rectangular room is long, tall and wide, with a flat ceiling. It measures l. 11 m, w. 5.9 m, and h. 4.7 m. The layout, moreover, is unique. It is the only non-ecclesiastical structure of Middle Byzantine Cappadocia recorded thus far that was designed to function on two levels. At floor level, three vaulted alcoves open off each long wall. These spaces are tall, wide, and deep enough for one to easily walk in and rest on benches carved about waist-height out of their rear walls. Only two of these alcoves have retained their benches, while the others appear to have had their benches removed in a subsequent phase of reuse. These alcoves could have functioned as informal sitting, dining, or sleeping areas, with the benches used as couches or beds. On the hall's upper level, a continuous, open arcade forms a gallery on three sides (12a–c) and provides views across the central space of the hall. In the west gallery of Hall



Fig. 6 Selime Kalesi, Hall 1 (12), interior view (author).

1 (12a), chest-high barriers create arched windows that look out across the hall's open space. These barriers probably did not function as safety precautions, for instance, to prevent someone from falling down into the hall. Had this been the case, barriers would have also been included in the north and east galleries (12b, 12c). Instead, the barriers block the view from the hall up to the west gallery area, thereby creating a private space on a second storey within the public hall. In fact, the west gallery may have been sealed off entirely by additional barriers or grilles, perhaps wooden, inserted in grooves that line the intrados of the arches in this gallery's arcade. Had women lived in this house, and occupied a separate area within the structure, the west gallery of Hall 1 would have provided an ideal setting. The separation or seclusion of women may have occurred only during certain times of the day, during a male client's visits to the head of the household, for example. In fact, any visitor to Selime Kalesi could easily reach the second courtyard and Hall 2, the main reception hall of the complex, without entering Hall 1, the daily living area.²⁸

In Hall 1, the three alcoves on each long wall are evenly spaced. One additional alcove opens off the hall's short end wall opposite the doorway. This did not necessarily mark the most important place, located as it was at the head of the room. In other words, unlike Hall 2, which will be described shortly, the internal divisions of Hall 1 do not convey an axial or hierarchical notion of space. Furthermore, Hall 1 is smaller and less formal than Hall 2, closer to the kitchen and in communication with a greater number of other service rooms. To the right of the terminal alcove, a passageway (17) leads to different parts of the complex. Upon entering the passage, one can take a set of steps up into the gallery area (12b). One can also continue through the passageway and eventually arrive directly at Hall 2. The first hall can be avoided entirely, in fact, by taking a set of stairs (15) immediately to the right as one enters the hall. These stairs lead up to the east gallery (12c). From the east gallery of Hall 1 (12c) another set of stairs descends into the bathing area (19). In other words, Hall 1 allows access to additional spaces of the complex in a roundabout or rambling, non-exclusive pattern of circulation.

²⁸ It has yet to be determined whether women occupied separate or secluded spaces within the Byzantine house and whether the *gynaikonitis*, or women's quarters, as an architectural form existed in Byzantium, see Kazhdan (1998); Laiou (1981) and Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews (1997) 302.

After this meandering experience of household spaces from the perspective of an insider, I turn to what might have been the experience of an outsider. As stated previously, once visitors emerge into the first courtyard they can take a path that leads along the rock face to the second courtyard without entering any of the rooms arranged around the first courtyard. At the second courtyard, the largest barrel-vaulted porch of the complex highlights the entrance into the most impressive space of the house, Hall 2. Above the rectangular doorway into Hall 2, a large, arched window approximately the same size as the doorway, allows extra light and air into the hall. This window also emphasises on the exterior the two-storey height of the hall's interior. A decorative pseudo-lintel with a split-palmette motif crowning the doorway highlights even further this hall's significance.

Passing through the doorway, we enter the grand space of Hall 2, which is long and wide like Hall 1 but much larger, both in floor space and in height. In addition, Hall 2 has a tall barrel vault that contributes to the impression of considerable interior volume (l. 14.50 m, w. 5.50 m, and h. 7.30 m). Several additional features, moreover, articulate the ceremonial aspect of Hall 2. The hall is divided in half by a step on the floor, engaged piers on the walls, and a banded arch on the vault above the step, exactly in the middle of the hall. A low bench, at the same height as the step, extends out from the walls on either side of the lower half of the hall.

At the centre of the lower half of the hall, near the entrance, a trilobed basin is carved out of the floor. Although not nearly as elaborate as a fountain with running water, this basin could nonetheless have easily held water. It formed a focal point for visitors, especially while they rested on the surrounding benches. All of these features—engaged piers, a banded arch, an elevated threshold, benches, and a trilobed basin—are regularly placed and clearly articulated divisions that render a ceremonial aspect to Hall 2. They point to the significance of each subsequent space and lead the visitor in a very deliberate procession through those spaces.

In the second part of the hall, a nicely proportioned and evenly spaced blind arcade in high relief articulates the upper part of the walls. This noticeable decoration marks the importance of the elevated threshold and dramatises the theatrical experience of proceeding through the ceremonial space. Even the passageway from Hall 1 (17) opens exactly onto the lower half of the hall. All visitors, coming from either inside or outside of the complex, had to ascend the elevated threshold. Guests arriving for an audience with the head of the household could sit on the benches around the central basin while a retinue perhaps

served or entertained them. Visitors, possibly a select group invited to dine with the head of the household, could then ascend the step into the elevated threshold and pass through the second part of the hall. A wide, rectangular doorway on the back wall of the elevated half of the hall leads into a cruciform room (23), the dining or sleeping chamber of the aristocratic owner of the house. On either side of the doorway into the cruciform chamber two arched niches could have been used to display precious household items.

An elegant cross, carved in high relief, rests directly in the centre of the flat ceiling, inside this chamber. The striking presence of this salient cross was meant to impress. It conspicuously marks the most prestigious room of the complex, as it looms over the dining or sleeping chamber of the aristocratic owner of the house. This grand cross, adorning the most notable space of the most illustrious complex of the entire settlement, loudly signals the firm allegiance of the secular and the ecclesiastical spheres of the owner's dominion. The cross was positioned for the privileged view of the aristocrat who, sitting in his chamber facing his audience, could gaze upward and see it correctly oriented. Such a noticeable location for an eminent cross reinforces the axis of hall and church developed by the overall layout of the courtyard houses in this area. The main hall of the house is consistently placed next to the church, together forming a ceremonial sphere of activity and standing separately from the remaining spaces, reserved for household work and production. An outsider could be allowed into the most impressive, ceremonial areas, while at the same time be left out of the household rooms.

Inside the chamber, three vaulted alcoves, which resemble their counterparts encountered in Hall 1, create the room's cruciform shape arranged like a *triclinium*. The two alcoves on either side, like those in Hall 1, originally had benches carved along their back walls. The third alcove at the apex of the room, however, did not have a bench. On the back and side walls of this alcove are small arched cupboards, such as those flanking the doorway into the chamber. In addition, a door to one side of this last alcove leads to a small, precisely-carved square room (24) with a deep pit on the floor along its back wall and ledges on either side. This room, approached directly from the chamber, could have served as the private latrine of the head of the household and his intimate dining companions.²⁹ At Selime, it would have been difficult

²⁹ For a latrine similar in shape, size, and placement but from the 4th c., see Greenewalt (1992) figs. 2 and 3.

to construct a sewage system inside the tuff rock. The pit, however, could be made deep enough, while the soft tuff is sufficiently porous to easily absorb both the excrement and its stench. The presence of this precisely carved latrine where the aristocrat could retire, perhaps, immediately after dining in complete seclusion and privacy (enhanced by the right-angle formation of the entrance) signifies a great privilege that must have been enjoyed only among the most powerful and wealthy members of Byzantine high society.

Accompanying the complex is one of the largest rock-cut churches in Cappadocia (27), including barrel-vaults in the nave and side-aisles (l. 12 m including the apse, w. 9 m including the side-aisles, and h. 7 m in the central vault). Once again, its large scale is only one among many outstanding features of this structure. The basilica plan, for example, is an uncommon church plan for the region and for the period. In addition, this is the only church in the settlement with a painted programme. Scenes from the infancy of the Virgin and of Christ appear in the nave vault. The Ascension is depicted in the apse, and busts of saints in medallions are painted in the spandrels of the arcades and the soffits of the arches that separate the nave from side-aisles. The basilica plan, painted program, and accommodating interior of the church at Selime Kalesi distinguish even further the mansion's notable aristocratic owners, who are depicted on the interior, west wall of the church. A large figure of the Virgin stands in the centre of the donor image and extends her arms to bless two figures in smaller scale to her left and right. Three additional figures, in even smaller scale, appear on either side. At least eight anonymous members of an aristocratic family wear robes embroidered with decorative roundels and are among the most richly-clad donors depicted in Cappadocia.³⁰ This image at Selime may represent both the owners and the inhabitants of the double-courtyard complex of Selime Kalesi. Perhaps they ruled over the entire settlement as well.

The masonry fortification wall built on top of Selime's plateau directly above Selime Kalesi demonstrates that Selime was an important, strategically situated military installation. A tunnel carved through the rock cliff connects the double-courtyard mansion with the fortification wall that lies above it. At 150 m above the level of the valley floor,

³⁰ For a discussion of the church and its donor images, see Lafontaine-Dosogne (1973).

this fortified cliff commands views over the whole region. Moreover, this fortification is linked to a sophisticated network of intervisible fortified peaks which dot the landscape. A sentry placed here could oversee the entire Peristrema Valley, guard its entrance, and warn of oncoming raids. The aristocratic owners of Selime Kalesi thus took control, and proceeded to make secure and prosperous an important part of the highly coveted border zone on Byzantium's eastern frontier. Their legacy, left for us to study in the architectural record, provides a rare glimpse into medieval daily life, and at the same time enhances our understanding of the material culture and built environment of Byzantium's famous Anatolian aristocracy.

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RECENTLY INVESTIGATED URBAN HOUSES

A LATE ROMAN HOUSE
AT ÉAUZE (CIEUTAT), FRANCE

Simon Esmonde Cleary

The modern town of Éauze lies in the *département* of the Gers in south-western France, about 1 km to the north-west of the site of the Roman town of Elusa.¹ Something over half a century after the Elusates surrendered to Crassus in 56 B.C. they laid out a new capital for themselves in the Roman style on the banks of the little river Gélise, some 3 km to the south-east of the major late Iron Age *oppidum* of Esbérour. Epigraphic evidence (*CIL* XIII 546) indicates that the town had been raised to the status of *colonia* by the early 3rd c. A.D. The new province of Novempopulana, comprising almost all the land between the Atlantic to the west, the Pyrenees to the south and the river Garonne to east and north (and thus roughly co-terminous with the lands of the people Caesar identified as the Aquitani), was created in the later 3rd c. A.D., as recorded on the inscription from the Col d'Hasparren (*CIL* XIII 412). In some versions of the *Notitia Galliarum*, the Elusates appear at the top of the list of *civitates* making up the province and are credited with the *metropolis*. Their bishop heads the episcopal lists subscribing to various Church councils, beginning with that of Agde in A.D. 506 and ending with that of Bordeaux in A.D. 662/75. Although Ammianus Marcellinus (*Res Gestae* 15.14) refers to Auch as provincial capital, the bulk of the evidence points to Éauze as having exercised that role, though it was ultimately to Auch that the metropolitan see was transferred in A.D. 879, by letter of Pope John VIII. The institutional abandonment of the Roman town is mirrored by the physical abandonment of the site beside the Gélise in favour of the present hill-top location; a shift whose date remains unknown.

A consequence of this settlement shift is that, unusually, the Gallo-Roman town has not been built over. 18 ha of the centre of the town are now classed and protected as a *réserve archéologique*, and before the

¹ For the state of knowledge pre-2000, see Lapart and Petit (1993) 140–70; Schaad and Vidal (1992); Schaad, Martinaud, Colmont and Pailler (1992).

land was taken out of cereal cultivation it yielded a very informative series of aerial photographs showing the street-grid and a number of public and private buildings.² In the light of the perceived imbalance between present knowledge of public buildings on the one hand, and private houses and *la vie quotidienne* on the other, particularly in South-West France, a project was formulated to excavate the entirety of what, on the aerial photographs, appeared to be a large, peristyle house lying near the centre of the town in the field named 'Cieutat'.³ The research aims of this project are to obtain a time-slice of the development of this part of the town from its origins to its abandonment, an appreciation of the successive phases of the town-house with an understanding of their social significance and a perspective on the cultural and economic impact of Roman-style urbanisation on the Elusates more generally. The excavations commenced in 2001 under the direction of the present writer (University of Birmingham) and Mr. Jean-Luc Boudartchouk (Institut National de Recherches en Archéologie Préventive—INRAP) with Mr. Pierre Pisani (INRAP). In the four seasons to date, some 70% of the footprint of the house has been uncovered. Measures are currently in hand to consolidate the site and open it to the public.

The building seems to have been a simple, classic peristyle house, lying on the south-western side of the cross-roads formed by a/the principal north-south *cardo* and an east-west *decumanus*; to the north of the *decumanus* was a large *insula* containing what was probably a major temple. The overall plan of the house is easily grasped and corresponds very closely with the aerial photographs, consisting of an open space, somewhat longer north-south than east-west, surrounded by a peristyle, itself enclosed by four ranges of rooms. The southern range remains to be excavated, but the aerial photographs suggest that it is of similar dimensions and layout to the other three. The excavations have shown that the house was originally constructed under the High Empire, perhaps in the 1st c. A.D., and to judge by the uniformity of construction of the wall-footings (which bore timber-framed walls), was laid out as a single operation. It was a building of some scale and pretension, with a complex water-supply and drainage system. It underwent several phases of modification, as yet imperfectly understood, before the north and east ranges were demolished and cleared down to the top of the

² Lapart and Petit (1993) 148–89 and 152–53.

³ Ministère de la Culture (1997).

wall-footings. Surprisingly, and unusually, it appears that the building was promptly reconstructed to almost exactly the same plan. The new exterior walls with their timber-framed interior partition-walls were constructed directly on top of the earlier footings, albeit to a much inferior standard of workmanship.

In all periods, the principal entrance was in the middle of the eastern side. Under the High Empire, a colonnade along this side of the house lined the western side of the *cardo*. In the later period this was suppressed and incorporated into a long, rectangular room whose eastern wall encroached onto the *cardo*; the pier-bases of the former colonnade may well have served as bases for roof-supports. The entrance itself was impressive, with a main access-way flanked by two narrower openings separated off by large columns. By the Late Roman period, there was a large base of re-used masonry blocks just inside the principal entrance-way, whose function remains unclear. The main entrance-chamber was prolonged through into the peristyle with, in the Late Roman period, the openings into the peristyle defined by pier-bases. The half of the east range lying north of the entrance-way consisted of a smaller room, with some evidence for metal-working in the late period, and a much larger one with a solid brick-and-concrete floor, probably opening onto the *decumanus*. The northern range consisted of a series of rooms of varying sizes and uncertain functions fronted by a corridor or portico along the southern side of the *decumanus*. Another large room at the north-western end of the house corresponded approximately in size, shape and orientation to its equivalent in the north-eastern angle. This room was clearly used for industrial purposes according to a number of ovoid depressions (*fosses cigarriformes*) associated with hearths and the settings of stake-holes. Some of these features yielded evidence for metal-working in the form of hammer-scale, but this may not have been their sole use (evidence from elsewhere in the region suggests a range of other possible functions). The room opened onto the *decumanus* by a large doorway, ultimately blocked. The western range consisted, in this late phase, of three rooms at least, created by partition walls inserted into what had formerly been one large space and keeping its well-made *opus signinum* floor. The peristyle walks opened onto the central courtyard or garden, at the centre of which lay what was probably a well. To the north of this was a small, late, rectangular structure built around a large re-used limestone block serving as a base; this may have been a small shrine or *nymphaeum*. A water-channel ran around the outside

of this area, discharging into a reconstruction of one of the earlier drainage systems.

The occupation and use of this second phase of the building can be securely dated to the 4th c. The floors, patches and installations belonging to this phase contained a number of coins and large quantities of pottery. The coins are bronze pieces of the later 3rd and first half of the 4th centuries; coins of the latter part of the 4th c. are very few in number: two of Gratian, one of Honorius, one of the House of Theodosius. This is part of a wider pattern of site-finds in south-western Gaul, where issues of the Houses of Valentinian and Theodosius are always at a premium suggesting that we are looking at patterns of supply rather than fluctuations in the occupation or fortunes of a particular site. This does, though, make finer dating within the 4th c. difficult, since it is evident from the destruction deposits (see below) that coins of the House of Constantine and even radiates continued to circulate down to the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries. The pottery (studied by Martine Genin) is overwhelmingly local products including: a range of orange to buff-slipped wheel-thrown wares, *engobées tardives*, imitating earlier Samian and African forms; up to 50% NMI by deposit of non-wheel-thrown culinary and table wares, *communes non-tournées*, a pattern repeated on other south-western sites. As yet, though, it is not possible to use these forms and fabrics to construct a tighter chronology within the 4th c., though the Éauze group is now one of the largest from the region and certain trends such as the appearance in the second half of the century of the *grises fines tardives* and the diminution in the same period of the representation of *communes tournées à pâte claire*. Interestingly and importantly, the site has not yet yielded a single sherd of *DSP (dérivées des sigillées paléochrétiennes)*, the regional, reduced fine ware (often with stamped decoration) of the 5th and 6th centuries, whose introduction into this area seems to date to the early 5th c.

As yet the functioning of the late-period house is only partially understood. A major problem is the lack of internal doorways to aid comprehension of spatial inter-relationships and circulation patterns. Moreover, many of the floor surfaces consist of an unrevealing yellow-buff sandy clay, which was in origin material introduced to level-up the platform of the original building and to act as bedding for its floors (many of which were removed when the original house was demolished). The northern range of rooms seem, on the whole, to have had more utilitarian or artisan functions, with evidence for heat-using processes and a generally low standard of cleanliness and maintenance. The

rooms in the western range, with their *opus signinum* floors, seem to have been more carefully maintained. One of these was in axis with the entrance-way and could be thought of as a reception-room, but there is no positive proof. For such a large complex, the lack of Late Roman mosaics is surprising; there are antiquarian reports of mosaics from the Roman town centre, and Éauze was capital of the province in which lie the majority of Late Roman mosaics discovered in Gaul. It may be that will be some in the as yet unexcavated south range. There are, however, indications of wealth from the excavated objects, such as fragments of cage-cup (*vasa diatreta*) glassware. On the other hand, the complex has produced a number of military items, including a dagger of 3rd or 4th c. type, spear-head, belt or harness-fitting and a 2nd c. bronze relief of a Roman soldier vanquishing a barbarian (from the destruction deposits). In addition, there are items such as a set of handcuffs, a horse bit, an iron lynch-pin and more bronze fittings. Taken together these might suggest military rather than civilian use of the *domus*. If this were so, it might explain the low apparent level of appointments in such a grand building. If, as seems likely, Éauze was the capital of *Novempopulana*, the presence of military personnel would be perfectly comprehensible within the framework of the tax-gathering mechanisms of the Late Roman state: the mention in Ammianus Marcellinus *Res Gestae* 18.8.1 of Julian waiting for supplies from Aquitaine before starting of the campaigning season in A.D. 357 attests to the importance of this rich agricultural region.

The house was abandoned after the north and east ranges burnt down at the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries. Associated with the abandonment were large deposits of artefacts, apparently deliberately dumped. There were particularly notable deposits in the channel around the interior courtyard, particularly in the basins at the angles. These contained large quantities of pottery, miscellaneous metalwork and coins (up to half the coins from the site came from these deposits and included issues up to a century and more old at the time) and presumably originally equally large quantities of organic materials. The coins, especially the very scarce late 4th c. pieces, suggest a date at the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries, a date in accord with the pottery present and with the absence of *DSP*. It is interesting that such a large plot at the centre of a provincial capital should not have been re-occupied; perhaps the long-term decline of Éauze was already under way.

Some 10 km from Éauze lies the well-known 4th c. and later villa of (Montréal) Séviac.⁴ The overall plan of this complex is markedly similar to that of the Éauze-Cieutat house: a peristyle villa with four ranges of rooms and the principal entrance in the middle of the eastern side, though of course at Éauze-Cieutat the plan is essentially of the early empire, re-adopted in the 4th c. But in marked contrast to Séviac it also has a major set of baths (at Éauze-Cieutat there is space for something similar to the south of the south range) and is chiefly celebrated for the quantity and quality of its Late Roman mosaics. Nonetheless, the current excavations are beginning to meet the research objectives of the project, including the nature, functions and date of the Late Roman occupation.

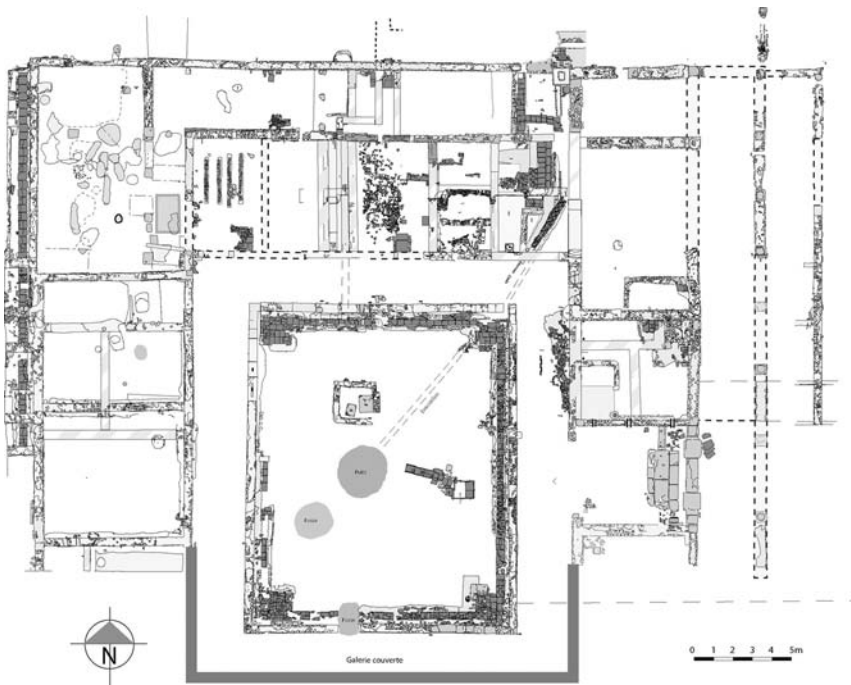


Fig. 1 Éauze-Cieutat, plan of *domus*
(Plan: Ch. Darles, École d'Architecture, Toulouse).

