

A CASE OF ROMANIZATION: THE TERRACE HOUSES OF EPHEBUS

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to explore the extent of Romanization in Ephesus through the close study of Terrace House II. There is a great amount of scholarship burgeoning around the term Romanization. On the other hand very few of these studies have concentrated on the domestic level. The intention of this thesis is to bring attention to the domestic realm of Ephesus in the light of this concept and explore the subtle changes in its private architecture during these times of cultural change.

Combining theoretical work with practice, it will focus on the relationship between culture, domestic space and how the two notions are interlinked as well as how they are reciprocally indicative. The analysis throughout the thesis will raise broader debates on the relation of cultural identity, ethnicity and architecture where a multi-disciplinary approach will be employed. Finally the work will center around one Residential Unit which will be studied in terms of its layout, decorations and function of spaces in the light of the theories discussed in previous chapters, reaching a conclusion about the extent of Romanization.

Keywords: Romanization, Domestic Space, ethnicity, identity and culture

ÖZET

Bu çalışmanın amacı Efes şehrindeki Romalılaşma derecesini Teras Evler 2'nin incelenmesi yoluyla tartışmaktır. Romalılaşma terimi üzerine yapılan ve yapılmakta olan birçok yayın ve çalışma olmasına rağmen bu çalışmaların az bir kısmı konuyu domestik açıdan ele almaktadır. Bu tezin amacı Romalılaşma kavramı ışığında Efesin domestik mimarisinin incelenmesi ve özellikle bu kültürel değişimin Teras Evlerin mimarisi üzerindeki etkilerini tartışılmasıdır.

Teori ile pratiği birleştirerek, kültür kavramı ve domestik mimari arasındaki ilişkiyi etüt edecek olan bu tez, aynı zamanda bu iki konseptin birbirleriyle nasıl bir etkileşim içinde olduklarını ortaya koyacaktır. Yer yer tezin içinde kültürel kimlik, etnisite ve mimarlık üzerine yapılan analizler daha geniş sorulara cevap ararken disiplinler arası bir yaklaşım izlenecektir. Son bölümde ünite 4 üzerine yapılacak olan analizde, plan, dekorasyon ve oda fonksiyonları incelenecek ve sonuç olarak Efes'in Romalılaşma derecesi tespit edilecektir.

Anahtar sözcükler: Romalılaşma, Domestik mimari, etnisite, kimlik ve kültür.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

As the capital of the Roman Province of Asia Minor, Ephesus has been under the spotlight of archeologists for many years. Recently there has been new insight into the private realm of Ephesus through the work of the Austrian Team on the Terrace Houses. This thesis will attempt to trace the Romanization of Ephesus by the study of Terrace House 2 from its formation in the 1st century B.C. to its destruction in the 4th century A.D. Ephesus's terrace houses --their architecture and materials-- have been documented and interpreted several times by the Austrian Archaeological Team in trying to outline the functional spaces, starting from the nineteenth century. During the process of archaeological study the houses themselves have been methodologically stripped of their cultural and sociological contexts. Accordingly, this thesis approaches the topic not only by adopting archaeological analysis -- plan types, materials, decoration-- but also by including studies from multiple disciplines (such as sociology, anthropology and archaeology) in an effort to explain the inner meaning of the domestic spaces and to show the selective adoption of Roman culture as well as the influence of earlier cultures in Anatolia. Consequently, the characteristics which make up the identity of the domestic space will be considered. The analysis of intangible and tangible assets will determine the identity --that is the extent of Romanization-- of these otherwise Anatolian houses.

While attempting to trace the Roman features of the houses, the thesis will also analyze the accuracy of this method. As a result it will emphasize the complications of this term since Romanization is based on an architectural and archaeological ideal, which is usually far from reality. Most of the researchers tend to support the existence of prototypical Roman architecture as well as an archetypal existence of a uniform Roman culture. Most of

the research on peripheral Roman settlements has been carried out in this light comparing the ideal with the hybrid. If the settlement had traces of the so-called ideal culture, its extent would be analyzed so that the end result could reveal the extent of romanization. To avoid this trap, the thesis will start by questioning the term Romanization and the existence or rather absence of a unified identity. Furthermore, the purposeful choice of the domestic realm will reveal the complicated nature of the influence of Roman culture, which otherwise would seem clear in the public spaces. As will be mentioned in the thesis, private spaces are indicative of culture and by nature slow to adopt changes that may sweep the public realm.

The following chapter presents the contemporary theories on domestic space. The formation of domestic architecture and its relation to culture and society are general topics analyzed in this chapter. The house as an entity is regarded as a product of culture and therefore linked not only to the individual but also to the society to which the individual belongs. It is for this reason that this chapter will discuss sociological issues and the relationship between house, structure and culture. This section of the thesis aims to analyze these correlations with the sociological theories of Bourdieu, Kent, Nevitt and Johnson.

The following chapters attempt to tackle more intricate issues related to Roman identity. The debates on ethnicity and cultural identity are introduced to lay a foundation for the future analysis of the Roman house. Following these analyses of identity, the meaning of the house and the connotations of Romanization, the thesis will narrow its approach to the specific city of Ephesus and the Terrace Houses. The archaeology of the Roman *domus* and its characteristics are investigated in the following chapters in terms of plan and layout, room function and activity analysis and decorations. The residential unit 4 of the Terrace Houses is studied under each of these categories with the aid of tangible and intangible evidence from its period. After these inquiries into unit 4, the conclusion will reveal the extent of

Romanization of domestic space in Ephesus or whether the term actually exists in this particular context.

Inevitably this kind of a study requires the involvement of multiple disciplines. As Mathew Johnson notes in his valuable work on *Housing Culture*, “the study of houses embraces (...) archaeology, architectural theory and history, historical geography, social, economic, political and cultural history, the study of vernacular architecture, conservation studies, social and cultural anthropology and the history of technology” (Johnson, 1993, ix). This study on houses, although not as multi-layered as Johnson’s work, includes various materials and analyses such as archaeological and historical evidence, sociological and ethnographical as well as architectural theories.

In the process of final analysis, the thesis employs authors such as McKay, Hadrill, Allison and Clarke. Furthermore, instead of considering the house as a single architectural unit frozen in time, the thesis will consider the activities and the intangible elements within it. It will also consider the factors of time and space; in other words, concepts like “abandonment” or “post-abandonment” and “reuse and refuse,” which as expressed by Kent, are always factors affecting the meaning of the architecture (Kent, 2000, 262). This new approach promotes the non-static nature of the house and will introduce new arguments on the existence of a wider concept that exceeds the physical boundaries of the house (Kent, 1990, 13). Immediately the house becomes a much more complex unit entailing a culturally coded language. This language is foreign to the modern visitor, however, the awareness of these values and the plausible analysis of the culture to which the house belongs could redefine the meaning of the house and deter false generalizations. Accordingly, this thesis will not only aim to outline the architecture and material of the domestic buildings in question, but also try to evaluate the spaces through these cultural codes. Rapoport’s emphasis on the importance of

the semi-fixed (furnishings) and non-fixed elements (people) in explaining the meaning of the domestic space will guide me in my analysis (Kent, 1990, 14).

CHAPTER 2

A THEORETICAL APPROACH TO HOUSES

The difficult task of defining the nature of domestic architecture has been taken up by many architectural historians. Christopher Alexander, an architect noted for his theories on pattern language movement and 'living architecture', has characterized the nature of domestic spaces as "places to express one's life, directly and simply" and argues for the existence of patterns connecting the "vitality of the people and the shape of their houses" (Alexander, 1985, 14). This lucid explanation clearly points to the osmotic nature of houses and their interactive relationship with their inhabitants and the social environment. A house is the product of its inhabitants and their culture. In 'The Continuous House: A View from the Deep Past', Tringham argues for the importance of "the endurance of the house as the most salient material manifestation of the social group associated with it and with the land upon which it was built" (Tringham, 115, 2000). This statement on architecture as a manifestation of a social group is parallel with architecture being the *product* of that certain group. What is more, the transformations or the social changes taking place "in" or "around" the house would inextricably have an effect on the house itself. These changes might both be on the micro-scale --alterations of family or individual behavior-- or on the macro-scale --changes in social structure of a culture.

Evidently the house must be taken not as an ossified entity, but rather as a plastic formation. As it is exposed to certain external and internal factors, it is constantly being modeled and remodeled through time. In accordance with this theory, also supported by Alexander's terminology, a domestic space is created and shaped by its inhabitants and consequently by the culture that surrounds them and their socially conducted behaviors (Alexander, 1985, 14). Rapoport's ideas also emphasize the same relation between culture and

built environment. The argument underlines how the architecture provides “cues for proper social behavior” and is a tool in maintaining cultural norms. As quoted by Rapoport, “built environments communicate meanings to help serve social and cultural purposes; they provide frameworks and systems of settings for human action and appropriate behavior” (Rapoport 1980d, 300). In fact, many anthropologists --such as Douglas (1972), Durkheim and Mauss (1902)-- have taken houses as the models of society.

Following the discipline of sociology, one must underline the contributions of Bourdieu and Giddens (1977). Combining objectivist and subjectivist theory, Bourdieu has introduced a new height to the structure and logic of sociological thought. His innovative terminology outlined the “mechanisms of social and cultural reproduction” (Bourdieu, 1977, Foreword by Nice, vii). Bourdieu has underscored the use of space as it is essential “in setting up divisions and hierarchies between persons which continuously reinforce underlying principles of a culture” (Bourdieu, 1977, 89). He has also introduced the terminology of “practice”. Practice defines the daily rituals and activities in a household from language to dress, labor and kinship and is in its nature a repetitive process. This repetition sustains the hierarchies and social codes in the household reinforces them (Bourdieu, 1977, 89). Consequently the house itself becomes a “structuring structure”. With this approach the house is defined not only as the instrument, but also as the product of social practices (Donley-Reid, 1990, 115). These practices are converted into objectified “symbols of ethnicity” (Jones, 1997, 90). These symbols of ethnicity can be the material or immaterial features that archaeologists relate to when they analyze a given context. The topic in question being domestic architecture, the symbols of ethnicity on a large scale can be considered the particular architectural elements of the house itself, while on a small scale they could be considered the specific materials found inside the house.

Mathew Johnson (1993) has emphasized a similar theory in his research on the domestic architecture of Western Suffolk, England, from the fifteenth to seventeenth century. Although he focuses on a time and place far distant from Roman Ephesus, his argument on the relation of culture and domestic architecture requires careful consideration. The argument defies most of the traditional approaches to house studies whereby the changes in architecture and meaning are defined by economic or typological theories. His ideas strongly assume socio-cultural elements shaping domestic surroundings. Several anthropologists have supported this theory, including Mauss and Berchat (1906). Seen as pioneers of this new approach of the beginning of the 1900s, they defied the geographical and technological determinism in explaining the change in domestic behaviors and instead proposed the existence of the “social and symbolic values of houses” (Donley-Reid, 1990, 114). Along the same lines Johnson has tried to trace the changes in the architecture of the houses. He has gradually reached the conclusion that explains transformation in layout, technical system and decoration as a direct result of cultural change (Johnson, 1993, 178). As cultural change is never a straightforward phenomenon, Johnson has argued for the complicated nature of this transformation. Tringham who agrees with Johnson on another level has further analyzed the social motivations of the house and rejected the typical linear evolutionary analysis of houses in southwestern Asia (Tringham, 2000, 117), claiming that the alterations could carry multiple meanings and complications. The strong link between culture and domestic architecture is apparent in Johnson’s analyses as well as in Tringham’s conclusions; consequently one can argue that in any given space, time and place houses can be considered compact social units mirroring the characteristics and changes of the society in which they are located. Giddens has especially underscored this reflexive nature of the house and claimed that it is “both the medium and the outcome of social practices” (Giddens, 1979, 209).

One scholar who has extensively studied the use of objects within houses is Rosemary Joyce. She has argued that the identity of the house can only be determined by the manifestation of memory through objects, drawing on ethnographic cases to demonstrate the same principle. Her study of Yoruk dwellings and the collection of valuable objects in these houses highlight the importance of these artifacts in preserving memory and creating and maintaining histories (Gillespie, 2000, 189). Therefore, in order to determine cultural traits within a domestic space, it is necessary to analyze the contexts, the utility and the reproduction of materials; for this will be the only mode of determining the meaning of the space, which in turn will shed light on the transformations that might have taken place over a period of time. There is another dynamic related to this argument that also gives clues about identity: the association of inhabitants with the totality of domestic space. Lévi-Strauss has claimed that the basis for this relationship, especially in ancient houses, is not blood but common investment in the house (Joyce, 190, 2000). This particular relationship is relevant in most cases in ancient cultures with the Romans where the house as an entity took on a grander meaning. This bond is not only with the materials or heirlooms within the spaces, but also with the whole body of the house in its totality.

The structuration (Reid, 1990, 116) point of view adds more variables to the relationship of space and material. It claims that there are many levels of reflexive relationships within the house. Until now, the arguments above have discussed the association of people with objects. As theories of Joyce and Strauss have underlined, the use of the objects defines certain social and symbolic meaning for the inhabitants which may give clues to the identity of its inhabitants, hence the house. However, the structuration theory argues for four other relationships that exist within domestic space: people with space, objects with objects, objects with space and space with space. The relationship between people and space

has been touched up on by many architects and archaeologists and is considered a straightforward phenomenon where people define and are defined by the spaces created. As Ardener puts it, “behavior and space are mutually dependent” (Ardener, 1981, 12). Similarly when objects attain symbolic value they involve the objects around them and influence them according to the symbol which they carry (Reid, 1990, 117). Thus, it is necessary to consider this active relationship when analyzing objects within domestic space since the whole meaning may alter or intensify according to the objects in its proximity. Similarly, when an object takes on symbolic value it has influence on the space surrounding it. This defines the object-space relationship which is reflexive. The final connection is between space and space, which characterizes the hierarchies and the arrangement of spaces in relation to each other. The symbolic meaning of a space will affect the spaces surrounding it (Reid, 1990, 117). This is a universal approach to analyzing meaning and identity in a setting. Reflecting on the relationships between these variables can also be used to decode for Roman domestic settings.

In the light of the above arguments, it is evident that “all architecture is the embodiment of cultural norms that pre-exist individual buildings” (Glassie, 1988, 2). The social norms and values of one culture inevitably result in the emergence of a specific art and architecture. Above, it has been argued that the objects, architectural elements and decorations of a house are formed by certain socio-cultural structures; moreover, these elements also sketch and guide certain behavioral patterns within the domestic space as the spaces and objects as well as people have an interactional relationship with each other (see *structuration*). These arguments have illustrated that as “symbols of ethnicity” (Bourdieu, 1977, 89) houses are the genuine products of the society in which they are produced and inevitably specify and mark cultural values.

Consequently inter-disciplinary arguments have shown that a change in culture manifests itself in domestic architecture. As social habits, behaviors or customs change, the spaces and the architectural elements that define them are transformed as well. The *practices* employed for a certain period of time are strictly bound to cultural traits and therefore more correctly embedded in the lifestyles of the inhabitants. As Bourdieu argues for the existence of these symbolic settings that are maintained by practices, he also hints at the durability of these actions or dispositions. As a result it is necessary to state that transformation in the domestic realm is a slow but certain process. Furthermore, this process is inevitably a more internal and significantly genuine alteration since the change manifests itself in the domestic realm. This genuine entity carries its social and symbolic values within its shell. Bourdieu's and Gidden's theories on the existence of symbolic systems in domestic spaces, their preservation and continuation through daily rituals and activities also characterize the complexity of this entity and its intermingling with its surrounding culture.

CHAPTER 3

ROMANIZATION, ETHNICITY AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

In considering questions of Romanization, it is necessary to examine theories about defining culture and ethnicity. In *The Ethnicity of Archaeology*, Jones (1997, 91) has remarked on the fluid nature of ethnicity and claims that ethnicity and the expression of ethnic identity changes according to economic and political interests (Jones, 1997, 91). She has remarked that the identification of cultures from archaeological remains to legitimize ethnic and national claims is considered inadequate in today's world of post-processual archaeology which itself promotes multi-culturalism (Jones, 1997, 5). On the other hand, it is a fact that any coherent group's symbolic systems and cultural behavior will appear in its architecture. If these possible systems and behaviors were decoded, hypothetically the ethnic identity of the inhabitants would be revealed (Donley-Reid, 1990, 114).

The link between archaeology and the construction of cultural identity is inextricable to many scholars; however, when categorizing or compartmentalizing an archaeological entity --a house-- how accurate are the techniques of archaeology in determining its cultural identity? When certain features reflect the Romanness or Greekness of a piece of material, or in this case a type of architecture, one cannot refrain from jumping to categorizations. Eriksen argues that determining a culture's identity by ethnic signifiers of each culture might be too arbitrary, as the context is bound to change; therefore he has concluded that ethnicity is driven by preserving cultural difference (Eriksen, 1991, 129). However, merely locating certain architectural traits and identifying them as clues for the ultimate identification of the space is a minimalist approach.

As this study concentrates on Romanization, it is necessary to review previous discussions of this concept and some of the problems and biases related to studying the spread and adoption of a culture. In many sources, including Jones, the word conveys a meaning of cultural process which includes refuse and abandonment and interaction between two distinct cultures. Yet, as Jones remarks, this interaction has only been analyzed in one way in which Roman culture is assumed to be invasive in nature. In the light of this argument, the other culture --usually considered as “indigenous”-- adopts and embraces the whole cultural foundation, from speech to material culture (Jones, 1997, 5-6). This act has been termed “acculturation”. For instance, in *The Romanization of Great Britain*, Haverfield explains this act of acculturation and states that “Romanization extinguished the difference between Roman and provincial through all parts of the Empire” (Haverfield, 1923, 22). Yet, this explanation seems too simple when dealing with culture which in itself is meticulously layered. Archeology in that sense still tends to look through colonial spectacles, having “a widespread interest in the assimilation and modernization of non-western societies” (Jones, 1997, 33). It tends to search for the hidden or obvious clues or traits to categorize a site or, on a micro-scale, a building under certain canons. Ironically, most of the canons outlined by researchers are hybrid products of the unification of layers of numerous cultures.

When scrutinizing an example of domestic architecture in the Eastern Premises of the Roman Empire, there is still a tendency to seek out what is Roman rather than what is local. The simple acculturation theory is contradicted by Millett who denies this simple one-way adoption and suggests a more complicated process. Romanization was realized, adopted and driven locally, not imposed as an outside force (Millett, 1990, 38). Hingley, supporting the same view, has underlined that the method of Romanization was more on the basis of encouragement whereby the local elite became incorporated with the imperial aristocracy

(Hingley, 2000, 49). In more simple terms, the local community fed on and regurgitated these hybrid cultural traits. Millet's view is a reflection of the post-colonial thought, which also collides with the Nativist school of thought. The approach claims the prominence of "indigenous cultural traditions" over the conquering culture and "their survival through the post-conquest era as a form of resistance" (Hingley, 200, 40; Reese, 1980, 77-91). However, this theory is also too elementary to define the interactive, dynamic, changing and all-encompassing Roman culture, which was invented and re-invented again and again at the local level.

Above all, one question relevant to this thesis is the rate of these cultural changes, be they locally determined or externally forced. The assumption of the rapidity of this process of Romanization is usually a result of the analysis of two factors. One is the adoption and use of foreign material (especially pottery), and the second is the construction of public buildings reflecting the invasive Roman identity. The wide scale usage of foreign material might be an indication of a conscious and deliberate act of the elite. Accordingly, one can also claim that "adoption of Roman ways of life became the means by which the hierarchical positions of the elite were constituted and maintained" (Haselgrove, 1987, 117; Millett 1990, 69). However, the transmission of traits and habits in the private realm were at a much slower pace. As mentioned above, the *habitus* or the "practice" that determines culture is intricately linked to not only objective but also subjective structures. The products of one culture are harder to change by exposure to another culture. Since a domestic building is a result, the medium and the setting of a "practice" --habits, activities or daily rituals-- will be the last to change in a society.

Other discussions about the idea of Romanization are slightly more radical due to the complexity of the term itself. Hingley describes the concept, which he argues to be a direct

result of the imperial and national frame of mind, as follows: “Romanization was invented to account for the process of social change that is argued to have occurred under the Roman rule, first across Italy and then throughout the provinces of the western Empire and also across some areas of the East” (Hingley, 2000, 15). He further expresses that this theory is limited by “the inheritance of certain approaches” (Hingley, 2000, 14) and bound to remain at an elementary level; thus, as one engages with the word it is vital to be aware of these factors before applying it to another geography.

Both Millet and Hingley’s views point to the inaccuracy of the term and the way in which it is applied; yet, one can conclude as a synthesis of both approaches that the implications of this term are complex. This is especially true for the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire, where the traces of Hellenism have been prominent to such a level that with the overlaying of Roman culture those provinces have produced an even more hybrid culture. The studies carried out in these provinces reflect this view since they concentrate more on the Greek heritage (Hingley, 200, 17).

In addition to all these arguments there is a methodological question yet to be answered. Does the material culture define the extent of Romanization? Do the objects themselves provide sufficient evidence for social change? “Material culture the objects and material structures that are found across the empire, is then thought to have spread as part of this expansion of the Roman culture” (Hingley, 2000, 16). There are difficulties with defining Roman culture and how it works since “it was never a clearly bound monolithic entity,” as “the disruption that resulted from incorporation of native societies within the expanding empire placed a particular premium upon adoption of this international culture by local elite

groups, in form of self-reinforcing order that drew upon a coordinated conception of identity” (Hingley, 2000, 51).

As Ball claims to scrutinize Roman identity, “it is necessary to see it in all of its breadth and richness not just as ‘European’ or ‘Western’ civilization [...] This legacy is as much eastern as western, as much oriental as occidental, both to Europe and the world as a whole” (Ball, 2000, 449-50). Consequently, the existence of a “coherent Roman material package” is also questioned in most of the recent literature --such as Freeman and Millet-- as the process of identifying *Romanitas* is becoming irrelevant (Hingley, 2000, 44). If Roman material history is analyzed it will become apparent that “Roman items were actually drawn from various societies across the empire,” which ultimately results in the formation of an amalgam identity through the incorporation of “alternative aspects of identity” (Hingley, 2000, 44-45).

Through the absorption of the values of Mediterranean cultures via trade, military expansion and assimilation, Rome itself adopted a set of hybrid cultural traits, which in the Augustean period were perpetuated with his “incorporative ideology” (Hingley, 54-55). It is in fact these traits that make up Roman culture; thus, when the term Romanization is applied to the studies of the Eastern Provinces --the source of these “original” traits-- it simplifies this complex layering of cultures. It is in a way a process that requires production, adoption and re-adoption.

CHAPTER 4

ROMAN IDENTITY ACCORDING TO ROMAN AUTHORS

To be able to comprehend the core culture of the Roman World, it is necessary to look at the available primary sources. While examining these sources, it is crucial to consider their biases since they are products of a certain strata of Roman society. Many historians argue that Pliny's writings are a solid source for defining Roman culture. Pliny served in imperial Rome as procurator -- a civil service administrator for the emperor-- as a counselor and commander on numerous battle fields. There is no doubt that his work reflects not only his own insight, but also an imperial insight, which might not be considered accurate when discussing Roman culture in its entirety. This imperial viewpoint not only elevated the greatness of the Roman Empire, but also emphasized moral concerns. When one examines Pliny's *Natural History*, one is inclined to define it as an extensive guide to Nature, or rather Roman "nature". Evidently it can be described as a vital artifact that includes "everyday things in ancient Rome: home remedies, insects, the eloquence of Cicero, fishponds, sewers, kitchen gardens, and Caesar: the heroic, the trivial, the disgusting." In short it seems to be an encyclopedia which entailed "everything" (Carey, 2003, 1). Thus, it is not actually the history of art and architecture of Rome; it is a totality or entirety to which art is linked to portray Roman victories in addition to the immoral values that were brought by these achievements. Pliny's own culture seemed to be defined through the "other," which was in most cases "Greek". "There is no end to the names given to precious stones --I have absolutely no intention of listing them all, innumerable as they are, thanks to the *vanitas* of the Greeks" (Pliny, Rackham, 1966, book 3, 34-35). This is one of the many lines that displays not only his own choice in excluding these artifacts, but also shows a certain disapproval of Greek scholars, a strong view shared by many other Roman historians, including Livy and Cicero.

It is necessary to point out that Pliny's will to imply imperial dominion and his constant urge to put forward Roman authority affects his judgments on the presented artifacts, be it art or nature. Pliny's ethnocentric view of his own culture by defining another culture was a common approach that was adopted by many other Romans. The vagueness of definition when the "other" was concerned was "for the purpose of tarring all Greek-speaking peoples with the same brush" (Petrochilos, 1974, 21). Accordingly, Petrochilos remarks that "the concept of Greek has a certain flexibility which lends itself to the creation and exploitation of prejudices" (Petrochilos, 1974, 21). It is these prejudices that form and maintain "what is not Greek" vis-à-vis: the Roman. In other words, Roman identity was defined by a newly formed and created antithesis.

Vitruvius, a Roman architect who lived around 20AD, also had some rather interesting reflections on art and architecture. He was considered to be the most influential figure to write about architecture in his book *De Architectura*, and he was a central reference point to many of his contemporaries. As Gülsüm Baydar argues in *The Influence of Vitruvian Treatise on Pre- and Post-colonial Times*, Vitruvius presented unbreakable links between culture and architecture. One of his aims behind his *Ten Books* was to "present his discipline as the means for making the emperor's body congruent with the imagined body of the world he would rule" (Mc Ewen, 2004, 3). With his Roman background Vitruvius presented a certain bias about the Greek identity that surfaces through his ten books on architecture. As one would assume, Vitruvius had various motives when he began writing his ten books, which may have caused him to concentrate on a particular way of handling Greek identity. As his biased ways are similar to Pliny, Vitruvius was making a strong reference to Augustus's "imperial project of

world dominion” (Carey, 2003, 9-11), since the *Ten Books* were shaped at a time when the borders of the empire were reaching from Cappadocia in the east to Spain in the west.