⁴ Lapart and Petit (1993) 266–83.

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Fig. 1. Éauze-Cieutat, plan of *domus* (Plan: Ch. Darles, École d’Architecture, Toulouse).

THE PALACE OF THEODERIC AT RAVENNA: A NEW ANALYSIS OF THE COMPLEX

Andrea Augenti

Abstract

The late antique *domus* known as the ‘Palace of Theoderic’ at Ravenna was excavated in the early 20th c., according to methods that were considered advanced at the time, but which fall far short of modern stratigraphic excavation, depending for dating largely on the styles of mosaics. This article presents a re-analysis of the complex based upon observations from surviving field records. A new sequence of phases is presented, which reveals Early Roman domestic structures covered by a large *domus* of 4th c. date, which was embellished in the early to mid-5th c., the late 5th to early 6th c. and in the mid to late 6th c. A fountain was added in the Early Medieval period, after which the complex gradually deteriorated.

INTRODUCTION

The archaeology of late antique and Early Medieval aristocratic housing has not received much attention in Italy. This is because there are few surviving remains of this type of structure suitable for research and excavation. In many cases, only the approximate location of these urban palaces is known. Very often, political elites have continued to use these buildings, or their sites, for many centuries, subjecting them to renovations and changes that have obliterated their late antique and Early Medieval layers.¹

The aim of this paper is to attract scholars’ attention to one of the few examples of late antique aristocratic housing in Italy: the palace of Ravenna. The excavations of this imposing structure have raised a number of interesting questions.² They were carried out between 1908

¹ See, in general, Ripoll and Gurt (2000).

² Interest in the Palace at Ravenna has recently been renewed: Diego Barrado and Galtier Martí (1997); Baldini Lippolis (1997); Manzelli (2000); Russo (2000); Baldini



Fig. 1 The excavation
(Foto Soprintendenza per i Beni Architettonici e per il Paesaggio—Ravenna).

and 1914, and investigated an area of around 400 m² (fig. 1), resulting in the discovery of many walls, mosaics and *opus sectile* pavements. However, very little has ever been published about these discoveries; rather publications have been preoccupied with the mosaics, which have been dated largely based on stylistic criteria.³

Nonetheless, the University of Bologna (chair of Medieval Archaeology of the seat of Ravenna) has produced a complete catalogue of the excavation files; a database of accounts, notes, photographs and drawings.⁴ This has constituted the basis for re-evaluating G. Ghirardini's results, obtained during his excavation of the site at the beginning of the 20th c. From a methodological point of view, Ghirardini's work is impressive, considering the standards of Italian archaeology in his day. However, Ghirardini's frequent definition of his excavation as 'stratigraphic' needs to be placed in context.⁵ The excavation was not, in fact, 'stratigraphic' in the real sense of the term. The layers of the building were not represented or numbered in any sections. The long and complex sequence of walls and, in particular, pavements, encouraged Ghirardini to instead conceptualise a broad stratigraphic building sequence, consisting of a long succession of structures superimposed upon one another. Indeed, Ghirardini's work does not demonstrate the same stratigraphic skill as contemporary research carried out in Emilia-Romagna, for instance, in work by pre-historians such as Chierici or Pigorini, who also worked on Early Medieval contexts.⁶ There was instead a cultural parallel between Ghirardini's excavation and the so-called '*archeologia dell'attenzione*', inaugurated by G. Fiorelli at Pompeii during the 19th c.⁷ Therefore, Ghirardini's excavation at the Palace of Theodoric did not employ a stratigraphic approach, but instead documented every element and structure discovered. For this reason, the quality of his operation owed much to A. Azzaroni's skilled drawing of the *Soprintendenza ai Monumenti di Ravenna*, and documentation of every wall and mosaic.⁸ If, from a graphical point of view, the

Lippolis (2001) 252–58; Novara (2001); Manzelli and Grassigli (2001). See also, in general, Gelichi (1991) 157–58; Ortalli (1991) 172–74; Porta (1991).

³ Ghirardini (1917); Berti (1976).

⁴ First report in Augenti (2003).

⁵ See, for example, Ghirardini (1917) 719.

⁶ Gelichi (1997) 18–27.

⁷ Barbanera (1998) 68–69. This is indirectly shown by Ghirardini's expression of appreciation for Fiorelli's excavations at Pompeii: Ghirardini (1912) 5.

⁸ Augenti (2003) 34–35.

excavation is well-recorded, the written material it produced leaves much to be desired. This is limited to a paper by Ghirardini (the only description and analysis of the site ever published); a text by G. Nave, a digging assistant;⁹ an account by P. Zauli (1908–1909) and A. Gordini (1910);¹⁰ and, finally, a ‘diary’ kept by G. Berti, a scholar of the topography of Ravenna.¹¹ The photographic record must also be taken into account, even though it has now been widely dispersed¹² and has received no attention since F. Berti’s valiant attempt to order the data on the mosaics in 1976.¹³

There are many difficulties in studying the results of an excavation carried out in the past.¹⁴ The lack of important information is often especially problematic. In our case, the absence of information regarding thresholds has made it impossible to reconstruct internal circulation patterns. At the same time, the absence of a stratigraphic approach (in the proper sense) during the excavation, mentioned above, has prevented us from properly documenting stratigraphic relationships. Finally, the almost total neglect of small finds, particularly pottery, has rendered futile our efforts to establish an absolute chronology. Consequently, we have found it necessary to date each phase presented in this article exclusively on stylistic grounds (namely the mosaics as studied by Berti): a notoriously unreliable methodology for a stratigraphic archaeologist.¹⁵

Nevertheless, it should be noted that Ghirardini was ahead of his time where excavation methods were concerned. Therefore, our project has aimed to glean as much information as possible from the detailed and exhaustive database of material these have left behind. This database was designed to accommodate the published and unpublished information within a GIS platform, in turn, configured to make possible the analysis of large amounts of data. This has enabled us to identify, number, and link every wall to corresponding graphical and photographic evidence. Further, in some cases, it has made possible an

⁹ Novara (2001).

¹⁰ P. Zauli and A. Gordini’s manuscript, *Rapporti settimanali di scavo*, at the Museo Archeologico di Bologna.

¹¹ Savini (1998).

¹² The photographs are mostly kept at the Soprintendenza per i Beni Architettonici e per il Paesaggio di Ravenna and at the Museo Civico Archeologico di Ravenna.

¹³ Berti (1976).

¹⁴ Christie (1991).

¹⁵ Barbanera (2000).

identification of stratigraphic relationships between structures, on the basis of excavation records. This has proved particularly important in establishing a relative and sometimes absolute chronology, without having to resort to the stylistic analysis of mosaics. Conclusions regarding chronological factors have also been reached by comparing the palace at Ravenna with other Roman and late antique sites and taking into account a likely superimposition of mosaics. In these cases, the dating suggested must be considered provisional and open to discussion, since it cannot be verified.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE DATA BY CHRONOLOGICAL PHASES

Phase 1 (fig. 2)

1. *Northern Sector*

During phase 1, various structures were located in this area, probably pertaining to different phases and sub-phases of early imperial date, or slightly earlier (cf. the data from the Southern sector). Part of the area was made up of a series of walls, which were orientated in a similar direction. These were associated with a *opus spicatum* surface which, in the photographs, seems to have existed at a lower level, 7 m lower than the floor attested in aisle A^{'''}.¹⁶ The plan of the complex in the northern area was focused on a central hall, flanked by four rooms and overlooking what seems to have been an atrium. To the west, some structures that could be ascribed to this phase are recognisable, for instance, the pavement brought to light in room Z, at -0.57 m.¹⁷ The eastern area could not be identified.

Dating: This sector can be dated to the Early Imperial period on the basis of the analogous heights of the floors of aisles A^{'''} A'. Berti dated the latter to the first half of the 1st c. A.D. on stylistic grounds.¹⁸

¹⁶ Berti (1976) 24. Ghirardini (1917) 778, refers to "muri sottostanti, le cui fondazioni scendevano fino a m. 1.55 sotto il comune marino, e che attraversavano in senso di lunghezza e larghezza l'originaria sala. Piuttosto che destinati a formare vani sotterranei sotto al suo pavimento, mi pare assai probabile che appartenessero a costruzioni preesistenti alla stessa sala".

¹⁷ Ghirardini (1917) 780; Berti (1976) 24.

¹⁸ Berti (1976) 30-31, no. 1.

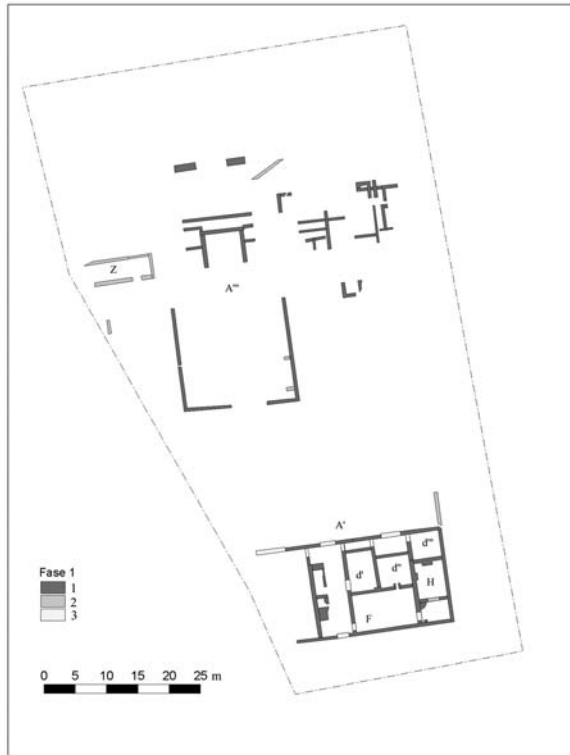


Fig. 2 Phase 1: plan (Foto Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna).

2. *Southern Sector*

The plan of the southern sector in the first building phase can be deduced from developments in subsequent phases. It consisted of a series of rooms of rectangular or quadrangular plan, placed in two rows and flanked by a large hall to the west. To the north, the complex overlooked a large rectangular space, which perhaps contained an aisle. The floors were decorated with mosaics, *opus sectile*, and hexagonal terracotta tiles, and stand at between -0.48 m (hexagonal terracotta tile pavement in room F)¹⁹ and -0.67 m (mosaic floor in A') high.²⁰ Room

¹⁹ Ghirardini (1917) 768.

²⁰ Berti (1976) 30–31, no. 1.

(H), which contained *suspensurae* and a pavement at -0.58 m can also be associated with this phase.²¹

Dating: The first phase of construction work in the southern sector has been dated to the 1st c. B.C.

Phase 1a

Another ancient phase has been identified in the southern sector. Its plan during this 'phase 1a' was identical to that of the previous phase, but with some floors replaced at a higher level. This change affected rooms D', D'', and D''', and the thresholds between them.²² Phase 1a can be dated to the early 2nd c. A.D., in particular, the Hadrianic period.

Phase 2 (fig. 3)

1. Northern Sector and Peristyle

In the second phase, the complex maintained its earlier overall plan, in the main, with some minor differences. In the northern sector, the central hall L (13.5 m \times 1 m) had an apse (fig. 4 and 5) and was now flanked by the side rooms; M, N, O and probably P, with which it communicated through four doors. These side rooms could only be reached from the central hall.²³ The floor of the hall was paved with square, marble slabs²⁴ and stood at a height of -0.48 m, as did the floors of M, N, O, P.²⁵ The surviving side rooms were also fitted with marble floor slabs.²⁶ To the west, room Z had an *opus sectile* floor that

²¹ Berti (1976) 27, no. 1. V. Manzelli (in Manzelli and Grassigli (2001) 139–45) adds another phase between this phase and the following one, which she dates to between the 1st c. B.C. and the 1st c. A.D.

²² Berti (1976) nos. 7–10.

²³ The apse was included in the original construction of the hall, and represents a chord and a radius built in masonry: all clearly visible in the photo published by Savini (1998) 35, fig. 68 (reproduced here in fig. 5). Russo (2000) 46, maintains that the apse was a later addition.

²⁴ Ghirardini (1917) 777.

²⁵ The floor of room P during this phase had not been identified at the time of the excavation (Novara (2001) 21), but its existence can be assumed because a threshold between hall L and room P was not yet in place. Only a floor has been discovered in room P, at a higher height: $+0.22$ m according to Berti (1976) no. 62, and $+0.28$ m according to Ghirardini (1917) 780.

²⁶ Ghirardini (1917) 780.

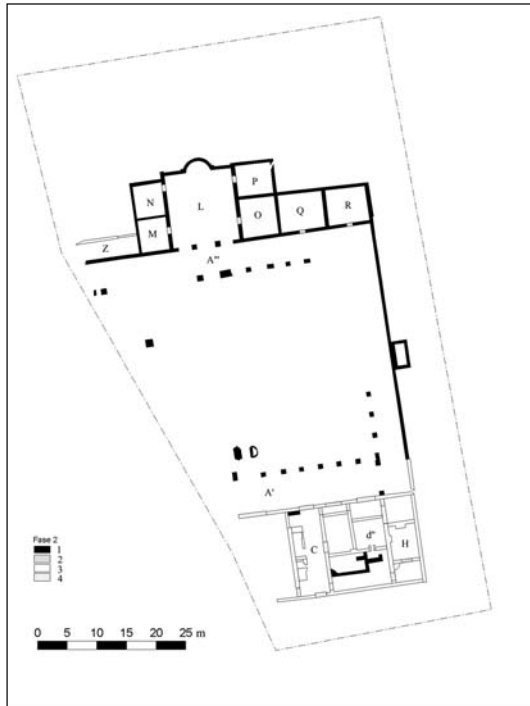


Fig. 3 Phase 2: plan (Foto Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna).

probably originated in this phase, judging by its identical height to the floors of the central hall and side chambers.²⁷ It is likely that rooms Q and R were embellished with hexagonal terracotta tile floors at a height of -0.21 m in this phase.²⁸

Meanwhile, the courtyard to the south was enclosed by long walls on its eastern and western sides. A stair was placed against the former.²⁹ Bases of pillars were discovered during the excavation, suggesting that this open space was a peristyle. Immediately to the north, near to the southern row of columns and central axis of the peristyle, two semicircular structures, probably fountains were installed, facing each other.³⁰ The wing of the peristyle facing the northern sector (A'') had

²⁷ Berti (1976) 24–25.

²⁸ Ghirardini (1917) 781.

²⁹ Ghirardini (1917) 722.

³⁰ Novara (2000) 21.



Fig. 4 Hall L at the moment of discovery (Foto Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna).



Fig. 5 The apse of hall L (from Savini).

a mosaic floor, which stood at 0.47/0.48 m,³¹ the same height as the floors of rooms L, M, N, O and Z.³²

Dating: Based on architectural parallels with the *domus* of the Symmachi in Rome, the Seasons' Building in Sbeitla, and the so-called Theodosian Palace in Stobi, these developments can be dated to the 4th c. A.D.³³

2. *Southern Sector*

A new mosaic floor depicting circus scenes was laid down in room A'. It was 0.47 m higher than its predecessor, in phase I.³⁴ The southern sector was now part of a larger complex, which faced the central peristyle. The floors of room A', aisle A''' and rooms L, M, N, O, Z and probably

³¹ Ghirardini (1917) 773; Berti (1976) no. 50.

³² Similar (but not identical) reconstruction in Deichmann (1989) fig. 3.

³³ Baldini Lippolis (2001) 267–68; 290–92 and 298.

³⁴ Berti (1976) nos. 13–19.

P were the same height. Open thresholds in C and D” provided direct routes between the rooms to the south and the peristyle.

Dating: Like those of the northern sector, these changes can be dated to the 4th c. A.D.

Phase 3 (fig. 6)

1. *Northern Sector and Courtyard*

The two major developments in phase 3 consisted of the construction of the great room L (fig. 7) and northern extension of the apsidal hall.

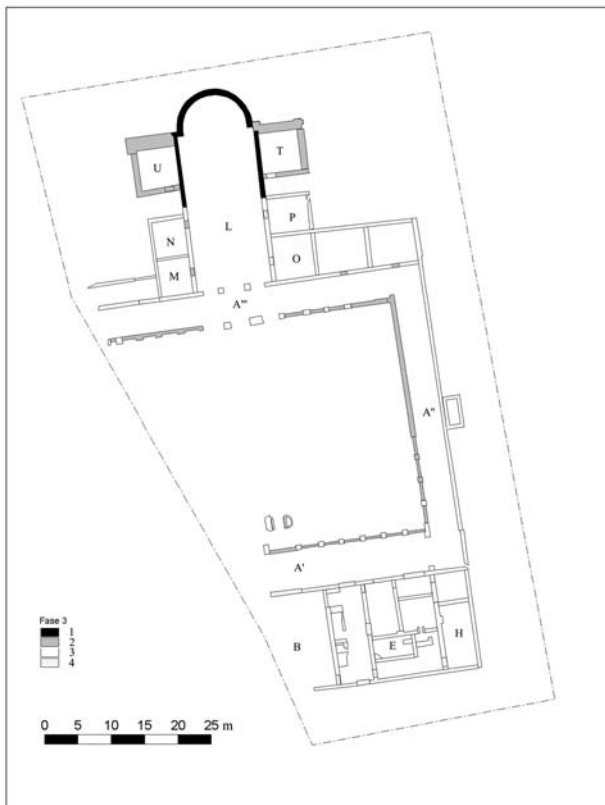


Fig. 6 Phase 3: plan (Foto Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna).



Fig. 7 Hall L. The arrow indicates the extension of the original wall, built for the enlargement of the hall (Foto Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna).

The former measured 27 m × 11 m, and had a remarkable *opus sectile* floor, at a height of +0.5 m. It is possible that the doors of rooms L, M and N were blocked at this time.³⁵ This is suggested by the fact that their floors were the same height as they had been during the previous phase (-0.48 m). Rooms M and N probably went out of use in this period. The blocking of the doors between L, O and P is less likely to have occurred at this time, given that the floors of O and P were 0 m and +0.22 m, respectively.³⁶

³⁵ Zauli and Gordini, 2.10.1910.

³⁶ Floor in O: Berti (1976) 24; floor in P: 24 and no. 62 of the catalogue.

The insertion of two rooms with a quadrangular plan flanking rooms L (V and L) could perhaps be attributed to this phase. At the time of the excavation, the threshold in the southern wall of room T was still in place. However, there was no direct link between rooms U, T, and L. It is possible that U and T were built later, although evidence of an *opus sectile* floor of +0.09 m in room T, possibly of a similar height to the *opus sectile* floor in L (+0.5 m), would refute this suggestion. Meanwhile, the floor in room U was constructed at the lower height of -0.15 m.³⁷ The spaces between the pillars in the courtyard were possibly blocked during this phase, creating a continuous aisle, through spaces, A', A'' and A'''.³⁸

Dating: According to F. Guidobaldi, this phase can be dated to the reign of Honorius based on the similarity between the *opus sectile* floor of Hall L and the floor of the *triclinium* in the *Domus Augustana* at Rome.³⁹ Conversely, P. Novara has dated the same floor to the age of Theodoric (late 5th to early 6th c. A.D.). However, his evidence is less convincing than that of F. Guidobaldi, which is to be preferred.⁴⁰

2. Southern Sector

Several floors of approximately similar height can be associated with this phase. These were found in rooms A' (-0.4 m), H (+0.5 m) and E (-0.8 m). In the same period, room H' was connected to room H following the destruction of an original partition wall.⁴¹ Finally, room B was endowed with a hypocaust heating system, judging by the remains of a *suspensurae* system. The heights of the floors are almost identical to those of the phase 3 structures in the northern sector.

Dating: Phase 3 of the southern sector can be associated with the early 5th c. A.D. (age of Honorius), based on floor heights.

³⁷ Ghirardini (1917) 780.

³⁸ Novara (2001) 53.

³⁹ Guidobaldi and Guiglia Guidobaldi (1983) 33–35; Guidobaldi (1999) 646–47.

⁴⁰ Novara (1997) 15–18.

⁴¹ Berti (1976) 21.

Phase 4 (fig. 8)

1. *Northern Sector*

In phase 4, a triconch-shaped dining room, was constructed north of room R.⁴² Its three apses had polygonal exteriors and semicircular interiors. The height of the floor in room S was +0.15/0.26 m.⁴³ In contrast with N. Duval's plan of the palace in this phase, the western apse did not contain a threshold, and two parallel walls, which later separated rooms R and S, were not inserted.⁴⁴ Another mosaic was added to the *opus sectile* floor of hall L, at a height of +0.12 m (fig. 9).⁴⁵ It can be ascribed to this phase on the basis of its similar height to the floors of triconch-shaped dining room S and room Q (+0.14 m), and the mosaic of aisle A''' (+0.13 m).⁴⁶ The addition of

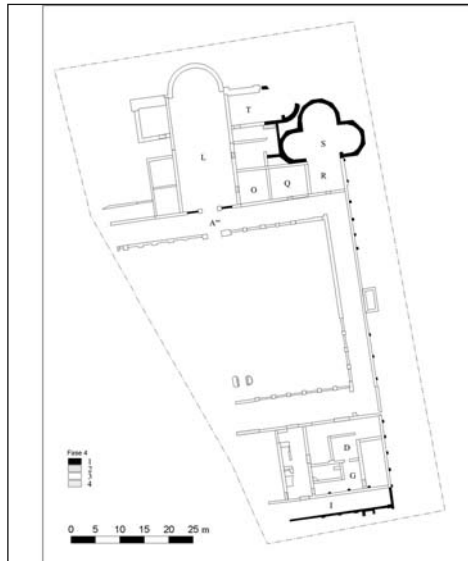


Fig. 8 Phase 4: plan (Foto Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna).

⁴² The relationship between the walls of S and R is made plain by G. Nave in Novara (2001) 67; see also, Ghirardini (1917) 786.

⁴³ Berti (1976) nos. 58–60.

⁴⁴ Duval (1978) fig. 3, 34.

⁴⁵ Ghirardini (1917) 823 (and related photograph).

⁴⁶ Floor of Q: Ghirardini (1917) 781; Berti (1976) nos. 61, 82. Floor of A''': Berti (1976) nos. 54, 74.



Fig. 9 Hall L. The arrow indicates the remains of the mosaic, which covered the preceding *opus sectile* pavement (Foto Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna).

an apse to room T also seems to have occurred in this phase.⁴⁷ Finally, pilasters were added to the exterior of the eastern perimeter wall of the complex. These pilasters were similar to those in the delimiting aisle of the southern perimeter wall.⁴⁸

Dating: F. Berti argues that the mosaic floors of triconch-shaped dining room S and room T can be dated to the early 6th c.⁴⁹ He also maintains

⁴⁷ See the remarks by G. Nave on the similarity between the foundations of T and S: Novara (2001) 37.