Vitruvius’s analysis of Greek and Roman architecture is extremely categorized. Yet this cataloguing of spaces, building elements and buildings themselves remains mundane as his proposal of coherent forms of Greek, Etruscan and Roman architecture was not actually very common in reality. His Roman outlook and his predetermined aims that appear throughout the book may have affected his notions about Greek and Roman identity. His arguments on strict, consistent rules reflect his idea of Roman colonial power rather than his idea of certain types of architecture. Thus, his fixed ideology most probably coming from his own ancient resources and his liberal education shapes his analysis. As he labels certain spaces and particular features of architecture, he also gives the corresponding Greek names, hinting that the two cultures are heavily integrated. This however defies his careful segregated examination of Greek and Roman architecture. Another inaccurate attribute is Vitruvius’s categorization of Greek architecture. His analysis carries Hellenistic features, and even his will to separate Roman from Hellenistic reflects how interwoven the two cultures are especially on the architectural level. Thus, it is evident that the way in which Roman writers dealt with the Roman identity and culture was through defining the “other”. In most case the ‘other’ was referred to as the Greeks. However, a dilemma is created by the simple fact of the zeal of the authors to define and redefine the separation of Roman from Greek identity via sets of architectural or moral rules. Therefore it is rather difficult to simplify the interaction and the separation between the two as well as to define the latter.

Vitruvius's meticulous categorization of houses and their elements has been a useful reference to many eighteenth century scholars from Alberti to Robert Adams, but today's scholars are aware of its restrictive and canonizing manner: His first comments on houses starts with the introduction of "proper construction of a *cavaedium*" from different regions. He classifies the openings as Tuscan (*complivium*), Corinthian, *tetrastyle*, *displuviate*, and *testudinate*. Again his canonization continues as his topic changes to types of *atria* and as with specific measurements and proportions Vitruvius outlines the three designs.¹ After the *atria*, he continues with *tablinum*,² the *fauces*³, *peristyles*⁴, dinning rooms⁵ --*exedrea* included-- and other elements such as openings and windows.

From his remarkably acute descriptions based on symmetrical relations, a very uniform and compact plan of a house is derived (Figure 1). This plan is symmetrical and axial from the entrance (*fauces*) to the *hortus*. The proposed variations to the Roman plan type proposed by Vitruvius --called Tuscan, Corinthian, and Egyptian-- were inadvertently simplified versions of a much more complicated scheme (Figure 2). The reality in terms of

¹ "The first is laid out by dividing the length into five parts and giving three parts to the width; the second, by dividing it into three parts and assigning two parts to the width; the third, by using the width to describe a square figure with equal sides, drawing a diagonal line in this square, and giving the atrium the length of this diagonal line (...)The *alae*, to the right and left, should have a width equal to one third of the length of the atrium, when that is from thirty to forty feet long. From forty to fifty feet, divide the length by [p. 178] three and one half, and give the *alae* the result." (Lk. Vitruvius, Book VI, 3-4)

² "The *tablinum* should be given two thirds of the width of the atrium when the latter is twenty feet wide. If it is from thirty to forty feet, let half the width of the atrium be devoted to the *tablinum* (...)The height of the *tablinum* at the lintel should be one eighth more than its width. Its ceiling should exceed this height by one third of the width." (Lk. Vitruvius, Book VI, 5-6)

³ "The *fauces* in the case of smaller atriums should be two thirds, and in the case of half the width of the *tablinum*. Let the busts of ancestors with their ornaments be set up at a height corresponding to the width of the *alae*. The proportionate width and height of doors may be settled, if they are Doric, in the Doric manner, and if Ionic, in the Ionic manner, according to the rules of symmetry which have been given about portals in the fourth book. In the roof-opening let an aperture be left with a breadth of not less than one fourth nor more than one third the width of the atrium, and with a length proportionate to that of the atrium." (Lk. Vitruvius, Book VI, 5-6)

⁴ "Peristyles, lying athwart, should be one third longer than they are deep, and their columns as high as the colonnades are wide. Intercolumniations of peristyles should be not less than three nor more than four times the thickness of the columns. If the columns of the peristyle are to be made in the Doric style, take the modules which I have given in the fourth book, on the Doric order, and arrange the columns with reference to these modules and to the scheme of the triglyphs." (Lk. Vitruvius, Book VI, 5-6)

⁵ "Dining rooms ought to be twice as long as they are wide. The height of all oblong rooms should be calculated by adding together their measured length and width, taking one half of this total, and using the result for the height. But in the case of *exedrae* or square oeci, let the height be brought up to one and one half times the width. Picture galleries, like *exedrae*, should be constructed of generous dimensions." (Lk., Vitruvius, Book VI, 6-7)

house plans and architectural elements was much more diverse (Figure 3). Especially on the frontiers of the empire the architecture was a mishmash of local characteristics and newly introduced Roman features (Figure 4, 5).

Along with Vitruvius, Pliny the Elder also held an idealistic homogenous view on Roman identity. His reflections on Roman domestic architecture were along the same lines as those of Vitruvius. The garden was a crucial space for Pliny's idealized conception of a Roman identity in which work was the source of nobility and virtue. As Carey underlines Pliny's view on domestic simplicity (*simplicitas*), she also emphasizes his "rustic ideals" (*rusticitas*) when it came to defining the Roman house.

In order to acquire a full picture of the Roman way of life, not simply a sterile and pristine version, it is necessary to consider the works of Juvenal. Juvenal's "bitter and forceful verses" and his vivid portrayal of the "splendor, squalor and complexity of the Roman scene" (Green, 1974, preface to *Juvenal's Satires*) throws light on the issues concerning the habits and rituals of daily life in a metropolitan city. Juvenal applauds his friend's decision to move his house to Cumae and continues on explaining his reasons for doing so: "squalor and isolation are minor evils compared to this endless nightmare of fires and collapsing houses" (Green, *Juvenal's Satires*, 1967, 88). The raw, chaotic reality of Roman city life from the perspective of a satirist does not match the clear-cut lines of architectural representation.

Juvenal remarks on the infiltration of Greek culture: "I can not, citizens, stomach a Greek-struck Rome" (Green, *Juvenal's Satires*, 1967, 89). The Roman satirist's laments on the growing luxury of Rome and its provinces is a common view that many leading Roman citizens adopted: "Since Roman poverty perished, no visitation of crime or lust has been

spared us. Sybaris, Rhodes, Miletus, shameless Tarentum, drunk and garlanded --all come pouring in upon our seven hills. But filthy Lucre it was the first who brought these loose foreign Morals among us enervating wealth that destroyed us, over the years, through shameless self-indulgence” (Green, *Juvenal’s Satires*, 138). It is these sumptuous dinners that Juvenal opposed and criticized furiously, the tradition of which came from Asia Minor fed with its riches. Various Roman writers including Pliny, Livy and Cicero were not in favor of the rich lifestyle imported from the Asian Province and with nostalgia recalled the simpler times of the Republic. Thus in some instances Romanness was equated with virtue and humility. This was apparent in Vitruvius’s emphasis on restrictive styles of decorating the house and Pliny’s insistence on the simplistic rustic qualities of the Roman house. The virtuous Roman elite would be judged according to certain attributes: “still the first and the foremost question would command little if any respect. How many slaves does he keep? What’s his acreage? What sort of dinner-service appears on his table --how many pieces, how big?”. His reference to a righteous woman is the image of a “weaving woman” (Green, *Juvenal’s Satires* 92). On the other hand, the unrighteous woman is marked with male virtues: “if she’s so determined to prove herself eloquent, learned, she should hoist up her skirts and gird them above the knee, offer a pig to Silvanus and scrub off in the penny baths. (...) choose someone rather who doesn’t understand all she reads, I hate these authority-citers, (...). Such matters are men’s concern.” (Green, *Juvenal’s Satires*, VI, 144).

Based on these works, the ancient authors fail to depict the real image of a Roman or a Roman domestic building. The identity is rendered ambiguous since the humility and propriety for which these authors yearn does not seem to exist.

It is also essential to consider contemporary historians. At most, identity and its reflection on domestic architecture are shown by a few with the help of a comparison between

Greek and Roman characteristics. Hamilton reveals what he calls the typical Roman and argues that “life in his eyes was a very serious and a very arduous business, and he had no time for what he would have thought of as a mere decoration of it. Before money and leisure corrupted the nation, as all Romans thought they had, the natural Roman attitude toward art” was that it was frivolous and “such-like trifles were to be left to what Roman writer called ‘the hungry Greeklings’ (Hamilton, 1973, 162). On the other hand, it is evident that the Augustan period saw a shift in the Roman urban image and a burgeoning of public building schemes that were far from humble in nature. Several authors including Hamilton believe that under the accomplished public building schemes lay a shade of Greek character; yet they were “Greek seen through Romans eyes, bigger and better than Greek” (Hamilton, 1973, 162). However, this idea of greatness, mostly achieved via scale and the quantity of decorative elements, was restricted to public building schemes. The Roman qualities of an ancient city would be determined by its remarkable public architecture such as the aqueducts, baths, arenas and forums as well as the several temples or Heroons built on behalf of wealthy patrons. Consequently the available literature most commonly concentrates on public architecture. However, as underlined in the previous chapter ethnicity is best uncovered through the analysis of the private architecture since it is the intimate private realm and its elements that adopt the changes the latest.

In order to define the nature of the Roman dwelling, the difference between a Roman house and a Greek house has been analyzed several times by authors such as Graham, McKay and Hamilton who have outlined the differences between the two attitudes to domestic space: “Beauty and dignity were appropriate in the imposing temple of Jupiter, greatest and best but for daily use give him comfortable homeliness. The Greeks would have found rude homeliness uncomfortable. They had to have their very pots and pans agreeable to look at”

(Hamilton, 1973, 162). Although Hamilton's view borders on strict judgments and generalizations, the concept of Greek *luxuria* surfaced in many primary sources as the vice that a true Roman would not adopt. In most of the sources that cover architectural history of the classical period, the peristyle housing attributed as Hellenistic is itself an embodiment of this luxury in living standards and the decadence associated with it. However, how accurate are these conclusions on sumptuous Greek identity and the humble Roman character?

In contrast to the anti-decadence statements by Roman authors, sumptuousness was a common feature in Roman interiors. Was this a question of Greek taste or provincial splurge, or was it the accepted scheme? According to Ling, "the interior decoration was an essential ingredient of the Roman life-style and can hardly be considered apart from domestic architecture." At a basic level, they were there as a means of decoration and "at a more ambitious level the proprietor used decorations to transform and enhance his environment" (Robert Ling 1997, 317).

This is particularly true of the Pompeian styles of wall-painting, in which the imitation veneering of the First Style echoed the real veneers of Hellenistic palaces. The porphyry columns and exotic architecture of the Second Style also evoked the grandeur of a court, though probably transmitted through the medium of stage-painting, and the baroque extravagances of the Fourth Style may have owed something to the theatre but were probably more a form of escapism into a world of pure imagination. The perspectival forms of both styles also, of course, seemed to enlarge the physical space within a room. In some instances, by offering a glimpse of the sky above the painted architecture or by opening a window through it to a mythical world, the decoration seemed to break right through the bounds of the wall. As Ling states, "turning parts of the house into picture galleries (*pinacothecae*), for

nouveaux riches was a way to display their wealth” (Robert Ling, 1997, 315-316). Other meanings derived by several scholars including Karl Schefold who “argues from the Pompeian evidence, not only that the painters or their patrons chose subjects which were relevant to the type of the room being decorated, but also that the subjects within decoration were normally linked in a consistent program embodying deeply-felt moral or religious ideas”(Robert Ling 1997, 317).

The degree of sumptuousness of a Roman house was outlined by Vitruvius according to whom the high-class citizen needs sumptuous halls and atriums. He adds that “there must be libraries and basilicas of similar grace and as magnificent as the equivalent public structures because in such places, public deliberations as well as public trials and judgments are often performed” (Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, VI, 5). The presence of two dining rooms was also common in more elaborate households since some dinners and luncheons were preferred to be taken in private (Dupont, 1992, 98). In the opening section of Book VII of his *Quaestionum Convivialium*, Plutarch offers the following observation on the dining practice of his day: “The Romans, my friend Sossius Senecio, are fond of quoting a refined and sociable (*philanthropou*) man, who said once, after taking his meal alone, ‘I have eaten today, but not dined,’ as the ‘dinner’ always requires fellowship and friendly affections (*koinonian kai philophrosune*) for seasoning ... But the most truly godlike seasoning at the dining-table is the presence of a friend, an intimate and well-known companion — not merely because he eats and drinks with us, but because he participates in the give and take of conversation, at least if there is something profitable and reasonable in what is said ... Wherefore, it is right that just like friends, subjects of conversation should be welcomed to the dinner only if of proven quality” (Mor. 697C-E) (White, 2002, 1).

The viewpoints shown in the Roman primary sources complicate any clear-cut explanations of the Roman house. According to several theorists, the production of the Roman House was a result of a synthesis of the Hellenistic peristyle with the Italian atrium-plan type; thus the peristyle that represents Greek decadence about which most of the Roman authors including Pliny and Cicero complain is already incorporated into the identity of the Roman domus.

CHAPTER 5

A SHORT HISTORY OF EPHEBUS

The geographical features of Ephesus underscore the city's importance as the richest province of the Roman Empire. Situated in between two hills (Figure 6) and at the source of the river Caystros, it owned a lively port, the riches of which were exploited by the Roman Empire after it was incorporated into the Roman Province of Asia in 133 BC. After the last king of Pergamum, Attalus III, left his kingdom to the Romans and after the adoption of Asia Minor as a new province, the number of Romans living overseas as tax-collectors, money-lenders and slave-traders increased remarkably, and there was a visible spread of Roman urbanism (Broadman, Griffin, Murray, 1997, 34-35). The initiation of the Roman influence on Ephesus dates to around 29 BC, when Octavian resided a considerable amount of time -6 months- in Ephesus for about 6 months, turning the city into the new residence of the proconsul and renaming it the new 'capital of Asia.' From that point on, most sources agree on the formation of a ten-man commission together with the Roman consul Manius Aquilius who started controlling the province. It was during this period that Ephesus received the status of a *civitas libera et immunis* (free and immune city). Through this legal statement the establishment of a popular assembly as well as a civic council was made possible. The indigenous Greek-speaking population was named *peregrini*.⁶ The city began to flourish under Roman rule. Most archaeologists relate this rise to the well-functioning harbor of Ephesus which supplied communication and trade routes (Michael Kerschner, Sabine Ladstatter, Andreas Plüz, 2008, 16). Due to this newly appointed status, the city experienced a major growth and reconstruction within the next forty years during which the imperial cult was introduced to this newly acquired Asian city. Consequently the rule became a

⁶ "a term describing free citizens of a community under foreign civil law" (Michael Kerschner, Sabine Ladstatter, Andreas Plüz, 2008,16)

combination of the government, the traditional cult and this new imperial cult (Scherrer, 2001, 69).

After the founding of the province Roman tax collectors (*publicani*) start to exploit the region. The anti-Roman approach of Mithridates VI of Pontos Deliverer and Savior, as the Romans would title him, resulted in the incident of Vespers of Ephesus, the murder of 8,000 Romans in one night. This hate was fed by the strict legal regulation of customs and duties (75 BC) and the constant tax burden which took its toll on the locals. After this event, the city lost its freedom for decades. Serving as asylum for Caesar's assassins and Mark Anthony, the enslaved state of the city did not change until Publius Servilius Isauricus who first gave back its independence around 46-44 BC. However, the long awaited peace and prosperity did not return to the city until after the victory of Octavian with the battle of Actium in 31 BC. After this date the city reached its high position as center of Asia. During the first century BC, the material culture reflects the turbulent years of Ephesus. Almost all the material culture reflects a Greco-hellenistic traditionalism, whereas Roman traces are barely visible.

During these early years of Roman rule, although highly despised by the local population, customs duties (*portorium Asiae*) were still popular since they were by far the most profitable business (Scherrer, 2000, 21). In addition to the customs taxes, economically the province proved to be very profitable from other resources, such as the former royal mines (*metralla*), the grazing dues (*scriptura*), the tithe on all proceeds of the land (*decuma*), and the property levy (*tributum capitis*) (Scherrer, 2000, 21). Roman influence increased when tradesmen from mainland Italy started immigrating in large numbers. Once they realized the prosperity of this newly founded urban establishment, they formed civic organizations (*cives Romani que Ephesi negotiantur*). There were newly found associations such as the Italian

Tradesmen (*conventus civium Romanorum qui in Asia negotiantur*). Indeed, they did not have the need to acknowledge a Greco-Hellenistic aristocracy. Similarly, the cityscape changed due to the establishments of the new sponsors. Wealthy families funded public buildings and contributed to the urbanization of the city.⁷ Meanwhile the local population (*peregrine*) also adopted certain civic positions (such as *gymnasiarch*, and *prytaneis* and eventually most well-to-do families became Roman citizens. This newly constructed city became the capital of the Province of Asia, seizing the title previously given to Pergamum. This move also brought about the transference of the entire administration, bureaucracy and civil servant apparatus from Pergamum to Ephesus. As Scherrer underscores, “at the apex stood the governor with the rank of proconsul pro praetore of consular rank” (Scherrer, 2000, 16).

Gradually, Ephesus reached its peak in prosperity and power by the second century. Understandably there was a certain kind of rivalry among the other cities of Asia Minor and as the cities were in competition with each other they tried to surpass each other in fame and eminence. As most scholars would agree, the competition was visible from the quality and quantity of representative public architecture as well as the frequently held contests, festivals and other investments in the infrastructure of the city.

Although quite turbulent, during the first century BC, a new government under Octavian was burgeoning. The new emperor claimed to heal the problematic relations of the Roman and local populations (Scherrer, 2000, 22). Octavian’s plan of creating a Hellenistic-Roman city with architecture as manifestation Roman power and authority, fit well into the broad and flexible landscape of Ephesus. However the peak of its urbanization was reached around the second century, by which time Ephesus was the fourth-largest city in the empire.

⁷ “Caius Sextilius Pollio, his wife Ofillia Bassa and her son Ofillius Proculus for example financed the Basilica at the state agora, an aqueduct and a nymphaeum” “Even imperial freedman (...) distinguished themselves as patrons” (Scherrer, 2000, 16)

The highest position was that of *prytanis* (chairman of the *prytaneum*) where the eternal flame burned on the communal hearth of Hestia, symbolizing the life of the city. After this came the *agoranomos* (supervisor of the market and the provision of grain), and then the *grammateis* in public or local governmental *notarial* and secretarial offices. With all of these offices and positions available in the city, the public life of a Roman in Ephesus would inevitably be dynamic (Scherrer, 2000, 24-26).

Based on the inscriptions dating to the second century AD, the coastal region along Mount Panayır (Koressos) was founded as “the new quarter.” Particularly during the reigns of Domitian and Trajan this new quarter, especially the area along Plateia, was remodeled with new buildings, gates at intersections, and paving and statues. Among these new buildings and constructions were also the Terrace Houses in the Embolos, which were built around the same time. As stated above, the citizens who held public civic offices were bound in honor to the government of the city to fund public architecture, and these new endeavors altered the façade of the city rather quickly (Scherrer, 2001, 73-78).

Yet, this lucrative wealth and the enthusiasm for new buildings gradually decreased as Ephesus dealt with financial setbacks. As early as the second half of the second century, there is a clear decline in the new building activity; according to many archaeologists, during this period there was more emphasis on restorations and adaptations and renovations (Michael Kerschner, Sabine Ladstatter, Andreas Plüz, 2008, 16). Inflation and devaluation became common concepts of the Ephesian economy: coinage lost value and bartering became common. There were no wealthy citizens running for political positions due to financial burdens. This gradual collapse itself manifested from the beginning of the Antonine period during which there was an economic crisis. As a result, an imperial logistes was appointed in

order to organize the budget during the Antonine period (Scherrer, 2001, 78). This slow but inevitable decline was marked by two succeeding unfortunate events: the earthquake of 262 AD and the attacks of the Germanic Seafarers. The earthquake destroyed most of the terrace houses, the Tetragonos Agora, the Serapeion precinct (but not the temple itself) and the theater (Scherrer, 2001, 79). After the plunder by the Goths and the silting of the harbor, considered to be the lifeline of the city, another earthquake during the reign of the Emperor Gallienus not only shook the belief in Artemis but also finally ended the prosperous period of Ephesus as the capital of the Province of Asia (Michael Kerschner, Sabine Ladstätter, Andreas Plüz, 2008, 260-268).

5.2 A GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE HOUSES AT EPHEBUS

The cityscape of Ephesus was drastically transformed throughout its life. From the public edifices to the private dwellings, the overall layout of the city was altered, renovated, rebuilt, abandoned and re-inhabited several times. In most of the Roman dwellings there were also considerable changes marking the period of unrest in the third century. In Ephesus and other cities of Asia, from Xanthus to Pergamum, the houses were subjected to subdivisions, rebuilding and certain other transformations during these turbulent years. Before engaging with the domestic realm, it is essential to demonstrate the changes in the urban scale.

Ephesus was first laid out according to a Hippodamian grid plan during the Hellenistic period, with perpendicular street crossings and separate *insulae*. This plan was superimposed with the Roman grid plan and shifted and slightly adapted to include public monuments (Figure 6). After the city became Roman and reached its zenith in the Augustan period, a new building quarter was established in the extensive area in between the two

mountains. This quarter was built according to a new grid plan, which would take the Magnesian Gate to the east as its starting landmark and continue towards the lane of Domitian (Figures 6 and 7). The old grid dating to Lysimachos's rule in the third century BC, was superimposed with this new grid and extended down to Kuretes street. This new grid marked the placement of several monuments from the Sebaston-Harbor Baths to the great Olympieion. The result of the overlaying of the new Roman grid plan over the old Hellenistic plan created a diverse urban layout with both Hellenistic and Roman features. Pre-existing structures such as the Terrace Houses and the Tetragonos Agora were kept in their original position while the new monuments were adjusted to the new urban scheme. This hybridized plan of the city mirrors its cosmopolitan identity as well as the problematic relationship between the new Roman characteristics and Hellenistic traditionalism. The assimilation of the old Hellenistic urban layout and the fusion of these two schemes could be seen as both symbolic and figurative answer to the question of Romanization (Scherrer, 2000, 108).

For a micro-scale comparison one needs to look at the houses and see the manifestations of the changes on the domestic level. The luxurious houses of Ephesus were situated in relation to the old Hippodamic plan of the city. As mentioned above, they were several building phases and subjected to several changes throughout their history. Still, their position remained the same as pre-existing prominent domestic buildings during the Augustan period and kept some of their Hellenistic qualities throughout Roman rule, until they underwent a decline after the earthquake of 262.

Originally there were six residential units dispersed over three terraces, each having between 400 and 600m². These residential units were meant for the upper class Ephesians and were occupied from the 1st century until the end of the 7th century AD. The *insulae* are

presumed to have been formed from blocks of individually owned apartments, a similar concept to today's *condominium*. The whole of the complex was constructed in a short period of time in the late first century BC; however, one should not forget the numerous instances of abandonment and re-use that had taken place in between the centuries of their usage. According to evaluations carried out by the Austrian Archaeological Institute based on the evidence from several inscriptions, the major changes occurred not only due to the two destructive earthquakes of 262 AD and 369 AD but also as a result of the financial crisis in the region was during late Roman period, during which several workshops and a row of mills were installed on the rubble. The residences situated on the "south of the insula extended right up to the street whereby the building terrace was extended deep into the exposed rock to optimize the steeply rising building site (...) Some of the taverns which face Curetes street form an integral part of the built-up area" (Scherrer, 2000, 108).

Terrace House II was excavated by Herman Vetters in the years 1962-1985. The decoration of the upper five housing units were published in 1977 by Walker Michael Strocka and Werner Jobst, each with a prefix by Vetters concerning the building history. Based on the research carried out by the Austrian Archaeological Institute, the transformations of the residences can be categorized into five building phases (See Appendix).

During the archaic and classical period the setting of terrace house 2 was partly used as burial ground. In the Hellenistic period around the middle of the second century BC, the insulae of the Slope House 2 was built and incorporated into the orthogonal plan system of the city at the time. From west to east, four terraces with massive walls were fashioned on which the structures were set. The exact architectural features of the structures can not be determined, but according to the findings (numerous stoves canals and walking levels) the

spaces were used more for economical rather than representational means. It was during the first half of the first century AD, the Tiberian-Claudian period, that the outline of the six residential units and four terraces was formed. In this same period, a new section was added towards the Curetes Street that included the *tabernas*. With this scheme, the plan of the originally Hellenistic houses built according to the Hypodamus grid system was integrated into the new Roman urban grid.

As stated above, during the course of their life, the houses went through drastic changes; thus, there were several alterations to the floor plans as the property's condition changed through time. Especially between the first century and the second half of the third century there are traces of reuse and refuse due to abandonment or re-habitation of the spaces. These changes might have also followed certain decorative schemes due to a change in domestic tastes as well as "alterations in living concepts" (Zimmerman, Ladstatter, 2008, 117). Although Hellenistic in tradition, the spaces were arranged for the new purpose by using new methods.

Here, I will concentrate on one particular house in this region since the evidence from Terrace House II presents enough information for an analysis of the case of Romanization. Yet, before focusing on one of the residential units it is necessary to obtain a thorough understanding of the general interior characteristics of the Terrace Houses in general.

TERRACE HOUSE I

Terrace House I is an insula with a surface area of about 3000m² including six residential units which have been dated from the first century BC to the seventh century A.D. (Figure 4). Although the preservation level is not adequate, there is still enough evidence (elaborate furnishings and materials) that display luxury. Their luxury is even more strengthened by the fact that they are situated along a main processional road: the Curetes Street. The main axes of the residential units were also oriented towards making an oblique angle to the otherwise hippodamic city plan. The plan type can be what is considered a Hellenistic peristyle, and the entrance to both Terrace House I and II are from “the narrow stairway alleys” (Scherrer, 2000, 100). On the northwestern part of the insula, there is evidence of a peristyle house abandoned in the first half of the second century AD for a larger construction, which some sources refer to as the “meeting house” or a “banqueting house.” The extent of the luxury of this unit is apparent from the large six to ten columned peristyle and the clues from the lavish decoration of one relatively insignificant room (the watchman’s room) which was the only heated space.