⁴⁸ Novara (2001) 31, 81.

⁴⁹ Berti (1976) nos. 58–60.

that the first mosaics of the aisle were put in during the late 5th c.,⁵⁰ and replaced by new mosaics during the first half of the 6th c.⁵¹ and again at the end of the 6th c.⁵² Indeed, polygonal apses are attested in the buildings of Ravenna from the 5th c., at the Cattedrale Ursiana and S. Giovanni Evangelista and continued to be used during the age of Theoderic, at S. Spirito and S. Apollinare Nuovo. The same can be said of the pilasters, as seen in the cases of S. Croce, the Galla Placidia mausoleum, S. Spirito and S. Apollinare Nuovo. This phase can be ascribed to the late 5th to 6th centuries A.D. according to evidence for a *terminus ante quem* within the excavation material. This consists of a photograph (fig. 10) showing a floor mosaic, which covered the southern perimeter wall of rooms Q and O and created a single space between rooms A'', Q and O. The mosaic has been dated to the second half of the 6th c.⁵³ However, if one accepts that phase 3 should be dated to the age of Theoderic, the chronological limits of phase 4 proposed by some scholars would have to be lowered, although to no earlier than the mid-6th c.

2. Southern Sector

The southern sector was affected by several modifications in this phase. Following the demolition of the partition walls separating D', D'' and D''', room D became a single space with a mosaic floor at a height of +0.14 m.⁵⁴ Room G was provided with a new mosaic pavement, standing at +0.15 m.⁵⁵ This floor occupied the entire surface of the room and was evidently laid after the destruction of the L-shaped wall bisecting the room. The latter change resulted in a sort of a vestibule in the northern area. At the same time, three pilasters were probably added to the inside of the wall, delimiting an area to the south. The construction of aisle I can be attributed to this phase.⁵⁶ The mosaic pavement of this space stands at a height of +0.19 m. In some parts

⁵⁰ Berti (1976) nos. 22–23.

⁵¹ Berti (1976) no. 38.

⁵² Berti (1976) no. 39.

⁵³ Berti (1976) nos. 56, 75. The decorative organisation of the mosaic finds a parallel in a floor in the Church of S. Vitale dated to the half of the 6th c. A.D.: Farioli (1975) 161.

⁵⁴ Berti (1976) nos. 30–31.

⁵⁵ Berti (1976) no. 37.

⁵⁶ Berti (1976) no. 22.

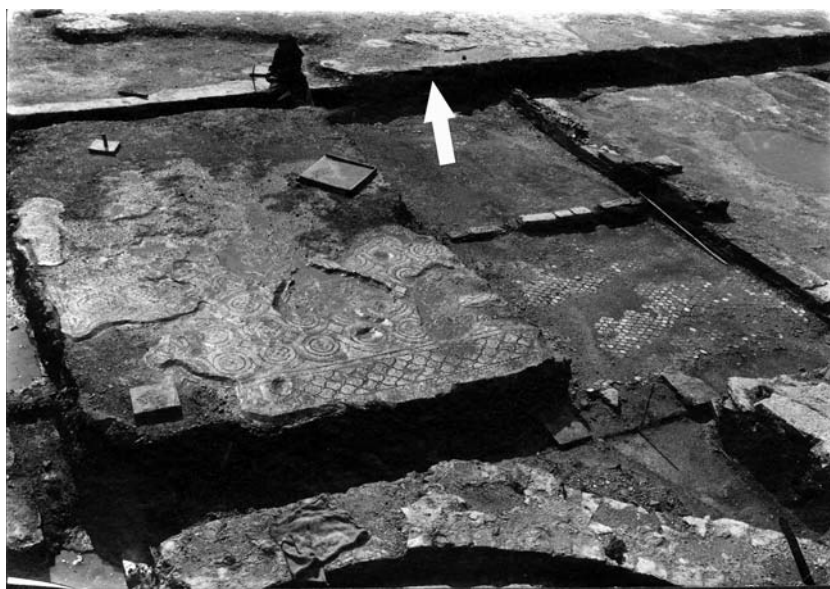


Fig. 10 Rooms O and Q: the arrow indicates the mosaic, which is superimposed on the outer walls of the rooms in the south (Foto Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna).

of this aisle, deep floors lay at -0.50 m and -0.21 m.⁵⁷ Finally, the wall with pillars, which demarcated the southern perimeter of the complex, was probably constructed in this phase.⁵⁸

Dating: also dated to the end of the 5th c. to the beginning of the 6th c. A.D., based on floor heights.

Phase 5 (fig. 11)

1. Northern Sector and Courtyard

Like phase 1, this phase probably included numerous sub-phases, which are not well-documented and have, therefore, been combined in a fifth phase for convenience. During this phase, the final monumental extensions to the building were completed. First of all, a room

⁵⁷ Ghirardini (1917) 768.

⁵⁸ The presence of a pilaster, not reported in the excavation plans or in the plan published by Ghirardini in 1917, is, moreover, known, thanks to the photographic evidence. It stood just outside room D''' to the east.

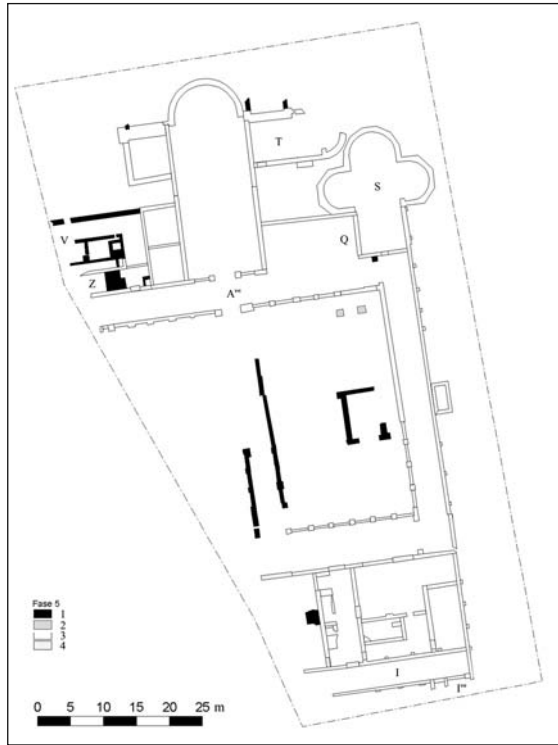


Fig. 11 Phase 5: plan (Foto Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna).

was constructed against the northern wall of room T. Little is known of this space, as a result of its proximity to the northern limits of the excavation. Two parallel walls were also inserted, on a north-south axis. Other structures, of uncertain provenance, were built west of hall L, including room V, with a floor of +0.3 m,⁵⁹ and Z, with a floor of the same height.⁶⁰ Further changes which may belong to this phase comprised the addition of two masonry bases in the vicinity of the north-eastern corner of the courtyard, immediately south of aisle A''. These had been inscribed with letters in relief.⁶¹

It seems that the area made up by aisle A'' and the room facing it to the north was at least partly altered at this time. Elsewhere mosaic

⁵⁹ Ghirardini (1917) 780.

⁶⁰ Novara (2001) 92.

⁶¹ Ghirardini (1917) 742; photographs in Savini (1998) 9, fig. 13.

decoration was applied to the pre-existing walls. For example, the southern wall of room Q appears in some photographs to have been covered by a mosaic.⁶² East of room L, a drain was put in place. Its height can be deduced from the photographs, which depict it standing higher than the western apse of triconch-shaped dining room S. Several structures encroached upon the courtyard at this time. These included a corridor leading to an area in the centre of the courtyard. East of this space, a rectangular room was identified.⁶³

Dating: a 6th c. date is suggested by the fact that the floors of this area were of a similar height to those of the southern sector. Nonetheless, it is perfectly likely that some of the developments mentioned above occurred at a later date.

2. *Southern Sector*

The southern sector was not affected by any notable alterations in phase 5. The renovation of the floor of aisle I, now laid at a height of +0.31 m,⁶⁴ is the only change worthy of mention. It can probably be associated with the construction of the first floor of aisle I'', built in the previous phase.⁶⁵

Dating: Mid to late 6th c., based on the style of mosaic.

Phase 6 (fig. 12)

1. *Northern Sector and Courtyard*

An octagonal fountain was erected in the middle of the courtyard. Its foundation trench cut across the aisle built in the previous phase and, by consequence, was of a later date (fig. 13). This development would explain the need to enlarge the central part of the aisle, and create an additional small courtyard in close proximity to the fountain.

⁶² Berti (1976) nos. 56, 75 (height + 0.22). Berti hypothesises that some repairs to this floor took place in the 7th c. A.D.

⁶³ Novara (2001) 15.

⁶⁴ Berti (1976) 39. Fragments of a mosaic, brought to light in room I and at a height of + 0.23 m could be placed in an earlier sub-phase: Berti (1976) no. 38. The fragments are, nonetheless, too scanty to conclude that the room was entirely re-paved.

⁶⁵ Berti (1976) no. 40. This floor was to be replaced by a new one: Berti (1976) no. 41, height + 0.40.

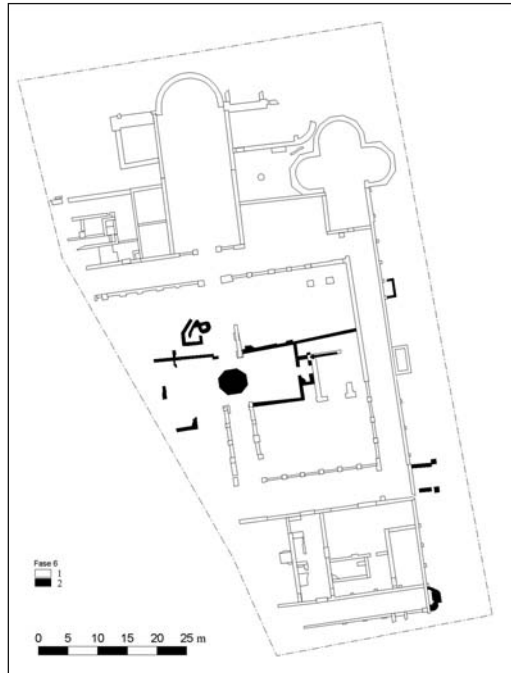


Fig. 12 Phase 6: plan (Foto Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna).

Meanwhile, other structures without foundations were erected in the courtyard,⁶⁶ and a rectangular room was attached to the exterior of the eastern perimeter wall of the complex. Further south, a series of walls and pillars (“*muretti e pilastri*”) probably formed part of another room, which has yet to be identified.⁶⁷

Dating: Between the late 6th c. and the 10th c.

2. *Southern Sector*

The only major development of this period worthy of note was the likely addition of a semicircular structure to the outside of corridor I.

Dating: Between the late c. 6th and the 10th c.

⁶⁶ Novara (2001) 21; Zauli and Gordini, 5.11.1911.

⁶⁷ Ghirardini (1917) 772.



Fig. 13 The octagonal fountain: the arrow indicates the point where the foundation trench of the fountain cuts through the walls of the pre-existing corridor (Foto Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna).

Phase 7 (fig. 14)

1. *Northern Sector and Courtyard*

Several burials and postholes were inserted subsequent to the ‘disruption’ of the complex. For instance, a burial was identified west of rooms M and N, and another was probably located in the courtyard, north-west of the octagonal fountain.⁶⁸ The postholes, for the most part undocumented, are nonetheless clearly visible in some photographs

⁶⁸ Novara (2001) 24, fig. 9.

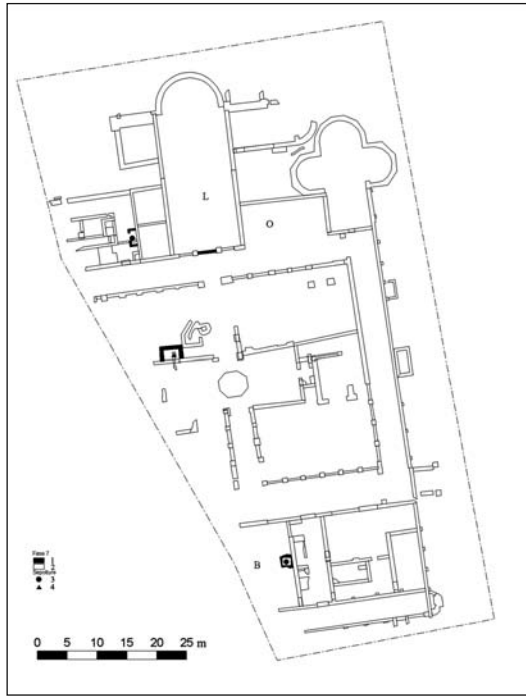


Fig. 14 Phase 7: plan (Foto Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna).

of the pavements (for example, in room O, as can be seen in fig. 10). There are, moreover, signs of spoliation activity and an obstruction of the drains. The door connecting room L and aisle A'' was perhaps blocked at this time. It must be noted though that phases 6 and 7 might have been indistinguishable. At the moment, our data is insufficient for an absolute dating and other developments do not follow a clear sequence.

Dating: Between the second half of the 6th c. A.D. and the 10th c. A.D.

2. Southern Sector

The only change datable to this phase is the insertion of a burial in room B.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Zauli and Gordini, 31.7.1909.

DISCUSSION OF THE DATA

In light of the above data, it is possible to attempt a provisional interpretation of the occupation phases of the complex, considering both the northern and southern sectors.

Phase 1 (Early Imperial Period)

Several structures of Roman date could be ascribed to this phase. A *villa* was brought to light in the northern sector. It featured a *triclinium/tablinum*, flanked by two other rooms (*cubicula*) and facing an atrium. This type of peristyle building was common between the 2nd c. B.C. and the 1st c. A.D., and has numerous parallels in the vicinity of Ravenna, for example, the *villa* at Russi in its Augustan phase.⁷⁰ It is uncertain whether or not a complex of rooms facing an aisle, located south of this group of buildings, could be ascribed with any certainty to the *villa*.

Phase 2 (4th c.)

A building of remarkable size was constructed in this phase. In the northern sector, an apsed hall with a colonnaded entrance, flanked by two rooms on either side, featured prominently. Meanwhile, other rooms were positioned to the south, facing a central, porticoed courtyard. The entire complex combined the earlier atrium structure with the building of the southern sector in an imposing residence, typical of Late Antiquity. Similar examples have been identified in the *domus* of the Symmachi at Rome (second half of the 4th c.), in the 'Seasons Building' at Sbeitla (4th c.), and in the Theodosian Palace at Stobi (second half of the 4th c.).

Phase 3 (Early to Mid-5th c.)

The complex underwent several modifications in this period. First, the apsidal hall was enlarged to the north. At the same time, a rich, *opus sectile* floor was laid down and can be associated with two new rooms, U and T, which faced the extension of the apsidal hall. Room T maintained its threshold, allowing communication to the south. In

⁷⁰ See Romizzi (2001), (*villa* at Russi: 210–21).

the courtyard, the space between the pillars was blocked, creating a closed corridor. The widest room of the southern wing was fitted with *suspensurae*, while the floors of some of the others rooms were raised.

Phase 4 (Late 5th to Early 6th c.)

In phase 4, the most extensive alterations to the northern wing consisted of the construction of the triconch-shaped dining room (S) and addition of an apse to hall T.⁷¹ Further, a new mosaic pavement was laid in hall L. The entrance to this space was narrowed by padding, added to the space between the two original columns. In the southern sector, some rooms were re-paved with higher flooring. Subsequently, the complex was extended to the south by means of a corridor, which ran from north to south-west. Finally, it seems that pilasters were attached to the outer wall, flanking the residence on its eastern and western sides.

Phase 5 (Mid to Late 6th c.)

A series of monumental changes took place in this period. In the northern sector, new rooms were constructed, the outer walls of certain rooms facing the corridor were torn down, and a mosaic pavement was inserted. To a certain extent, the courtyard became occupied by other structures, including a central corridor and some bases. We do not possess sufficient evidence to identify significant changes to the southern sector from this phase onwards.

Phase 6 (Early Medieval)

In this period, major modifications now focused on the northern sector. An octagonal fountain was constructed in the centre of the courtyard. This partly obliterated the corridor, which had been built in the previous phase. A small, but wider courtyard was built in close proximity to the fountain.

Phase 7 (Early Medieval)

Developments relating to the gradual deterioration of the complex can be associated with this phase, which is difficult to date precisely and

⁷¹ On triconch rooms, see Morvillez (1995); Ellis (2000) 172–74.

could, therefore, probably be subdivided into numerous periods. Major changes included the insertion of postholes, clearly indicative of quickly erected structures with simple roofing. These perhaps formed part of a settlement, constructed within the ruins of the palace. Furthermore, a number of burials have been identified, as well as traces of spoliation and evidence for the obstruction of the sewage system. It is also possible that, at this time, the large apsidal hall (L) went out of use, its entrance door being blocked.

CONCLUSIONS AND POSSIBLE AVENUES OF FUTURE RESEARCH

According to the location of the structures identified and the various restoration projects they underwent, it can be concluded that two building complexes existed during the Early Imperial period. Only one of these can be identified with any certainty as a suburban villa within the inhabited area of Ravenna. Only in the second period were the two buildings combined. This seems to have taken place in the course of the 4th c., a period in which the large complex, which now made up a single villa, was still situated in suburban Ravenna; it was not yet enclosed by the city walls, which were erected during the early to mid-5th c.⁷² The situation changed in the first half of the 5th c., when the residence became further monumentalised, partly through the addition of a large apsidal hall, embellished with an *opus sectile* pavement of high quality. This project fulfilled the need to equip the complex with a suitable public audience chamber. The complex could, therefore, have operated as an imperial palace at this early date, although this cannot be conclusively proven.

The final major renovations date to the rule of the Gothic King Theoderic. In this period, rooms combining apsidal and triconch floor plans were constructed within earlier structures. The material evidence reinforces various topographical references in the Early Medieval and later written sources, which suggest that the complex really did function as Theoderic's palace.⁷³ The successive modifications and re-arrangements of this phase included, in particular, the construction of additional rooms, the modification of internal circulation patterns through the

⁷² Christie and Gibson (1988); Gelichi (2000) 117.

⁷³ Novara (1993) 41; Porta (1991) 278.

blocking of doorways, and the addition of mosaic pavements, which raised the floor level of the complex.

Significant traces of the complex's decline have also been revealed. These may be generally dated to the Early Middle Ages and include burials and postholes, which unfortunately cannot be ascribed to structures that are securely identifiable in either plan or function. However, in spite of these changes, on the basis of the written sources we know that the palace in Ravenna remained active until at least the mid-8th c. Indeed, bearing in mind what is known of other seats of power, for example, at Rome, Split and Milan, it is possible that these signs of subdivision and re-use did in fact occur during the later occupation phases of the complex.⁷⁴

Finally, with this reconstruction in mind, one last conclusion may be reached. Luxurious urban seats of power are one of the few building types for which we can ascertain what might be called an archaeological microhistory, provided by stratigraphic data, and a macrohistory, transmitted by written sources. Consequently, it is much easier to correlate the archaeological material and textual evidence at these sites than elsewhere.⁷⁵ Considering the various illustrious occupants of the palace at Ravenna, it might make some sense to attribute phase 2 of the northern hall to the Honorian period (characterised by the small apsidal hall), phase 3 to the mid-5th c. (which included an enlargement of the same apsidal hall), and phase 4 to the reign of Theoderic (as proposed above). Such a conclusion would seem to corroborate the written and archaeological sources, suggesting that the early palace was not particularly majestic, perhaps unsurprisingly in a new capital, in urgent need of a suitable seat of power. Only during a second period was the complex enlarged and more lavishly decorated.

However, this correlation of building phases with literary sources is more than problematic. It should be noted that this reconstruction contradicts one of the traditional cornerstones for the dating of phase 3, the association of the *opus sectile* pavement in the large apsidal hall L with the Honorian period. This chronology is based on the close similarity of this pavement with that of the *triclinium* in the *Domus Augustana* at Rome, a valid observation that cannot be disproved by

⁷⁴ Augenti (1996) 118–19; Augenti (2004) 27–28.

⁷⁵ For the complex relationship between written and archaeological evidence, see Moreland (2001).

other comparisons. Nonetheless, the fact that there are no known pavements of this type, datable to the mid-5th c. at least casts an element of doubt on this conclusion. Furthermore, from an epistemological point of view, this reconstruction (the one according to which phase 2 should be dated to the Honorian period) ultimately subordinates the archaeological evidence to the written sources. In fact, it remains extremely difficult to establish an accurate topographic relationship between the palace of Theoderic and that of Valentinian III, which Andrea Agnello places on a different site, at *ad Laureta*, not far from the Porta Vandalaria: there is thus no reason to think that the late imperial palace and its Ostrogothic successor occupied the same site.

In contrast, our main aim in re-evaluating the evidence for the Palace of Theoderic was to reconsider every available scrap of stratigraphic information to construct a sequence based on archaeological observation, even if the absolute dating still depends on art-historical analogy. In our opinion, this represents a crucial step towards the establishment of firm conclusions regarding the chronology and nature of a complex on which so much has been written, but without sufficient evidence. At this stage, however, it is clear that only by resuming the excavation of the complex can we hope to eventually confirm or disprove the reconstruction proposed here, on a stratigraphic basis.

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THE TRICONCH PALACE AT BUTRINT: THE LIFE AND DEATH OF A LATE ROMAN *DOMUS*

William Bowden and John Mitchell

INTRODUCTION

The late antique peristyle mansion has been the focus of considerable attention in recent years, and is now seen as one of the most architecturally and socially characteristic building types of the period.¹ Variants of the type were erected throughout the Roman world in the later 3rd, 4th and early 5th centuries A.D., and have in common organisation around a large central colonnaded court, and the presence of multiple reception rooms, which stand out in their size and complex architectural forms. Prominent among these are the large apsidal audience halls and triconchs, or polyapsidal *triclinia* or banqueting halls, in complexes such as the ‘House of Bacchus’ at Djemila in modern Algeria, the so-called ‘Palace of Theodoric’ at Ravenna, the villa at Desenzano on Lake Garda, the palatial rural residence at Piazza Armerina in Sicily, and the ‘Governor’s Palace’ at Aphrodisias. These great residences, situated in both urban and rural settings, are a vivid expression of the status and power of the social elite at a time of increasing polarisation between the wealthy and the poor, in which the latter increasingly lost their social independence, gravitating to the service of and control by the powerful, who in turn displayed their affluence and affirmed their position through increasingly elaborate and showy rituals of reception and entertainment. The great courtyard house was developed into an effective stage for these secular liturgies and displays.

A feature of the late antique house in its latest phase, in the later 5th c. and beyond, is the elevation of the principal reception rooms from the ground-floor to the first floor—in effect the invention of the raised upper-storey *piano nobile*, which was to remain the norm for palaces and elite residences throughout the Middle Ages and into the Early

¹ Ellis (1988), (1991), (1997) and (2000) 171–73; Baldini Lippolis (2001); Polci (2001) and (2003).

Modern period.² In the peristyle house, this change is predominantly apparent in the residences of bishops, who continued to construct and use complexes of this kind long after the secular elite stopped building them, in the course of the 5th c. Few late peristyle *domus* have been the subject of careful modern stratigraphic excavation, so that in the majority of cases, exact information on chronology, phasing and diachronic occupation is unavailable. One of the sites which is now contributing to the filling of this lacuna is the so-called ‘Triconch Palace’ at Butrint, in southern Albania (ancient Epirus Vetus), which has been the object of systematic excavation over the past ten years. Here, not only has it been possible to chart the changing shape of such a house and its increasing aggrandisement between the 3rd and early 5th centuries, but also to show how an extensive single-storey mansion was succeeded by much smaller two-storey houses on an adjoining plot, possibly designed as new replacement dwellings for the owners of the now abandoned palace next door.

The Triconch Palace was first noted in the 1920s, when the Italian archaeological mission to Butrint interpreted a triapsidal building as “*una chiesa bizantina*”. The interpretation of the building as a martyrion church was generally accepted until 1994 when it was recognised as the *triclinium* of a palatial Late Roman *domus*. From 1994 until 2003, the Triconch Palace and its surroundings were the subject of extensive open-area excavations revealing a rich late antique and medieval occupation sequence.³ This paper will summarise the results of the excavation and the phasing of the building between the 4th and 7th centuries. Dating used in this paper, unless stated otherwise, is derived from pottery dates provided by P. Reynolds.

The Triconch Palace lies on the south side of the city close to the Vivari Channel that connects Lake Butrint to the Corfu Strait (fig. 1). The excavated area (figs. 2 and 3) encompassed the late antique *domus* together with a plot to the west, which appeared to have had a

² Meksper (1998); Polci (2001) 72–128, 320–21; Polci (2003) 89–105.

³ For the 1994–2003 excavations (with references to earlier work) see Hodges and Saraçi *et al.* (1997); Bowden, Hodges, Gilkes and Lako. (2000); Bowden, Hodges and Lako (2002); Gilkes and Lako (2004); Hodges, Bowden and Lako (2004). Full publication of the site is now in preparation. The excavations were carried out under the aegis of the Butrint Foundation (in partnership with the Packard Humanities Institute) in collaboration with the Albanian Institute of Archaeology, and were directed by A. Crowson, Y. Cerova, K. Francis, O. Gilkes, and K. Lako, whose contributions this piece is partly based on.

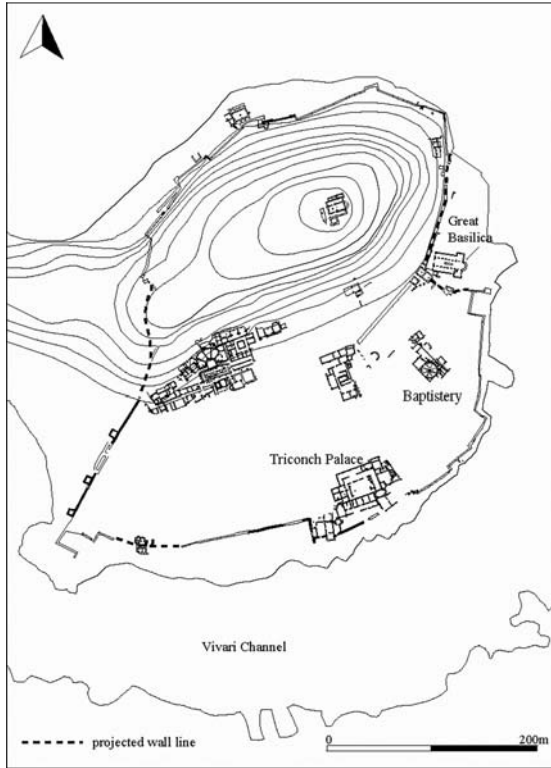


Fig. 1 Butrint, showing the location of the principal late antique monuments and the postulated line of the late antique city wall (W. Bowden).

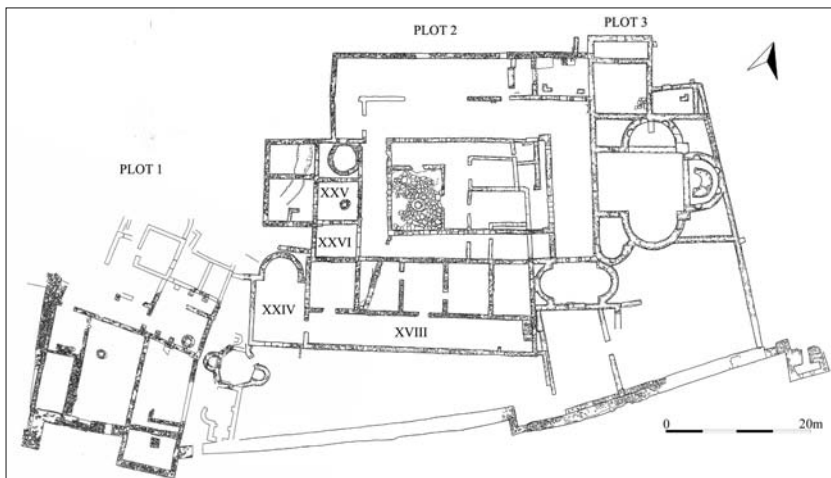


Fig. 2 Overall plan of triconch excavations showing room numbers mentioned in text (W. Bowden).



Fig. 3 The triconch excavations seen from the south-west. The standing remains on the far side of the site are those of the triconch *triclinium*. Note also the remains of a kiln in Room XVIII in the lowest part of the picture (W. Bowden).

commercial function. It became clear that the area represented three separate building plots, and something of the relationship between these (and perhaps their owners) could be discerned through the excavation. Of equal importance was the relationship between the buildings and the Vivari Channel, as well as the way in which these relationships were changed by the construction of the late antique city wall, which was dated by the excavations to the last quarter of the 5th c.

The excavations also revealed a complex sequence of events that followed the abandonment of the Triconch Palace as a prestige residence, when the area saw periodic usage involving post-built structures, industrial activity, and finally service as an informal cemetery, before its eventual abandonment during the 7th c.

The Domus Before the 5th c. A.D.

It is clear that by the end of the 3rd c. A.D., the site on the bank of the Vivari Channel was occupied by a substantial Roman town house,

which was further enlarged during the 4th c. In the first major phase of which significant traces survive, this house included an opulently decorated long gallery or corridor (XVIII), which apparently formed one of the principal entrances, from a street or alley that passed to the east of the *domus*. Immediately adjacent to the street was a vestibule decorated with the finest mosaic pavement found in the complex together with wall paintings (of which slight traces remained), illusionistically depicting a full-scale colonnade rising above a brightly panelled skirting stylobate-wall. A pair of pilasters, which may have supported a wide arch, separated this vestibule from the remainder of the gallery. This was also decorated with a polychrome geometric mosaic and formed an elegant covered walkway looking out across a small garden to the Vivari Channel to the south. From the eastern entrance, therefore, the visitor could look, and perhaps walk, down this gallery towards an apsidal room (XXIV) (originally a rectangular structure to which an apse was subsequently added), which was probably the principal reception room in this phase. The apsidal room, paved with a complex geometric mosaic with a circular, possibly figural composition at its centre (unfortunately not surviving), also had a wide doorway to the south, allowing the occupants to look out onto the garden and the channel beyond. A striking feature of this room was an elegant marble-lined octagonal fountain just inside the south door.

It is unclear as to whether the building had a peristyle in this phase, although there was certainly space to accommodate a central courtyard, and the plan of the surviving rooms could point to the presence of such a structure. However, the extant traces of the two visible phases of a peristyle courtyard belong to subsequent rebuilding projects. The dating of these earlier phases has proved difficult because the high water table in the area (owing to the rise in the level of the Vivari Channel and the lake since the Roman period) have meant that it is impossible to excavate deposits beneath these structures. Nonetheless, excavations on the northern side of the site produced ceramics dating to the later 3rd and early 4th c., from rubble layers that post-date some of the earlier structural elements, while excavation of the western rooms has shown that the earliest walls in the building date to the 2nd c. or earlier.⁴

⁴ See Reynolds (2004), and Gilkes and Lako (2004).

The Early 5th c. A.D. Domus

During the years around A.D. 400, the focus of the house shifted northwards and a peristyle was constructed (fig. 4a). This was a square, stone-flagged courtyard, with a surrounding *quadriporticus*. Its porticoes were laid with well-executed geometric mosaics. The pavement in the west walk is quite well-preserved, with iconographic features designed to stake out the main entrance to the house. Immediately in front of the two-column screen of the main entrance is a complex design dominated by large poised-squares carrying a variety of patterns and motifs. Central among these is a single large eye, picked out in white and brilliant orange-red, the so-called evil eye, which on amulets was supposed to afford protection against envious intrusion and malicious spirits threatening to enter. This is set more or less directly ahead of the threshold entrance, flanked and surrounded by blue birds detailed in red standing among blue leaves and red flowers, with connotations of transcendent paradisiacal bliss, knots of Solomon and other potent devices, overlapping semi-circular scales, crescents and peltas. In addition, five squares running adjacent to the wall to the right of the entrance contain a sequence of crosses, each one differing from the next. The peculiar insistence on the cross here suggests a Christian reference, confirmed for the later phases of the building by the Chi Rho monograms in the windows in the façade of the later triconch *triclinium*. Taken together, these devices constitute an extensive articulated configuration of emblems with apotropaic as well as ornamental values, designed to invest and secure the entrance walk of the principal internal court of the palace.

The creation of this peristyle may be related to a change in the importance accorded to the long gallery and the apsidal reception room, evidenced by a substantial drain which underlay the portico mosaic but cut the mosaic in the long gallery, thus bisecting this formerly elegant space with a rough stone drain cover. The drain also apparently cut a clay level containing early 5th c. A.D. pottery that had built up over the mosaic in the long gallery. The overall impression, therefore, is that the public centre of the building shifted inwards towards the peristyle and away from the channel-side, which had previously been the focus of the most impressive elements of the complex.

The principal entrance to this new peristyle complex lay to the west, where a new square vestibule (XXV) opened directly into the central space. Although access to this vestibule from the exterior of the build-

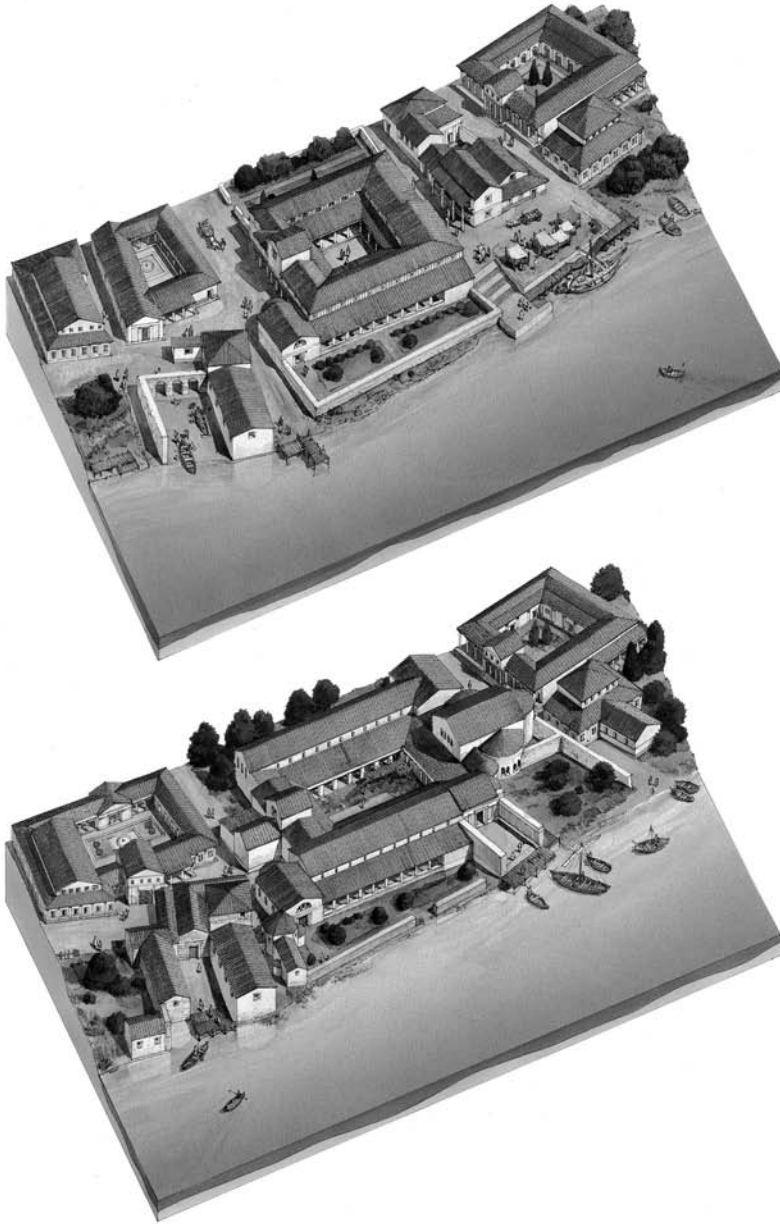


Fig. 4 Reconstructions of the *domus* around A.D. 400 (Fig. 4a above) and A.D. 420 (Fig. 4b below). The latter phase has the enlarged peristyle and triconch *triclinium* (Studio Inklinc).

ing was subsequently blocked, its original designation as an entrance is indicated by an inscription in the mosaic pavement, recording part of the name of the owner and the fact that he was a *lamprotatos (clarissimus)* of senatorial rank. This was designed to be read by visitors entering the building from the west.⁵ A deposit from beneath this mosaic contained pottery dating to the early 5th c., giving a *terminus post quem* for this construction.

The inscription was subsequently truncated by a stylobate wall for a colonnade that was intended further to aggrandise this entrance, the principal access to the *domus* in its penultimate (pre-triconch) phase. The very short time-span between the peristyle mosaic phase of the *domus* (which can be no earlier than *ca.* A.D. 400), and the final construction of the Triconch Palace (*ca.* A.D. 420), suggests that the building underwent frequent alteration in this period.

The 'Merchant's House' (Late 3rd–Early 5th c. A.D.)

To the west of the *domus*, a further group of buildings was also investigated in 2001–2. These structures were distinguished from the *domus* by their appearance, alignment and function (plot 1). A structure with an arcaded front resting on a sequence of piers (figs. 5 and 6), and erected around a core of earlier buildings, was progressively altered and enlarged until it formed part of a range of buildings arranged around a rectangular courtyard. These structures attained the form illustrated in phase V of fig. 5 no later than the middle of the 4th c., a date provided by ceramics from a beaten earth floor layer to the east of the easternmost building. The form and coastal position of this complex of buildings (the courtyard was open on its fourth side to the water-front), together with its apparent lack of ornamentation, could suggest a commercial function.

It is likely that the building with the arcaded front had an upper storey although this can only be confirmed for its early 5th c. A.D. phases, when a further series of piers was added on the interior (fig. 5 phase IX and fig. 6). The ground floor was paved with fragments of polychrome marble veneers, into which two *pithoi* were set. The presence of these *pithoi* together with numerous amphorae sherds suggest that this lower floor was used as a store room, with living quarters on the

⁵ Bowden, Hodges and Lako (2002) 205.

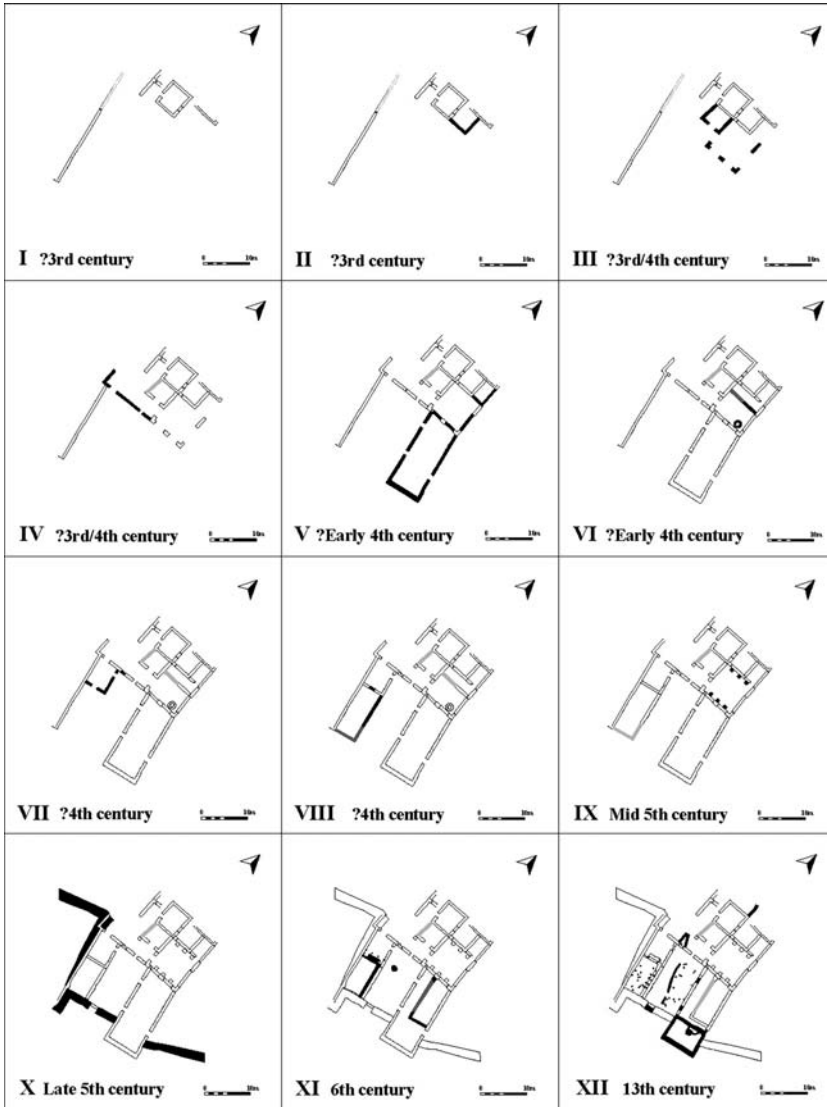


Fig. 5 Structural phases of the so-called “merchants’ house” area (A. Crowson).



Fig. 6 Building on east side of merchant's house area showing piers to support upper storey (A. Crowson).

upper storey. The presence of quantities of polished stone revetment, principally Carystian green marble (cipollino), in demolition deposits apparently fallen from above suggests grandly appointed apartments on the upper floor.

The Triconch Palace (ca. A.D. 420–440)

Early in the 5th c. (ca. A.D. 420), steps were taken to transform and further aggrandise the already large *domus* (fig. 4b). These involved the extension of the building onto the adjacent building plot to the east (plot 3). The peristyle courtyard was reconstructed on a larger scale and Plot 3 was incorporated into the plan of the main residence with a major extension that included a huge three-apsed *triclinium* (the triconch after which the building is named). This was designed as a major monumental focus, with entrances from the Vivari Channel and the city. The *triclinium* opened onto the peristyle, a substantial colonnade of marble columns and Corinthian capitals, fronted by a water-filled channel, incorporating an earlier drain and a pool. The superstructure of the triconch included a row of four elaborate stone windows, closed by open-work stone grills, two of which incorporated Chi Rho monograms, demonstrating that the owner of the building was Christian.⁶ Dating for this phase is derived from pottery of ca. A.D. 400–420 from levels cut by the foundations of the triconch,⁷ and a levelling layer dating to ca. A.D. 425–50 from room XXVI to the west of the peristyle. The latter was deposited subsequent to the abandonment of the complex as a prestige dwelling.

This reconstruction effectively changed the orientation of the palace. The western entrance was blocked by the addition of two small rooms to the west, while the entrance to the long corridor to the south was relegated to minor status or blocked entirely. The principal axis of the building instead now ran from north to south, with the creation of two major entrances; one to the north leading out to the town and one to the south leading directly to the channel-side. This allowed visitors to arrive by boat before they passed through a double-apsed vestibule into the eastern portico of the peristyle, and from there into the *triclinium* beyond.

⁶ See Hodges, Bowden and Lako (2004) fig. 9.

⁷ Reynolds (2002) 221.

Although the buildings were completed to roof height, it appears that this ambitious building project was never finished. No evidence of final floor-surfaces or wall decoration was found and it is clear that the large peristyle was never paved. Indeed the earlier peristyle seems to have partly survived this rebuilding, albeit levelled to its foundations, with its pavement remaining incongruously in the south-west corner of the enlarged courtyard (see figs. 2 and 3). Further indications that the building was not completed come from room XXVI on the western side of the peristyle, which was apparently converted into a small dwelling with the addition of a tiled hearth. A number of post-holes and pits are associated with this phase, which predates the levelling layer of A.D. 425–50 mentioned above as a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the triconch. Signs of secondary occupation were also found in the long corridor (XVIII), where a number of slots and post-holes were found cutting the early 5th c. levels, that were also cut by the drain. It is possible that the principal reason for the abandonment of work on the house was the rising water which now seasonally flooded parts of the building. Certainly there appears to have been a hiatus in occupation in the long southern gallery following its secondary usage in the early 5th c. From the mid to late 5th c., there is little sign of activity, and a layer of largely sterile green and brown clay developed over the length of the site.

The 5th c. A.D. 'Merchants' House' and the City Wall

A similar phase of abandonment was also noted in the area of the 'merchant's house' in the second half of the 5th c., and it is possible that this was associated with the construction of the city wall. The new fortification was built in the late 5th c. (a date suggested by pottery recovered from the foundation trench of the wall), using a technique in which new sections of wall were built to link sections of earlier buildings to form a continuous defensive circuit. A narrow gate provided access to the channel-side at this point.

It seems likely that the building of the wall caused a temporary break in the occupation of the site, perhaps owing to a need to maintain a clear space on the immediate interior of the fortification, or alternatively because it partially severed the link between the Triconch Palace and 'merchants' house' area and the Vivari Channel. This relationship between the channel and the Triconch complex was clearly crucial

throughout the history of the site, and the erection of the city wall would have significantly altered the situation.

The 6th–7th c. A.D.