The interiors, as Scherrer states, contained richly decorated fountains or wells while the walls were up to 3 m high and paneled with colorful marble; “the floors were decorated with marble cut slabs and the niches and apse-arches were adorned with glass mosaics” (Scherrer, 2000, 100). Most of the archaeologists argue for a more luxurious living at the start of the second century, whereas, after the earthquake and the economic crisis of the third century, most of the interiors were converted into shops and small businesses that were built around the same time as the tavernas and shops built along the Curetes street (Scherrer, 2000, 102).

TERRACE HOUSE II

Situated on the north slope of the Bülbüldağı, Terrace House two is covering the western end of the two excavated insulae (Figure 5). The “compact built-up area covers 4000m²” and, as the name indicates, the residences are arranged on terraces in pairs while situated on the lowest terrace are the workshops and *tabernae* that opened up to the Curates street (Scherrer, 2000, 106). The entrances of the six residences --which were partly clad with marble--, were from the narrow stepped alleyways. “The rich decoration of apartments, with wall paintings, mosaics and marble paneling, mirrors the big-style of living of the sophisticated upper levels of society in Roman imperial times” (Scherrer, 2000, 106). The north façade of the *insulae* is aligned with the Curetes Street while the south fits the orthogonal system of the Hippodamian streets, thus creating trapezoid floor plans. The housing site is flanked by the Terrace House Street on the south and Curetes Street on the north side. The two dwellings that make up Terrace House II are in typical Greek peristyle; while they have inner courts for light, they have a very few openings to the street façade. “Their original building concept is a self-contained concept with individual rooms arranged around the central, open inner court” (Scherrer, 2000, 106).

Although the plan types varied, the entrances to the six residences were from the same narrow stepped alleyway. As indicated by several archeologists of the Austrian excavation team there appears to be two key types of peristyle plans in Ephesus. The first layout has the peristyle in the center of the house, and the living spaces are arranged around this atrium. The second plan type includes an additional court to the front of the peristyle which --according to several sources-- functioned as an entrance hall (Scherrer, 2002, 108). While the spaces attached to it are presumed to have been used for management and administration, the latter

central peristyle was commonly employed as the communication center of the house and the formal reception area. The southern spaces were usually cool and shady in character since they were mostly cut out of the rock; the east and west was usually where the workspaces, kitchen or bedrooms were located, while the north belonged to the more elaborate reception rooms. Kitchens and latrines were located at the entrance and with main circulation routes connected to the rest of the house, the residential units, through alleyways and stairs.

Although this hints at a communal and frequent use of these service areas, only two kitchens were unearthed and there are no traces of built-in ovens (Zimmerman, Ladstatter, 2008, 118). The absence of ovens was explained with the presence of possible portable equipment made of metal and clay (Zimmerman, Ladstatter, 2008, 118). The upper storey having a lighter and elevated features was as luxurious as the public spaces on the ground floor, and in some cases these spaces were used as rented residences.

Having presented an overall understanding of the nature of Terrace House II, I will now narrow the focus to acknowledge each residential unit and discuss their spatial arrangements as well as the changes to which they were subjected to over time.

Residential Unit 1: The ground floor of this residential unit has been interpreted as having “an official or private ceremonial function” compared to the upper storey spaces, which is thought to have been for commercial use. The ceremonial function of the ground floor was further strengthened by the four-columned inner court that was reached by a vestibule and which was flanked by the so-called theatre-room. This space is decorated with ambrosial wall paintings of figures from the comedies of Menander, the tragedies of Euripides, as well as mythological scenes. There is a slight alteration to the ambulatory in the peristyle court with

the placement of a small structure that might have been constructed for necessary additional space during the late Roman period (Figure 5a) (Scherrer, 2000, 110).

Residential Unit 2: The undersized atrium located on the west of the *insula* was the entrance to this residence, which was also the commercial area of this residence. On the other hand, the main center of the apartment was composed of “a nine-columned Rhodian Peristyle court” that included an exedra on its south end, with a glass mosaic of Ariadne and Dionysus. “The floor mosaic of the ambulatory in front of the exedra shows a mythological maritime scene: Triton pulls a hippocamp with a Nereid” (Scherrer, 2000, 110). Considering the floor decoration and its relations to the peristyle, the adjacent space could be regarded as a triclinium (Figure 5b).

Residential Units 3 and 5: Composed of small individual spaces around a central three-sided court, these two residences, positioned diagonally to each other, were originally one unit. The walls in general are adorned with quite unique frescoes depicting “the portrayals of the nine muses as well as of Sappho and Apollo” and “famous philosophers” (Scherrer, 2000, 111) (Figure 5c and 5e).

Residential Unit 4: This residence --later to become a “commercial wing” of the residential unit six during second and third centuries-- was exposed to several changes from its construction onwards. Similar to the other residential units, this relatively modest unit had spaces arranged around a courtyard (Figure 5d).

Residential Unit 6: This unit is probably the most elaborate among all seven residents, mainly due to its area of 950 m². The evidence from the inscriptions indicates that C. Flavius

Furius Aptus who lived in the second century AD was the owner of this residence. C. Flavius Furius Aptus also held the priesthood of Dionysus, the generations before him were native Greeks until he acquired the Roman citizenship, his son held consulship during the reign of Emperor Commodus (Zimmerman, Lasdtatter, 2008, 119). According to Scherrer, “the social position and cultic responsibility of a prominent person, during the Severan Imperial period are, here, vividly demonstrated by the archaeological finds” (Scherrer, 2000, 112). The unit has an impressive two storey peristyle court which provided access to the spaces on the north and west side of the residence as well as the marble-paneled room and “through a small atrium with a groin vault to the barrel-vaulted *basilica privata* in the south-west” (Scherrer, 2000, 111). It had an extension towards the south around the second century; It is situated on the lowest northern terrace, and the entrance was from the Curetes street to the peristyle (Figure 5f).

Residential Unit 7: The residence adjoining to unit 6 is unit 7 which has a traditional plan: an inner courtyard surrounded by rooms creates “a private living area.” There were two bust sculptures with a bronze serpent in between, which were discovered in the *exedra* of this residence. The north quarter was mainly used for residential purposes while the rest was probably of commercial use (Figure 5g) (Fritz Krinzing, Ulrike Outschar, Gilbert Wiplinger, ...).

CHAPTER 6

STUDY OF RESIDENTIAL UNIT 4 IN THE LIGHT OF ROMAN AND HELLENISTIC HOUSES

Residential Unit 4 (Figure 5d) is one of the seven luxurious units that was subjected to many changes through its lifetime. It can be considered a customary Ephesian peristyle type house of standard size. The fact that it has sufficient evidence to analyze also makes it suitable for this study. Questions regarding the architecture, the form and the materials in relation to activities and rituals can be directed to this residential unit. In order to study the extent of Romanization, the residence will be analyzed under three headings; the plan, the decoration and the room function of the dwelling.

However, before studying a particular dwelling in Ephesus, it is necessary to consider Roman domestic architecture in general. The plethora of research on houses still lacks a clear definition of the Roman house, and the question remains: Can we identify common principles or features? Since this thesis aims to examine the question of Romanization of Anatolian domestic architecture, it is essential to determine these common characteristics. Analysis of the plan of spaces is the most basic and fundamental method to interpret a work of architecture.

6.1. THEORY OF HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN HOUSE PLANS

Although Pompeii appears to have a regional character and cover a relatively limited area, as Jean Paul Desceudres has underlined, in terms of its public and private buildings, its mosaics, wall-paintings, furnishings and sculptures it was mimicking Rome intimately. Evidently, one should consider the house plans of Pompeii when analyzing Roman space since they convey a certain Romanness.

The Pompeian house

Taking a Pompeian house as an example, one could identify the following elements that compose the plan. Vitruvius remarks on the true plan of the Roman house by underlining symmetry as the basic principle to its construction: “ a system of symmetries must be established on the basis of which any change can be incorporated without hesitation (Rowland, 1999, 79). This feature is relevant to the plan of the Pompeian houses. The first element is the *fauces* (or the throat) which defines the entrance of the domus (Figure 8). Most of the sources and the relevant evidence from Pompeii clearly state that the measurements of this passage way is two by six meters long (Desceudres, 2006, 59). This feature of the house marked the beginning of the axiality in the house (Figure 8) so that the visitor would have a framed view of the entire domain (Figure 9). The scene would cover the atrium following a straight line towards the tablinum and, through this semi-open space, reach as far as the two peristyles, which would be located at the rear end of the house. Accordingly, this narrow corridorlike area not only functioned as an entrance to the domain but also served as a waiting area for the *clientes* of the *patronas* (the head of the family) (Desceudres, 2006, 67).

The atrium is the second feature to be encountered in the plan of a Roman House. It is a large area roofed with wooden beams which define an rectangular opening in its center. This opening framed by girders is called *compluvium* and constitutes the main source of light for the atrium and the surrounding rooms. Another characteristic of an atrium is the shallow basin located under the *compluvium*, named *impluvium*. These two elements create a vertical axis within this scheme, which crosses the horizontal axis traveling through the house (Figure 10). The atrium usually defined by two or three-storey-high walls would have given an uplifting sensation to the visitor who came through the narrow and restricted corridor of the *fauces*. Furthermore, this high ceiling and the openness of the space hints at a public function, a formal or informal gathering area. The connecting spaces (Figure 11) around the atrium were also considered public spaces. The spaces which were defined only by three walls and opened straight up to the atrium were named *alae* (as wings of the atrium) (Figure 11). These were semi-defined spaces that pointed to a more specific function which would require more spatial definition, such as the placement of the *lararia* (points of ritual). The other adjoining rooms opened to the courtyard with a doorway. These rooms (*cubicula*) (Figure 12) carried a relatively more private function compared to the limitless definition of the atrium. The archaeologist's terminology about these rooms comes from the verb *cubo* (rest); however, as Hoyos claims, it is quite unlikely for these semi-private rooms around such a public space to be bedrooms. Instead, the function seems to be business-related; perhaps they served as small private office chambers where private matters were discussed (Desceudres, 2006, 81).

If one follows the horizontal axis marked by the *fauces* and the atrium, the next space defined by this axis is referred to as *tablinum* (Figure 13). This space forms another passage similar to the *fauces* from the atrium to the first peristyle; however, in terms of symbolic hierarchy this semi-open space is the most important room within this public section of the

house. This space, visually accessible from the entrance, gazed back at the visitors --in most cases clients-- in an aura of authority, as this particular area was for the *patronas* to receive his *clientes*. In most dwellings this section would house ancestral portraits (*imagines maiorum*) or items such as family money chests (Desceudres, 2006, 93). In some cases the conjugal bed was positioned here as a symbol of matrimonial stability. Whatever the function may be, it is evident from the positioning of this room that this area was on display.

The *Oecus* was the last space opening to the atrium area. This area usually had an opening to the first peristyle and was used as reception area. The size and the position of the room point to a sumptuous activity where the visitors were most probably entertained. In addition, the hidden entrance or rather the small portico which conceals the entrance to the space also suggests a relatively more private setting.

As one passes through the *tablinum* towards the peristyle court one enters the private section of the house; yet, one should be careful when defining areas as private and public in a Roman house. The level of seclusion was quite minimal since linear axiality brought visual accessibility to a large portion of the dwelling. The wealthiest houses in Pompeii entailed two peristyle courts. The first was usually ionic in style and also included a pond (*vivarium*) at its center, customarily with a fountain. The entire area was open and airy, which created a considerable contrast compared to the semi-closed darkness of the atrium. This sequence from dark (*fauces*) to light (peristyle) further emphasizes the axiality of the house. The *cubicula* were commonly situated in this part of the house and would be characterized by a lower ceiling and an alcove to create an informal, personal space functioning as a bedroom. One of the characteristic spaces adjoining the peristyle court was the *exedra* (Figure 14). This space was completely open to the peristyle and in display similar to the architecture of the *alea* in

the atrium. The two of the adjoining rooms which tend to have a direct connection to the courtyard are the *exedra* and the *oecus* (Figure 8). Evident from their size, their decoration and their direct link with the courtyard, these two spaces are for both presentation and display. *Oecus* and *exedra* (the apsidal *exedra*) are both spaces merging into the courtyard. Another space which would be accessed through the peristyle courtyard is the *triclinium* (Figure 15); although this room was for dining traditionally had three couches, in some cases it was deliberately placed in a more reserved way at the corner of the courtyard, with only a narrow opening to the court, imposing privacy on its users. This seclusion creates a hierarchy of public-private settings within the first peristyle courtyard, with the *exedra* being the most public of these spaces and the *triclinium* relatively the most private. Moving from the first peristyle to the second, one is forced to travel around the courtyard and the pool to rejoin the central axis. At the end of the axis there is a transitional space very similar to that of the *tablinum*, which connects the two peristyles. Located on the main axis, this intermediary space is again one of the most important areas of the house. If one considers the house plan as a model of the human body,⁸ then the location of the *tablinum* and all the transitional spaces in its path can be considered the head of the body (Figure 16).

Following the central axis, the eye meets the second peristyle court which is usually Doric in style. This part of the domus was found mostly in the wealthiest of houses. The second peristyle was commonly larger in size and more like an enclosed garden (*hortus*) than a courtyard, it was open to the weather. As Desceudres underlines, “[this] was an extravagant use of space for the enjoyment of the house, and, no doubt, was also intended to impress others” (Desceudres, 2006, 133). What one can refer to as the third region of the house is located at the far end of the domus, in other words at the end of the axis. This region

⁸ Vitruvius claimed that the plan and architectural elements of a temple should reflect human proportions and entail symmetrical features.

also housed spaces such as the cellar, the kitchen and the latrines (figure 17). With these service areas, this part can be considered to be more domestic, referring to private functions. Yet, as Desceudres claims, most of the spaces around the second courtyard also entailed representational qualities, intended to not only please the inhabitants of the house but also impress the guests (Desceudres, 2006, 133). The Roman House has an extraverted setting which allows for axial linearity and visual access.

The General Characteristics of the Roman House

It has been established that there is a dearth of concrete evidence when trying to define and compartmentalize the Roman house based on certain canonical rules. It is also not fair to disparage these earlier judgments on the linearity of the Roman house altogether. The axiality of the fauces, atrium, tablinum, hortus and their meaningful relationship to one another is apparent in certain houses in Pompeii and other settlements on the Italian peninsula. Thus one can claim the existence of these characteristic features when analyzing Roman houses. Yet, it is essential to adopt a critical approach when determining what is Roman and what is not.

Evidently, most authors concentrate on the houses of Pompeii as they are the best preserved; yet, they disregard the fact that McKay's analysis can not be accurate for the whole of Roman domestic architecture: "To be sure the houses of Pompeii and Herculaneum cannot provide us with a complete conspectus of the town houses of Rome, but we can gain from them at least some insight into the life of the capital where rooms and façades were undoubtedly more grandiose and of costlier fabric and decoration than elsewhere but where the basic design of living was closely similar to life in the provincial towns of Italy" (McKay,

1975, 38). McKay has satisfactorily answered the question of a typical Roman house by considering the more conservatively designed houses where “axiality and symmetry are the main features,” and these features are emphasized in the position of the *tablinium* in relation to the atrium-peristyle house (McKay, 1975, 34). According to the strict analysis carried out by many architectural historians, including McKay, in addition to axiality and symmetry the features of the typical Roman house entail several other spaces: *vestibulum* (also for salutation), *fauces*, doors fitted with *cardines*, *impluvium*, (the earliest *compluvium-impluvium* date to the third century), *tablinum*, *alea*, *atrium* with a number of *cubicula*, *hortus* and the space of *adron* (See Appendix). This kind of a scrutiny follows the clear-cut rules set by Vitruvius and Varro, but in the light of the new research, one questions the dependability of such primary sources since they are bound to reflect the limited view of a certain class who was also concerned with the necessity of demonstrating “true” architecture as an embodiment of the power of the state. The author underscores the “minor variations regarding the floor plans”; however, he argues that the main characteristic alignments were retained as the houses differed slightly as courtyards, *oeci* and peristyle gardens were added. The point is further expressed when he compares the Italian house’s axiality giving vistas from the *fauces* to the *hortus* and the long interior view, to the Hellenistic house, which he claims to be more “introspective” (McKay, 1975, 34).

The architectural features underlined above through the analysis of McKay’s argument could be sufficient to outline the characteristics of a Roman house. Elements such as *fauces*, *atrium*, *compluvium*, *implivium*, *tablinium*, further courtyards, *oeci* and peristyle gardens -- although the attributes might be arbitrary-- are what constitutes a Roman house. The *fauces* is arranged symmetrically along the straight longitudinal axis of the house followed by the atrium, a large lofty room with an opening to the corresponding sized basin in the floor

(*implivium*). These elements are flanked by two extensions called *alae*. Opening to the atrium there is the principal room, a rather semi-private room *tablinium* which is also aligned with the longitudinal axis of the house (Graham, 1966, 3-4). Following the axis one reaches the peristyle garden. In order to draw a distinction between what is Roman and what is “other,” many scholars including McKay have argued for the Italian axiality, which presents a “vista from the fauces to the hortus,” and therefore has more extroverted features while the Hellenistic house is more “introspective” (McKay, 1975, 34).

Although this atrium type house was standardized as early as in the third century BC in Pompeii, becoming a necessity “like the toga for the aristocratic way of life” (Graham, 1966, 4), and later taken as a measure of authenticity by scholars, variations in plan type throughout the Roman world have proved to be problematic. As explained above, the notions and cultural traits of the Roman house are the intangible features of its Roman identity. Although many would find McKay’s argument on the origin of the earliest atrium houses and the associated tombs problematic due to his enthusiasm to link it with the *iwan* style of Middle Eastern architecture, his analysis of the patterns of the Italianesque Roman houses still keeps its validity (McKay, 1975, 15).

The Hellenistic House Plan

The scholarly inclination when dealing with the Greek house is usually to identify and state its architectural feature: to determine if it is a *pastas* or a *prostas* house, to be able to make distinctions between *andron* and *gynaikon* (Figure 18). However, the available architectural evidence indicates a significantly more varied and complex domestic spatial distribution. In the Hellenistic world, not only did every colony and every *polis* have its own rules but they showed remarkable differences in their architecture. However, even though the houses showed differing features depending on region, environment and polis, they do share certain common principles which characterize them as Hellenistic.

Lea Kutbay lists eight basic categories of classical house plans: I) The courtyard house with a *pastas* and rooms on the three sides of the court. II) The courtyard house with a *pastas* and rooms on four sides of the court. III) The courtyard without a *pastas* and rooms on the three sides of the court. IV) The courtyard without a *pastas* and rooms with four sides of the court. V) The *pastas*-peristyle house. VI) The peristyle house with rooms on three sides of the court. VII) The peristyle house with rooms on four sides of the court. VIII) The *megaron* house” (Kutbay, 1998, 60)

As mentioned above, the generally accepted typology of house plans of the Greek world are called as the *Prostas* type and *pastas* type (Figure 18a,18b). The origin of *prostas* is most commonly associated with the *megaron* while the *pastas* type is linked with the evolution of the peristyle. Most of the archaeologists, including Lea Kutbay, emphasize an evolutionary scheme in defining the change in plan types from *pastas* to peristyle house. It is this plan type which is most universal in the Hellenistic world.

The *prostas* house plan generally consists of a group of four rooms located at the north side of a court without porticoes. These rooms usually entail a sense of ordered hierarchy with one predominating room named *oecos*. There is a columned porch from which is the word *prostas* is derived, and also a ante-room. The *pastas* type, on the other hand, consists of a broad portico or corridor, an open court sometimes with peristyle columns and various important rooms arranged side by side opening to the *pastas* or the court. In this layout, the central peristyle court is the largest unit of the house.

Given the available evidence one is inclined to concentrate on Priene and Olynthos as examples for the *prostas* and *pastas* plan types. As one enters the Greek or Hellenistic house, the first step into the dwelling is through a narrow entrance which would most commonly open to the street. Unlike the Roman house which commonly has two entrances, there was a tendency to isolate the inhabitants and defer the outsiders from the house with only a single street door; no other entrances were present in most of the houses (Nevett, 1995, 368). A porter might welcome the guests in some cases for security reasons; however, the plan of the Hellenistic house already indicates areas of privacy. Unlike in to the Pompeian Roman house, visitors do not experience a visual axis when they enter the house. The straight line which enables one to see most of the dwelling --from *atrium*, through *tablinum*, to the first and second peristyle-- does not exist in the Hellenistic house. Furthermore, the entrance is frequently hidden and does not open directly to the courtyard (Figure 18a and b).

Once the visitors are allowed into the dwelling, they come across a court, the entrance of which is usually hidden from the sight of the public either by the use of a screen wall or a lobby or even an angled passage (Nevett, 1995, 368). A common trait found in

houses is the courtyard located in the center or the southern part of the house which was partly defined by a colonnade called *pastas* (Nevett, 1995, 368). According to Cahill and Nevett and the archaeological finds in this area of the house *loomweights*, *alabastra*, and *kalathoi*, it not only served as an enclosed or a semi-closed space for household activities but also acted as a central space, a social area that enabled communication and interaction inside the house (Nevett, 1995, 369, Cahill (homepage), 2003, 6). Therefore the hierarchical ceremony of the Roman house is not apparent in Greek households. The domestic activities along with the thresholds of privacy begin from the court. The house is more a private unit in its totality than a semi-public setting for representation and display. This type of house with a central courtyard was also the prevailing type in most of the Greek settlements from Dura in Euphrates to Olbia in Russia. It is very similar to the plan of the houses in Olynthos; yet, in a way it is more advanced in craftsmanship and materials used. Stone-cut mosaics were used to cover most of the floor, including the court (Lawrence, 1996, 187).

In certain areas such as Priene (Figure 19), the central court does not exist. As Wycherley suggests, as a direct effect of the regular city plan the *megaron* type housing was the prevailing feature. As the guests enter the house they come across a corridor-like space and one dominating room usually situated on the north side of the house. The courtyard is directly in front of this room which was enclosed with other less significant rooms (Wycherley, 1993, 172). This most important space called *Oikos* (Figure 19) --a character of *prostas* type houses--, is architecturally dominant compared to the other rooms surrounding the courtyard (Graham, 1966, 5). This indicates a hierarchical arrangement which is circular as around a courtyard or a corridor defined by columns. Following this crescendo, the second significant space within this arrangement is the *andron* (Figure 20). Gardner, having a conventional approach, defined the *andron* as “a large room opening by doors and windows

unto the court and evidently to be identified as the *andron* or the guestroom for entertainments” (Gardner, 1901, 298). This semi-private, considered to be a heavily male gendered space by many archaeologists, was designated for guests. Although visually it seemed an extension of the court, as Hoepfner underlines, it was not “exactly a part of the household but they belonged to a second world, half private, half official” (Hoepfner, 2000, 160-161).

Westgate’s explanation underlines the hierarchical relationship of spaces within this central space (Westgate, 1997-98, 93-115). In Roman houses the accessibility is defined by visual linearity and the various thresholds along this linear path, while in Greek and Hellenistic houses, the visitor is instructed by the space and mostly by the decorations --such as the themes of the mosaics-- reflecting the path of the visitor and enhancing the separation of the public-private and male-female. The *gynaikon* along these terms is arranged to be the female space. This relatively less ornamented space would either take its place within the hierarchy of the rooms around the court, or it would be placed on the upper floor. If the house was two storeys, a steep wooden stair would lead to the upper floor or to the roof if it was flat one (Lawrence, 1996, 182). These upper floor arrangements would further enhance the centrality and secluded nature of the Greek house. She claims that later there was an increase in reception spaces, the house became a more open space, and the communication and segregation within the house changed (Westgate, 2000, 391-426).

6.2 A DISCUSSION OF THE PLAN OF RESIDENTIAL UNIT 4

After discussing the architectural elements of the Roman and the Hellenistic house, it is necessary to evaluate the layout of unit 4 in detail. The excavation reports of the Austrian Archaeology Institute have analyzed the residence by looking at the changes of the plan over its lifetime and categorized these under several building phases. For this reason, in order to identify the degree of Romanization of this residence, it is necessary to touch on these alterations and adaptations to its original layout from the Hellenistic to the Late Roman period.

The Hellenistic Phase

According to the excavation results of the Austrian Archaeological Institute, during the Hellenistic period the residence seemed to include a house pit, two post holes and two shaft wells. No other traces dating to this period have been found (Figure 21).

Building Phase I

This building phase I, dates to around the mid-first century AD during which the main plan of residential unit 4 was outlined (Figure 22). It was also during this era that the whole Terrace house II was constructed as one compact unit containing the peristyle houses. The entrance consisted of a vestibulum that led from the staircase to the peristyle. The estimated floor area of residential unit 4 is around 360 m² with seven spaces. The construction of the rectangular peristyle with the help of the southern walls, which remained intact until the earthquake of the third century, also took place at this time. These peristyle halls were lining the court while the three halls situated on the western part of the dwelling constituted the main rooms (Scherrer, 2000, 113).

Building Phase II

According to the dating techniques through ceramic typology by Sabine Ladstatter, the second building phase was presumed to be around the early second century AD (Zimmerman, Ladstatter, 2008, 117) (Figures 23a, b, c). This era was marked by the massive changes that took place in the plan due to the construction of the great basilica in residential unit 6. The ground floor was restricted and contracted due to these changes and the peristyle became a quadrant with an elaborate water fountain installed into this newly built marble peristyle court. It was precisely in this period that the peristyle halls were decorated with red-ground painting with mythological themes while the western rooms were adorned with stucco-cuboids. There was also an expansion in the architecture, and the spatial area of the upper floors was enlarged as a result of the demand for space. An interesting fact that materialized in this period was also the connection of the north porticos of residential unit 4 to residential unit 6 through two openings (Scherrer, 2000, 113).