The early to mid 6th c. was marked by renewed activity in the Triconch Palace area. In the gallery to the south (room XVIII), there is evidence of occupation in the form of pits and post-built structures. At the eastern end of this room, a stone-built stair block indicates that at least one of these post-built structures must have had a second storey. At the same time, the northern wing of the building was being robbed for roofing and building materials. It is possible that this activity was associated with the construction of the nearby Great Basilica and Baptistery that probably took place in the second quarter of the 6th c. Other parts of the site were used by fishermen for shelling mussels, in much the same way as the Butrint fishermen still do today. Huge tips of mussel shells were found in mid 6th c. deposits, interspersed with broken tiles associated with the robbing of the building. Contemporaneously, a massive spread of rubbish was building up over the northern half of the site. This produced a huge assemblage of pottery, dating primarily to A.D. 525 to 550.⁸ This suggests that the *domus* was reoccupied by an active community in the early to mid 6th c., in part living in post-built structures erected within the old now roofless rooms.

From *ca.* A.D. 550, until at least the mid 7th c., the Triconch Palace was used for burials. As burials were inserted into the northern range of the building, the southern wing was used intensively for industrial activity, with a series of kilns inserted into the remains of the *domus* (see fig. 3). These provided evidence for a number of processes, which included smithing, indicated by hammerscale found in contemporary deposits.

In the late 6th c., the merchant's house area was reoccupied and another house, a two-storied structure, was built in the angle of the city wall (fig. 7). This was partially post-built, with wooden uprights cut into the foundations of earlier structures, and a post-and-stone-built external staircase. Water was supplied from a stone-lined well to the

⁸ See Reynolds (2004).



Fig. 7 Remains of two-storey structure erected in angle of city wall with remains of stair block and post-holes (A. Crowson).

east. A coin of Justin II (A.D. 565–78), found under the door threshold, provides a *terminus post quem* for the building.

By the end of the 6th c., however, the whole area was being used primarily for burials, a situation that continued into the 7th c., evidenced by the use of a Crypta Balbi type 2 amphora for the interment of an infant.⁹ The Triconch Palace area was seemingly abandoned entirely by the mid 7th c., with no signs of reoccupation until the later 9th c.¹⁰

⁹ See Bowden, Hodges and Lako (2002) 207–208.

¹⁰ On the later Byzantine occupation of the Triconch, see Gilkes, Crowson, Hodges, Lako and Vroom (2002); Gilkes and Lako (2004).

CONCLUSION: FORM AND FUNCTION
IN RESIDENTIAL BUILDING AT BUTRINT

There can be little doubt about the great changes that occurred in the appearance of the residential buildings in the Triconch Palace area between the 4th and late 6th centuries. A major townhouse with all the architectural and decorative trappings of aristocratic living was eventually replaced, in the later 5th and 6th centuries A.D., by single-storey post-built dwellings erected within its abandoned rooms, as well as by compact two-storey houses on the adjacent plot. We should not necessarily see this development only in terms of a progressive impoverishment of the aristocracy. It may also reflect changes in the social mores and values associated with architectural display in the period. It should not be forgotten that at the same time as post-built structures were being built above the remains of the Triconch Palace, the Great Basilica and Baptistery, both large and ambitious masonry buildings, were being constructed. The architectural medium and direction in which elite personal status was articulated had changed, but the underlying message was similar in many respects.

This change in emphasis was by no means exclusive to Butrint, a fact that gives rise to difficulties in the interpretation of the Late Roman urban fabric of the city. It is often hard to distinguish between changes that were local to the area and changes that were part of a more widespread process of social transformation. Was the Triconch Palace construction programme abandoned in *ca.* A.D. 420 because of changing local circumstances, such as rising sea levels and the repeated seasonal inundation of the site, or was it abandoned because of widespread changing social factors which were unfavourable to grandiose residences? The relatively early date of its abandonment might suggest that local circumstances played a greater role than the more widespread cultural change, which led to a general cessation of construction of large luxurious private residences and an apparently increased expenditure on religious foundations. This more widespread change seems to date to a slightly later period, starting in *ca.* A.D. 450–475, by which time great peristyle mansions were no longer being built by the secular elite, and church-building had become the principal outlet for architectural investment and display.

The presence of post-built construction in the Triconch Palace area from the early 5th c. onwards is intriguing. Post-built structures are known from the Butrint area from at least the early 3rd c. in a rural

context, and it is likely that wooden buildings were a long-standing element of the local vernacular tradition.¹¹ In the absence of relevant data from excavations in other parts of the city, it is difficult to judge whether we are looking here at an example of the ‘ruralisation’ of urban life (in which rural activities and building forms appear within the city walls), or an apparent simplification of residential building forms within the town itself. More importantly it is unclear to what extent this architectural simplification should be interpreted as reflecting at least a relative level of impoverishment by comparison with the social structure that created the Triconch Palace.

Similarly, it is hard to interpret the introduction of two-storey structures, a phenomenon that is becoming increasingly widely recognised in the Late Roman world.¹² Second-storey elements are a common feature of Roman houses of the Early Imperial period, but it seems that these were invariably relatively small apartments, designed for informal private use. Conversely, the large peristyle *domus* of Late Antiquity were laid out on one ground-floor level. It was only in the 5th c. that reception rooms and some major chambers of elite residences began to be elevated to a first-floor level. The phenomenon is apparent in some large private houses of the period—in the second phase of the villa at S. Giovanni di Ruoti, near Potenza, dated by the excavators to the third quarter of the 5th c., and the little rural palace excavated by Gian Pietro Brogiolo at Monte Barro, near Lecco, of the first half of the 6th c. A.D., where the frescoed principal chamber was located on the first floor of one wing above a large undercroft used for storing food.¹³ However, they become a regular feature in episcopal palaces of the late 5th and 6th centuries. At Grado, and possibly at Geneva, Nikopolis, Poreč, Priene, Ravenna, and possibly Rome and Salamis-Constantia, some of the principal public chambers of the episcopal residences were located on an upper floor.¹⁴

This new fashion for elevated reception rooms, for what much later was to become the raised *piano nobile*, took hold throughout the Mediterranean world in the following centuries. It can be traced in the West

¹¹ For early 3rd c. A.D. post-built structures from the nearby villa at Diaporit, see Bowden and Pärzhita (2004).

¹² See Polci (2003).

¹³ Small and Buck (1994); Brogiolo and Castelletti (1991) 48–49; Polci (2001) 153–55.

¹⁴ Polci (2001) 72–128. Brenk (2004) 471 for Salamis-Constantia.

in the palace of the Lombard Prince Arechis II at Salerno,¹⁵ in Charlemagne's palace at Aachen in the last quarter of the 8th c. A.D.,¹⁶ and in the distinguished guests' palatium at the monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno,¹⁷ and in the eastern Mediterranean in Ummayyad palaces of the early 8th c.,¹⁸ at Qasr al-Hayr West and Khirbat al-Mafjar,¹⁹ and in the triconch hall in the imperial palace at Constantinople built by the emperor Theophilus in the second quarter of the 9th c.²⁰ The appearance of two-storey buildings on the Triconch Palace site and the adjoining merchants' plot to the west at Butrint seem to represent the introduction of this new convention. The two-storey 5th c. house with internal piers supporting an upper chamber apparently revetted with a veneer of polished panels of Carystian green marble, and the 6th c. house with timber-framed upper walls and an external staircase, may have replaced the Triconch *domus* as the principal domestic residences on the site. These are perhaps the ancestors of the extraordinarily well-preserved 9th c. houses found recently by Santangeli Valenzani in the Forum of Nerva in Rome,²¹ the two-storey aristocratic houses recorded at Viterbo,²² Pavia,²³ Naples,²⁴ Gaeta²⁵ and Milan²⁶ in the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries, and of the ubiquitous two-storey house of present day Europe.

While there can be little doubt as to the growing popularity of the second storey reception room in the sphere of elite architecture, the reasons for its introduction are unclear. A number of explanations for the introduction of two-storey structures have been proposed: that they were designed to accommodate a growing population;²⁷ that they served a defensive function;²⁸ that they formed part of the general phenomenon

¹⁵ Cagiano de Azevedo (1974) 14–15; Delogu (1977) 42–50; Peduto, Romito, Galante, Mauro and Pastore (1988) 9–63; Peduto (1990) 306–73; Polci (2001) 207–12.

¹⁶ Binding (1996) 72–98; Untermann (1999); Polci (2001) 269–77.

¹⁷ Hodges (1993) 123–90; Hodges, Gibson and Mitchell (1997) 251–65; Polci (2001) 212–19.

¹⁸ Grabar (1973) 147, 149; Hillenbrand (1982) 2, 23, n. 13.

¹⁹ Hamilton (1959) 16, 35–38, pls. CI–CIII.

²⁰ Mango (1972) 161–62; Polci (2001) 182–86.

²¹ Santangeli Valenzani (1997) and (1999); Polci (2001) 230–33.

²² Bullough (1966) 107.

²³ Bullough (1966) 107.

²⁴ Arthur (1991) 768–69; (2002) 47–49.

²⁵ Skinner (1994) 285–87.

²⁶ Bullough (1966) 107.

²⁷ Arthur (1991) 768–69; (2002) 49.

²⁸ Arthur (2002) 48; Polci (2003) 104.

of a 'ruralisation' of the city in which lower floors were used to house animals or as store rooms; or alternatively that they were a response to the increasingly unsanitary conditions of urban living in the Late Roman Mediterranean, as drainage and waste-disposal systems and other infrastructure became progressively more dilapidated, leading to a "vertical growth of the city".²⁹ At Butrint they could be seen either as a pragmatic solution to local problems of an increasingly marshy environment, whereby the living areas of buildings in areas susceptible to flooding were raised out of reach of the water, or as a reflection of a much wider development in domestic architecture. There is no single explanation for this epoch-marking phenomenon. On the one hand, the closely defined chronology of the Triconch deposits and structures suggests that we must pay considerable attention to the possibility that the immediate impulse behind the introduction of the two-story residence was a response to very localised circumstances; on the other hand, it is clear that this development falls in with a new practice which can be identified across the Late Roman world.

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²⁹ Polci (2003) 104.

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THE HOUSE OF THE LYCIAN ACROPOLIS AT XANTHOS

Anne-Marie Manière-Lévêque

Abstract

This article discusses the material remains of structures on the Lycian Acropolis in Xanthos. They were formerly interpreted as religious monuments, but it is now clear that they derived from a late antique *domus*. This grand residence was replete with numerous reception suites and courtyards and was accessed from a street leading from the agora. Its rooms were organised around a grand central courtyard, arrayed on five levels, and lavishly decorated with fountains and marble and mosaic floors. Looming over Xanthos, the House of the Lycian Acropolis represented a symbol of power and status, reinforcing an impression that the city of Xanthos flourished during Late Antiquity.

INTRODUCTION

The remains of the House of the Lycian Acropolis were situated in the north-east angle of the acropolis, in the shade of the Byzantine fortress. They were almost completely excavated by the French mission between 1953 and 1956. Since 1994, archaeological work has resumed, redefining the function of the buildings and clarifying their different phases of development. Numerous guidebooks still interpret the installations as a church and an episcopal residence: an opinion which needs to be revised. Because the apse flanking the great eastern room 1 to the north-east was south-facing, it is highly unlikely that this was a Christian monument. No late antique church was arranged in such a way, even in Lycia. Furthermore, in recent years, systematic cleaning has brought to light the clear relationship between the rooms of the west wing and the north-east peristyle (9).¹ This great, open, circulation court (380 m² in surface area) was surrounded by four subdivided wings in one or two

¹ NE refers to the north-east sector of the acropolis, SE refers to the south-east sector, separated from each other by an east-west wall, forming the southern boundary of rooms 32, 27, 9, 2 and 1NE.

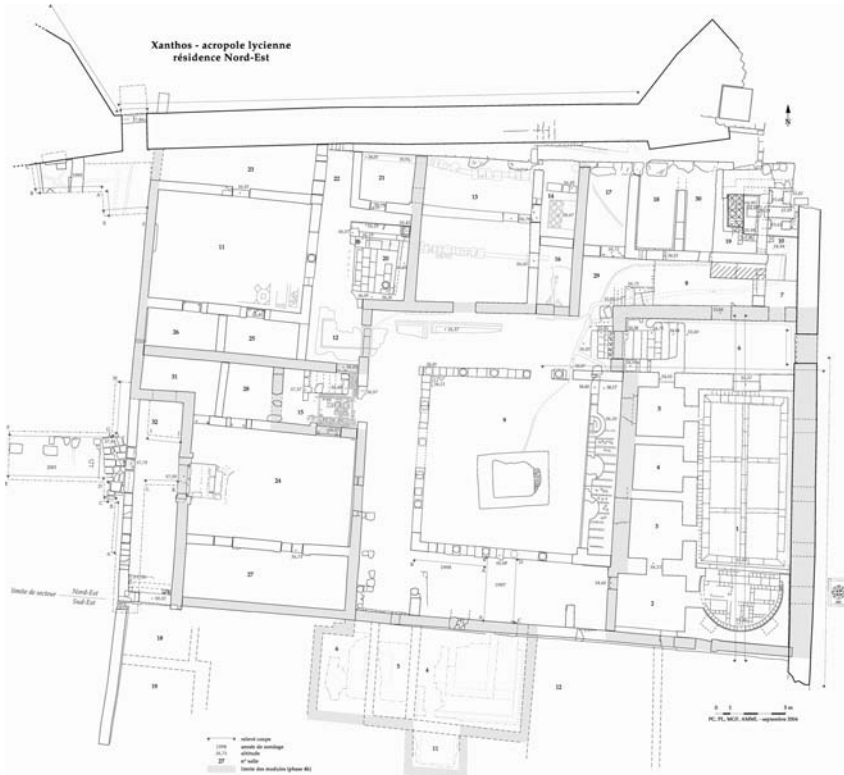


Fig. 1 House of the Lycian Acropolis at Xanthos with its boundaries marked in grey, and the units as they appeared in Phase 4b.

stages² and represented the heart of a house, which, in all likelihood, was part of the Anatolian tradition of Hellenistic houses.

According to the material excavated since 1995, the original plan of the building dates from the middle of the 4th c. A.D.³ Its construction required major work, undertaken at the same time as a great redevelopment of the acropolis, which removed almost all of the Hellenistic and Roman levels. The excavations undertaken between 1999 and 2001, in the south rooms of the west wing—rooms 24, 28, 26, 31, and 32NE—revealed the same chronological sequence in all spaces. The late antique layers were laid down on bare rock, on the remains of dry-stone walls associated with Hellenistic pottery. The excavations of 2001 and 2002, further to the east, brought to light another independent house,⁴ which was filled in at the end of the 3rd c.⁵ One of its walls was rebuilt in the middle of the 4th c. Later, this residence saw several modifications before it was violently destroyed in the 7th c. The deposition of four brick arches from the upper walls in the destruction debris of Room 24NE⁶ attests to the violence of the event, which might have been an earthquake.⁷

DESCRIPTION

The house was organised on five levels. Its two highest levels, whose remains have disappeared, are attested by the foundations of staircases in rooms 29 and 15NE.⁸ The first was an upper ground floor, reached by three or four steps at the most. This lay above the small eastern rooms of the north wing.⁹ The second set of stairs led from a lightwell

² Apart from those of the east wing, each module uses the same plan; a large rectangular room opening onto a court, flanked on either side by annexes, *cubiculae*, or alcoves.

³ Notably thanks to the pottery and the inscriptions found in the walls.

⁴ See Manière-Léveque (2004) 319–23 and (forthcoming) regarding this installation.

⁵ Pellegrino (2004) 123–43.

⁶ Excavated in 1999 and 2000.

⁷ The arches are estimated at about 1.10 m wide and 1.40 m high. In the same layer, hundreds of nails were found, the numbers of which diminished towards the north and south walls attested to the presence of roof trusses. The pitched roof ran the length of the room (from east to west) was covered by tiles of 0.35–0.40 m in width, resulting in 38 tiles in each row.

⁸ About 1650 m² floor space of the south wing was destroyed in 1956.

⁹ The independent foundation of the north wing was mentioned above.

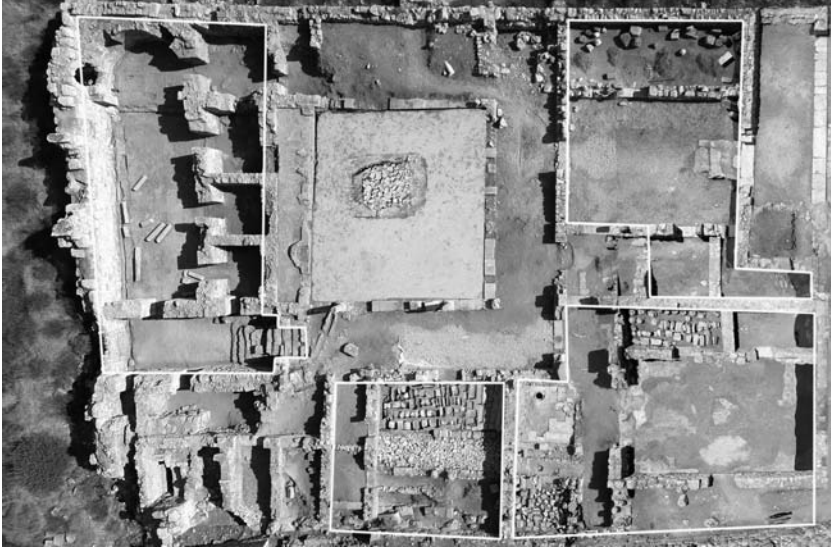


Fig. 2 Overview of the house from the north fortification wall of the Lycian acropolis with the limits of the four wings still preserved.

to a terrace which covered the annexes separating the two units of the west wing.

The Public Rooms and the Main Entrance

The house was reached by way of a paved street,¹⁰ which came from the 'Roman' agora and crossed the Early Byzantine fortification.¹¹ From this street, a swing door¹² opened onto a narrow vestibule 32NE on the south side of the north wing. Judging by the remains and plan of the house,¹³ an authentic picket gate linked the street, a public space *par excellence*, to the town house, a private area. This transition from public to private was accentuated by a progressive increase in light from the street to the peristyle, which would have been apparent from the top of the stair (2.25 m wide) and the large room 24NE (100 m² in floor area). Situated on the major axis of the building, this last room opened onto the peristyle opposite the *nymphaeum*, and thus occupied a special location.

Excavations in this sector since 1999 have recovered a large quantity of storage vessels; amphorae, jugs and *unguentaria*—many stamped—which have been the subject of an important analysis by E. Pellegrino.¹⁴ Amphorae, other large vessels, storage vessels with a light fabric (painted or plain) and with a gritty red fabric (Table 1), form the majority of finds in the layers that preceded Phase 7.¹⁵ Indeed, these three categories make up over 80% of all pottery finds in each room (Table 2). These results would be even more significant were residual material to be eliminated and only contemporary pottery considered (Table 3). Pottery finds were grouped according to the function of the vessels from which they derived; storage, cooking, food and lighting. Only the *unguentaria* sherds were not categorised. Tableware included plates and cups, cooking ware, pots and plates, storage pots, casseroles and

¹⁰ Manière-Lévêque (2002) 235–43.

¹¹ The construction of this work is presently dated to between the middle of the 6th c. A.D. and the beginning of the 7th c. A.D., from the pottery in the excavations of 1995 Pellegrino (2002) 245–60.

¹² The threshold, excavated in 2001, had two holes a circular one for the pivot, and a rectangular one for the bolt.

¹³ Numerous examples of vestibules with this role were identified in Pompeian houses, as well as in certain houses in the western *insula* at Ephesus.

¹⁴ Figures in tables 1 and 2 represent the numbers of sherds while those in table 3 represent the average number of vessels by ware.

¹⁵ See the principal phases of the building as set out below.

lids. Amphorae and large vases were represented by dolia, amphorae, bowls, vases, and, above all, small amphorae and jugs, which were by far the most common. To conclude this rapid analysis, it is interesting to note that medium sized containers (small amphorae, basins, jugs, and vases) represented between 37% and 39% of all pottery found in the three units studied (Table 4). The homogeneity of these results attests the domestic usage of these pots, notably in the store adjacent to what was probably the *tablinum*. The function of this large room was confirmed by the detailed examination of the small annex 31NE in the north-west sector.¹⁶ This had two doors in its south wall, one opening into the *tablinum*, the other to the west,¹⁷ into the vestibule. The disposition of these doors probably indicates the direction of circulation during the *salutatio*.

Very few of the original decorative elements, from the period before this room was transformed into a sheepfold,¹⁸ were found in the excavations—a few pieces of moulded plaster (engaged columns or pilasters), some red painted wall plaster, *tesserae*, and, in the south-east part of the room, the bedding of a mosaic or marble floor. This suite of rooms was completed to the south by a long room 27NE, which joined the two annexes. Its date is unknown.

Table 1 Distribution of pottery
from the *tablinum* and the annex North 28NE

2000 excavations	tablinum		annex
	Unit 9	Unit 15	Unit 7
African cooking ware ?		0.12%	
Amphora/large vase	24.62%	35.52%	22.64%
Attic Black Figure			0.04%
Attic Red Figure			0.02%
Brown	0.20%		0.76%
Grey ware	0.10%		0.02%
Sigillata C or D	0.31%		
Sigillata D			0.07%
Light sandy	0.31%	1.21%	0.43%
Light coarse ware	46.19%	32.00%	39.30%

¹⁶ The study of the pottery from this room is unfortunately not yet complete.

¹⁷ It was blocked during one of the later phases of the house, probably during the period of subdivision. It is premature to advance a more precise date for the rubble to the south of this door because it has not yet been completely excavated.

¹⁸ This took place just before the destruction of the building.

Table 1 (*cont.*)

2000 excavations	tablinum		annex Unit 7
	Unit 9	Unit 15	
Dolium	1.12%	4.12%	0.26%
Geometric			0.02%
Gritty grey painted ware	2.34%	0.12%	4.32%
Chalky	0.20%		0.24%
Lamp	0.10%	0.61%	0.26%
Late C	0.20%		0.11%
Late D	3.56%	0.85%	0.76%
Moulded		0.12%	
Thin Walled ware			0.07%
Red fine ware	0.10%	0.24%	0.04%
Gritty red ware	15.46%	12.85%	24.72%
Sigillata	2.03%	2.67%	1.33%
Unguentaria	1.02%	0.24%	1.69%
Black Glaze	2.14%	9.33%	2.89%

Table 2 Total of three dominant wares

2000 excavations	tablinum		annex Unit 7
	Unit 9	Unit 15	
Amphora/large vase	24.62%	35.52%	22.64%
Light coarse ware	46.19%	32.00%	39.30%
Gritty red ware	15.46%	12.85%	24.72%
Total per Unit	86.27%	80.36%	86.66%

Table 3 Contemporary pottery by use

2000 excavations	tablinum		annex Unit 7
	Unit 9	Unit 15	
Storage vessels	44.58%	50.00%	47.49%
Cooking vessels	30.12%	26.19%	14.29%
Table vessels	22.89%	21.43%	35.52%
Lamps		2.38%	1.54%
Unguentaria	2.41%		1.16%

Table 4 Storage pots classified by capacity

2000 excavations	tablinum		annex
	Unit 9	Unit 15	Unit 7
Dolia	3.61%	9.52%	1.54%
Amphorae	2.41%	2.38%	8.88%
Sub-total 1	6.02%	11.90%	10.42%
Bowls	4.82%	16.67%	7.34%
Jars	6.02%	2.38%	
Amphorettes	18.07%	9.52%	15.44%
Jugs	9.64%	9.52%	14.29%
Sub-total 2	38.55%	38.10%	37.07%
Total	44.58%	50.00%	47.49%

The Great Peristyle

The peristyle was the central architectural feature of the house, around which all the rooms were organised. As in the Hellenistic house, it sheltered circulation routes from the elements, in this climate from the sun in particular. Sixteen granite columns with white marble bases on limestone stylobates supported the roofs of the three porticoes to the north, west and south. These were perfectly situated to make circulation possible between the various parts of the house. Their decorative elements have been significantly damaged. Only three polychrome geometric mosaic floors¹⁹ have been preserved in the west part of the north portico. They date from an earlier period than the re-organisation of the peristyle,²⁰ itself constructed prior to the arrangement of room 20NE and installation of an imposing *nymphaeum* along the whole east side of the court.²¹ The latter was a fine construction of bricks and mortar, completely covered in white marble. Its three arched

¹⁹ From east to west they are a composition of mating, then a composition with a large square and an inscribed star, and finally an orthogonal composition of twelve squares next to five lozenges. This last floor was cut by a threshold, then by a pipe, which came from the north-east corner of the house, ran along the north portico and flowed into the *impluvium* in the south-west corner of the marble-paved court.

²⁰ This determined the organisation of the south part of the west wing: room 15NE (probably a light-well from which the stairs led to the terrace), the *tablinum* and its annexes (27, 28, 31 and 32NE).

²¹ Associated with the so-called 'marble' Phase 5b.

niches, each more than 180° and 1.85 m in width, are unusual, and make it one of the most remarkable fountains in all of Anatolia.²² In the centre of the court, paving tiles hid a rock-cut cistern with a brick vault and a capacity of 20 m³. Only the southern exterior wall of the *nymphaeum* still had traces of wall painting; of an unknown subject set in a red frame.

The Reception Complex in the East Wing

The other rooms still visible on the ground belonged to four areas with different functions. The east wing, situated below the peristyle,²³ was reached from the north portico. It was the logical culmination of a route starting at the main entrance, presumably taken by privileged guests. A staircase, 2 m wide, half built and half rock-cut, led to a vast vestibule 6NE. It was flanked on each side by 1 m high tanks, in front of which sat low basins, permanently filled with water. These were supplied by a sophisticated system of pipes,²⁴ which were also intended for the *nymphaeum* to the south, and court 20NE to the north. The monumental nature of this installation was emphasised by the play of volumes. Blue-veined and white marble surfacing covered the basins, tanks and steps.²⁵ Unfortunately, all remnants of its decorative features have completely disappeared. Only a few traces of mortar survive, presumably remnants of the facing of the lower walls. These are still visible on the north and south walls.

To the south, a 1.9 m wide door opened into a large room 1NE with a floor area of 180 m² and a raised apse. This *triclinium* had a pavement of six rectangular panels in which diagonally placed flags alternated between white marble and slate. The pavement of the apse had the same arrangement, but in an orthogonal composition. The revetment of the lower walls was identified from the remaining bedding and occasional footings of white marble.²⁶ In the upper walls, a fine mortar, smoothed with a knife, demonstrated the presence of wall

²² Özgenel, in this volume.

²³ About 2.6 m lower.

²⁴ With expansion tanks furnished with filters that indicate the continuous filling of the tanks and basins.

²⁵ The same marble was used for all decorative elements of this date, such as the large *nymphaeum* in the peristyle, the paving of court 20NE and the great apsidal *triclinium*, and, needless to say, the revetment of the walls in the south wing.

²⁶ The walling was bedded on a heavy, grained, thick mortar, at the base of the walls.

paintings, the remains of which are no longer in evidence. Three high circular windows²⁷ in the apse walls lit the vaulted room, which would nonetheless have remained cool, even in the summer. At the north-east end of the apse, a grid decorated with a floral design covered a pipe which ran under the pavement of the room to the north wall. To the west, the walls of four small neighbouring rooms were widened with the construction of a vault. These were also part of the reception complex. The east walls of two of these rooms 3NE to 5NE were covered with a fine plaster,²⁸ identical to that used in the *triclinium*. Meanwhile, to the west, dry-stone walling was probably masked by textiles,²⁹ also used to shelter the furnishings required for receptions.

Yet, the term *triclinium* is restrictive, because it refers merely to ‘banquets’. In fact, it is instead necessary to envisage such spaces hosting ceremonies and entertainments in a much broader sense, for instance, plays or debates. So, as in the ‘House of the Triclinium’ at Apamea,³⁰ the apsidal room should not be seen simply as a dining room, but as a major room where the master of the house received his friends and peers. In contrast, the *tablinum* would have probably been used to receive subordinates and clients.

The Rooms in the North-East Corner

Half of rooms 8NE and 7NE, situated to the north of this complex, were filled in when the *nymphaeum* was built and court 20NE reorganised. This refurbishment was necessary because drains removing water from these latter two installations ran across rooms 8NE and 7NE from west to east before passing through the acropolis wall.³¹ The rooms belonged to an earlier phase when their floor level was higher, demonstrated by the fact that their solid rock floors are 0.50 m and

²⁷ It was an old postern gate of the rampart.

²⁸ Probably a bedding for wall painting.

²⁹ Probably some sort of plaque.

³⁰ Balty (1984) 476–78.

³¹ Unfortunately, we have no stratigraphic records for these rooms, which were excavated in 1954. Therefore, it is impossible to precisely date their infilling. The same observation applies to the other rooms in this east wing whose excavation was completed in 1956. Only a relative chronology can be established. Four phases have been identified for the north part of the east enclosure wall, and only three for these rooms. Because the rock was re-cut to create them, all traces of earlier structures have been removed, and so the foundation of the walls is formed by the bedrock itself.

0.70 m respectively above that of the east vestibule 6NE. Their original appearance is unknown.

The second group occupied the north-east corner of the building and comprised a relatively narrow suite of rooms on the upper ground floor. Their excavation down to bedrock in 1955 or 1956 removed all traces of occupation. This is only attested by a line of mortar above the foundation, which marks the boundary between the foundations and the walls. The latter, between 2.10 m and 2.30 m high, were formed from the dry stone basements of older buildings.³² There is no mention of these rooms or any finds from them in the notebooks of Ch. Delvoye. Because of their small surface area and proximity to a complex network of water pipes and drains, it is possible that they were used as domestic storage areas, kitchens, and perhaps latrines. This may reflect a longstanding Lycian tradition.³³

The Reception Suite of the North Wing

The third group of rooms mirrored the arrangement found in several other areas of this building, for example, in the north wing of the main court. It consisted of one large room flanked by annexes.³⁴ This complex, together with the north portico of the peristyle, formed the original core of the house. From the large room 13NE, with its 1.5 m opening to the south, diners could have enjoyed a view across the court, and in later periods, would have been able to see the *nymphaeum*. Unfortunately, no decorative features have been preserved, and it is impossible to envisage the nature of its flooring or know whether or not its doorframe had been embellished. The walls were presumably painted, judging by plaster fragments discovered in the room and recorded in the old excavation notebooks. The two eastern annexes 14NE and 16NE were paved with geometric mosaics. One of these

³² They probably date from the second great phase of urbanism on the acropolis. Four major phases are currently identifiable. The first is that of the Lycian constructions and Palace A. The second consists of buildings on a different orientation; Palace B, and the 'Temple with the Three Cellae'. The third involved a series of religious buildings and can probably be related to the construction of the theatre. Finally, the fourth dated to the 4th c. A.D. On the urbanism of Xanthos, see Cavalier and des Courtils (2001) 148–71.

³³ Regarding basements serving as storage areas in Lycian houses, see Metzger (1963) 21, 91.

³⁴ The west annex was later attached to the private sector of the west wing.

in 14NE is well-preserved. It was an orthogonal composition of non-contiguous circles. The second, an orthogonal composition of adjacent squares and lozenges, was found in a very bad state. The eastern parts of the floors and southern sections of the second mosaics in these rooms survive in a good condition. These architectural embellishments can be associated with the reconstruction and re-arrangement of all the rooms on the lower level of the east wing. Access to this new sector was created by the eastward extension of the peristyle and construction of a monumental stair linking the latter to vestibule 6NE.

The Private Apartments of the West Wing

The fourth suite of rooms was completely independent, and isolated from the rest of the house. This private apartment was organised around a large room 11NE, of which only the border and east edge of a mosaic floor have been preserved.³⁵ It consisted of an annex to the north of 23NE, which has not been excavated, but whose remains continue under the acropolis wall and mark the original limit of the building. To the south, two small rooms 25NE and 26NE have been uncovered. The first of these was excavated in 1956, and its stratigraphy, décor and flooring are consequently unknown. Conversely, the excavations of the second room in 2001 have uncovered, apart from the stratigraphic sequence mentioned above, the robbed foundations of an earlier wall and its original beaten earth floor, in which seven coins were embedded. The latest was an Æ4 of Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius II or Valentinian III, dating to between A.D. 395 and A.D. 450.³⁶ It is premature to advance a more precise date because the study of the pottery from this room has not been finished.³⁷ These rooms exhibit some well-jointed walls covered by plaster smoothed

³⁵ From east to west, a line of panels of double keys and squares, a branch of ivy, and then a line of adjoining octagons.

³⁶ The five other coins were an Æ2 of Constantius II, Constans or Gallus A.D. 346–54; an Æ 2 of Constantius II, Constans or Constantine A.D. 335–37 or A.D. 337–41; an Æ 3 of Valentinien I, Valens or Gratian A.D. 364–75; an Æ 4 of Valentinian II, Théodosius I, Arcadius or Honorius A.D. 383–408; an Æ 3 of Constantius II, Constans or Gallus A.D. 346–51. I thank Cécile Morisson and Marie-Christine Marcellesi for their kindness and competence in identifying these coins, in spite of much corrosion.

³⁷ This will be undertaken next season.

with a knife, which would, arguably, have been originally covered in painted plaster.³⁸

This apartment had a private court 20NE to the east, 44 m² in surface area and reached from the large room through a double door, 3.80 m wide. It had porticoes on the north and west, whose roofs were each supported by at least two columns.³⁹ The striking characteristic of this monumental space was its three ornamental water features. The first was installed in the open part of the court, paved with marble slabs, and continually replenished through an opening at floor level in its south-west corner. Meanwhile, the drainage of water from this monumental water decoration was made possible through a grill,⁴⁰ which was shaped like a flower and pierced by three holes. This was installed in close proximity to the north-west corner. The second system consisted of a small basin on the eastern edge of the court, north of the marble pavement. This was an overflow tank for rainwater. It was well-constructed from bricks with five holes in its base. A sealed lid, today missing, may have completed the arrangement. Underneath the marble paving, ran a drain, leading to a well,⁴¹ whose mouth was established in the south-eastern corner of the room. A small *nymphaeum*, whose edges alone survive, represented the third system. It was located along the north side of the marble pavement. This basin was filled with water brought down from the north rampart of the acropolis by a channel which entered the installation in its north-west corner, next to a portico column. Finally, to the north of this courtyard, an earlier annex 21NE, of the reception room 13NE, may have been re-used as a *cubiculum*.

The Southern Rooms

The southern rooms of the building were all destroyed in 1956, which does not favour an accurate understanding of the sector. Nevertheless, several of them can be reconstructed, most notably a reception complex which was accessible from the south portico of the peristyle.

³⁸ It is difficult to imagine a *cubiculum* here, given the earth floor and absence of windows.

³⁹ Since the blocks from the two stylobates were almost entirely removed, interpretation was difficult.

⁴⁰ It links to a channel which continues to the east below room 13NE.

⁴¹ Capacity is 20 m³.

The rooms in this suite adhered to the regular arrangement of this house, with annexes on either side of a large mosaic-floored room. This suite had two main features of interest. First, the south wall of the main room 4SE opened at its centre into a small alcove 11SE, with a square plan and a mosaic floor depicting a 'shield' design of a square, an inscribed circle, and an octagon above them. The second characteristic was associated with the transformation of the *triclinium* and its western annex. In the former, three geometric mosaic panels in the form of a U encircled a blue-veined white marble pavement. Meanwhile, in the western annex, a mosaic was found depicting a circle inscribed within a square. Because it was missing a north-south section, it seems likely that this space was subdivided at some point. Later, this was to become a separate room 5SE. As for the west area 6SE, it was enlarged, bounded to the west by an *opus spicatum* pavement and fitted with a basin of blue-veined white marble along its northern wall. The relationship between these two new rooms is unknown.

The notes of the previous excavators provide some details regarding two other groups of rooms in the south-east sector. The first, situated to the east and to the south of the apsidal *triclinium*, incorporated an almost entirely square storeroom, which, to its south, opened onto a major longitudinal corridor. To the west, this commanded access to a line of four rooms, and to the east, to one room, which is still preserved. The latter, decorated with a mosaic of swastika design, has only been superficially cleared and not systematically excavated. It is perhaps one of the elements of a bathing complex,⁴² which can probably be linked with a furnace demolished in 1954. Finally, only two rooms of the second group can be reconstructed. The first communicated to the north with vestibule 32NE, and formed the second access route to the south wing.

THE CHRONOLOGY

Before explaining the different phases of the site it is necessary to establish the limitations of this study. It is important to remember that the main objectives of archaeologists have changed a great deal in

⁴² This interpretation goes beyond the scope of the present article and I reserve discussion for the volume on Xanthos, which is still being edited.

the last 50 years. The earlier research at Xanthos primarily aimed to produce an architectural study of public and religious buildings, and only considered other surviving installations if and when they related directly to these monumental public structures. As a result, while the descriptions of pavements in the old notebooks are so precise that we can often reconstruct practically the entire décor of a destroyed floor, we can rarely gain any idea of its context because the notebooks neither discuss issues such as stratigraphy and the relationship between floors and walls, nor describe the elevations. Therefore, the objectives of the work undertaken on the acropolis during the last ten years have been: to excavate different areas of this building (unfortunately situated on the extreme west and east); and to establish a stratigraphy from which it will be possible to re-construct a relative chronology. However, even though the chronologies of the east and west sectors have been well-defined, they have been very difficult to relate them to one another and to the central part of the building, uncovered between 1953 and 1956. What follows is thus a hypothetical interpretation of the evolution of the house, taking into account only the elements which are currently known. Bearing in mind the limitations just mentioned, this reconstruction may need to be reconsidered as and when new evidence comes to light. Seven important phases can be identified between the main re-organisation of the acropolis, which saw the relaying of the main street and adjacent sewer system, and the violent destruction of the building.

Phase 1—4th c. A.D.

During this phase, the old walls were demolished and levelled and the western spaces were reorganised. These western rooms probably opened onto a court, of which only the north portico has been identified to date.⁴³ They were accessed through room 11NE, 0.74 m above the current ground level as suggested by the broken threshold block in the west wall. The arrangement of basins on the exterior of the enclosure wall in the north-east angle of the acropolis was subdivided, filled in, and restored to the house. At the same time, the operational postern, which was later transformed into a circular window to light the apse,

⁴³ At present, the southern limit of the court is unknown and it is impossible to know whether or not the south wing was part of the building.

demonstrates the close proximity of the fortification. Its western course, hypothetically reconstructed, does not allow for a precise interpretation of the relationship between rooms 6, 7, and 8NE.⁴⁴ These spaces were probably shops with entrances outside of the acropolis wall. Between these rooms and the postern it is impossible to restore anything, due to the later excavation into the bedrock.

Phase 2—5th c. A.D.

The so-called ‘mosaic’ phase saw the restoration of a large part of the floors, whose well-composed designs recall those unearthed at the east basilica of Xanthos.⁴⁵ Their similar decoration seems to associate their construction with the reorganisation of the water distribution system, which, once ran underneath the street, but was now reconstructed underneath the north fortification. At the same time, room 23NE was cut off from the north sector and the entrance to the house moved further south to the level of the preserved vestibule 32NE. The floors were laid on a lowered bedding which explains the height of the drains in the west walls of rooms 27, 31, and 11NE; on average 0.30 m higher than the contemporary floors. In the north-east corner, the construction of new walls made possible the installation of two new rooms 18 and 19/30NE, which functioned on the same level as the main court. Further south, room 2NE, situated behind the postern, formed part of another low-level group of rooms extending to the west. The extent and plan of this suite remain unknown. Decorative work in the south wing can be associated with the same phase.

Phase 3

It would appear that, in this period, the partial reconstruction of the west wing led to a narrowing of the west side of the court. As a result, a new north-south wall, situated 3.70 m to the east of its predecessor, delimited the western portico. The main mosaic of the northern portico was subsequently cut by a threshold, which was aligned to this

⁴⁴ Rooms 7 and 8NE communicated with each other before this phase.

⁴⁵ With regard to the décor of the eastern basilica and its date, see Raynaud and Sodini (1998) and Froidevaux and Raynaud (2005).

wall. One major consequence of this reorganisation was the definitive isolation of the private apartment of the building.

Phase 4a

This phase is not precisely datable and may be contemporary with Phase 4b. The small independent rooms of the east wing⁴⁶ were restored and added to the house at this time. The court was enlarged to the east and the two east annexes (14 and 16NE) of the large reception room in the north wing were reduced in size in order to construct a staircase of seven to eight steps leading to the north portico. As a result, the east end of the same portico communicated with a western space commanding access to all rooms, including the upper ground floor rooms 17, 18, 19/30, and those above 7 and 8NE. It is also probable that during this reorganisation, room 7 was half filled-in to install the drains which transported water outside of the acropolis wall. At the same time, the space below room 6NE seems to have been subdivided and two adjacent spaces formed, each opening to the south into one or more rooms.

Phase 4b

After the collapse of the top parts of the eastern fortification, the wall was rebuilt and given three high windows. A large rectangular space 1NE was formed from numerous independent spaces.

Phase 5a

The old postern was changed into a circular window, while a new access to the small court was created in the north-east corner of the house.⁴⁷ The *triclinium* was given an apse with two niches. It opened to the south into room 2NE, the west door of which was blocked.

⁴⁶ Below the court.

⁴⁷ Demargne (1958) 107 associates this gate with the clearing of the 'foundation of the theatre', a Byzantine bastion. Another access route to this small watch room on the north rampart was brought to light in an excavation of 1995.

Phase 5b

During this so-called ‘marble’ phase, the number of water basins increased. The consequent re-organisation of the drainage system required reconstruction and redecoration work throughout the building. For example, the construction of the large *nymphaeum* resulted in a partial remodelling of the north and south porticoes. At the same time, the floors of the rooms of the east wing were again dug out and lowered by around 0.70 m in order to install new marble slab floors. The stair of the vestibule was extended and fitted with water basins. In the court 20NE, a small *nymphaeum* was installed to the north of the new paving. The pavement and basins in the south wing were constructed from the same kind of marble and are probably contemporary.

Phase 5c

It may be contemporary with the preceding phase, or slightly later, and can be associated with two pavements in *opus spicatum*, which completed the decoration of the house. These floors were laid after the reconstruction of the light-wells in 15NE, and annex 6SE of the great reception room in the south wing.

Phase 6

This phase is very poorly understood because evidence for it has been removed from almost all areas of the site during either the clearing of the rooms, or the levelling of the remaining layers to create wheelbarrow runs, both by earlier excavators. It is attested principally in the angle of the west and south porticoes, where the wall blocks are founded on a shallow occupational fill and lie on the bedding of a destroyed mosaic. The transformation of the *tablinum* into a sheepfold can probably be associated with this phase.

Phase 7—7th c. A.D.

This corresponds to the violent destruction of the building, attested in the *tablinum*, in the rooms excavated in the last ten years; the south peristyle, rooms 28, 31, and 32, as well as in the sondages dug in 1995 to the south of the fortress gate and in 2001 in the north-south street of the acropolis.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the ‘House of the Lycian Acropolis’ evolved in similar ways to other residential structures in major centres of the eastern Mediterranean, such as Apamea, Antioch, Perge, Ephesus, Aphrodisias, and Pergamon. Many of its characteristics demonstrate a desire to use the private house as much more than a shelter and a refuge. These include its progressive expansion at the expense of other buildings, the incorporation of important decorative elements within a monumental architectural scheme, later internal subdivision, and a multiplication of reception suites. Built in the image of the Roman *domus*, the houses of aristocratic Xanthians, grouped on the Lycian Acropolis,⁴⁸ were instruments of power and symbols of social status.⁴⁹ Therefore, despite the relative decline in the status of Xanthos (which had long since ceased to be a regional capital), it was, in the size and quality of its aristocratic residences, still comparable with the most important cities of Anatolia.

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⁴⁸ The House of Meleager and the unpublished Roman house respectively to the south and south-west of the acropolis are also huge residences, all furnished with large peristyles and *nymphaea*.

⁴⁹ Gros (2001) 20.

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TWO LATE ANTIQUE RESIDENTIAL COMPLEXES AT SAGALASSOS

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Wim Van Neer, Jeroen Poblome and Nathalie Kellens**

Abstract

The town of Sagalassos, located in south-western Turkey, was an important regional centre from the Hellenistic period to Late Antiquity. Since the 1990s, the site has been the subject of systematic interdisciplinary research focusing on industrial, commercial, and residential areas of the town. The aim of this paper is to present the results of the excavations of two residential complexes in the town, including a palatial mansion to the north of the Roman Baths and a late antique house/shop encroaching upon the east portico of the lower agora. These housing complexes provide evidence for the living conditions of both the upper and middle classes in Late Antiquity.

THE PALATIAL MANSION

Since 1995, a large housing complex has been under investigation (fig. 1).¹ It probably covered an entire insula, and was situated on a street running to the east and a street parallel with the main north-south thoroughfare that connected the city's upper and lower agorae. So far, only the eastern limit of the complex has been exposed. The layout of this mansion, which contains 50 rooms distributed over three floors, is reminiscent of the 'Terrace Houses' at Ephesus. The slopes upon which the house was located offered magnificent views of the

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¹ Waelkens *et al.* (1997) 193–99; Waelkens *et al.* (2000) 330–36. For later annual preliminary reports, see the *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* volumes published by the Department of Antiquities at Ankara.