Building Phase III

The reports for building phase III concentrate on the construction of the basilica of residential unit 6, which, as mentioned above, caused major plan reconstructions during this era in residential unit 4 (Figures 24 a, b, c, d, e). The former layout of the peristyle was altered since the basilica cut through the north-western part of the halls, preventing the galleries from surrounding the court from all sides. A pilaster court with partially closed walls was erected instead, and the formal halls were partitioned while the marble floor and the bi-apsidal fountain were incorporated into this new scheme. The courtyard was decorated with a naturalistic garden painting which according to the sources was an intentional form of representation showing the changing function of the space since during this period together with *biclinia* 14b and 14c the area was turned into a summer *triclinium*. It was around this

time that the water-spender sculptures were placed in the fountain. The triclinia were available with rooms 15 and 7, which were still connected to the marble hall through the openings. The entrance was changed; it was leading through a marble portal in the north wall to staircase 2 while the entrance to the ground floor is through the same way through vestibulum 4. Thür (Thür, 2005, 431) argues that the available graffiti confirms that the guests were entertained and received in the ground-floor garden court. In addition, the widened staircase that leads up to the first floor hints at existing concern for guests on the upper storey. Consequently Thür adds that the upper floors were also for representation. The walls of the upper floor were adorned with architectural parts made of marble and granite and received a red-ground painting with portraits of philosophers. The philosopher/muse gallery was moved to the upper storey as there was no room for a gallery on the ground floor. A festive hall over the basilica was constructed with an elaborate opus-sectile floor and an architecturally constructed marble paneling wall. A further *triclinium* in room 9 with a mosaic of high quality and a marble paneled latrine complete the picture of the upper area as an area of leisure. Another staircase led to the second storey of the unit in where there was a partial peristyle with two galleries that were enclosing it on two sides. This storey contained one main room with a mosaic floor. Here also the décor shows that this storey was reserved for guests. Another point, argued by the Austrian team is that during building phases II and III the residential unit 4 had access to residential unit 1. The first floor of unit 4 was combined with unit 1 through an opening in the southern wall and, therefore, it is assumed that the guests had access to the hall of unit 1 and the bath which was later installed there (Thür, 2005, 431).

Building Phase IV

The fourth phase defined by the Austrian Team is marked by the elaborate redecoration of the walls and the tiling of the floors of most of the rooms. There were several alterations. However, the constructional changes were limited to rooms 7 and 21 (Figures 25 a, b, c, d, e). The windows to the marble hall were closed off and the western part of the wall between rooms 21 and 7 was opened so that room 7 was connected to the courtyard through a window. Room 7 had a wall painting of muses on a white background. In the courtyard the water fountain was filled and the floor was re-laid with marble while the sculpture of Artemis was displayed in a niche in room 7. The courtyard and room 15 had wall painting of marble imitation, and room 22, which was once a service room, was redecorated in white-grounded painting depicting hunting scenes. Only the cubicula 14h and 14c remained intact. The report defines the representative rooms as being court 21 with *biclinia*, 14b and 14c, room 7 with paintings of muses, while room 14b is called a secondary room available to use for a reception. The graffiti on the painting of building phase 4 continue to contain references to banquets with blessings and commemoration of absentees. A big hearth was erected on the western side of SR9d (South Room 9 (d)). On the intermediate terrace of the first floor, which was in keeping with the changes of the first floor, the rooms for the reception of the guests predominated with festive rooms, triclinia and cubicula. During that same building phase the opening to unit 1 was closed and a fountain was constructed in front of it (Thür, 2005, 431).

In addition, in building phase IV the wall sections to the rooms 14b, 14c and 7 were closed so that the representation area was severely limited. In the reports it is stated that the lower floor contained many secondary domestic rooms in phase IV. On the other hand, most of the results indicate that in the representational qualities of the ground floor, particularly the wall paintings, there are remarks praising Rome. Aside from the courtyard, rooms 7 and 15-22

were available for the reception of guests, even though the triclinia hardly received any sunlight. The inventory of the rooms 14, 14a, 14aG and 14cG shows usage as storage and economic areas. The main floor for representation was considered to be the first floor which not only included rooms for banqueting, but also for maintenance, such as a kitchen and a large oven.

6.3. AN ANALYSIS OF THE PLAN OF RESIDENTIAL UNIT 4

Most researchers including D'Ambra define Ephesus as "a city with an illustrious Greek heritage on the western coast of Turkey" (D'Ambra, 2007, 103). In contrast, they are eager to demonstrate the "Romanness" of the site and its houses. Yet, it is necessary to analyze the key changes over time in order to understand the city's real identity and the degree of Romanization to which the houses might have been exposed.

D'Ambra compares the position of the terrace houses and their proximity to the city center --in this case the processional Curetes Street-- to the Pompeian houses. She meets the two sites on common ground stating that they not only entail a dominating view of the administrative and commercial buildings, but also would be considered as manifestations of power and luxury by the passerby; thus, similar to the Pompeian houses, "the terrace houses boasts of glittering mosaics on the floors, painted murals on the walls and some provocative furnishings" (D'Ambra, 2007, 104). Agreeing with D'Ambra, Ellis remarks that the rise of the provincial aristocrats between the first and fourth centuries led to the use of Roman forms of housing; he gives Ephesus as an example for this phenomenon (Ellis, 1994, 117).

Considering these remarks it would be easy to come to the conclusion that the Terrace Houses were Roman in character; however, one has to question whether these features give enough evidence to arrive at such a conclusion. As argued above, analyzing the identity of a dwelling exposed to cultural changes is a complicated process which may not yield a straightforward answer. Johnson's work on the houses of Western Suffolk, emphasizes the socio-cultural elements shaping the changes in a dwelling. Ultimately the house becomes a unit carrying multiple meanings and complications. Since this section is concentrated on the

changes in the layout of unit 4, it is necessary to discuss the alterations in the light of this theory.

There are several debates over the nature of the layout of the Terrace Houses. Ball, for instance, claims that this ordered “Graeco-Roman grid system of planned towns is often cited as the most pervasive feature of western domination over native Near Eastern urban forms” (Ball, 2000, 248). Similarly many of the researches support the idea that the peristyle plan, according to which the houses of Ephesus were constructed, was actually a Hellenistic tradition (Akurgal, 1962, 369) or a transmuted form of the Persian *iwan* house (Clarke, 1991,13). Hingley remarks on the villa that “dwellings typified by their extent, complexity and elaboration” --as a derivation of a Greek model, which usually had a plan with “small rooms placed around a courtyard” (Hingley, 2005,89). Exploring the conclusions drawn, it is clearly that it is an arduous task to fit the complicated nature of the Ephesus house plan into a set example. This complication underscores the importance of Tringham’s rejection of a linear evolutionary analysis of domestic architecture. The house is neither a Greek prototype of a neat layout including a *gynaikos* and *adron*, nor an axial form of *fauces*, *atrium* and *tablinum* that would form a typical Roman house, but a hybrid form which was altered over time according to needs as well as social circumstances.

The changes that have occurred during the life span of unit 4, does not clearly indicate a shift from Hellenism to Romanization, but rather a conventional approach where the layout evolves around a core plan, the traces of which have become visible in Building Phase I. Although the architectural evidence from the Hellenistic period is exceedingly limited, the grid in which the seven dwellings are set belongs to a Hellenistic Hippodamian plan of the ancient city (Figure 6, 7). In addition, the walls appearing on the south of the dwelling during

the first building phase seem to follow this scheme (Figures 21, 22). Although there is no evidence indicating the presence of a well-defined court the neat arrangement of the square and rectangular spaces refer to a large open space at the center. The houses display a strict continuity in their layout throughout the changes over centuries. Starting with the grid plan of Hippodamus, unit 4 had a dominant overall scheme which continued to the end of Roman period. This respect to the previous layout might be related to theories of *memory* above. Joyce's arguments on the collection of heirlooms or continuity of certain schemes refer to the existence and maintenance of memory in domestic space. Unit 4, similar to the rest of the Terrace Houses, has a loaded memory beginning with the Hellenistic age. Accordingly, the house has a significant cultural weight, a combination of Hellenism, Romanness and local traits which reflect on this well-preserved plan.

It is essential to take into account the differing cultural traits in the unit. The two prominent cultures which are clashing seem to be the Hellenistic and the Roman; therefore, careful examination of each culture's domestic space is required. Clarke has argued that the most prominent difference between a Roman and a Greek house is their contradicting definitions of public and private. The Greek *oikos* is considered to be introverted with several thresholds for privacy, while the Roman *domus* is a public manifestation. The axiality supports its ideology of being seen. The privacy in a Roman house is maintained through the medium of time. The plan of Residential Unit 4 seems to reflect the traits of a Greek *oikos* rather than a Roman *domus*. During Building Phase II, the introverted features of the house become more noticeable. The second storey further enhances the prominence of the court which includes a pool. If one considers the final layout (Building phase IV), it is inevitable to underscore the Hellenistic qualities of domestic space. Particularly, the special emphasis given on the northern rooms by means of size hints at the similarities of *oecus-andron*

arrangements in the classical house. The entrance is through a small opening through the south wall which leads into a *vestibulum* instead of the court. The circulation is limited as a result of the restrictive elements of the plan. Although the houses are on display as a manifestation of wealth and status on the busiest street of the province, their entrances are hidden. As mentioned in the previous discussion, this feature is common especially in Hellenistic houses for example, in Priene (Figures 18, 19). The minimum number of openings to the street can also be a statement of privacy hinting at the qualities of a Greek dwelling.

In addition to this reclusive quality, the arrangements of the spaces refer to a provincial or Greek house type with hidden functions. The haphazardness and informal layout of spaces around a peristyle is much more in keeping with this tradition. The position and proportion of the spaces 14a, 14b, 15 and 19 do not follow the axial and formal disposition of spaces apparent in a Roman house (Figure 5d). It rather emphasizes the significance of the peristyle court and the activities associated with it. The Roman way of the *fauces-tablinum* combination through the atrium does not seem to exist in the Terrace House. Furthermore, it is even arduous to locate a space which might act as *tablinum* since all the spaces around the peristyle seem to have the same proportions and characteristics. The hierarchy in this case is the missing.

Walter Graham has illustrated the ambiguity in defining what is Roman and Greek in terms of houses. He recalls the French archaeologist Thouvenot's conclusions of his excavation in Volubilis, North Africa, and compares them with another colleague's analysis. One of the archaeologists has stated that the houses in Volubilis were atrium type Roman houses while the other suggested that they were Greek, displaying an *oikos-oecus* arrangement (Graham, 1966, 5). The convoluted nature of the argument has many

ramifications. It is crucial to note that the court has always been an omnipresent feature of the Mediterranean house and therefore can not be used as an indication to determine the identity of a house. What is more, it is argued that the existence of porticoes on each of the four sides of the court so that a peristyle occurs, is a late and an elegant Hellenistic innovation (some houses in Olynthos (The House of the Comedian) prostas-oecus type, atrium type (3rd B.C.)) (Graham, 1966, 17).

As implied above, the introverted features of the Terrace Houses with their peristyle courts and narrow porticoes might not --as expected-- indicate a Roman character, but instead refer to Hellenistic traits. On the other hand, these features may also reflect a much more abstract concept. The rigid system of the layout which was followed faithfully over centuries may indicate a respect for the *memory* of space. Rosemary Joyce explains *memory in space* in her ethnographic study about Yörük dwellings. By keeping valuable objects from the past, the Yörük peoples tried to preserve memory and even a part of history in their dwellings (See Chapter 2).

CHAPTER 7

DECORATION

7.1. THEORIES OF DECORATION IN ANCIENT HOUSES

When Vitruvius describes the ideal Roman house he clearly indicates the substance of the décor or rather the “correctness” of it. According to the ancient author, the spaces *cubicula*, *triclinia*, baths and other rooms with similar functions --in other words rooms with private functions-- should be decorated as to indicate this privacy, while public spaces such as *vestibules*, *cavaedia* and peristyles should vary in size and decoration specify a public functions. The most frequent subject matters discussed when studying ancient houses are wall paintings and mosaics. Although many indepth studies were carried out on their nature, style and content, Clarke relates the origin of the wall paintings to construction techniques. As the Roman House had few openings, there was a natural need to break up continuous wall surfaces within the house. This technique which substituted window spaces quickly became a useful and a decorative tool. The wall paintings were elaborated over time, reforming and transforming according to trends, influences as well as functional purposes (Clarke, 1991, 20). In this light, the Pompeian house wall paintings and mosaics have been under inspection for several decades. The four different types of wall paintings have been considered as canons in the classical world of domestic art, which were first introduced by August Mau in his work *Geschichte der decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeii* (Desceudres, 2006, 152)⁹. At most

⁹ *First Style Painting (150-80 B.C.):* The wall was divided into three horizontal parts. The central section entailed simulations of structural elements and materials employed were usually limestone and marble (McKay, 1975, 43).

Second Style Painting (80 B.C.- 14 A.D.): In this scheme designs involved painted columns supporting elaborate entablatures while in between these structural elements, perspective schemes of mostly pastoral scenes, which seem to recede behind the physical boundary of the wall were painted (Clarke, 33).

Third Style Painting (15 B.C.- 50A.D.): This type overlaps with Second Style Painting; however there is not as much emphasis on the structural elements and the subjects employed consist of miniature Egyptianizing figures and elements. The architectural elements used are more ornamented and decorated. Pictures are displayed on separate panels and the panels have a more flat impression with usually a mono color background (yellow, red,

times they have been employed as tools to help decode the meaning of the space in which they were located.

According to Marice Rose, decorations within the house not only carry specific functions but also indicate a direct relation with the patron and his audience, consequently, this approach, accepted for the last twenty years, highlights that the interior design ought to be analyzed in the context of patron, function and audience. Rose also underscores that the architecture and the decorations of the *domus* manifested the identity and status of the Roman patron and his family (Rose, 2006, 96). What is more, this manifestation of wealth, taste and status was even more evident in Late Antiquity due to the increase in public and ceremony. This led to the availability of the patron's message to great numbers of guests (Rose, 2007, 97).

The subject-matter of the wall paintings usually covers mythological scenes, figural motifs or Greek divinity figures (Desceudres, 2006, 151). First style wall painting, usually imitating Hellenistic masonry as decoration, rarely had subject-matter; however, when it did, it employed birds and vessels painted on orthostats. The second style treated the subject of Greek temples and other classical architectural vistas, sometimes with surreal settings including floral and vegetal ornament. The third and fourth styles also had mythological scenes as subject matter and were applied with precision to detail. The fourth style would add a theatrical quality and illusionistic features to these mythological sequences. (Desceudres, 2006, 166).

green or black). The panels are separated by "horizontal and vertical members like tracery borders with small relieving panels in contrasting shades" (McKay, 1975, 150).

Fourth Style Painting (50 – 79 A.D.): This style is an elaboration of the Second Style painting, in its employment of "highly ornamental fantastic architecture" with linear perspective on mostly white, yellow and gold backgrounds. Creation of endless vistas with "illusionistic landscapes, seascapes, hybrid monsters or other figments of fancy" are the main features of a fourth style painting (McKay, 1975, 150).

Many scholars argue that, as the subjects indicates the wall paintings as well as other decorations were introduced to the Roman world after Rome's introduction to the Hellenistic world. Clarke also claims that the pre-Hellenistic Roman house was plain and simply decorated with only basic materials and "modestly and conservatively designed" (Clarke, 1991, 12). Along with the tradition of wall painting, other forms of adornment began to burgeon in the mainland. Floor coverings such as rugs and animal furs were imported from Greece and Asia Minor and as time passed the patterns from these carpets were reflected in the mosaics employed later. According to McKay, the use of mosaic and marble revetments was also adopted from Hellenistic tradition. Moreover, the archaeological evidence suggests that the extensive use of these elements in domestic context around second century was due to the wave of Philhellenism flourishing in Italy at the time (McKay, 1975, 143). What is more, McKay also indicates that even the dining couches were a later introduction by Gnaeus Manlius to the Roman household appearing after the subjugation of Hellenistic Asia around 187 BC (McKay, 1975, 138).

The Wall Paintings in the Terrace Houses

Ellis, agreeing with Rose, underlines that "the character of the spaces and the décor in a house were expected to reflect the dignity and the rank of the owner" (Ellis, 1994, 117). Thus, the wall paintings and mosaics of the Terrace Houses also need to be noted as a means of not only deciphering the functions of the spaces but also displaying a contrast Italy and the province. Unlike the four styles of the Pompeian wall painting, which date to the first century, Ephesian wall paintings date to a later time frame, the second decade of the second century, the Trajanic period. There is still a slight reference to the Pompeian wall paintings; yet, the

color schemes are much more subtle and simplified. For some scholars the reason is “genteel reticence,” while for others it is “provincial simplicity.” The application of these wall decorations --marble cladding, mosaics, wall paintings-- had a systematic and conscious application fulfilling certain functions (Zimmerman, Ladstatter, 2008, 117). According to Zimmerman and Ladstatter, the decorative schemes were used “in order to organize structurally the living and functional areas of the house and to render them accessible by means of a generally simple system of symbols or merely to decorate the spaces for pleasure of the inhabitants and visitors.” The mosaics and wall paintings had different color combinations and thematic focal points to emphasize this functionality.

A detailed analysis of the particular arrangements in material and color will reveal more in terms of space and function. In general the spaces in the whole complex of Terrace House II contained “intense marble revetment on the walls and on the sill wall, decorative fountains, figurative mosaics in polychrome techniques and wall painting of high quality” (Zimmerman, Ladstatter, 2008, 117). The analyses of the activities of these spaces are determined by their furnishings, and the presupposition that defines these spaces as “formal” is solely dependent on the richness of the decoration to the extent that they are called the representative centers of the house (Zimmerman, Ladstatter, 2008, 118). In these areas – the entrance zones and the peristyle courtyard-- there were “furnishings with sacred designation” arranged in different locations. In addition to the rooms constructed for the household cults, “small niches containing hero reliefs or reliefs of the funerary banquet” were apparent in most of the residential units. The leisure rooms were decorated with “static emblems like carpets,” while the passage ways are adorned with patterns which that the way of the traffic and lead the inhabitant or the guest from one space to the next (Zimmerman, Ladstatter, 2008, 118). The space of the *triclinium* could be emphasized in the dwelling through the deliberate

application of a design accommodating the three couches which in most studies would be referred to as “ π -shaped”. What is more, the *tesserae* inlaid on the floor of this space were of great importance even if it was a plain monochrome motif; yet, the most important spaces had a polychrome finish. The marble revetments or the painted imitations of marble later replaced figural paintings around the same time as in Rome and Ostia, around the Severan period (Zimmerman, Ladstatter, 2008, 119).

7.2. Description of Key Decorations

The wall paintings and decorations have been analyzed and cataloged by the Austrian Institute. As mentioned above, the decorations in a dwelling can give crucial clues to the functioning of the house as well as reflect the character and identity of the owner and his property. It is for this reason that this section is dedicated to the listing and description of the key decorations within Unit 4.

In Building phase I (Figure 22), which dates to the Tiberian period, the remaining wall paintings are from the south wall of room 6 and the east wall of room 23, which include the remains of white plaster, while SR 9b contain walls with white plaster marked with red and violet frames (Figure 23).

Building Phase II (Trajanic period) is marked by more elaborate paintings (Figure 26). The paintings of Socrates (Figure 27), Urania (Figure 28) and Achilles (Figure 29) around the peristyle court mark the fourth style painting. In addition, various layers of wall painting in rooms 7 (north wall and south wall), room 14a on the east and southeast walls, room 14 b/c

and c/d layer on the south wall are mainly covered with white plaster. During this period there was also a central biapsidal water fountain located in the peristyle court (Figure 26).

Building Phase III marks the high point of the decorative wall paintings in Terrace House II (Figure 30). In the peristyle court 21, the western wall was decorated with a garden painting (Figure 31a, b). In rooms 14b, 14c and 22 (second layer) the walls were covered with felder lisenen technique (field and frame), while in room 5, considered to be the “cult room,” there are traces of a snake depiction (Figure 32). Room 22 has animal depictions in felder and lisenen technique, while room 19 contained white wall painting with red framing (Figure 30). At the rise of the stairway 2R/1, there are traces of rectangular patterns (Figure 33).

Building phase IV (Figure 34) is visible in the marble imitation on the walls surrounding the peristyle court (Figure 35a, b). In Room 7, there was a series of muse paintings in felder lisenen technique. Room 22, on the other hand, had hunting scenes within felder lisenen technique on its third layer (Figure 36a, b). Another marble imitation painting was in room 15 as a second layer. In room 14d and SR 9d, in the niche there was a flower motif painting while the staircase landing had paintings of fish (Figure 34).

Other decorations are as follows: In room 23 and room 7 there is a mosaic pavement (Figure 37). The south wall of the southern room 9b ruins of white ornaments with a red and violet frame. Also, graffiti is visible in various places, including the court (21) and room 22, specifically in the garden painting. The analysis carried out by Hans Taeuber has shown that the graffiti found in the courtyard consisted of expense lists, references to payment, craftsman’s bills and notes. However, the graffiti found in room 22 manifests praises to the patron. Other floor coverings consist of a monochrome opus sectile floor on the upper floor

in room 9 (Figure 38). In Room 10 there are traces of architecturally constructed wood paneling, while the flooring consists of a polychrome opus sectile with a circular patterning (Figure 39a, b).

In addition to these immovable decorations outlined above, there are also sculptures and reliefs that adorn the interior of unit 4 (Figure 40). These artifacts have been moved and re-moved several times within the house over the years due to their changing meanings and the messages that they conveyed. A sculpture of Artemis (Figure 41a, b) and a statue of a fisherman in room 7 are examples of these works. The sculpture was placed the niche of the felder lisenen wall. There was also a fragmented sculpture found at the entrance of the dwelling, situated at the landing of the stairs. In addition to the sculptures, there are also two funerary reliefs situated in room 5, assumed to function for the house cult (Figure 42a, b). One of them is situated in the south wall *in situ*, and both scenes depict the patron and his family or associates at *cena*. There is another relief built into vestibule 4, displaying the clientele of the paterfamilias arriving while he waits reclining in the triclinium. The nymph relief belonged to the enclosure of the wall (4/19) of the shaft well (Figure 43). In addition there was also a headless sculpture found in the peristyle courtyard of the house, which was arguably placed on the side of the pool around building phase II (Figure 40).

7.3. ANALYSIS AND MEANING OF THE DECORATION

The excavation reports indicate the existence of two types of spaces that were defined by decoration. There is a common method of considering the decorations in the dwelling that proves to be practical in terms of segregating spaces as public and private. Particularly Zimmerman claims that the separation should be made between “main” and “secondary” rooms. In addition, according to the reports, the qualitative gradation of the wall paintings also enable was to define the areas as private or public settings, which coincide with the previous categorization by Zimmerman. Accordingly, the term primary spaces refers to the “public settings” (Thür, 2007, summary). Based on this argument, the results reveal that 80% of the spaces can be considered primary, or, as Thür labels them representational areas for guests.

In most of these so-called representational spaces, the styling and genre of each floor and room is slightly different from each other but equally impressive. There are intentionally chosen variations on every floor, especially the middle zone (Socrates, Urania) and upper zone (Achilles scenes). The excavation reports also inform was that there is a continuation of certain themes and styles throughout different residential units. Consequently Thür has argued that the workshops cross boundaries and continue in other apartments, such as unit 4 (space 15) and unit 6 (space 36b). This kind of a continuity might hint a common function and a common audience for that function. What is more, the presence of the two openings between the two dwellings also strengthens the possibility for common activity settings for public activities such as receiving and with guests. This type of interaction between two apartments can be defined by the theory of *structuration* (Reid, 1990, 116) (see Chapter 2) whereby the

relationship of space with another space determines the meaning and the symbolic function of the setting.

It would be an inaccurate conclusion to claim rooms with decoration --from the marble court to the muse paintings on the walls-- to be the representational areas only. Labeling of these spaces as primary means that 80% of the spaces were used for public feasts, while other activities and service areas cover 20% of the whole domestic area. This segregation seems to oversimplify the complicated nature of a domestic setting. Although this observation does not sound plausible, the dynamics of public and private space might change according to different times of the day. As a significant amount of studies on Roman houses were concentrated on Pompeii, there is a plethora of research on the segregation of spaces through rules of gender and privacy. In a typical Roman house, the separation is certainly less apparent than in a Greek *oikos*; yet, it is evident that the linear formation of spaces and thresholds present on this linear path give a sense of hierarchy emphasizing certain rules of privacy. This kind of a linear thresholding does not exist in the Terrace Houses. Thus, one has to assume a less apparent form of separation, one which was not physical or visible on the plans. The decoration of the setting might have an effect on the type of the activity which is carried out; yet, there are other factors influencing the nature of the activity in that particular space. Giddens has argued that the activities should be seen not only in space but also in time (Giddens, 1979, 64). It is possible that the segregation did not exist in space but in time.

Although the plan of the Residential Unit 4, like the other residential units in the *insula* refers to Hellenistic backgrounds, this obscure and hidden segregation of the public and the private is a Roman feature. Unlike the Hellenistic method of spatial division, the Roman prototype seem to integrate spaces physically while keeping the separation restricted to time

and activities. Consequently, at certain times the court and the rooms 7, 14b and 14c would have been available for guests who would come for morning *salutatio* and who would accompany the patron to the *agora*, after which the space would be left to the *materfamilias* and the rest of the household for daily activities. To be able to understand the impossibility of total segregation in space, one has to look at the graffiti evaluated by Taeuber around the house. According to the traces of graffiti on the walls of the peristyle court --several lists for vine, grocery and son-- the space had a multi-functional nature. Thus it is clear that the decoration and elaborate wall paintings alone are not signs to separate the public from the private.