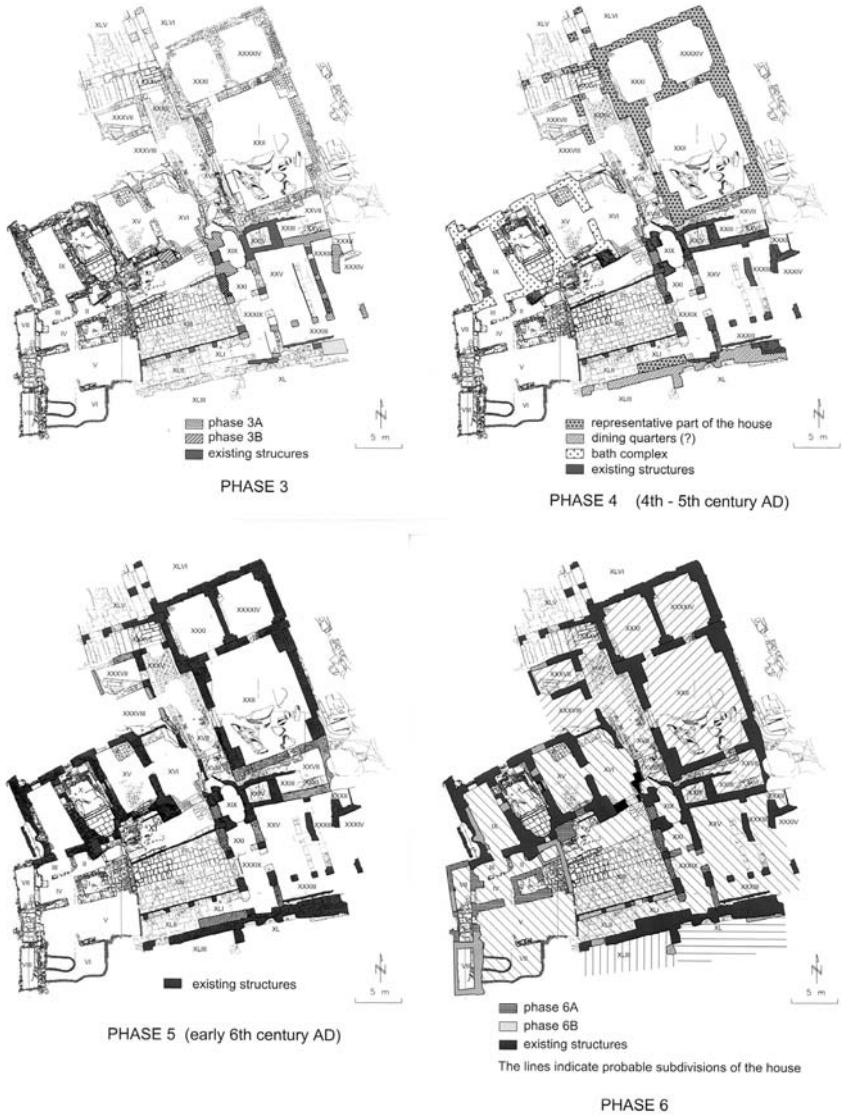


Fig. 1 The four last phases of the palatial mansion at Sagalassos (3rd?–7th century A.D.).

surrounding landscape and better exposure to cooling winds than that enjoyed by most other urban quarters. Geophysical research, carried out in 2002, and test soundings, conducted in 2004, revealed that this slope had been the residential area of the well-to-do since the Early Imperial period.²

A careful study of the walls of the house was undertaken by Marc Waelkens. Although the results of this investigation still have to be compared with stratigraphical evidence for a more accurate dating,³ it has been possible to distinguish some major building phases.⁴ Toon Putzeys undertook a study of the artefacts found in each room, which allowed him to identify the main activity areas within the complex and changes in the functions of the rooms over time. In this study, he investigated the distribution of the archaeological material, by evaluating the proportions of relevant functional categories and by using the statistical technique of correspondence analysis.⁵ Furthermore, he took into account diachronic changes of the architectural layout⁶ and the formation processes of the archaeological record.⁷

When studying artefact distribution patterns, one has to be aware that the recovered assemblage comprises only a fragment of a comprehensive assemblage in that particular area. This is because, during the occupation of a structure, floors are usually cleaned periodically to remove objects hindering ongoing activities.⁸ When a structure is abandoned, this cleaning of the floor ceases, and material is discarded close to the place where it is used or consumed. In the case of the palatial mansion, one is mostly dealing either with deposits of broken items, left behind during the final abandonment of a room, or with rubbish associated with the gradual abandonment of the structures. Such deposits only contain a fraction of the material present during the occupation of the

² Waelkens (2002) 330–32.

³ For difficulties in dating the components of long occupied aristocratic residences in the East, see Ellis (2000) 49.

⁴ An in-depth study of the relationship between the building materials of the walls and the interventions the mansion underwent during its long building history is currently being carried out by Inge Uytterhoeven.

⁵ Putzeys, Poblome and Bes (2005) 232–33; Putzeys *et al.* (in press).

⁶ Alston (1997) 25; Putzeys *et al.* (2004) 31. Yet, even for the original phase it remains an open question how much of the design can be attributed to an individual (architect, owner), and how much to social trends. See Ellis (2004a) 37.

⁷ On the importance of the formation processes of the archaeological record when studying artefact distribution patterns, see Schiffer (1985) and (1996).

⁸ Murray (1980) 32; Schiffer (1996) 59; La Motta and Schiffer (1999) 21.

structures, but provided that an interdisciplinary study of the evidence is undertaken,⁹ they can still allow the reconstruction of an assemblage resembling the original content of the room.¹⁰ Furthermore, systematic refuse deposits, or secondary depositions, can, if linked to activity areas, identify patterns of consumption and spatial organisation.¹¹

Our study of the walls revealed remains of structures antedating the building of the current mansion. These remains have not yet been accurately dated. The mansion was constructed in a number of stages, judging by the various orientations of the majority of its walls, which resulted in few exactly rectangular spaces. The following main building phases could be distinguished. During phase one, a large courtyard was formed by spaces XIII, XIX, XXI and XXXIX, which was surrounded on its eastern and southern sides by rows of piers, composed of alternating courses of brick and small tuff blocks. The use of piers, instead of columns, may suggest that these were arcaded galleries. The eastern gallery, of which only the north and east walls of vaulted room XXVIII (located below room XXIV) survive, was 2.2 m wide. Originally, the east wall continued southwards. The date of this construction has not yet been established, but the use of brick at Sagalassos most probably points towards the first half of the 2nd c. A.D. at the earliest.¹² In phase two, the east wall of this arcaded gallery was dismantled where it continued south of room XXVIII, creating a second courtyard (XXV), which stretched as far as room XXXII.

In phase three, prior to the 4th c. A.D., this new courtyard (XXV) was surrounded to the east and south by arcaded galleries, which were made of brick arches and supported by solid brick piers standing on limestone socles (fig. 1, phase 3A). The southern row of piers was aligned with the old gallery south of courtyard XIII. At the same time, this initial courtyard was reduced in size and separated from courtyard XXV by the construction of a double arcade (current rooms XXI and XXXIX). Similar building techniques were used in the construction of this arcade. This resulted into two courtyards (XIII and XXV),

⁹ Integrating the results of various disciplines can establish 'indicator packages', i.e. collections of artefacts and/or ecofacts, occurring together and documenting a specific activity; Kenward and Hall (1997). The identification of relations between such packages and contexts can indicate the location of particular functions, Putzeys *et al.* (2004) 34.

¹⁰ Ault and Nevett (1999) 49–51; Schiffer (1996) 89–98; Putzeys *et al.* (2004) 34.

¹¹ Schiffer (1996) 34; La Motta and Schiffer (1999) 24–25; Putzeys *et al.* (2004) 34.

¹² Waelkens (2002) 349.

which were bordered by arcaded galleries to the south and east. The latter were all nearly 2.6 m wide. Abundant vegetal and figural fresco fragments, found in courtyard XXV, may indicate that this formed the centre of the private apartments.¹³ The double arcade, separating both courtyards, was only completely open in space XXXIX, as evidenced by the low brick parapets connecting the piers of the west wall of space XXI and the east wall of space XXXIX. Two wall and pier fragments, in the lower northern wall of courtyard XIII, may have been part of an arcade that bordered the north side of courtyard XIII. These fragments were soon incorporated into solid and much larger brick piers (fig. 2, phase 3B). Remains of brick piers, possibly contemporary and of normal size, are also preserved in the west wall of room IX. It is remarkable, however, that this supposed 'north arcade' was not parallel with the southern one, and instead gave paved courtyard XIII a trapezoidal shape.

In the north-east corner of courtyard XIII, a brick-faced *nymphaeum* (XIX) was built, fed by water supply systems from all over the house. It had apsidal north and south walls. The water could be reached via arcaded openings, in both its south wall (accessible from the intermediate gallery) and its west wall, where a gutter running inside a raised border transported the overflow westwards. At the same time, a corridor (room XXVI), carved out of the limestone bedrock and located north of room XXXII, gave access to a row of possible 'storage' rooms, situated at an intermediate level (rooms XXIII and XXIV) north of courtyard XXV.¹⁴ Apart from the courtyard area and the 'storage' rooms at an intermediate level, the size of the rest of this Late Imperial mansion is uncertain. Nevertheless, with its two arcaded courtyards, it certainly reflects an aristocratic peristyle house, common throughout the empire by the mid-4th c.¹⁵

According to the pottery, found in test soundings exposing the foundation trenches of rooms XXXI and XLIV, during the 4th c., a fourth phase saw the erection of the best preserved remains of the structure and the addition of an 'official'/'public' wing to the highest level of

¹³ As courtyard XXV was separated from the main courtyard XIII, the rooms around it with ornate frescoes were shielded from the public gaze, which was characteristic for *cubicula*: see Ellis (2004a) 41.

¹⁴ This is suggested by the presence of holes probably intended to fix wooden shelves.

¹⁵ Ellis (2004a) 38.

the complex in the north (fig. 1, phase 4). The new quarter consisted of a very large hall (XXII) connected to two rooms located to the north (rooms XXXI and XLIV), both only accessible from this hall. These three rooms were very well preserved, to a height of between 2.30 m and 4.01 m. Their walls were built of high-quality mortared rubble, alternating with courses of brick. In the lower courses, some ashlar and other spolia were included. Smaller tuff blocks were used for the edges of corners and doorposts. The rooms had concrete vaults, whose weight was supported in the corners by rectangular projecting wall sections in hall XXII, and by smaller dented pilasters in the other two rooms. The door lintels were constructed from double brick arches. Room XLIV also had a rectangular 'window', probably arched, and placed above its access to hall XXII. A monumental doorway was found in the west wall of hall XXII. Its door lintel was embedded with elaborate consoles. Even though only the lower courses of the original south wall of hall XXII have been preserved, it may be speculated that, as in the following 6th c. phase, the room also possessed a window overlooking the city to the south. There can be no doubt that the three rooms, XXII, XXXI and XLIV, originated in a single building programme. Unfortunately, they have been completely stripped of their original wall and floor coverings. Nonetheless, since no mosaics or fresco fragments were found, marble veneer may have been used to decorate these rooms.

Three rooms, all with well-preserved mosaic floors, preceded the monumental western entrance to hall XXII (rooms XXXV, XVII and XVIII). These rooms were connected to room XLV by means of a corridor with an L-shaped staircase (XXXVI). Room XLV was situated in the northern extremity of the house, where the 'official' entrance to the mansion must have been located. A square basin, containing a water conduit to evacuate overflowing water, was placed in the centre of this space. Close to this basin, column bases were found, as well as fragments of an unfluted column. This suggests that the room functioned as a classic *atrium*, illuminated by an opening in the roof, called the *compluvium*, and sheltered from the elements by a sloping roof, designed to re-direct rain-water into a basin in the floor, called the *impluvium*. From *atrium* XLV, a monumental doorway, flanked by two small, symmetrical brick arches, gave access to yet another wing of the mansion, located in the north-east and clearly contemporary with the representative area. This is apparent from the similar building materials and techniques employed. So far, only room XLVI has been partly excavated in this

area. This research has shown that it was decorated with frescoes and marble. Further, a large fragment of a rich geometrical mosaic floor has been found, demonstrating the rainbow technique. This had fallen from a room located on the first floor.

Most probably during the same period, two large rooms (XLIII and XL) were built south of the arcaded courtyard XIII, accessible both from this space, and, possibly, from a street to the south. Room XL, though partly eroded down the slope, displayed a rich layout. Alternating rectangular and curved niches, decorated with wall plaster, ran along its north wall. Meanwhile, the southern arcaded gallery of courtyard XIII contained a staircase, made of the same material (purple schist slabs) as the staircase leading to vestibule XXXV on the upper level. This demonstrates that the south-east corner of the mansion also had an upper floor. A third major addition to the house, sometime during the 4th to 5th c., was a private bath complex on the ground level, located to the north of courtyard XIII (rooms IX, X, XV and XVI). Its well-preserved dressing room (IX) and *caldarium* (X) still have mosaic floors.

The increase in the conspicuous display of wealth and status during the fourth phase of the mansion is characteristic of domestic architecture of the period.¹⁶ Late antique peristyle mansions of the upper class were characterised by the presence of an apse-shaped ‘audience hall’, and one or more *triclinia*, or grand dining halls, that had, in turn, one or several apses.¹⁷ Despite the fact that hall XXII in the north is not apse-shaped, its size, the richly decorated rooms preceding it,¹⁸ and its separate entrance,¹⁹ can only suggest its identification as the ‘audience hall’ of a family of Προτευοντες. In Late Antiquity, these land-holding provincial aristocrats ruled the cities from their rich urban villas.²⁰ The circulation pattern in the northern, ‘representative’, part of the mansion clearly kept any visitor away from the more private quarters of the

¹⁶ Ellis (2000) 62; Liebeschuetz (2001) 92, 94, 97; Ellis (2004a) 38.

¹⁷ Ellis (2004a) 38–43. See also Liebeschuetz (2001) 37.

¹⁸ On the message of status coded through the decor of public rooms in Roman houses, see Ellis (2004a) 37.

¹⁹ As the Empire progressed, audience rooms were added to the front of houses, perhaps to keep the increasing number of humble petitioners out of the more elegant parts of the house. See Ellis (2000); Dwyer (2004) 476. In this case, room XXII was not located in the front part of the house, but as far as its access from the street is concerned, it was clearly separated from the private quarters.

²⁰ Waelkens *et al.* (in press).

house, located at a lower level (ground level and an intermediate level). In the atrium (XLV), visitors and clients would have been impressed by the monumental doorway in the east wall, which led to room XLVI. Whereas access to this room was denied, they could follow the imposing purple coloured staircase (XXXVI) to reach the richly decorated vestibule (XXXV) and waiting room (XVII), and pass through yet another monumental door, the main public access point to hall XXII. The magnificent character of Hall XXII was created not only by its imposing dimensions and wall, floor and ceiling decorations, but by its views of the valley and Alexander's Hill in the south.

Further, the size and rich decoration of room XL, in the south, suggest that this was the dining room of the complex. As only two of the four walls of room XL are preserved, it is impossible to say whether or not it had one, or several, apses, as was common for contemporary *triclinia*. Unfortunately, the room had eroded to such an extent that our hypothesis regarding its potential function could not be corroborated by contextual analysis. However, this hypothesis is supported by a waste deposit unit, constructed in tuff and brick, located in the division wall between spaces XL and XLIII and connected to room XL by means of a large opening. The pottery found in the deposit suggests that it stayed in use until the end of the 6th to the early 7th centuries.

After an earthquake at the turn of the 6th c.,²¹ the mansion underwent extensive repairs (fig. 1, phase 5). The south wall of 'audience hall' XXII, some walls of the rooms located at an intermediate level beneath it, and some of the walls west of the vestibule (XXXV) and waiting lounge (XVII), were rebuilt using low quality mortared rubble. Nonetheless, during this 5th phase, the mansion maintained its 'palatial' character, housing an owner still enjoying the lifestyle of a Roman aristocrat.²²

Stratigraphical evidence showed that, during phase 6, the last century of locally produced tablewares (phase 9: ca. A.D. 550/75 to A.D. 650),²³ the house underwent drastic changes (fig. 1, phase 6A and B). These may have included its subdivision into four smaller housing units,

²¹ Sintubin *et al.* (2003) 6–15.

²² On the use of peristyle houses into the 6th c. A.D., see Ellis (2004a) 38–39.

²³ Concerning the typo-chronology of the locally produced Sagalassos Red Slip Ware, see Poblome (1999). Specifically for the phase 9 ceramic assemblage, see Poblome, Bes and Degryse (2005) 225–28.

a feature that is characteristic of this period.²⁴ ‘Dining hall’ XL was closed off from the rest of the house, as was the large room preceding it (XLIII). It is still possible, though, that the latter was connected to the south-west area of the ground floor. Of the two ground level courtyards, XIII and XXV, only the latter preserved its arcaded galleries. The other arcades were filled in and, at least partially, transformed into closed walls. Whereas some of the doorways in the bath section were also closed off, its two eastern rooms (XV, XVI) were given over to a different use, leading to the removal of the hypocaust floor.

To the west of courtyard XIII, a number of smaller rooms were arranged in two successive phases (fig. 1, phase 6A and 6B), some of them encroaching upon the street to the west of the complex. They included a simple flush toilet²⁵ in room III, and a water basin between rooms II and XIII that probably replaced the one in room XIX. During this phase, the walls contained larger spolia and mortared rubble, with smaller and more irregular stones than those used in the preceding phase. So far, we have been unable to ascertain whether or not these rooms had a predominantly artisanal function, as was previously assumed. Recent analyses of pottery, metalwork, faunal and macrobotanical remains indicate that part of the ground floor was, henceforth, used for activities related to agriculture.²⁶ Beam holes in the west wall, together with finds of nails and tiles, indicate that courtyard XXV now became a covered space. The original slabs of the courtyard were removed, and the mortar substratum now functioned as a walking level. A lower layer of locally re-deposited refuse, containing highly fragmented table ware,²⁷ and the layer above it, containing material left behind during the abandonment of the structure, mixed with destruction material, point to the use of the courtyard as a (temporary?) storage facility for local agricultural products, imported goods (oil and wine amphorae) and household implements.²⁸ This area was eventually to become a stable.²⁹ Troughs, with holes for tethering cattle, were installed below the arches of the eastern, arcaded gallery. At the

²⁴ Brogiolo (1999) 104; Ellis (2000) 110; Liebeschuetz (2001) 369–73; Ellis (2004b) 129–32.

²⁵ Waelkens *et al.* (1997) 193–99; Martens (2001).

²⁶ Putzeys *et al.* (2004) and (in press).

²⁷ Putzeys *et al.* (2004) 38–39, 46.

²⁸ Putzeys *et al.* (2004) 46. See also Kellens in Putzeys *et al.* (in press) for the identification of the metal finds.

²⁹ Putzeys *et al.* (2004) 37–38.

same time, macrobotanical remains, which were retrieved by means of flotation,³⁰ identified vaulted space XXVIII, to the north of the covered courtyard, as a production or storage facility for dried dung cakes, the remains of which had been charred by fire.³¹ The corresponding strata of courtyard XXV also contained the remains of plants that had been used as fodder. Faunal analysis revealed the presence of an owl's nest inside the vault (XXVIII), close to the entrance to a corridor behind it. It was identified by the discovery of systematically deposited owl pellets containing the remains of small rodents.³² Recent campaigns have produced similar evidence for a more 'rural' society at Sagalassos from the second half of the 6th c.³³

The fourth subdivision of the house involved the rooms on the upper level, to which spaces were added that had previously been located at an intermediate level below them (XXVI–XXVII, XXIII–XXIV). The entrance to rock-cut corridor XXVI from room XXXII was blocked off, and the floors of all rooms to its west were raised to a slightly lower level than that of 'audience hall' XXII. Unfortunately, the floors of rooms XXIII and XXVII are no longer in evidence, except in the north-east corner of XXVII, where a tile floor on top of a mortar bedding was preserved. Nevertheless, in both spaces, some remains of an abandonment deposit, composed of macrobotanical kitchen and table refuse, and vessels for serving and consuming food, mixed with destruction material, were recovered.³⁴ In contrast, the contents of room XXIV and a layer covering a staircase, henceforth leading to room XXVI and now transformed into a cellar, consisted of secondary refuse deposits.³⁵

The cellar still contained an '*in situ* deposit' of local amphora types for oil storage and restorable tableware, as well as multifunctional metal

³⁰ Including a variety of grazing plant remains, such as weeds from cultivated fields, wetland plants, plants growing along roadsides, grassland and meadowland plants. Beside these plants from grazing areas, fodder, chaff remains and wood and shrubland plants such as pine were also attested.

³¹ Van Thuyne in Putzeys *et al.* (2004) 47–52; Putzeys *et al.* (in press).

³² Van Neer in Putzeys *et al.* (in press).

³³ Putzeys *et al.* (2004) 37. At Syrian Apamea, the transformation of great mansions into working farms only seems to have occurred during the second quarter of the 7th c. A.D. at the earliest. See Liebeschuetz (2001) 56.

³⁴ Putzeys *et al.* (2004) 38, 45 (Van Thuyne identified the plant remains).

³⁵ Putzeys *et al.* (2004) 36–39.

artefacts.³⁶ The secondary refuse contents above it and inside room XXIV included dumped metal, for instance, fragmented ornaments, household implements, sheet and scrap metal. They also incorporated shards of unrestorable kitchen utensils, including cooking pots, frying pans and *mortaria*,³⁷ all of which displayed traces of heavy use. The deposits also contained macrobotanical remains³⁸ and animal bones,³⁹ representing kitchen and table refuse. On the third step leading to the cellar, the dumped material included a textile pouch containing 22 bronze *folles*, dating to the reigns of Justinian I and Justin II and lost or hidden after A.D. 575. A settling tank was located in front of the entrance to room XXVII, perhaps used to collect waste water from cleaning hall XXII. Because the water used for this purpose was conveyed by means of an open gutter towards room XIX, the latter could no longer have functioned as a supply of drinking water. Whether room XXII and the rooms to its north were already stripped of their marble revetments during this phase, or only after their abandonment, is unclear. All of this suggests that by the late 6th c., audience hall XXII had been transformed into a dining space, or even a kitchen.⁴⁰

Even though the inhabitants of this unit still had access to imported goods, their standard of living had clearly declined in comparison with that of their predecessors. Space XXIV very rapidly became a dump for food, kitchen refuse and broken pots for food processing. This refuse eventually covered the staircase leading to cellar XXVI.⁴¹ Apart from fish imported from the Nile, traces of 'exotic' animals are absent, fish and poultry being represented mainly by local fresh water carps and old hens.⁴² Large amounts of seeds from weedy plants were found in room XXIV, suggesting that seed bearing plants had the time to invade and

³⁶ Putzeys *et al.* (in press) (Poblome for the pottery; Kellens for the metal).

³⁷ Putzeys *et al.* (in press) (Poblome for the pottery; Kellens for the metal).

³⁸ Van Thuyne in Putzeys *et al.* (2004) 47–48. The plant remains recovered consisted of barley, various types of wheat, edible plants such as lentil, edible fruits such as olive, hackberry, walnut, grape, almond, and finally Italian stone pine.

³⁹ Van Neer in Putzeys *et al.* (in press). Principally bones of sheep/goat, chicken and fish were revealed. The evidence indicates that the chicken and fish were cleaned and processed on the spot.

⁴⁰ Putzeys *et al.* (2004) 46. None of the other rooms contained any trace of a hearth. The floor level of room XXII, however, was completely destroyed by falling rocks during the final earthquake.

⁴¹ Putzeys *et al.* (in press).

⁴² Van Neer in Putzeys *et al.* (in press).

mature in a space that was no longer roofed.⁴³ To sum up, what was once an organised storage area had now become a place for collecting waste. The cause of this change remains uncertain, but was perhaps connected with the plague of the A.D. 540's, causing famine, economic decline and the desertion of many estates.⁴⁴ The artefact assemblages, which mainly consist of discarded, broken utensils, indicate that the subdivided mansion had already been abandoned and cleared of its reusable contents by the time a new earthquake destroyed it, in around the middle of the 7th c. (or shortly afterwards).⁴⁵

To conclude, the layout of the mansion during its 4th to 5th c. A.D. heyday reflects the wealth of its inhabitants, who must have belonged to a class of land owning provincial aristocrats, or *Προτευοντες*. The house contained at least two entrances, giving access to, respectively, the 'representative' spaces and the private quarters of the complex. The former entrance, located along the northern edge of the house, gave access to a circulation pattern, which kept visitors away from the more private rooms. The latter were arranged on two different levels, around two inner courtyards separated by an arcaded gallery. The original layout of the area to the west of the larger courtyards is unclear, but its longer northern and southern sides were aligned with a private bath complex and a large dining hall, respectively. The rooms on two levels around the eastern, smaller courtyard may have functioned as private apartments. However, from the mid-6th c., the building seems to have been subdivided into several separate housing units, most of which assumed more of an agricultural and artisanal function. This development can be associated with the ruralisation of the site as a whole, during its last century of continuous occupation.

A THERMOPOLION ALONG THE LOWER AGORA

The layout of the lower agora at Sagalassos originates in the late Flavian/Trajanic period. In the late 1st c. A.D., a long stoa (w. 4 m

⁴³ Van Thuyne in Putzeys *et al.* (2004) 47–48.

⁴⁴ Putzeys *et al.* (2004) 37, 54. The time of the plague was also a turning point in the urban development at Scythopolis, see Liebeschuetz (2001) 302. For a recent overview of the effect of the plague, see Stathakopoulos (2004).

⁴⁵ Waelkens, Sintubin, Muchez and Paulissen (2000) 379. Excavations during recent years suggest that large parts of the city (if not the complete city) had been abandoned before the final seismic catastrophe.

and l. 50 m) and a long portico (l. 35 m) were erected before a row of shops, along the western and eastern edges of the square, respectively (fig. 2). The pavement area of the eastern portico was 4.4 m wide, while the internal dimensions of the shops behind it were 4 m (N–S) by 4.20 m (W–E). Today, this space remains visible only in room IX, whose original north wall is preserved below the floor of room VII, to the north. Between the end of the 5th and the early 6th centuries A.D., an earthquake heavily damaged both porticoes. Consequently, the southern extremity of the west portico's rear wall collapsed completely, but was rebuilt along with the entire colonnade in front of it. Shortly after this, the portico was subdivided into small, mostly one-room units (only the northernmost had two rooms). Wall fresco fragments indicate, however, that their interior was still decorated with some taste, as were all reconstructions carried out in the city at that time. Damage to the east portico was apparently more extensive, none of the shops being restored in their original form or dimensions. For example, approximately two-thirds of the original structure on the north side was, henceforth, incorporated by a building with walls made of spolia and mortared rubble. This new structure encroached upon both the portico pavement and the shops behind the former portico, and incorporated some of the original walls. It initially contained six rooms (III–VIII). Except for its front and back walls, which closed off the original intercolumniations and covered the back wall of the shops (in rooms VII and IX), its internal arrangements completely disregarded the original plan of the portico. Only the southern extremity (IX–X) of the portico, rebuilt as (work)shops, more or less respected the original layout.

During the 6th c., a small, rectangular room in the north-east corner of the large construction (room V), was closed off and transformed into a vaulted cistern servicing two guards' houses. The latter were identified as such by their strategic location, at the north-east gate of the agora (I, II, a room above V). Thereafter, the large structure to the south was subdivided. By using contextual analysis, it has once more been possible to establish the function of some units within this building.⁴⁶ The robbing and erosion of remains following the abandonment of the complex in the mid-7th c., meant that only the floor deposits of rooms III, IV and VIII still contained sufficient material to associate them with the final occupation phase. Conversely, too few artefacts were

⁴⁶ Putzeys *et al.* (accepted).

discovered on the floors of rooms VI and VII to constitute sufficiently large assemblages for contextual analysis.⁴⁷ Access, or ‘gamma’ analysis,⁴⁸ was applied to all rooms in order to establish the internal subdivision of the complex, its circulation patterns, and the spaces in which inhabitants, and inhabitants and strangers, were most likely to interact.⁴⁹

According to access analysis, rooms VI and VII represented the most private part of the complex.⁵⁰ Both rooms may have been used as living or sleeping quarters. Room IV, the largest room of the complex, was visually subdivided by two arches, both supported by a masonry socle, which was placed against the south wall and next to the entrance to room VIII. In the north-eastern part of the room, a counter, or possibly a bench, was found. This counter/bench, together with several amphorae and a nicely decorated, bronze, ‘*authepsa*’ handle of a jug for preparing hot drinks, suggest the consumption of hot wine mixed with herbs. Other finds included a small container,⁵¹ shards of cups, jugs, bowls, and dishes, and the highest concentration of metal furnishings (iron hooks for suspending goods or shelves) and household implements within the complex.⁵² All of this would suggest that room IV was the bar room of a *thermopolion*.⁵³

Contextual analysis revealed that room III—the smallest room of the complex—was a kitchen. A *dolium* was discovered below its final floor, filled with refuse predating the final occupation. On the surface of this floor, a hearth created favourable conditions for the preservation of plants. Deposits above the earth-beaten floor were interpreted as leftovers from the abandonment of the complex, and linked to its final occupation. They contained plentiful evidence for a kitchen: cooking vessels, especially around the hearth; metal kitchen utensils (knife, grinding stone); macrobotanical traces of edible plants, for example, the aromatic herbs, chervil, fenugreek, sage and juniper, and pine needles from branches used as fuel; and finally faunal remains, mainly

⁴⁷ Putzeys *et al.* (accepted).

⁴⁸ Hillier and Hanson (1984).

⁴⁹ Putzeys *et al.* (accepted).

⁵⁰ Putzeys *et al.* (accepted).

⁵¹ This container was comparable to a *lekanè*, a vessel used for the formal mixing of wine as well as for all sorts of domestic purposes. See Sparkes and Talcott (1970) 211.

⁵² Kellens in Putzeys *et al.* (accepted).

⁵³ Putzeys, Poblome and Bes (2005) 236; Putzeys *et al.* (accepted).

of chicken and fish, with a few bones of cattle or sheep/goat. The archaeozoological evidence included remnants of rodents, such as the house mouse and black rat, no doubt scavengers for food during the abandonment phase.⁵⁴ A small bowl near the hearth, which contained a human fetus, provided further proof that this material was left behind at the time of the final abandonment of the room.⁵⁵

Room VIII, the most accessible of the structure,⁵⁶ may have been used to sell food or other edible goods. It contained the largest concentration of metal weighing instruments in the complex.⁵⁷ Room VII, which had originally been a shop, was later enlarged to the south, and finally turned into the second private, living or sleeping quarter of the 'thermopolion'.⁵⁸ Rooms IX and X, located to the south of the 'thermopolion', eventually became a dumping area, used at some stage by a butcher of sheep and goats. From the guardhouses situated north of the 'thermopolion', the guards could overlook both the lower agora (II) and the street adjacent to the Roman baths (I). It is, therefore, unlikely that the 'thermopolion' contained an upper floor. The easternmost guardhouse had an entrance on the south side, above cistern V.

The evidence collected and analysed thus far from the 'thermopolion' suggests that it had a mixed, 'commercial-residential' function. First, the metal finds deposited on top of the floors at the time of its desertion indicate that the complex was inhabited. Because the intrinsic material value of metal objects habitually led to their re-use rather than disposal, the surviving metal artefacts may be viewed as evidence for the function of the building. Therefore, the mixture of locks, furniture and household implements, such as spindle hooks and needles, as well as weighing instruments, clearly indicate residential and commercial activities.⁵⁹ Second, rooms VI and VII correspond perfectly with the sort of room typically used as living quarters above or to the rear of late antique shops, now considered to be the smallest form of Roman urban house.⁶⁰ Access analysis indicated that these were the most private rooms in the complex, originally containing the personal belongings of

⁵⁴ Putzeys, Poblome and Bes (2005) 234; Van Neer in Putzeys *et al.* (accepted).

⁵⁵ Putzeys *et al.* (accepted).

⁵⁶ Putzeys *et al.* (accepted).

⁵⁷ Kellens in Putzeys *et al.* (accepted).

⁵⁸ Putzeys *et al.* (accepted).

⁵⁹ Kellens in Putzeys *et al.* (accepted).

⁶⁰ Ellis (2000) 78 and (2004b) 126–27.

the inhabitants. This might explain why few objects were left.⁶¹ Indeed, even bar room IV may have been turned into sleeping quarters for children or personnel, at night.⁶² Similar evidence can be found in many of the 32 late antique (work)shops near the Baths at Sardis,⁶³ or some of the late antique shops at Berytus,⁶⁴ where a shopkeeper and his family, whether an owner⁶⁵ or tenant belonging to the middle class, inhabited their shops.⁶⁶ The ‘*thermopolion*’ was a fairly substantial complex, judging by its six units, of which at least two were probably living quarters. Ceramic evidence, found inside the structure, clearly shows that the building had been abandoned by the middle of the 7th c., and cleared of all re-usable material.

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⁶¹ Mainly traces of small fish and chicken which had escaped repeated cleaning and seeds from wild plants and trees, either wind-blown or fallen from the clothes of people entering these rooms: Van Neer and Van Thuyne in Putzeys *et al.* (accepted).

⁶² For the fact that the shopkeeper, and his family and assistants, could curl up on rough mattresses anywhere on their premises, see Ellis (2000) 78. For the absence of rooms allocated to children in Roman houses, see Ellis (2000) 178–79, 188–89; Dwyer (2004) 476. For sleeping adjacent to the counter, see Ellis (2004b) 127.

⁶³ Crawford (1990); Harris (2004).

⁶⁴ Hall (2004) 24, 60, 66.

⁶⁵ On aristocrats buying up abandoned public property and subdividing it into private structures, see Ellis (2004b) 129.

⁶⁶ Putzeys *et al.* (accepted).

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- Fig. 2. The 6th century A.D. ‘*thermopolion*’ on the Lower Agora at Sagalassos.

THE EXCAVATION OF AN Umayyad PERIOD HOUSE AT PELLA IN JORDAN

Alan Walmsley

The systematic archaeological excavation of domestic areas in the major urban centres of classical, late antique or Early Islamic date in the Levant has not been a priority of most research programs, with only a few notable exceptions. Rather, the focus has been on the spectacular public monuments of temple, street, bath, theatre, circuit wall and church for instance, which still visually dominate the archaeological landscape of such sites and, admittedly, impress the casual visitor. In part to redress this imbalance, and to further our understanding of urban change in the late antique—Early Islamic transitional period (*ca.* A.D. 550–750), a sizable area of housing was uncovered at the eastern end of the main archaeological mound (*tell*) at Pella (Tabaqat Fahl) in Jordan (figure 1).¹ The work was undertaken during 1979–1983 under the auspices of the University of Sydney, Australia, with major funding from the Australian Research Council, and was supervised by the author.

The excavations of the eastern *tell* encompassed an area of almost 2000 m². Work progressed by establishing a 10m² grid, and excavating a square of 9 × 9 m within the grid (thereby leaving an intervening baulk of one metre)—otherwise known as the box-grid (or Wheeler-Kenyon) method. A planned housing quarter first constructed in the mid-6th c. A.D. was thereby exposed, which originally consisted of contiguous houses but was rearranged into more independent two-storied units opening out onto courtyards in the mid-7th c.² The surviving ground floors consisted of walls, paving, columns and other architectural features constructed of dressed stone; the upper levels were originally of unbaked brick, but these collapsed into the ground floor rooms—filling them—in the fierce earthquake of 130 H./A.D.

¹ McNicoll, Smith and Hennessy (1982); McNicoll *et al.* (1992); Sheedy, Carson and Walmsley (2001); Walmsley (1992a) and (1992b).

² Walmsley (1992b); Watson (1992).

749. While maintaining excellent stratigraphical controls, the box-grid method did have the disadvantage of dispersing the finds of each room over many archaeological deposits, up to nine in some instances (figure 2). Nevertheless, it has been possible to reconstruct room contents, and therefore function, by analysing the finds from the different deposits based on their original room location.

The clearest example of an operating household at the time of the massive A.D. 749 earthquake is a large and wealthy unit known as 'Household G' (figure 3). With a floor area of some 375 m², and living space over two levels of nearly 750 m² (perhaps more, if roof space was also accessed), House G was organised around a paved internal courtyard of 8.35 x 9.7 m which once featured a veranda some three metres deep, reached from the upper floor and supported by a pier/column combination. Access to the upper level was by way of a staircase, 1.25 m wide, against the eastern wall of the internal courtyard, positioned immediately north of a doorway that led out to an external courtyard, also paved with stone slabs. In general, the downstairs area of the house was devoted to stabling animals or light industrial activities, whereas the primary living quarters were located upstairs.

The structural layout and type of finds retrieved during the excavation of the ground floor of House G (figure 3), from 1980 to 1983, were crucial to the understanding of its configuration and function. Much of the daily life of the household revolved around the central internal courtyard. Found in this area were a cooking installation on a bench against the west wall, a stone water trough and, placed against walls, feed benches for the stabled animals. Further evidence for stabling was found to the north, in two interconnecting rooms separated by a step and arches on piers (Rooms 8 and 9), and to the west in another two rooms (6 and 7). The discovery of the skeletons of animals caught in the sudden collapse of the building, specifically cattle and small *equids*, probably mules, along with a cat and chickens was conclusive evidence for this interpretation. Three of its occupants, a couple by the staircase in the courtyard and a single male in Room 2, were also trapped in the destroyed house. This room also produced a range of objects in daily use, including pottery and evidence for an iron-banded wooden bucket in the north-east corner, indicating that the victim lived in the room, at least temporarily. The surviving masonry indicates that Room 2 was not originally separated from the courtyard, but functioned as a type of alcove before the construction of a partition wall.

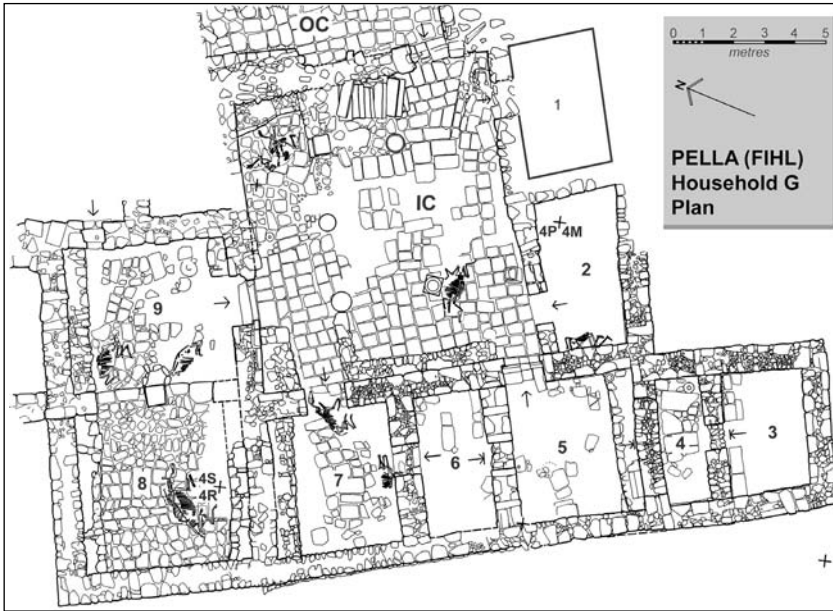


Fig. 3 Downstairs plan of Household G (Winikoff).

The most interesting configuration of rooms was found in the south-west corner of the building. Here three rooms (3, 4 and 5) were originally reached through one doorway in the south-west corner of the internal courtyard. The stone threshold and jambs indicate that this doorway could be closed by a door, probably of nailed wooden planks (the doorway to Rooms 8 and 9 could have been similarly closed, but not that into Room 7). Room 6, and from it Room 7, was also originally accessible from Room 5. Hence, in the building's initial configuration, it was possible to access Room 5 from the courtyard and loop around through Rooms 6 and 7 back into the courtyard by a doorway in the north-west corner. In a later period, and perhaps simultaneously, access between Rooms 5 and 6 was blocked, leaving Rooms 6 and 7 devoted to stabling animals, and access to the short southern wing of the building (Rooms 3 and 4) was also closed off by the construction of a long blocking wall between two arch piers. This shows that Rooms 4 and 5 were originally one room. Bearing in mind the addition of a wall between Rooms 3 and 4, this possibly included room 3. The light manufacturing activities, involving basins and the use of white plaster, originally located in Room 3, were relocated in Room 5. The changed

function of Room 5 explains the need to block access from Room 6: to keep out the stabled livestock.

While predominately concerned with animal husbandry and industrial functions, at least at the time of the building's destruction, the downstairs rooms produced a revealing range of domestic items in use on that one disastrous mid-winter day in 130 H./A.D. 749. Most spectacular was the discovery of two small hoards of Umayyad gold dinars, the first with the earthquake victim in Room 2 and the second near the couple in the courtyard. In Room 2, four dinars were recovered in 1981 immediately next to the crushed skeleton of a young male and were probably contained in a leather purse which had decayed. As Early Islamic dinars always carry a mint date, they provide a useful chronological fix, with dates of 96 H./A.D. 714–15, 97 H./A.D. 715–16, 106 H./A.D. 724–25 and 117 H./A.D. 735–36. In the courtyard, six further dinars were recovered at the end of the 1982 season, dating to 91 H./A.D. 709–10, two of 94 H./A.D. 712–13, 110 H./A.D. 728–29, 112 H./A.D. 730–31 and 122 H./A.D. 739–40. Chronologically, however, the best dating came from a copper *fals* of Damascus minted in 126 H./A.D. 743–44, that is just five years before the historically-attested earthquake in 130/A.D. 749. Equally impressive was the carbonised fabric found with the couple trapped in the north-east corner of the internal courtyard. Such material is rarely preserved in Jordan, due to the usually abundant winter rains and resultant soil formation processes, but following the collapse of the building much of the courtyard area caught fire, causing the clothing of the two victims to be burnt into more decay-resistant carbon. What was most remarkable was the subsequent analysis of the charred fabric, which revealed it to be silk.³ The internal courtyard and Room 2 also produced a wide range of other domestic objects *in situ*. An important corpus of mid-8th c. A.D. ceramics was recovered, all unglazed, but including oil lamps, cooking vessels and new types of wares such as a red painted ware and a porous off-white ware for storing water. Glazed pottery did not appear in the archaeological record at Pella until the following Abbasid period (after 132 H./A.D. 750). Also recovered were copper objects, including kohl sticks and a basin, blown glass vessels with ribbon trailing, bone buttons with incised lines, and domestic stone items including grinders and a two-part basalt quern for grinding grain into

³ Eastwood (1992).

flour. In the ash-strewn courtyards of other house units, the remains of small ovens (*tabun*) were found in which the bread for the household would have been baked.

Of the upstairs, only scattered and displaced evidence has been recovered amongst the fallen debris of the building's floors, walls and roof. The latter was probably flat, judging by the absence of ceramic tile fragments from these remains. Architectural elements included reused church fixtures of imported marble, and fragments of coloured plaster in yellow and red, some with the remnants of a painted inscription in black, possibly Arabic. Portable objects included ceramics, metals, glass and bone inlay, the latter probably originating from wooden furniture, but within the tumble of collapsed walls and building debris it was difficult to ascertain what objects had fallen from their original position in the upstairs rooms and what objects had been unintentionally included in the fabric of the building during construction (and thus, were rubbish survival and not contemporary with the use of the house). Only if the objects were complete or near-complete could it be certain that they had originated from the living quarters upstairs. This was certainly the case with Houses 'A' and 'B' located south of House G (figure 1), where whole objects were recovered from within the tumble of the collapse deposit (figure 2).

Household G at Pella presents a vivid picture of daily life in the mid-8th c. Levant. It was a wealthy *dar*, with decorated living rooms upstairs and well-off inhabitants carrying precious coinage and wearing expensive clothes, and a downstairs which also served a primary economic role seen in the stabling of high-value animals and in the presence of a small workshop. Such diverse activities in one household is not unusual for the age; east of Pella the steppe (*badiyah*) villages of about the same date preserve large house units with extensive stabling features downstairs, for instance at Umm al-Jimal.⁴ Even in a major city like al-Fustat, the first Islamic capital of Egypt, mules were stabled on the ground floor, although separate quarters for animals were preferred. At Pella, animals may have been kept in House G on a seasonal basis; the 130 H./A.D. 749 earthquake hit in mid-winter when cattle in particular would have needed protection from the elements and the provision of feed. Indeed, much appears to have been indoors on that

⁴ De Vries (1998).

fateful day: people, animals and possessions, all of which offer a detailed insight into everyday life in the southern Levant of the mid-8th c.

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LUKE LAVAN

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