Evidently, another way of examining the décor and the wall paintings that might yield more accurate analysis is through the lens of symbolism. The sheer amount of representational space present in the residential unit as well as the rest of the insula can possibly be an indication of provincial symbolism. Imagery was also commonly used to express a certain message, a message of “Romanness” intended for the patron and his particular guests. Again, fitting the structuring aspect of objects --in this case wall paintings and various forms of decorations--, the spaces are heavy with symbolism. This symbolism is carried and maintained by the decoration in the house. The change in society with the introduction and infiltration of Roman culture was manifested in the domestic space, which in itself is a structuring structure. As the Greek aristocrats were gaining citizenship rights, they had the wish to reaffirm this newly acquired status. The patron was eager to show his connection with Rome through imagery. Hadrill underlines the insecurity of the freed man or the *novus homo*: “the social structure drove him to affirm and legitimate his social standing by drawing on cultural language of the dominant class” (Hadrill, 1994, 14). In residential unit 4, the imagery of the lush garden, the existence of funerary reliefs in Room 5, and another --in

vestibule 4-- in a typical Roman setting and the snake defining the *lararia* all refer to a Roman heritage. The furnishings including the stools, the cabinets and the *clinea* were all suited for the taste of Romans while the architecture and décor were meant to reflect the power of the state as well as yearning for approval. As new citizens, the Ephesian elite would advertise their status along with that of the empire in order to receive recognition. This referral to Rome is visible in these decorations located in several places within the dwelling.

An example has been given by D'Ambra who mentions a certain militaristic ivory relief found in Terrace House 2, which depicts Trajan at war with his army. She has defined this scheme as triumphal imagery, which would more likely be placed on a public monument such as a triumphal arch (D'Ambra, 2007, 105). There are several conclusions one might derive from the particular placement of this relief in a domestic context. D'Ambra brings forth several explanations: the fact that as capital of the province of Asia, Ephesos had to pay homage to Roman rulers makes it possible that the battle scene could be seen as a legitimization of Roman rule, as a representation of the protection of Roman rule, which in return "suggests a degree of compliance or identification with the empire on the part of its owners" (D'Ambra, 2007, 106).

Although this militaristic relief underscores the willingness to adopt Roman features, the other depictions in the unit are not along the same lines. The disputes over the context of most of the wall paintings concentrate on the possibility that they might refer to a different past, something other than Roman. In other words, there has been an argument over the source of these representations and whether they are of Italian or Greek origins. The muses and the philosophers represented in residential unit 4 might be a reflection of Hellenistic traditions. Furthermore, there is a group of sculptures analyzed by Elizabeth Rathmayr dating

to the second century that could have been purchased in Building Phases II and III; they have remained in the building as a form of appreciation of antique works which according to several sources indicate legal regulations on the preservation of Hellenistic tradition during the Roman period. On the other hand, this might also denote a more abstract concept. This kind of an act can be compared to the domestic behavior of a more recent culture: the chaching of objects in Yörük dwellings was a way of giving and maintaining the memory of space (Joyce, 2000, 190). Keeping Hellenistic objects could be a way of referring to a distant past in order to continue the memory of the space.

As an example, the sculptures --such as the statue of Artemis which was later set up in room 7 in a niche and the statue of the fisherman-- were all originally from the late Hellenistic phase of unit 4 which was in use until the earthquake. Although it is clear that the majority of sculptures remained from the Hellenistic period, whether the motifs in the wall paintings were derived from Greek prototypes or originally arrived in Ephesus from Italian sources is another question. Given the complicated nature of the process of Romanization, the answer remains a speculation; for as underscored in Chapters 3 and 4 the cultural traits of Greece and Rome were thrown back and forth several times to create the hybrid Roman Imperial Culture (Thür, 2005, 432).

CHAPTER 8

ROOM FUNCTION

8.1 THEORIES OF ROOM FUNCTION

The common tendency of approaching the Roman house through strictly architectural features has many limitations; however, it is still necessary to establish the outline of the Roman domestic scene. Yet, this should be carried out without stripping it from its cultural and social context and without regarding it as a vacuous entity determined solely by these architectural features. As Hadrill comments, “if the exigencies of social life drove the Romans to build and decorate their houses as they did, it should follow that the remains of Roman houses are valuable documents of that social life” (Hadrill, 1999, 5). Consequently it is crucial to look into the social aspects of the Roman domestic architecture.

When it comes to analyzing houses of a certain style as mere products of culture, the evidence might be equivocal. A methodology and theory that outlines the properties of a Roman house is bound to be restricted to certain canons. Consequently, it will disregard other aspects of architectural meaning including material culture, or external aspects such as geography, vernacularism, acculturation, abandonment and reuse. A descriptive approach adopted by many archaeologists and a great number of architectural historians leads them to define the architecture in question as examples of sculptural elements carrying common features and similar stylized features. The explanatory methodologies fail to analyze the content of the buildings and seem to render them devoid of context. Exploring a Roman house by merely considering the arrangement of the walls and openings --certain features called *tablinum*, *atrium* and *hortus*-- has the danger of limiting the meanings and functions of these spaces, disregarding the essence as well as reducing their complexity; yet, inadvertently, the

buildings that do not fit into this rubric cause inconsistencies. What is more, as Allison acknowledges, “while this labeling of spaces can be a useful process for exploring the nature of past domestic behavior, it does not actually demonstrate that this label was used for this particular space in the Roman period, nor can it elucidate the activities that took place therein” (Allison, 2001, 185). The convoluted nature of Roman space, therefore, is not necessarily easy to categorize.

Thus, as the heterogeneous nature of houses has engendered a proliferation of interdisciplinary studies on domestic architecture, methodologies have begun to concentrate more on the inner meanings of these architectural constructs. Reattaching the spaces to their contexts through the analysis of material, decoration or written records has become a method to decode the meaning of the spaces in behavioral archaeology. As Penelope Allison claims, “scholars are concerned with the interaction between social settings and domestic practices as a basis for understanding more about human behavior and interrelationship in the past” (Allison, 2001, 182). However, Hadrill remarks on the invalid status of the house as “a mere repository for items of evidence,” underlining the importance of critical thought when evaluating these materials and their contexts (Hadrill, 1999, 7). However, many scholars have agreed upon the restricting nature of material typology and its way of decontextualizing the archaeological record; thus, while carrying out interpretive and analytical procedures it is necessary to avoid stylizations and typologies which might remove the house from its characteristic of being “a social unit” (Hadrill, 1999, 8).

John Clarke has touched on the importance of decoration and its context in determining the meaning of domestic architecture. His ideas were clearly laid out so as not to fall into the trap of stylizing the Roman house. His approach is heavily based on those

activities within the domestic realm that might be categorized as rituals. He emphasizes that “Roman life was filled with rituals- no less so in the private sphere of the home than in the public arena” and continues by defining ritual as having “extended meanings in the private sphere, because Romans tended to think of each space in a house in terms of ritual or activity that space housed” (Clarke, 1991, 1-2). Clarke’s outlook speculates on the heavy architectural meaning of the spaces that are determined by these habitual or ritualistic activities where there are apparent codes formed for each space that cue certain behavioral patterns. According to this argument, the house is taken as “the locus of the owner’s social, political and business activities open to both invited and the uninvited visitors” (Clarke, 1991, 2). Thus, the definition of meaning is established by the close connection between decoration, materials and function. Wallace Hadrill agrees with Clarke by giving an example of “Barbet’s synthesis on Roman mural decoration as serving a social function in differentiating space and how internal hierarchies work” (Hadrill, 1999, 8). But, he also concentrates on the hidden meanings that may not be so apparent to the modern onlooker. The rituals and activities bearing certain social connotations form and deform spaces within the house. According to Hingley, the house with its sculpted spaces is not only the locus for the symbolism of social inequality, but also its physical feature is “concerned with the creation and display of distinctions of social rank, including the complex relationships between master and mistress, slaves and servants and patron and client” (Hingley, 2000, 88). Hadrill’s arguments underscore Hingley’s theories of hidden symbolism within the house. He expresses:

“The modern visitor to Pompeii or Herculaneum on entering the house senses that he can discern the personality of the owner is experiencing something that the ancient visitor both did and was meant to experience though indeed we are impeded by the absence of many of the crucial signs (there is no ostriarius to admit us at the door) and above all by the

uncertainty as to how to read the signs that do survive, coded in a language foreign to ourselves” (Hadrill, 1999, 3).

In addition to these analyses carried out by Hadrill and Hingley, a new approach that promotes the non-static nature of the house --stated by Allison and Kent-- argues the existence of a wider concept that exceeds the house (Kent, 1990, 13) (see Chapter 2). However, it must be clarified that this approach is a general view towards domestic architecture and is not specific to any time period. As cited in Chapter 2, these interdisciplinary studies propose the presence of activity systems that lead to the formation of systems of settings. These settings are inevitably culture-specific (Rapoport, 1990). Thus, immediately the house becomes a complex unit entailing a culturally coded language. As Hadrill outlines in his quotes, this language is foreign to the modern visitor; however, the awareness of these values and the plausible analysis of the culture to which the house belongs could redefine the meaning of the house and prevent false generalizations.

The general tendency to introduce contemporary architectural concepts to ancient housing has been mentioned previously in this chapter. The inclination of labeling spaces as rooms and further enhancing this trait by attaching to them single functions is an oversimplified method of analyzing a living space. Firstly, the concept of room in itself is restrictive in many aspects; that is, it defines a space with at least three walls. Yet, an activity can take place in a setting that may not require any walls at all.

According to Kent, the way in which humans partition space is also culture-specific. The will to segregate and separate certain spaces or the desire not to do so depends on cultural traits. She also argues the existence of invisible divisions, or rather conceptual partitions

which only exist in the minds of the users. These indistinct boundaries are determined by cultural codes that can only be apparent through the use of that certain setting via behavioral codes. Her analysis clearly indicates the existence of these “conceptual and physical partitions together and alone in a single or numerous rooms. She underscores that several conceptual boundaries can be present in one single space, while a single conceptual boundary might define several spaces and would therefore be conceptually un-partitioned (Kent, 1991, 438-439). The simple segregation language used to define spaces has been refuted by Kent. The technique of separation through gender, age and or activity is not sufficient to explain the complexity of segregation systems in the built environment. A complex and intricately segmented culture is usually composed of both horizontal and vertical segmentation, a fact pointed out by Kent. It is also another fact that the complexity of a culture eventually will lead to a complexity in its built environment. Consequently, as Kent’s arguments define there is a direct relationship between the segmentation of a culture and the segmentation of its products; -- that is, architecture. In other words, the hierarchies and strata present in the culture will present themselves in the built environment. This claim not only provides a reasoning to the conceptual partitioning in domestic spaces, but also displays the undeniable link between built environment and culture. The conclusion of these analyses is therefore that the spatial partitioning dependent on several cultural norms varies cross-culturally. Those conceptual and physical partitions that define activity settings are crucial elements of domestic architecture. Accordingly, only through the examination of these elements can one decode the meaning of a domestic space.

Consequently, the definition of Roman domestic architecture is not only about spatial patterns. As the social notions of culture seep through the walls of the house, issues such as *gender, family, housework, household, rituals, habits and other housebound activities* should

be integrated into the analysis of sources and materials. Thus, the entity itself will begin to mature into a social unit reflecting the nature of society, covering a wider concept which entails certain culturally specific traits.

Rasmussen simply claims that “architecture is realized by ordinary people for ordinary people” (Rasmussen, 1959, 16). The architect expresses the vitality of the “ordinary”; consequently, one can conclude when examining the architecture that it is crucial to reflect on the rituals of everyday life. As Hales argues, “the performance of domestic rituals are a manifestation of a *familia*’s Roman identity (...) Ritualized domestic activities involved the playing out of mores, traditional customs and values, bringing such constructs of behavior to life in order to justify one’s identity as a Roman” (Hales, 2003, 3). Therefore, it can be claimed that the rituals of everyday life that determine the activity settings in the *domus* can help analyze the Roman identity of that household.

A ritual in one manner could be defined as a formal, prescribed activity, often with religious purposes or ceremonial overtones, while the latter meaning could be summarized as habitual --not religiously prescribed-- activities taking place in these spaces. These habitual activities corresponds to Bourdieu’s definition of *practice* mentioned in the theory section. According to this theory, the symbolic settings in the house are determined by these practices, or rather these activities. As Clarke emphasizes, Roman daily life was filled with these rituals or habitual activities, and these activities, although not represented and documented as often as the public and political ceremonies, rituals, were carried out in the private sphere; that is, in the *domus* (Clarke, 1991, 1). It is these rituals within the *domus* that structure the structuration of the house. Either accepted as a habitual activity or a formal prescribed act, rituals defined specific spaces in the house thus; Clarke argues that “Romans tended to think of each space in

a house in terms of ritual or activity that space housed” (Clarke, 1991, 1). Consequently, it would be rational to construe the form of the typical Roman domestic architecture in the light of these rituals and how they were carried out rather than considering merely the architectonic features of the spaces.

One can accept that the plan of the Roman house reflected the presence of these prescribed activities. As Hales argues, the Roman *domus* can be considered as the owner’s forum where he is in the constant gaze of the public; therefore, in a Roman house, “building an identity is more acute” compared to the domestic architecture of other cultures. This identity was judged in the wider context of the owner’s *familia* and the functions of his *domus* which “could not be divorced from his public roles” (Hales, 2003, 1-2). The house was a setting for both private and public life, which entailed the presence of a deeper meaning; yet, this may not be so clear to the modern observer. Many scholars, including Hadrill and Clarke correlate function with decoration, claiming that as the house became the locus of the owner’s social, political, and business activities, each space and its characteristics --the location, size and decoration-- generated codes that regulated the behavior of the people living in the house (Clarke, 1991, 2). Thus, in the light of this theory one has to re-evaluate the architecture of the *domus*.

Accordingly, the horizontal axis that travels through the *domus* underlined earlier could be interpreted as the axis of *salutatio* --the morning ritual of clientele visiting- which enables them to see the *atrium* while walking around the *alea*, while the position of the *paterfamilias* in the *tablinium* might correspond, as defined by Clarke, “to the place of the Etruscan haruspices standing in the temple with the four cardinal points under his control, reading of the omens” (Clarke, 1991, 6-7). This kind of a spatial definition can be related to

the structuration theory. The dynamic relationship between the *paterfamilias* and his space, *tablinium*, not only creates a hierarchy within the different spaces in the *atrium* but also cues in a certain kind of behavior and motion. Accordingly another space that may be analyzed by the existence of rituals was the atrium itself, housing the images of the *lares*, the *penates* and the *genius* --the *sacra privata*-- which with its form and size clearly defined the functions within. The characteristic Roman household would have images of the *lares* --*lares compitales*, *lares familiars* etc-- which might be flanked by the *genius* of the *paterfamilias*, and the images would mark weddings, coming of age ceremonies, the welfare of the familia, death rituals and the birthdays that were also considered to be a celebration of fertility (Clarke, 1991, 6-9). These forces, as mentioned by several archaeologists, were divine powers and would also include, besides the *genius* of the master, “the Juno of his wife, the *penates*, representing the power that the storeroom has to ensure survival, the Vesta representing the power over the hearth, the *Lares* who watch over the dividing line between one household and another; and many other spirits whose cooperation ensured success in household activities” (Gardner and Wiedemann, 1991, 31). As it is evident, the Roman house would contain numerous activity points in relation to these various attributed divine powers that would define various codes of behaviour.

The offerings and the rituals carried out at these *lararia* points were mostly taking place in the atrium and from time to time in the kitchen area. Thus, the functions that a modern visitor would attach to the spaces of *atrium* and kitchen were very different what these spaces really were used for. In fact, in the light of this analysis the use of the modern terms attached to the Roman house --kitchen, bedroom and storage-- should be abandoned altogether. The practices and the activities form and are formed by their settings. The complicated nature of these *practices* and the relationship between existent structures --

objects, space and people-- create complex domestic structures which can not be labeled with modern categorical concepts.

According to the activity patterns, the *atrium* in addition to being as well as being a center of traditional family worship, was also, as Clarke points out, “a place to revive business and political clients”(Clarke, 1991, 12). The task of preparing yarn, which was seen from Gardner’s perspective as “the greatest single task that had to be performed in any Roman household,” (Gardner, 1991, 72) was carried out in the *atrium*. However, it is important that his comment should not subordinate the importance or the functionality of the other spaces within the house since the ritualistic nature of the activities took place in several different activity settings within the *domus*.

However, these activity settings are ignored for the most part and certain features are searched for within the spaces for *true* analysis. As stated above, there is a strong presence of an adopted structured perspective when the analysis reaches the private domain. In the context of domestic architecture, preconceived notions about a Roman or Greek house seem to further complicate the issue since due to the lack of information or the absence of easily decoded symbolism one inevitably strives to follow the clear-cut typologies stated by literary sources.

Consequently most of the studies follow particular key terms and concepts while analyzing the spaces. Furthermore, in the light of these terms and concepts --the most common being gender, privacy and age-- they make certain distinctions and conclusions. Wallace Hadrill tries to avoid this trap by explaining the “two axes of differentiation” in the *domus* that were not as significant as thought to be. He argues that the gender segregation,

which was of great importance to the Greeks, was not a factor in the planning of the *domus* of Romans. Hadrill insists that the separation is “virtually undetectable.” Unlike the Greek gynaicon, there was no apparent distinction between the sexes inside the Roman household. As indicated in many ancient sources including Nepos (praefatio) and in Cicero (Verr. 2.66) Romans held a different attitude towards gender. The statement *matrona versatur in medio* reveals this integrated way of life in which the women of the house would roam around the house attending to different responsibilities: she “moves about in the middle of the male life in terms of both physical space and social occasion” (Hadrill, 1999, 8). The second aspect that Hadrill discusses is that of age. Although his assumption of age segregation is derived from the understanding of a western house, his argument is still relevant for the Roman house since in most instances the activity settings of the children are overlooked in the analysis of the *domus*; for the simple fact that one does not question the spatial segregation of today’s western homes. The preconceived notions in investigations of houses are derived from these unconscious assumptions. Yet, one has to consider the Roman house as a center for numerous activities, one of which is the *materfamilias* giving instructions to her slaves and be weaving in the *atrium*, where also the *paterfamilias* would be welcoming guests, and where quite probably their child would be playing with a *trochus* or his baby sister would try walking with a *yupala*. The traces of separation seem to begin with social rank, to the extent that the restrictions due to certain etiquette would be followed not only within the house but also within spaces of the house (see chapter 5). Consequently, it is clear that in order to have a thorough understanding of the Roman house are needed to realize the relationship between the rituals of everyday life and their settings, since it is apparent that the latter is shaped by the former.

While defining the Roman house form inside out, it is also necessary to observe the relation of the house as a whole entity within Roman society. As the investigation of most of the ancient sources reveal, the Greek authors celebrated cities, while the Roman authors commemorated their villas. This observation might lead to the assumption that the perception of the *domus* was the continuation of the city. The *domus* was rather positioned within the urban setting as a manifestation of state and individual power or as a display of private property; in other words, its physical presence sustained its social presence and mirrored the status of its *paterfamilias*. Since the *domus* for the Romans was an embodiment of the owner, evidently the positioning of the house at the city center meant the placement of the owner in center of the civic life, as expected from a Roman aristocrat. Social presence in this light was of great importance, since to be counted as a “present” citizen in the consensus was the indication of an *ingenuus* social status. Vitruvius expresses his views on the *common man* and his lack of need for the public areas in his house. With this claim he underscores the point expressed above on the display of a certain position.

However, as Gardner and Wiedemann argue the Romans, in spite of the picture painted by the primary sources of Varro and Vitruvius did not have a “uniform or self-consistent ideal of the model household and there were differences between different geographical regions” (Gardner and Wiedemann, 1991, xiv-xv). On the one hand, the activities and rituals are key factors in determining the settings. On the other hand as Hadrill underscores, there is not a single monolithic Roman world, “but one differentiated through time across region across social divide,” therefore these rituals --although mostly consistent in the Roman World-- are not always uniform, and accordingly the settings associated with them are also various (Hadrill, 1999, 15). The concept of Romanness, or as some scholars might name it *Italica consuetude*, is an attribute that carries several layers of meaning. It does not

merely constitute certain architectural features, but covers the entirety of Roman cultural traits which can surface in daily life as rituals, habits and behavior patterns. There are also limitations to this assumption since this concept of *Italica consuetudo* is partly the result of the cultural unification achieved by the reign of Augustus. Hadrill expresses this point by arguing that it is this kind of Romanness “which only becomes more marked in the following century as Italian towns reproduce an authentic stamp of Roman character and in their turn provide the model for Romanization in the provinces” (Hadrill, 1999, 15). Thus, in the light of this phenomena, one should consider the arguments concerning the inexistence of the “coherent Roman material package” (Hingley, 2000, 44).

8.2. ROMAN IDENTITY AND HOUSEHOLD RITUALS

Consequently, while analyzing the interiors of the domestic spaces one should change approach to create a more lucid image of Roman identity; what were the occurrences of everyday life? The theory of *practice* by Bourdieu claims that the practices and their repetition determine the symbolic settings within the house. In other words, as mentioned above, the structure the house is shaped by these structuring elements activities. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze the habits and rituals of Romans in the mainland to understand how these traits or behaviors affected the *domus* or --from another perspective-- how the house and its spaces affected these rituals.

The rituals of daily life of a Roman constructed an intricate web of behavioral patterns and activities which defined the spaces within the house; yet, the spaces of a typical Roman house seems to be labeled too readily under certain activities; with which today's reader is familiar, such as dining, sleeping and cooking. As underlined above, the spaces to which these modern activities are attributed, are also in danger of overly simplifying the architecture. It is a two-way restriction. However, by concentrating on the everyday life of individuals, it is possible to re-introduce and re-surface a more accurate pattern of activities set in these architectural settings. This dissertation aims to highlight the meaning of the architecture which could be conveyed through these particular patterns of activities.

Starting with the initiation of a Roman to the world, birth was a ritual in itself. After the actual birth which in a private chamber inaccessible to men, the acceptance of the child was seen as a vital ceremony that welcomed the new born into the family and the protection and rule of the *paterfamilias*. In most cases, the child was not received by the father but rather

raised (*tollere*) from the ground where the nurse placed him or her after the initiation. The rest of the household also played a significant part in the ceremony as the baby would have his/her first bath with the help of slaves. Breastfeeding was also done by a slave woman. He/she would also be raised by a slave (usually a *nutritor*, *tropheus*) and eat, play and live with slaves, while the ritualistic dinner (the symposium) would always be eaten with the parents (Veyne, 2002, 23-24). These specific codes not only shaped the behavioral patterns of a child from infancy to adolescence, but also determine the architectural setting and its elements within the *domus*.

Similarly, the daily activities of adults that one might think ritualistic yet were in nature habitual were common in the Roman household. The habitual activity of taking care of the household fire is loaded with a ritualistic purpose. The idea of a hearth watched over by the women of the house was clearly a reference to Rome, which possessed its public hearth watched over by Vestals. Thus the deeper meaning might propose that the house was considered a single social unit. Ideally it was assumed to be a representative or a miniature model of the Roman city.

Since the habitual activities were mostly dependent on beliefs and associated deities, it is crucial to touch on the importance of house cults. The deities that were respected under the roof of the *paterfamilias* were the *lares* (garden *lares*, crossroads *lares* and house *lares*), *genius* and *penates*. Most of the time, the house *penates* would be represented in certain places in the *domus*. Mural paintings, portable altres, niches, projecting shelves or even more prominent structures of a small temples situated in *aediculas* were ways of characterizing the family deities, and the rituals carried out around these spaces constituted a significant portion of household activities. The rituals of banking up the fire and rekindling it in the morning or

extinguishing it completely when the *paterfamilias* left the house for the last time, the daily prayers and libations in front of the altar are all examples of these habitual activities (Dupont, 1992, 91). Naturally these activities would also establish boundaries and define certain architectural features and their orientation in the *atrium*. The *implivium* located in the *atrium* (the rain-hole) would also be utilized as the opening for the sacrificial smoke that would go straight up to the heavens (Dupont, 1992, 96).

The repetitive daily activities would start in the morning and continue throughout the day, taking several shapes and involving different people. In the morning the *paterfamilias* would order the slaves and distribute their tasks for the day. This act would sometimes take place in the *tablinum*. Occasionally, the labor distribution was carried out by the *materfamilias* or by another slave in which case the procedure required trust on both parties (see Cicero).¹⁰ The woman of the house was expected to go around the house checking different activity settings for maintenance. The hub of activities was conceivable in every household. Nevertheless, the question of privacy was never an issue in Roman “private life” since the *familia* --the slaves and the household-- would be present at all times at every corner of the *domus* (Veyne, 2002, 88). The freedmen who came to pay homage to their patron (the morning *salutatio*) might come into contact with the master’s son playing in the *atrium* or the slaves who were attending their daily housework in the same area.

The activities were numerous while the settings were quite restricted. Still, there were apparent rules and codes of conduct, or as Johnson (See Chapter 2) has underscored invisible enclosures when it came to settings. For instance, the behavior of the freedman when entering the house and their arguments with clientele over dinner parties while reclining on the *clenia*,

¹⁰ the sister-in law of Cicero was furious since the job of organizing the lunch was not given to her

the serving of different quality foods and drinks to the different clienteles from various backgrounds, their seating arrangements were an implicit “grammar of etiquette.” Mathew Roller in his article “The Dining Posture in the Roman World” highlights this “grammar of etiquette” by outlining the boundaries created by the posture and position of the body during the activity of dining. His example of the comic playwright from Suetonius’s fragmentary *De Poetis*, is a clear representation of the presence of these rules. “As a young poet on the verge of producing his first play (the *Adria*, staged 166 B.C.), Terence was instructed by the aediles to submit the work to the venerable playwright Caecilius Statius for approval. He duly called upon the great poet, by chance arriving at his house while he was dining. Terence was admitted but was made to sit on a bench ‘because he was poorly clothed’ while Caecilius himself reclined on a couch. But upon reading the opening verses, Terence so impressed his host that he was invited to recline on a couch” (Roller, 2006, 1). As Roller advocates the importance of reclining in social integration and segregation, he also expresses the particular nature of the posture in separating the *otium* from *negotium*, business from pleasure (Roller, 2006, 20-23). Thus, even though in spatial terms there was no visible hierarchy present in the domestic realm, behavioral patterns would determined traits such as status, privacy or gender. The invisible rules and regulations of a Roman domestic space were regulating an intricate network of slaves, guests, clienteles, the *paterfamilias* and *materfamilias*. The wives of the governors of provinces had official duties which might entail accompanying their husbands to the rituals of *salutatio* --the official visits or missions-- or they “served as hostesses at the state receptions and dinners” (D’Ambra, 2007, 133-34). As most researchers believe the introduction of women as guests to the *triclinium* was an Etruscan tradition, and even though the Greek customs allowed women, they were mostly the specially hired *hetairai* and never respectable married women; later Roman traditions mildly adapted the Etruscan way by allowing women to sit while the husband inclined (D’Ambra, 2007, 57).

In typical Roman houses the *atrium*-semi –the covered courtyard-- carried a symbolic meaning in addition to its functional purpose. According to Dupond, it was “a site of transition like a court in front of the house” where the *paterfamilias* would receive his guests, and it was in this part of the house that “the social standing of the head of the household was immediately apparent” and where he thus would display his wealth (Dupont, 1992, 93). *Atrium* and *tablinum* together acted as a theatre stage when the guests, associates and political friends arrived. The space decorated with heirlooms and the *complivium* which symbolized economic stability emphasized the image of a self-sufficient *domus*. This quality would sometimes be elevated further when the conjugal bed was placed in the *tablinum* as a symbol of the *paterfamilias* (Dupont, 1992, 95). Yet, as mentioned above, these two spaces --*tablinum* and *atrium*-- loaded with emblematic connotations were also settings for quite regular activities: the *tablinum* served as an office, meeting room and library, while *atrium*, a place for weaving, cleaning and playing.

In Pompeii these activities traditionally would be carried out in the most private section of the house, which was mostly situated around the *hortus*. This section was ideally reserved for the women, children and slaves. This relatively private part of the house was protected by the *penates*. In general there were not many chests or wardrobes in the *domus*, so the small-scale spaces around the *hortus* were in some cases used as general storage areas. In a similar house type, the back of the *domus* would also include a small-scale kitchen and storage. This type of segregatio, although visible in the plans of the house, seems to not have been as strict as the ancient authors mention.

The preceding paragraphs mention the concept of privacy and define spaces based on this concept. Nevertheless, one should not consider the concept of privacy in today's terms. Roman lifestyle would not and could not entail the same degree of privacy. As a Roman had a communal life, the household itself was extremely populated. For instance, while the *materfamilia* was sleeping, her slaves, chambermaids were sleeping by her side. In another setting, the slaves would be waiting at attention or sleeping at the door-step of the room in which a couple would be staying. Consequently the slaves were expected to sleep in every corner of the house (Veyne, 2002, 88). In addition to the regular slaves around the house, there is evidence that Romans enjoyed the company of an *alumnus*, *threptus* whom they would spoil and look after (*delicae*, *delicatus*). This slave boy or girl would accompany them at the ritual dinners and in some cases even receive a liberal education. Additional parties to the household or the family sometimes *minyons*,¹¹ while in some families, a *Choyé* was considered as a play-thing or a child of the family which would participate in several activities (Veyne, 2002, 97). What is more, besides the slaves, the adults, the children and the *minyons*, there were also pets from birds to rabbits which would take part in the daily activities.

After describing the general aspects of the domus and the traffic of its inhabitants, it is necessary to concentrate on women's life and behavior in the *domus* since as Roman they were associated with the domestic space more than men. Female rituals of adornment, for instance, are good examples of the habitual and ritualistic activities that were solely connected to women. In the morning, the activity might entail being dressed by attendants and the styling of the hair (D'Ambra, 2007, 5-7). Evidence of hair pins and related objects refer to this activity, while other materials give more of a clue as to its extent. Asia Minor --or the Provinces, as Juvenal would call them-- was where the attested luxury and indulgence

¹¹ A *minyon* might also be present in the household yet they would leave the moment they reached adulthood when their beards would show signs of sweating. A minyon having a first hair cut was also a ritual in itself.

occurred and it is safe to assume that in the domestic spaces in the rich province of Asia “the archaeological record with its perfume jars and cosmetic containers suggest that many women carefully crafted their looks” (D’Ambra, 2007, 7). One can not be certain about where and how these acts of beautification took place in the domestic realm, but materials such as mirrors, chatelaines, hair pins, make-up and even face cream have been recovered (D’Ambra, 2007, 117). This evidence is adequate to display the elaborateness of this activity and the importance of spatial requirements inside the *domus*.

Other activities carried out by women can in general be referred to as housework. Housework for women mainly meant weaving and working with wool which usually equaled to the characteristics of “industry, thrift and chastity” in a woman. Simple words such as *lamam fecit* carved on a woman’s tombstone indicate an amalgamation of all these virtues (D’Ambra, 2007, 60). (In Pompeii most of materials such as the weaving baskets, loom-weights, distaffs, spindles were found in atria). Looms were put up in this airy space where there was daylight; yet, the spinners could draw the threads anywhere in the house while engaging in other tasks such as minding the children; thus, textile production required a comparatively flexible workspace. It is important to point out that this functional activity also carried symbolic connotations similar to the activities mentioned above. Since weaving was of great importance in a woman’s life, wool was in most cases considered an emblematic feature of the house, usually wound on the doorways of the house that would receive the new bride.

Other household activities included the weaving of cloth, curing olives, making cheese and wine, while the making and the processing of the foodstuffs was carried out by the matrons the accounts of which were kept on wax tablets. Consequently the matrons took great pains to manage proceedings and events and order food. The kitchen or wherever the food

was prepared, was usually located next to the baths, close to the *atriums* or the service quarters of the houses and was considered to be “the engines of the house” (D’Ambra, 2007, 100). Among these domestic activities, women would engage in music, yet this engagement was mostly suitable for elite women. Young girls would play with dolls or live animals and have their own specific coming of age rituals in which they would abandon childhood by giving away these dolls to the family *larares*.

An activity that required the participation of both sexes was the wedding ceremony. Similar to birth, it was of ritualistic value, although it did not carry any religious connotations. It followed a very strict habitual ceremony which, according to several sources, might have altered during the late Republic and Empire. The bride to be wove a special tunic (*tunic reta*) which was tied around her waist at the day of the wedding with a belt of pure ewe’s wool and fastened with a special knot. Even her hair would be bound with a characteristic “six-plaited locks by woolen fillets” which would then be covered with a veil. The uncovering of the veil, the sacrifice and eating a special grain cake would all constitute this ritual as the couple prepared for the wedding feast (D’Ambra, 2007, 73-74). In addition there was the ceremonial procession of the bride carrying the distaff and the spindles from her father’s *domus* to her husband’s (*deductio in domum mariti*). The adornment of the door posts with wool and fat and the receiving of fire and water from the husband marked the few routine habits carried out (D’Ambra, 2007, 76).

D’Ambra stresses the diversity of the activities and how these activities manifested themselves in the spaces of the *domus*: “The Roman house sheltered different activities from work to play in rooms that could change their purpose according to the time of day or the needs of the occasion” (D’Ambra, 2007, 95). Accordingly, flexible floor plans would allow

draperies to be hung and furniture to be moved around for convenience. The furniture also would suit this flexible scheme. It was mostly mobile and would follow the master and mistress around the *domus* as they would engage in various activities occupying numerous spaces. The *materfamilias* could be situated in a room near the *atrium* where she kept her records, accounts and organized her staff for the morning *salutatio* and “did her correspondence” (D’Ambra, 2007, 96), while the *paterfamilias* received his clientele in the *atrium*. It is for this reason that it is difficult to identify the settings of these activities or, as D’Ambra argues, workspaces (D’Ambra, 2007, 100).

While it is difficult to try to create a template for Roman identity in the domestic realm, it is necessary to determine the distinct features of a Roman household. The rituals and habits discussed above can be considered as sign posts while trying to distinguish the identity of a domestic building. However, it is also necessary to accept the complex and ever evolving image of Roman identity. This image fed the complicated nature of the house and its intricate relations within. The numerous activities and their diverse behavioral coding reflect the usages of the spaces in the *domus*. The *domus* houses a variety of settings for all these activities which were determined by both visible and invisible boundaries.

8.4. THE FUNCTION OF SPACES

The flexible use of space allowed a limited amount of accessories in terms of furniture, and this reflects itself in the room inventories. The objects found in rooms 14 and 14cG were: luxurios dinner service sets kept in racks in rooms and several amphorae. In several other rooms, the finds were as follows: ritual vessels, wooden frame furniture and especially located in cubicae were wooden mobilier for resting, chests, couches and few pieces of marble and bronze. The functions of the *atrium* and the *peristyle* garden is associated with the peristyle court in the houses in Ephesus.

According to the excavation reports, spaces were numbered and functions assigned according to the contents of each room. The spaces were also categorized as representative, service and circulation areas. In accordance with this classification, the ground floor has been divided into eighteen spaces. The representative rooms consist of room 21 as court and room 7 and room 15 as *triclinii*, while room 22 has been named the ante room to be the *triclinium*. The adjoining rooms were outlined as rooms 14b, 14d, 14c, and room 6 as *cella* or *cubiculum*, while room 5 is assumed to have been used for cult activities. The circulation and entrance areas are outlined as spaces 2, 4 and 19. Space 2 is the outer *vestibulum* while room 4 was the inner *vestibulum*. The spaces housing economic household activities or service areas are as follows: room 14 is considered to be a *cella* and rooms 14aG and 14dG storage rooms (*cella penaria*) due to the way they are cut into the ground. Room 14cG is also considered to be a *cella*, while room 4a is identified as a *latrina*. As it is clear from the plan, spaces marked as 2-2.1 are the stairs. In relation to this kind of a functional distribution the percentage of the representative spaces --that is the public areas with a high quality of decoration-- is 43,86 %. Alternatively, the service areas only compose 18,30 % of the total spaces of the household.

The first floor, has a similar layout starting with the large opening in the center, the continuation of the *peristyle* of the ground floor. The representative rooms are the two *triclinii* (rooms 10 and 9) and the smaller but equally decorated rooms of 23.1 and 15.1 which have been considered *cubiculii*. The last of the opulent rooms on this floor is the *nymphaeum* (SR9b).

Spaces 4.1, 5.1, 6.1 and 14.1 are referred to as adjoining rooms which have the function of a *cella*. SR 5D, on the other hand, though similarly named, has a special purpose, being the *cella* of a doorman. The spaces for the service areas as proposed by the Austrian team are: SR9d as *culina*, SR9a as *latrina* and SR 9c as *cella penaria*. Alternatively, the remaining spaces are entrance ways and spaces for circulation such as the two outer *vestibulum*, 14.1 as the inner *vestibulum* and finally the stairs numbered 1. With this outline, the spaces were separated into 79.63% of representational space, 11.57 % of storage, 3.05% circulation and 5.59% of service economical areas.

The arrangement on the top floor –the second floor- was also similar with the continuation of the *peristyle*. The *triclinium* on the top floor is identified as room 9.2, while the spaces 15.2 and 23.2, considering their size and square shape, were determined to be *cubicula*. In addition, the same architecture of the *nymphaeum* is continuing on this floor (SR9b.2). The service areas are also located above one another on the top floor. Spaces SR9a is considered to be the *latrina*, while SR9c 2 and SR9d 2 are *culina penaria*. The circulation areas are again labeled as 2.2 as outer *vestibulum* and 14.2 S as inner *vestibulum*. Although the surface of this floor is relatively smaller, the percentages of representational area versus economic areas have the same proportion as in the rest of the house.

8.5. ANALYSIS OF THE FUNCTION OF SPACES

In the case of residential unit 4, the careful examination of the Austrian Archaeology team has revealed interesting findings, although the function of the space were not easily defined. The similarity of the shape of spaces and their positioning did not reveal enough information and seem to follow single functions; rather, they were spaces with multi-functional activities. Even though the complicated nature of the house is acknowledged, several conclusions were drawn in the end. According to the archaeologists, the elaborate nature of the spaces and the decoration has revealed that large parts of them were reserved for public use and arranged for the receiving clients. In Building Phase II, according to the findings, the upper and lower storey peristyle area display several epigrams on hospitality, which hint at the spaces largely being used to receive guests --“a highly frequented area for representation and reception of guests” (Thür, 2007, Summary). The graffiti on the garden painting of phase III which praises the host, shows its use as a banqueting room. These examples reflect the mono-functional use of space by a male high-class clientele. Even some of the wall paintings and reliefs supported this male authority, such as the military relief of Trajan which according to Rose was a way of undermining female domestic responsibilities. However, this male dominated environment seems to remain on the surface, while the multiple activities around the *domus* were carried out by females, slaves and the rest of the household using several different spaces. Although certain spaces provide direct clues about their function (such as the pottery inventory of spaces 14, 14a, 14aG, 14cG, showing that these areas were used for economic and storage purposes), it is clear that most of the service activities were not restricted to a few small spaces. According to Hans Taeuber, the graffiti in the courtyard refer to the multi-functional purpose of the space (Taeuber, 2002, 120). It includes shopping expense lists, references to payments, craftsmen’s bills and notes (Thür, 2007, Summary).

According to these clues, room 21 has been considered to be the area where the landlord met and dealt with his servants. A graffito about a wine delivery from Samos and Aminean wine has been discovered, which correlates with the depot of amphorae found (Thür, 2007, Summary).

Above, the possible function of the spaces have been described in general based on simple clues from the plan; however, a more detailed analysis is required where functions of the spaces are evaluated through their position in the apartment, the décor and the inventory. Based on the observations of the archaeologists, the ground floor seemed to have had all the functions of a classical house, except for the *peristyle* court and the large *triclinium*. The living spaces defined as *cubicula* and *cellae* --mentioned as secondary rooms-- covered about one fifth of the whole floor space, while the kitchen and the storage spaces took up a remarkable 18% of the floor space. Thür further claims that room 5 seems to have been used for the house cult, and further monuments were found in rooms 4 and 19. Although there is a general tendency to claim the existence of single cult rooms for ritualistic activities, it does not yield an accurate analysis. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the activities within a Roman house are complicated in nature and have a number of settings. Objects of household cults, reliefs and statues on the *thymiateria* situated in the entrance or the reception areas and the presence of a tripartite type with a central bowl for incense and with lamps connected at the sides (Zimmerman, Ladstatter, 2008, 119) are all examples of the wide varieties of ritualistic activities carried out in the reception areas and the entrance. The relationship between these objects and the surrounding space create meaning and codes for certain behaviors. Yet this relationship is also reflexive in a way in that it works both ways. With this analysis, the areas which are marked as entrance and circulation areas in fact have multiple

functions. They are not only structured to serve for trafficking but also serve for rituals specified for the *lararia* points.

The reports reveal that the middle floor not only possessed representative rooms which cover 80% of the whole floor area but also a kitchen identified by the large hearth. The household activity areas take up 6% of the floor space. The latrine was remarkably luxurious, and the living and sleeping rooms (*cubicula, cellae*) took up 10% of the floor space. The upper floor also existed as a functional unit with cooking area and latrine. 58% of this floor consists of representative rooms while no sleeping or living spaces have been identified in this floor (Thür, 2007, Summary). This kind of a percentage estimate discloses the distribution of the functions while it is restrictive in many other aspects. Even though the household activity spaces seem to take up a small percentage of the floor area, they were not necessarily restricted to a certain space in the house. Although the material finds would indicate otherwise, the daily activities of the household took place in every available space. The boundaries for the household activities would be defined not by spaces, but by carefully obeyed time periods. During the visits of the clientele the activity areas would be limited to these marked areas such as the kitchen. However, the absence of the *paterfamilias* or his clientele would mean the dispersal of the activities around the whole residence. In deed, it is fair to state that the flexibility would be compromised when dealing with cooking activities due to the need for a stable hearth. Yet, it is necessary to conclude that certain activities would have specific partitioned spaces while others --weaving, cleaning, organizing-- would not require a physical boundary but a conceptual one (Kent, 1991, 438-439).

Looking at architecturally defined boundaries rather than conceptual ones, it is necessary to ask another question: were the three floors used together or separately? The

floors include elements of separated units such as separate lockable entrances, separate latrines and water supply and rooms for every function that was essential for a Roman household of higher status. Thür has suggested that the rooms could have been more flexible in function and adapted to various functions with the help of the moveable furniture, which again suggests a Roman feature. Although she gives an example from Vitruvius --book VI, 4.1-- suggesting that the use of the spaces could be seasonal, this has not been proven yet. The evidence proves the capability of the house to act both as three residences and as one whole unit; therefore, the house reveals numerous activity settings where there is an employment of complex functions and behavioral patterns. Although the evidence suggest a single owner of the whole unit, the floors might have been rented out as single units; however, be it a single unit or three separate living areas, this extremely intricate system or systems were joined together by an open court.

Thür defines the court as the source of intensive communication, the center of activity, the source of illumination, noise, communication, an olfactory transmission. It is evident that the court was a setting for exchanging views and outlooks, and certain activities were intentionally staged around this space. Its qualities of gender and status were never fixed during the day since the nature of the activities shifted over time. The ritualistic activities were also carried out here since there is an evidence of *lararia* points with the presence of a snake and two busts of the *mater* and *paterfamilias* in the court. Close to the court area, a closet stood in the south east corner of space 9, containing dishes and several stem lamps. These multi-armed lamps were multi-functional and could also be used as ritual vessels, cult objects, as protectors of the house. As Zimmerman has outlined, the objects of household cults remaining in the court, were also of great number; he compares them to “a miniature shrine” --rather than a mere point of *larares*-- with the central pillar in the form of an altar and

with the busts of Dionysos or Serapis, which entails more elaborate ritualistic manners. As it is evident that, in addition to these ritualistic characteristics of the court, there was also a functional nature attached to it, since, the shopping lists and international economic contracts were found scratched on the walls indicating the economic activity. The presence of various activities and the court as the hub of everyday life certainly fits Roman identity, while the over-emphasized importance of the various house cults can be identified as a trace of a local culture, since differentiated household gods were in most part adopted in Roman provinces. Although the wall paintings and the representative sculptures had a purpose in embodying the power of the empire and the identity of the Romans, the daily rituals and habits were more related to the local hybrid culture.

Thür has further underscored the uniformity and precision of the outline of unit 4 by describing the lack of a kitchen on the ground floor also on the second floor; also, the location of the storage rooms on the upper floors creates a perfect dwelling if it was used as one joint unit. She defines it as “the perfect functional unit” (Thür, 2007, Summary), emphasizing the typical self-sufficient Roman dwelling. The distribution of room function for the joint model is the following: On the first floor the landlord owned a large dining and festive room of about 50 m². On the other floors at least one smaller dining area --with 16m² *triclinium*- and at least one well equipped *cubiculum* existed. According to the findings, the landlord owned several different spaces in various sizes to fit every occasion, status and number of guests on every floor. According to Thür the multiplication of well-decorated rooms on every floor, the highly equipped courtyard and its galleries on upper floors takes place on every floor, which may give further reference to their seasonal use; however, as activities other than banqueting or receiving clientele would require several different settings, the multiple rooms would also be used for the *materfamilias* and her staff. Even though the variety of the courtyards and room

units --including the representative rooms on the ground floor-- display an element of representation, one should not deny that the domestic space would have been occupied by a number of servants, staff and children. Therefore, defining the well-decorated areas as solely representative may not be accurate. Especially during certain times of the day when the *paterfamilias* would have been in the forum dealing with political matters, the *materfamilias* would have been at the *domus* organizing her staff.

Even though Thür's arguments fully support the Romanness of the Ephesian house she also argues that residential unit 4 defies certain Roman features. Most of the research results claim that the upper floor of most Roman houses are reserved for secondary rooms of a private nature and for servants; however, residential unit 4 seems to work as a comprehensive social unit where at times it would work as three separate dwellings while at certain periods it would function as a singular living space with multiple activity settings exchanging and interacting through the vertical (the court) and horizontal (the peristyle and openings) elements of communication. The furniture was mostly mobile would followed the master and mistress around the *domus* as they engaged in various activities occupying numerous spaces. A child might be playing with a *trochus* or learning to walk with a *yupala* around the court while the *materfamilias* would spin and weave in the same area. As mentioned in the previous chapter, "in the confines of the domus, the social orders mixed" (D'Ambra, 2007, 62). Increasing subdivision as a result of the imperial household system was first introduced by the Romans, which again supports Thür's idea on the Romanness of the dwelling.

Multiple adaptations of the spaces of the Terrace House II at Ephesus have created a hybrid form of architecture conveying both Roman and Hellenistic features. The Hellenistic architecture is in itself perplexing and has obscure features. Wycherley has argued that it is

not easily defined and it is not only hard to explain the features of a Hellenistic House, but it is also difficult to separate the local variations from the original characteristics (Wycheley, 1993, 157-158). Consequently, some theorists argue that it is the hybridized form and these local variations that determine the texture of Hellenistic domestic architecture. As opposed to the relatively more standardized and linear Roman domestic architecture, Hellenistic dwellings refrain from following an axial and symmetrical plan type. Reflecting this, the areas situated around the house for both private and social activities are numerous and variable in size and form. The plan is introverted and the accessibility to the passerby is restricted, which indicates Greek origins while the way of sumptuous living and praising the *paterfamilias* as well as the empire has traces of a yearning for a Roman identity. The formation of a dining area off the main *peristyle* as well as the creation of a cultic facility dedicated to Dionysus with associated dining/social space (White, 2002, 3) indicate a hybrid form of architecture which might hint at a more Hellenistic approach to space, while positioning the dining area in a way that it is visible and accessible from the court is a typical Roman feature.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION: EPHEBUS AND ROMANIZATION OF DOMESTIC SPACE

It is apparent that the definition of architecture has evolved through the ages as has the explanation of domestic architecture. Steen Eiler Rasmussen (1898-1990), a renowned Danish architect and town planner has explored the concept of cognition through the experience of architecture and tried to elucidate the meaning of architecture. His argument outlines architecture as an act of human intuition, which has at its foundation the relationship and the experiences of a human and his/her environment as well as the inanimate objects surrounding him/her (Rasmussen, 1959, 16). According to him, experience is the tool for cognition. As an example of experiencing architecture, Rasmussen portrays a group of children playing a certain type of football at the steps of the church of St. Maria Maggiore in Rome. He compares this act of experience with the behavior of the tourists following tour groups who remain solely as onlookers and observe the church as a separate entity that they can cross off their list. He argues that the children experiencing the architecture are far more knowledgeable and aware of the elements of the church than the tourists (Rasmussen, 1959, 16-17). The static view of the tourists who consciously or unconsciously isolate the building as a piece of cultural artifact and a structural vacuous entity leads them to overlook the architectural meaning.

A similar technique of isolation has been applied to the study of domestic architecture by many architectural historians for whom the domestic buildings are empty shells devoid of materials and following certain canonical sequences in their arrangement of spaces. The analysis of an onlooker compared to the innate understanding of an inhabitant or a user who is

experiencing the architecture is indeed superficial. It is perhaps easier to perceive historical architecture when its products are compartmentalized into certain styles or movements.

In contrast, Westfall has outlined not building *types* but building *examples* (Westfall and Pelt, 1993, 139). Her criticism of typologies surfaces in *Architectural Principles in the Age of Historicism*. As she explores the history of typological thought, her examples for the evolution of the term start from the use of typology by Vitruvius --the term *genus* referring to any kind of building-- to its employment in the Modern Era (Westfall and Pelt, 1993, 138-167). Westfall remarks that “each building is unique, embodying within it the circumstances of time, the place and the materials in which it was built” and further concludes that this unique condition “makes it conventional, circumstantial, contingent, dependent, individual specific and transient” (Westfall and Pelt, 1993, 139). As she confirms, architecture is inextricably linked to the circumstances under which it is born. These circumstances create respective layers of meaning. In the domestic realm these layers are even more abundant and dependent on a complex web of factors. Fitting a piece of domestic architecture to a typological category, which only considers certain features or a certain plan-type can only be possible if one strips the architecture in question from all its layers of meaning. In broadest terms the building can be shaped by the social norms and the environmental factors that surround it, while on the more minute scale could be molded by the individual tastes and preferences of its owners.

Thus considering architecture as a mere cultural artifact entails certain problems, and the organic nature of domestic architecture often does not fit into these general styles or typologies. When exploring the architecture of the Roman house it is hard not to fall into a Hegelian tradition of linear evolution. Most conventional architectural historians (such as

McKay) who adopt such a tradition would argue for certain Italianistic features in the typical Roman house. In *Houses, Villas and Palaces in the Roman World*, his pragmatic approach to the topic follows a progressive path that begins with an Etruscan background.

Romanization:

The debated concept of Romanization was touched on in Chapter 3 in the light of ethnicity studies. The term is interlinked with certain aspects of a society, such as the economy, politics and the perception and expression of the ethnic identity which remain co-dependent (Jones, 1997, 91). As argued in the previous chapters, the concept is somewhat problematic since it defines a limited one-way interaction. The spread of Roman culture has been accepted as an invasive phenomenon where the “indigenous people” adopted Roman ways by means of acculturation. This oversimplified idea should be abandoned. The interaction and interface of Roman culture with other identities or cultures was the factor that formed the hybrid entity that today is considered Classical Roman Culture. It is a unification of all these entities; thus it is also challenging to analyze the traits and the extent of the influence of Roman culture on another culture. Many researchers have carried out investigations on the Romanization of provinces such as Britain, which are considered to be more apt to adopt an intruding culture. However, it is necessary to outline the different circumstances that surround the city of Ephesus in the context of Romanization.

The Asian Province was already a fusion of different identities for centuries. Before the Roman invasion of Asia Minor, there was at the time the presence of a strong Hellenistic culture. Studies of local variation and the “evolving focus upon the centralizing idea of the Roman culture” have created a range of arguments. “Did the empire become generally Romanized or was Roman identity merely an imperial façade that obscures far more complex

provincial and local situations?” (Hingley, 2000, 90). A paradox is created when one evaluates the Roman features and the Greek peculiarities of Asia Minor and Ephesus. The lifestyle could be considered essentially Greek, while the architecture and its display and consumption was Roman. Roman aspects may include the participation in civic life signaled by the ostentatious display of wealth.

When Romanization is the subject, many researchers are hesitant to touch on the domestic realm, rather they prefer to concentrate on the more apparent changes in the public sphere, as the prevailing clues and traits are much more visible due to their large scale. Much literature is burgeoning on the influence of Roman identity on the urbanization of the city. Whites advocates the “integral process of change,” rather than an isolated layering as he explains the different periods of Ephesus. Instead of distinct cultural phases of so-called Hellenization, Romanization and Christianization of Ephesus, the alterations were much more internalized, and there was an “organic process of urban development.” Therefore, Romanization --though not an accurate concept-- could be defined as a network of phases in this “evolving cultural ecosystem” (Whites, 1995, 29-30).

Some historians have argued that the analysis is much more relevant in the private sphere, which reflected the lines of a continuing tradition. According to Akurgal, during the Roman Imperial period, the province of Asia still managed to maintain its tradition in building (Akurgal, 1989, 220-221) and therefore was destined to preserve its Greekness in architecture: he supports his claim by providing examples from certain Roman sites. Certain architectural forms and elements such as the amphitheatre, the triumphal arch or vertical emphasis on the façades were not very frequent in Anatolia. While employing vernacular architectural forms, they adopted certain “Roman techniques and engineering methods” which were apparent

particularly in the public buildings (Akurgal, 1989, 220). Asia Minor was a melting pot of various cultures and traditions, and although in several Romanized cities such as Ephesus and Pergamon, Aphrodisias, Tralles and Hierapolis in Caria, Cyzicus and Nicaea in Bithynia it remained remarkably true to its Hellenistic antecedent within this conservative framework of ideas, there was also room for experiment. In other words, as Boethius has argued the cities of Asia Minor were themselves laboratories for a living Hellenistic tradition (Boethius, Perkins, 1970, 391 Western Coasts).

Ephesus was the capital of the province of Asia and the main port of the whole of southwestern Anatolia. The Hellenistic tradition of the grid plan was apparent in certain areas. As Boethius has underscored, the “center of the town beside the harbour had been laid out on orderly lines by Lysimachus soon after 300 BC.” However, he continues by stating that this phenomenon does not continue in every part of the city and stops around “the steep hillsides overlooking the center defied orderly planning” (Boethius, Perkins, 1970, 391 Western Coasts). Perkins calls the architectural evidence elusive, subjected to many changes, and defying orderly classifications.

Boethius states: “When one turns to the individual monuments one is made aware from the outset of the influence of two architectural currents that were in detail very different. (...) The history of architecture in western Asia Minor during the first three centuries of our era, is very largely the history of the development and the mutual assimilation of these two traditions” (Boethius, 1970, 392).

The Hellenistic traditions in Ephesus, like in many cities in Asia Minor, can be traced in public buildings such as the baths, the Celsus library and the auditorium. The Romanization of these buildings with the aid of certain elements have been apparent, for instance, in the

auditorium with its rectilinear *scaena* (Boethius, 1970, 395-396). Other traditional building elements could still infiltrate from the Middle East¹².

Accordingly, White underlines these traits of Romanization in the public sphere, adding that the urban development of the eastern provinces was very prominent compared to the slightly less urbanized west. White also claims that “when discussing Romanization then one deals primarily with a phenomenon of urbanizing among a population that already had diverse social contacts. It was a process that relied upon a previous layer of acculturation, especially Hellenization” (White, 2004, 31). While White is analyzing the actual meaning of Romanization he questions the very existence of the word and points out that it differs according to region. Furthermore, he questions the real meaning of the context by defining the traditional picture of Romanization as derivative of “the eastern and previously the Hellenized part of the empire and it is a phenomenon of internal social change through urbanization rather than merely cultural overlay” (White, 2004, 33).

The spread of Roman culture and its invasiveness has been investigated many times, yet Simon P. Ellis manages to bring a new light onto the subject. By raising certain questions about its extent and how it is reflected in domestic architecture, Ellis aims to acknowledge the problems of analysis when it comes to “provincial housing.” The unparalleled features of provincial houses when compared to Italian Roman houses and the incompatibility of the literary sources --such as Vitruvius-- with the reality brings into question the relevance of these literary references (Ellis, 1994, 118). According to Ellis “provincial housing did not adopt the Italian or the Pompeian tradition of a reception suite composed of atrium and *tablinum*”; therefore, trying to attribute functions to the spaces based on these canons is in

¹²Syrian arcuated lintel as the colonnaded street

most cases misleading. However, it is clear that one is inclined to look for marks of ethnicity or cultural traits and therefore unlikely to stay objective when analyzing a provincial Roman domestic space.

The classical Roman culture that is defined by many of today's historians is a concoction of a number of different traits implemented from various cultures. As mentioned above, the invasive nature of the Romans created a hybrid culture. Due to this convolution it is rather difficult to assess Roman identity. This problem is also magnified when analyzing the process of Romanization. When this process takes place in Ephesus, it is even more complicated since there was already a history of a combination of different cultures in the area. There has been an interaction of this local but diversified culture with the newly introduced Roman culture, and this interface created a suitable atmosphere for experimental architecture which carries both Hellenistic and Roman features. Still, one needs to understand the degree of this transformation. Is this a simple cultural overlay, an architectural veneer which manifests itself only in the public schemes? To understand the extent of this hybridization or this change it is necessary to look into the domestic realm. However when investigating the traces it is necessary not to restrict to them to canonic relations.

As Tringham states, there has been a proliferation of studies that “clash between the macroscale --evolutionary trends-- and the microscale --importance of the individual histories and social actions-- standpoint” (Tringham, 1991, 94). In this thesis the tendency is to lean towards the latter; yet it is vital to not be limited by binary opposites: studying the local --as “the pure, natural or original source of identity”-- and the global --as the debased identity-- evidently pose a biased view; yet, one can overcome these issues by considering the complex intermixture of local and global features (Hingley, 2000, 41). There seems to be a gap in the

theoretical work of the anthropologists and the practical methodologies of the archaeologists. This is understandable since there is a distinct lack of materials and only limited primary sources. However, one should not deny the simplicity of the theory of Romanization. As Hingley attests, it mostly focuses “attention on the elite of the empire, conceiving of identity and social change in terms that are both too crude and too concrete” (Hingley, 2000, 14). In addition as underlined earlier, the identity of Rome is also a hybrid entity in itself. What historians call Roman today was the interaction and proliferation of multiple Mediterranean cultures forming this new phenomenon. According to Hingley, villas spread around in the peripheries of the empire were later considered to be the “building block of Roman social relations,” and several features of these villas such as mosaics or stone colonnades are also believed to have originated from Greek domestic architecture (Hingley, 2000, 88) and to have been imported to Roman culture, to be named Roman. It is these features that shape the “Roman” house in later times.

The examination of the different phases of residential unit 4 has been represented above. These phases have been divided via the study of wall paintings, mosaics, materials and most importantly architectural elements. To be able to have a precise separation between the phases, there is an inclination to simplify the plan of the unit and its spaces according to certain attributes. Thus the spaces are neatly titled as reception rooms (14b, 14c, 7), kitchens, storage areas, service rooms (22) and dining rooms --*triclinium*, *biclinium*--. This kind of labeling by the archaeologists is based on the preconceived concepts of contemporary architecture. Categorizing the living spaces in a residence is a modern-day approach. Today spaces and activities are becoming more and more specific. Specialization is the method of the contemporary world, as particular spaces and areas are created for precise functions and actions. As mentioned above, chapters the interaction and activities inside a Roman House

were quite diverse in comparison with the contemporary living spaces of today. Not only the nature of the activities but also the activity settings were dissimilar to today's domestic lifestyle; therefore classifying these spaces as "rooms" --as an activity setting does not necessarily have to be defined by four walls-- and stamping single functions on these spaces will lead to inaccurate observations. However, one should not deny that there is a limited amount of information one can gather from an antique house through archaeological investigation; thus these categories which most archaeologists follow without a doubt help in clarifying certain functions. Subsequently in the light of these conclusions and claims one should reconsider the meaning of architecture, the use of space within residential unit 4 and whether it reflects Roman identity.

As it is visible from the example of residential unit 4, the local variations of domestic architecture identify the distinct culture, and yet the ability to change the circulation and the decoration of these buildings shows the adoption and incorporation of "new concepts and new ways to project social relations at local levels" (Hingley, 2000, 90). In this context, residential unit 4 is a good example in displaying this hybridization and incorporation. The architectural features have been changed over time, but the core peristyle court layout has been maintained with its introverted features as well as the ritualistic activities that are associated with the Hellenistic past; Nevertheless the activity settings have been incorporated into every space of the house. Proving the theories of structuration, the activities and the related elements --space, object and people-- had effected how the spaces are constructed. These activities created symbolic settings which define the identity of the house to be a hybrid formation. The willingness to display the attributes to the *paterfamilias* and the empire is also a technique of adopting Roman concepts while the keeping of objects and sculptures from Hellenistic period states a reference to the past culture or, as Joyce has underscored, a memory of space.

Johnson's argument on the effects of socio-cultural change on domestic architecture of Western Suffolk Houses is also of assistance when analyzing this case of Romanization since due to the change in socio-cultural level, home-owners adopted new ways to create new and different meanings in their already present domestic spaces.

However, is this a natural process of Romanization or rather a willingness to be Roman which does not factor into the deeper meaning of the domestic culture? Hales has suggested that provincial cities such as Antioch, Ephesus and Vasio have had their shares of acculturation and that the locals invariably carried the elements of Roman culture into their domestic sphere (Hales, 2003, 169). Yet, the fact that the homeowners were in a conscious endeavor to display Roman decoration and "engage in flights of fantasy in their decoration or attempt to manipulate accessibility and sightlines in their design -- just as their Pompeian counterparts did" is not a sufficient clue to suggest a process of genuine Romanization (O'Sullivan, 2004, Review) . The display of wealth and Roman heirlooms might indicate an increasing social pressure on the provincial elites of Ephesus by the elites in mainland Italy. The eagerness to be of the public eye and to please the social sphere are also factors in the changing of the decoration of a domestic space. Above all, it is necessary to state that Romanization could not completely conquer the domestic level since, as mentioned above, neither the materials nor the architecture is evidence enough to assume the whole adoption of one culture especially if that culture is in hybrid form and has been fed by other identities throughout the centuries.

APPENDIX

Building phase I: The first construction revealed six different residential units that were all equal in size. According to wall traces, the original Hellenistic walls were in general peristyle (see figure 5). During the building phase I the brick as a wall material was rarely used while stone ashlar or broken stones with mortar were of common use.

Building Phase II:

In this building phase, the two residential units 4 and 6 were changed slightly (See Figure 8). The wall in between these two residences was extended and a marble hall was created within unit 6 which previously had a medium-sized court. The materials employed in this phase seem to be stone and brick in the similar technique of the Celsus library (31 x 31 x 5 cm).

Building phase III:

During this construction phase the residential unit 6 became more ostentatious compared to the other residential units and added an outsized basilica to its spaces. The installation of this new element with an overpowering arch has led to certain compulsory changes not only in residential unit 4 but also in 5 and 3. This major expansion in unit 6 is remarkable since it reflects the social position of the owner and how his status manifested itself on the architectural elements that compose his domus. Indeed, due to these additions the peristyle court of residential unit 4 had to be converted into a relatively smaller pillared court. Although the transformations in this residence and the neighboring ones were drastic and seem to have created some ambiguous spatial arrangements, the residences still managed to remain relatively luxurious. This point can be supported by the delicate garden wall painting of unit 4 after its peristyle had been changed into a small court. As for the material analysis of this period, the bricks of the format (28- 29x 28- 29x 3,5 cm) were beginning to be used more frequently in building and rebuilding (See figure 8).

Building Phase IV:

The earthquake that marks this construction phase completely altered the plan of the residential unit 1 whereby the western spaces of this unit were beginning to be used by residential unit 2. These spaces used as food storage was decorated with a theatre theme when they were incorporated to unit 2 and acquired a new function. Meanwhile this new addition caused a rearrangement in the plan and introduced a new entrance to this domus. In residence 4 there are also other transformations to the original plan. The previously available space of the court with the garden painting has been divided up into smaller spaces for utility purposes. During this particular phase many of the residences had upper floors while the residential units 4 and 6 had two upper floors. (See figure 8)

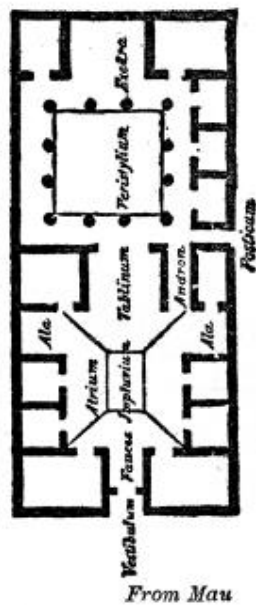
Destruction phase:

The last phase was determined by the earthquake of the 3rd century A.D. which shook the Terrace Houses and caused considerable damage. On the other hand the destruction and the abandonment of the houses were final when the second earthquake hit the Terrace Houses soon after the first one and the structures were still being reconstructed and renovated. There was also a fire layer according to the recent findings, which took place immediately after the second disaster, after which the residential units remained unoccupied, slowly went to ruin and were filled with rubble.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1

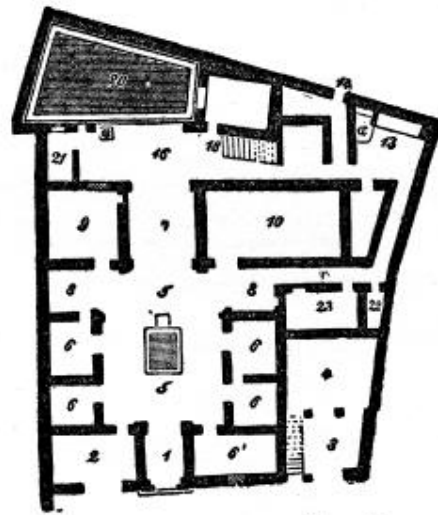
Typical Plan of Roman House Described by Vitruvius: Illustration by Hicky Morgan



PLAN OF A TYPI-
CAL ROMAN
HOUSE

Figure 2

Comparison of Tuscan Atrium with Corinthian Atrium: Illustration by Hicky Morgan

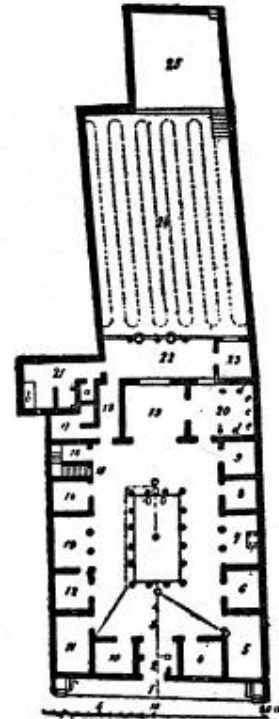


From Mau

**THE HOUSE OF THE SURGEON,
POMPEII**

Illustrating the Tuscan Atrium

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Fauces | 13. Kitchen, <i>a</i> , hearth |
| 2, 3. Shops | 14. Rear Entrance |
| 4. Storage | 16. Portico |
| 5. Atrium | 18. Stairs to rooms |
| 6. Chambers | over the rear of |
| 7. Tablinum | the house |
| 8. Alae | 20. Garden |
| 9, 10. Dining Rooms | |



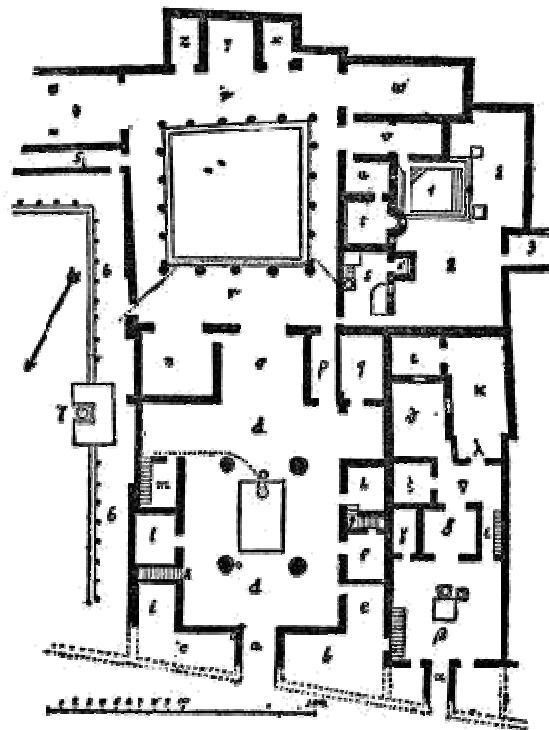
From Mau

**HOUSE OF EPIDIUS RUFUS
AT POMPEII**

Illustrating Corinthian Atrium

Figure 3

Plan of the House of the Silver Wedding



From Mau

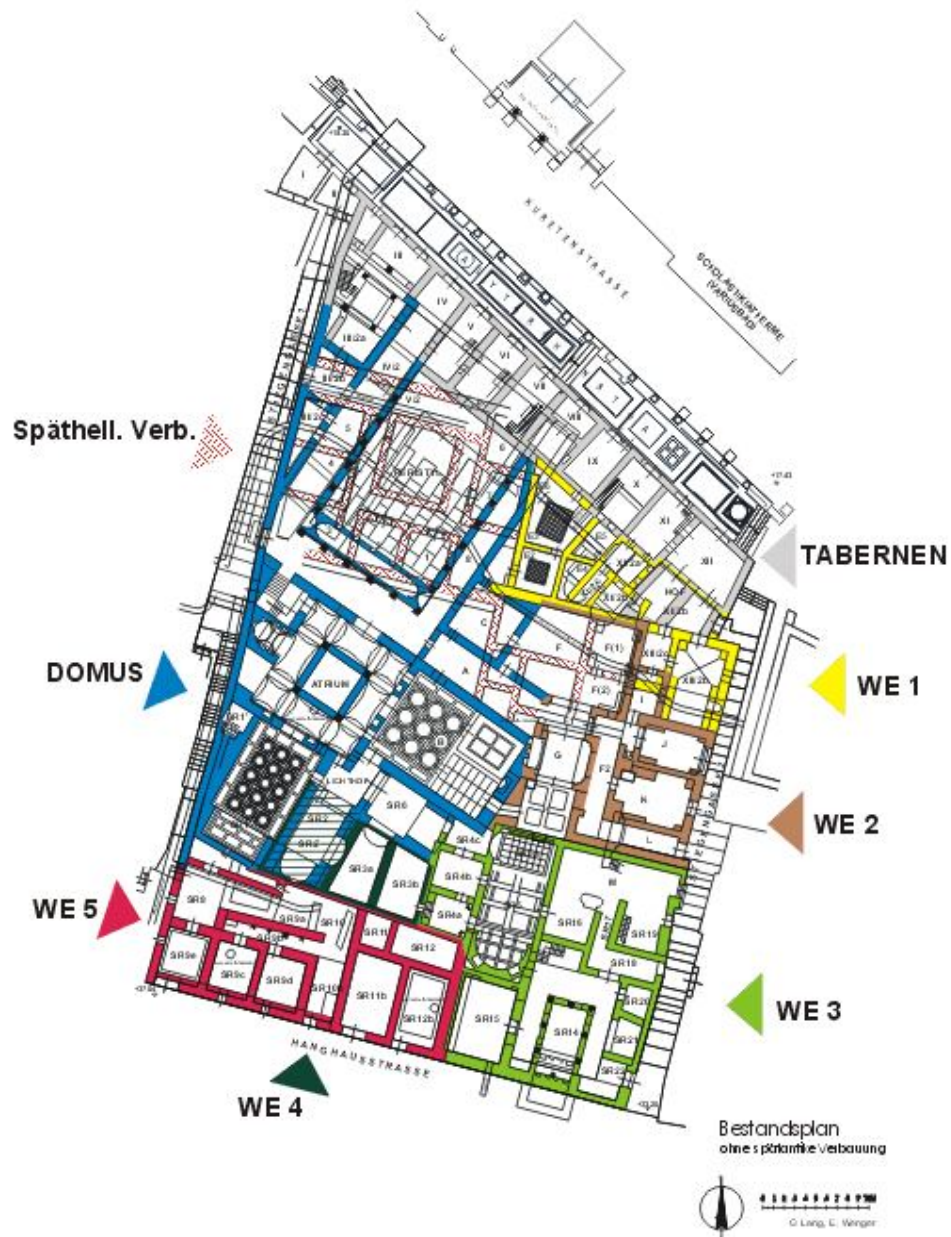
HOUSE OF THE SILVER WEDDING
AT POMPEII

Illustrating the Tetrastyle Atrium

- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>a.</i> fauces | <i>p.</i> audron |
| <i>d.</i> tetrastyle atrium | <i>r.</i> peristyle |
| <i>n.</i> dining room | <i>w.</i> summer dining room |
| <i>o.</i> tablinum | |

Figure 4:

The Terrace House I in Ephesus



Residential Unit 1

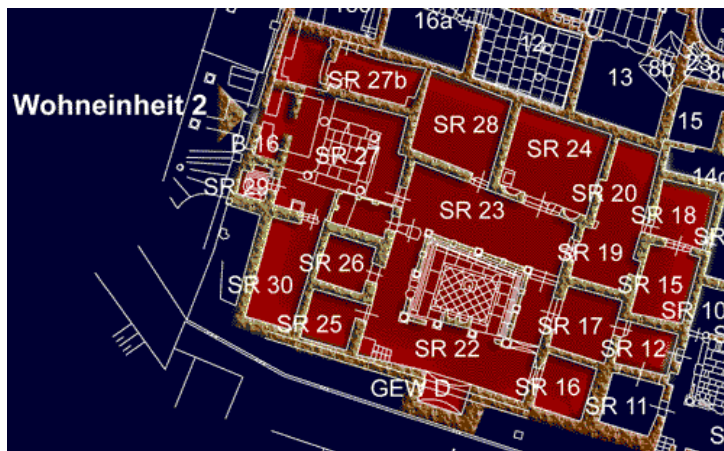


Figure 5c

Residential Unit 3

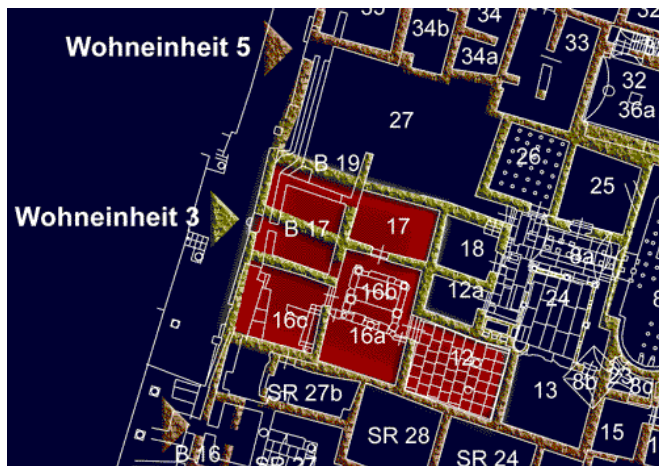


Figure 5d

Residential Unit 4



Figure 5e

Residential Unit 5

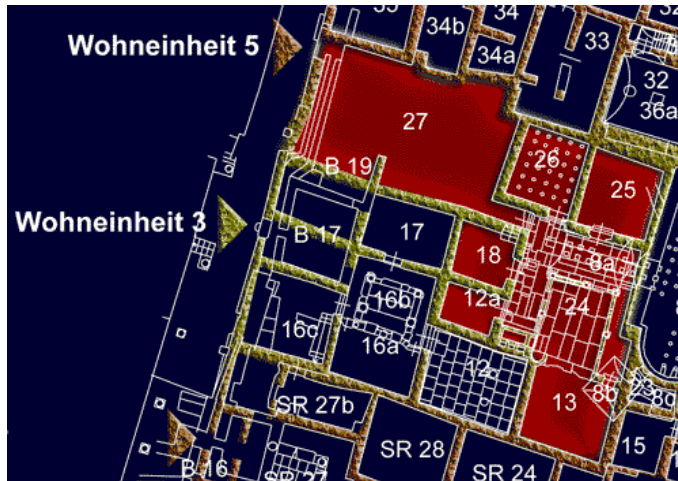


Figure 5f

Residential Unit 6

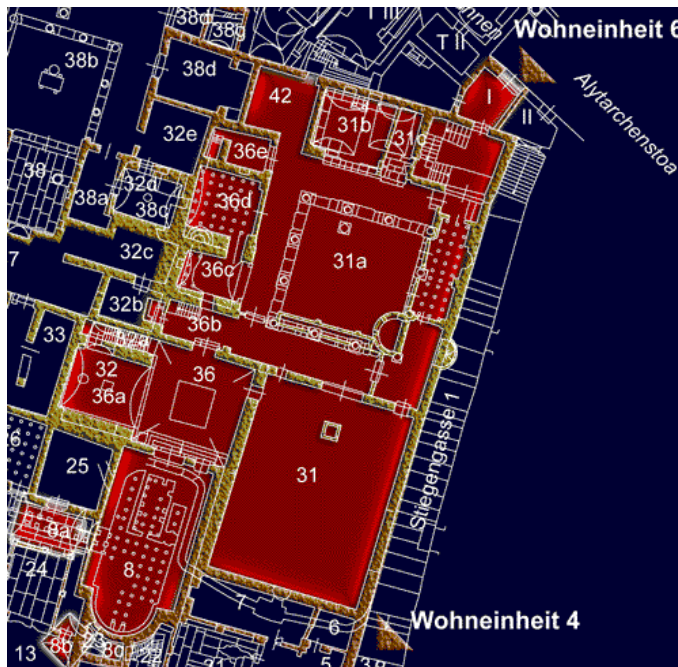


Figure 5g

Residential Unit 7

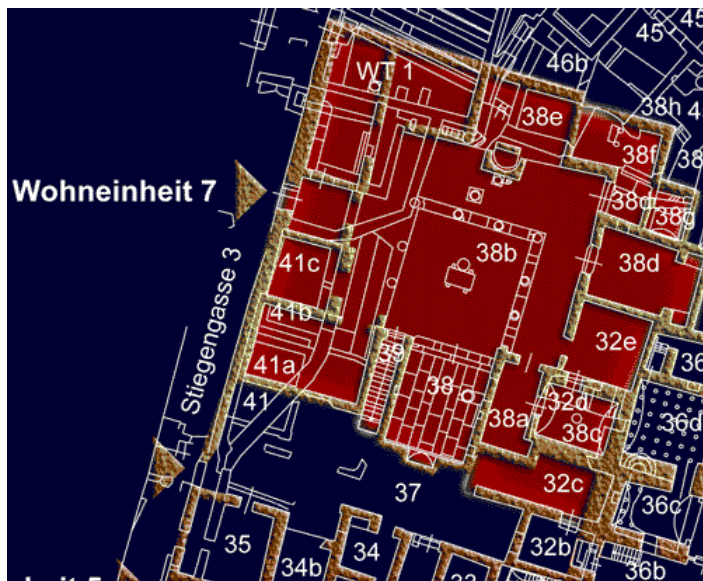


Figure 6

Map of Ephesus

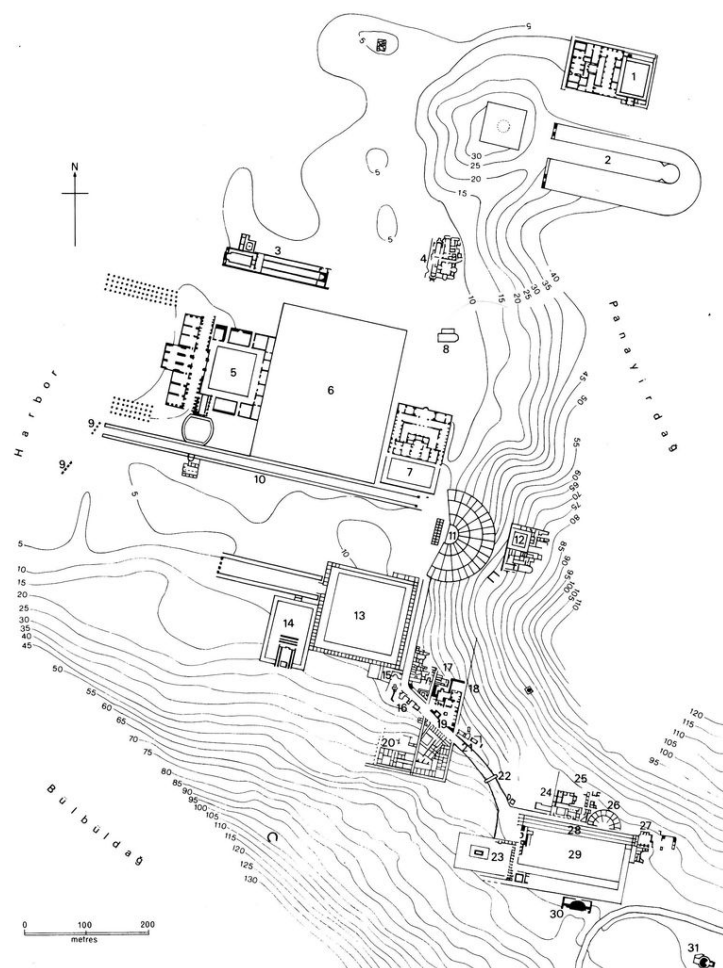


Figure 7

A Topographical Map of Ephesus with the Position of the Terrace House II



Figure 8

House of Faun Pompeii

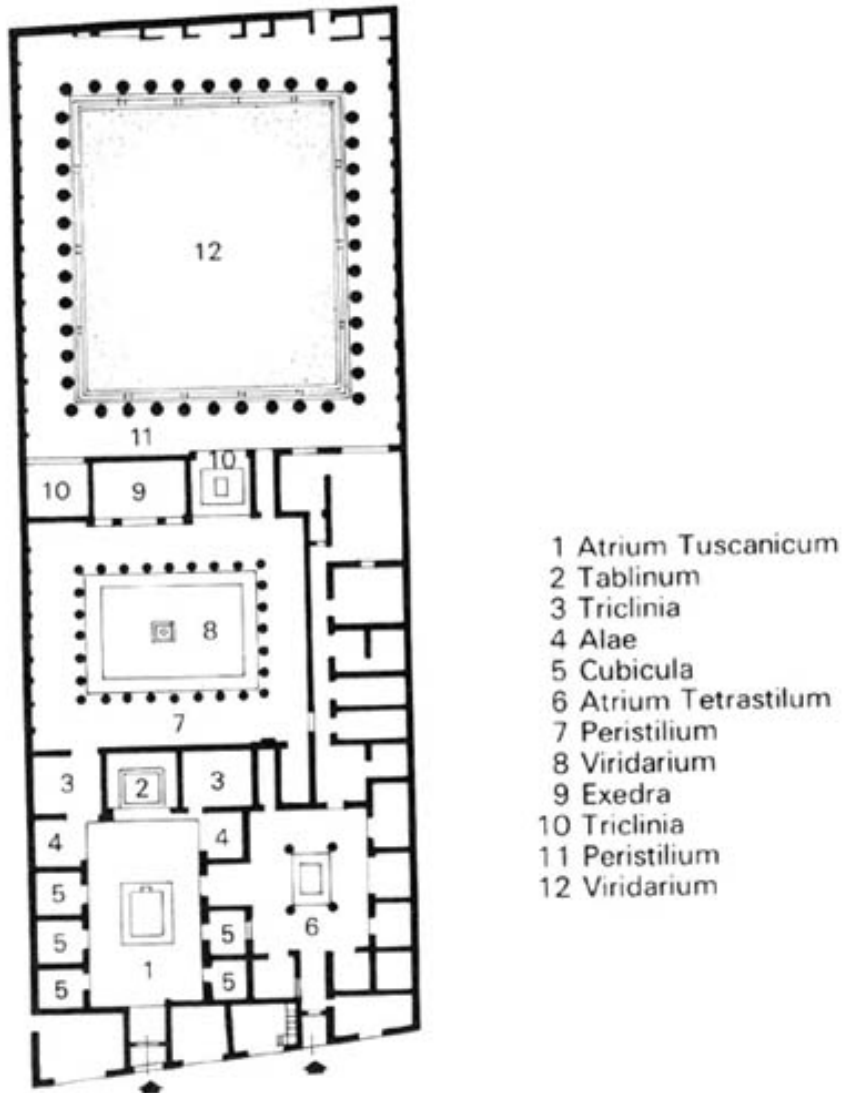


Figure 9

View from *fauces*



Figure 10

Implivium



Figure 11

Plan Showing Spaces Arranged Around the *Atrium*
House of Sallust, Pompeii

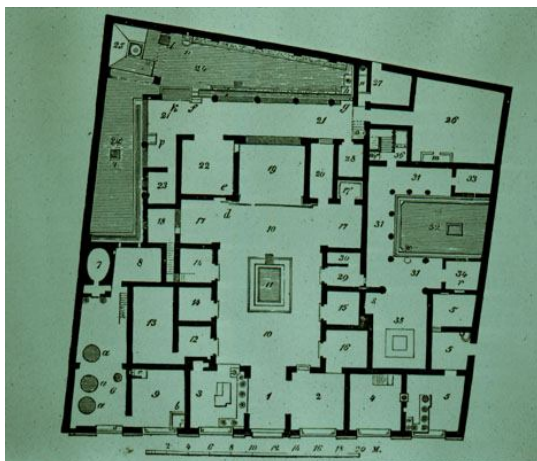
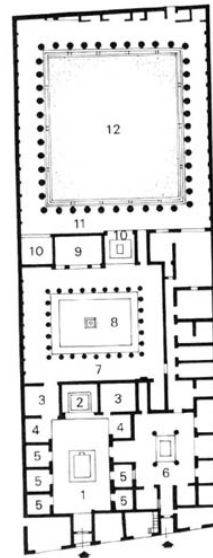


Figure 12
Cubicula

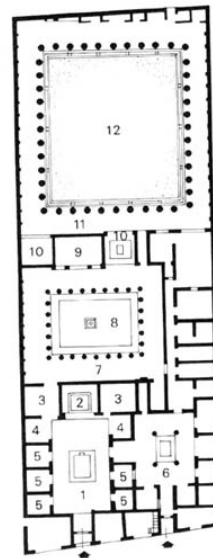


House of Faun, Pompeii (#5)

Figure 13
Tablinum



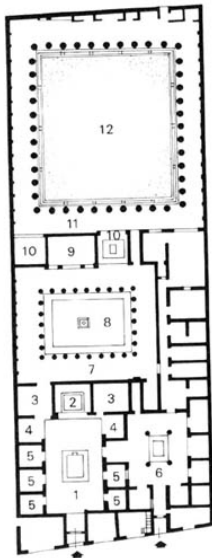
House of Lucius Caecilius Iucundus



House of Faun, Pompeii(#2)

Figure 14

Exedra



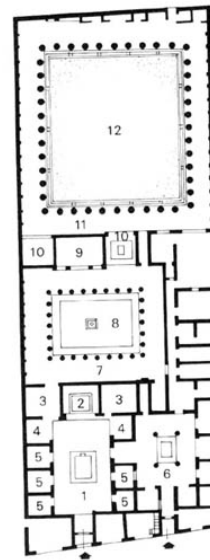
House of Faun, Pompeii (#9)

Figure 15

Triclinium



3D visualisation of Room 23 of Lectus Medius with hypothetical triclinium created by Martin Blazeby, KVL



House of Faun, Pompeii (#10)

Figure 16

Plan and human body comparison

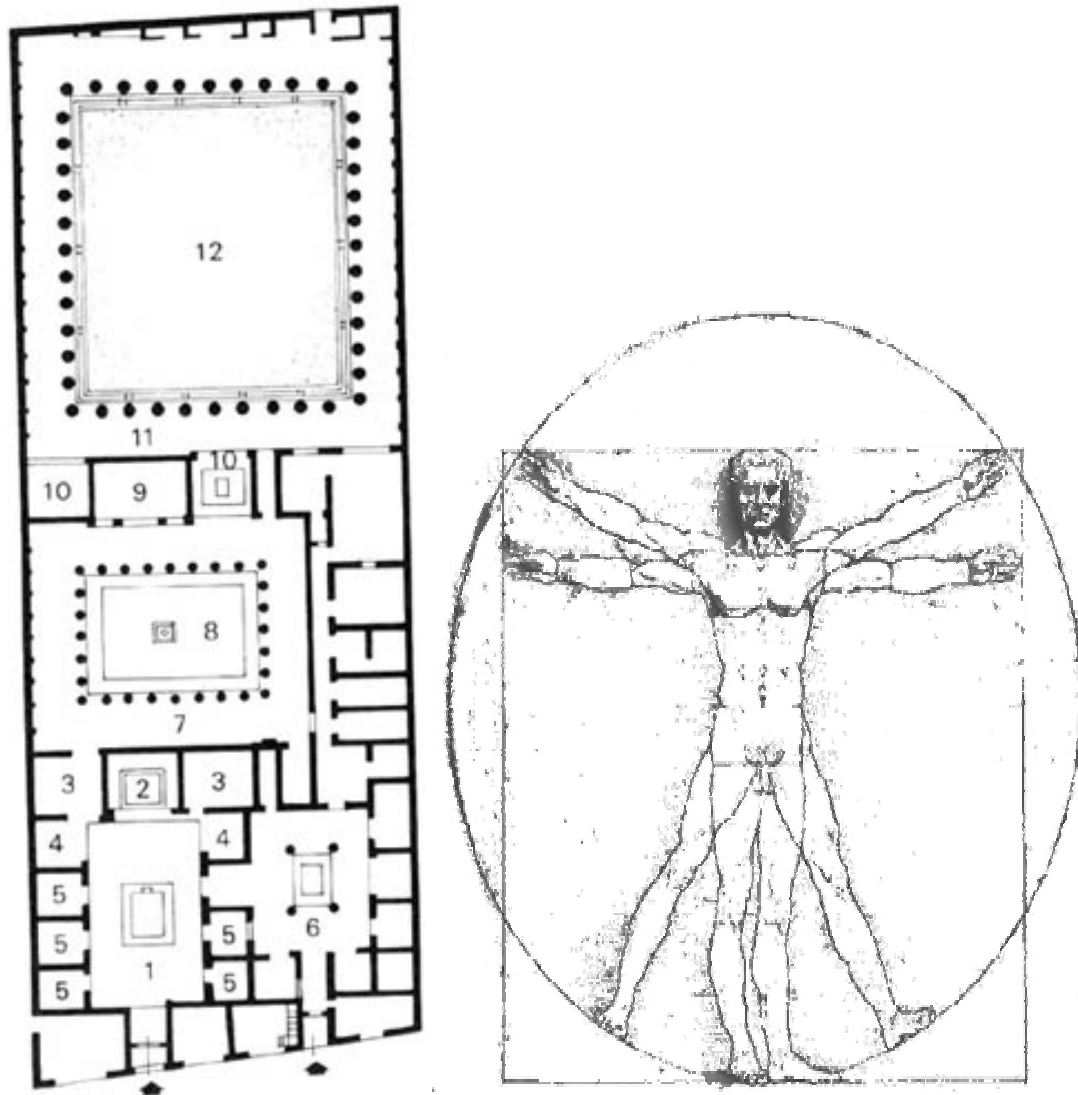


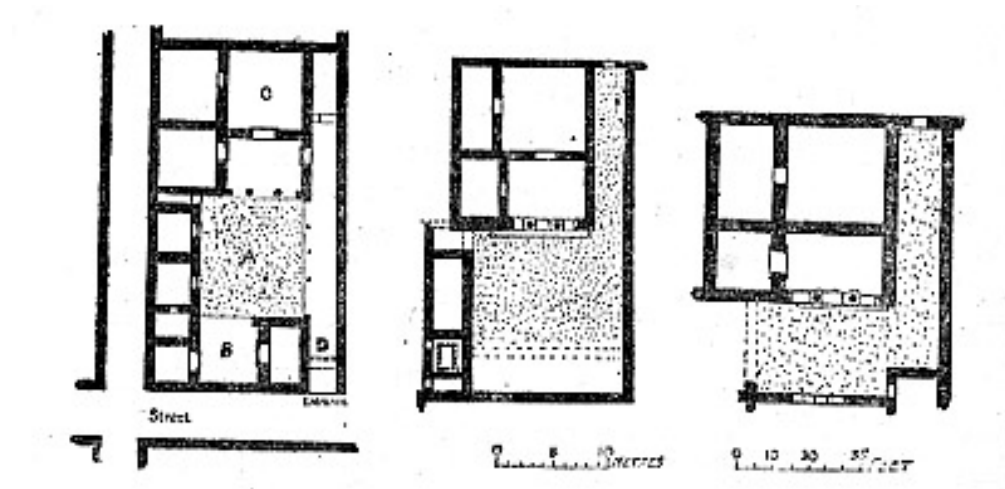
Figure 17
Second courtyard



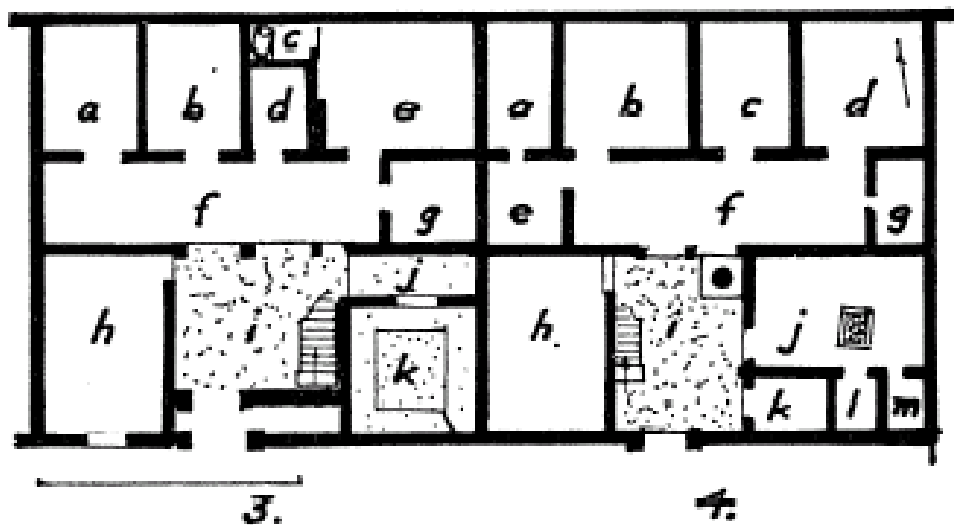
House of Faun, Pompeii

Figure 18a and 18b
Hellenistic house, prostas (a) and pastas type (b)

18a. Prostas house, House in Priene XXXIII, XXXII



18b. Pastas house plan at Olynthos, House A vii 4-6, Olynthos



18c. Entrances at Priene and Olynthos

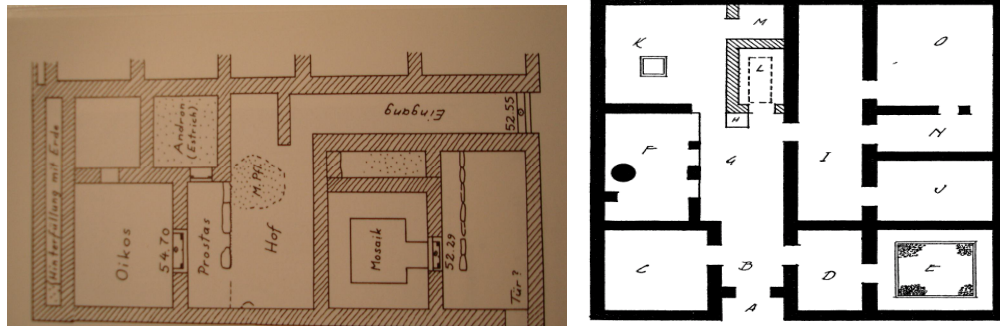


Figure 19
Priene

Round arrangement of Rooms

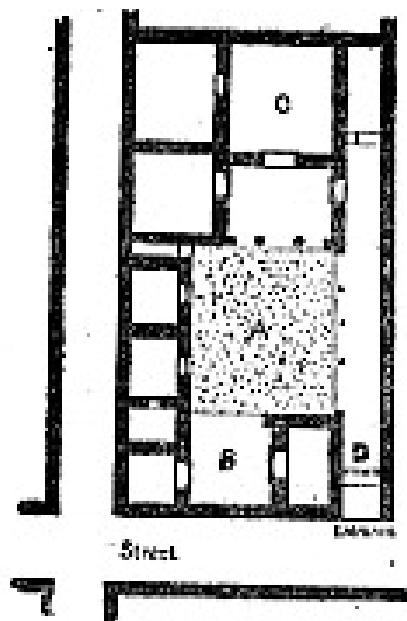
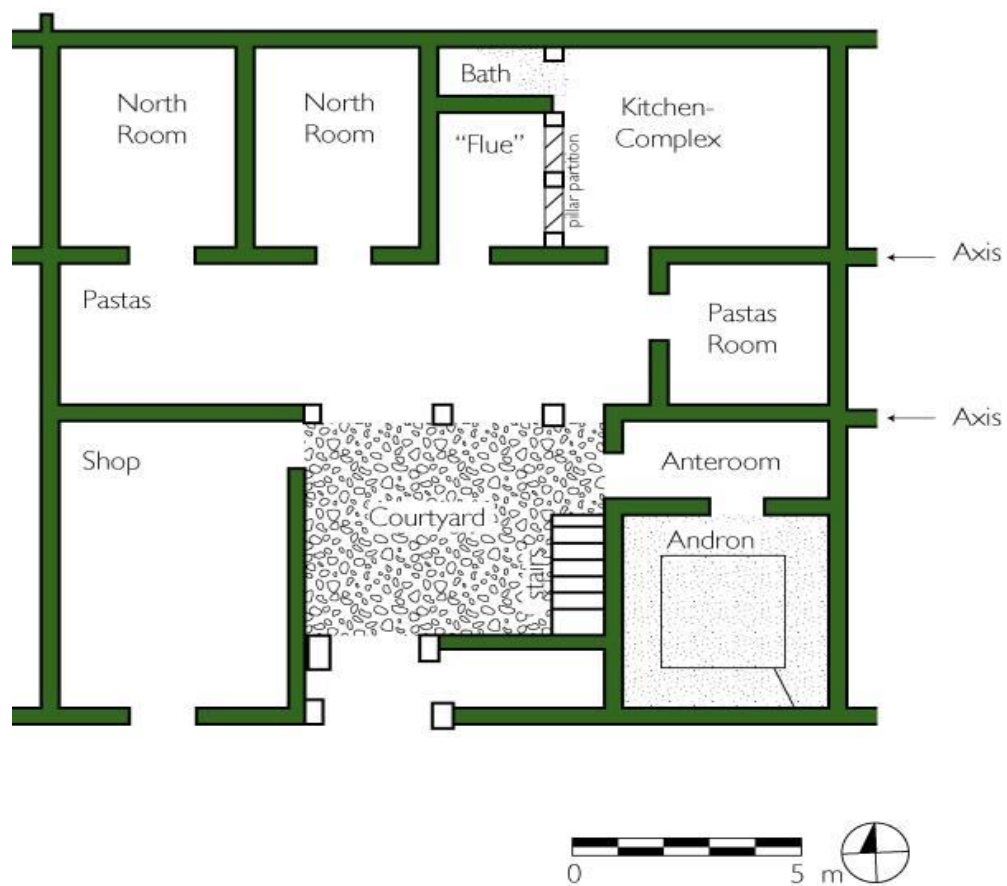


Figure 20

Plan Showing Room Usage and *Andron*



House A VII, Olynthos

BUILDING PHASES FIGURES 21, 22, 23, 24, 25

Figure 21. HELLENISTIC PHASE

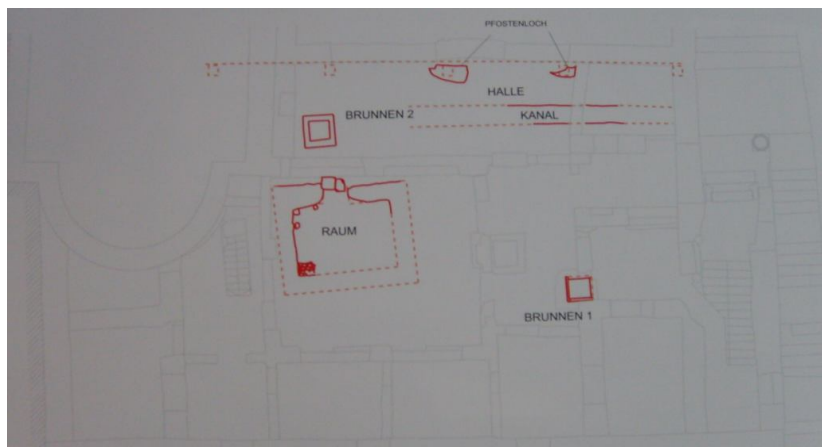


Figure 22. BUILDING PHASE I

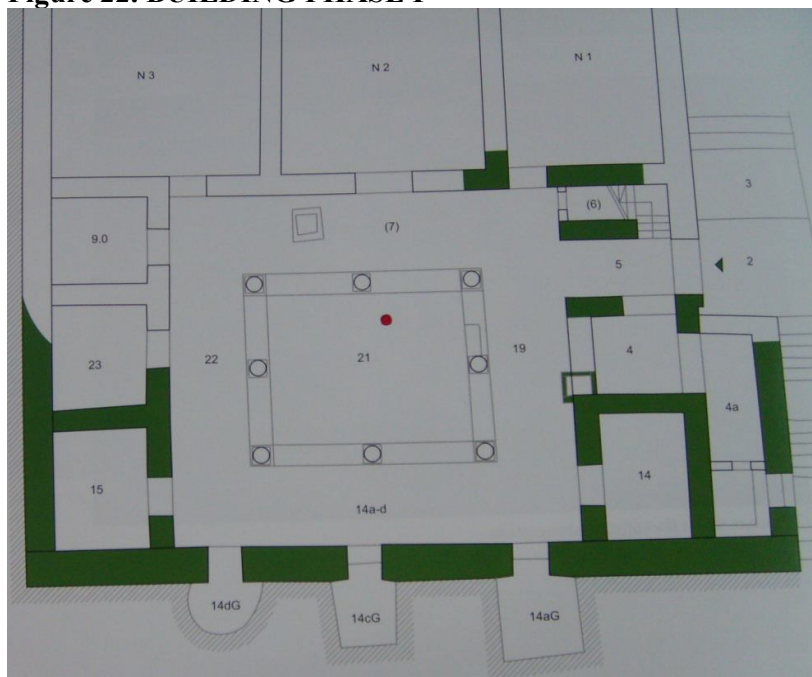
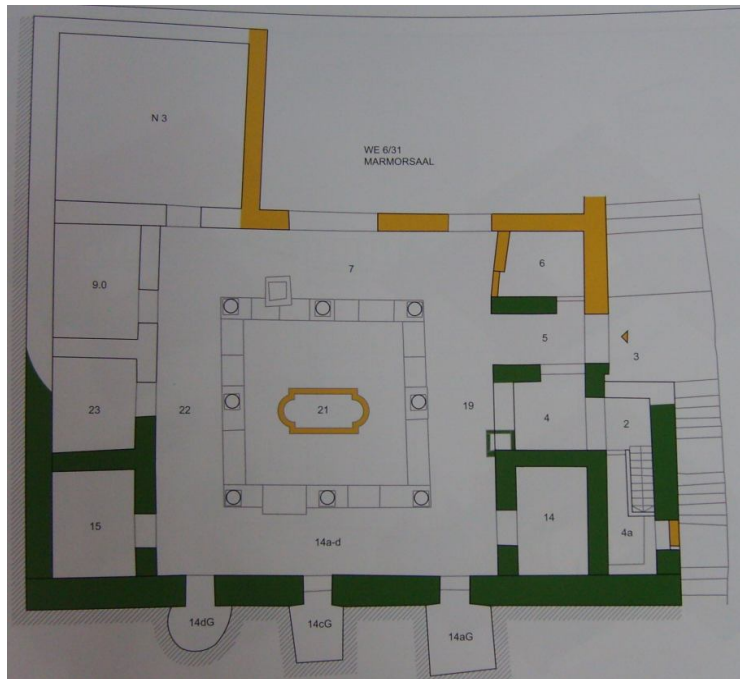
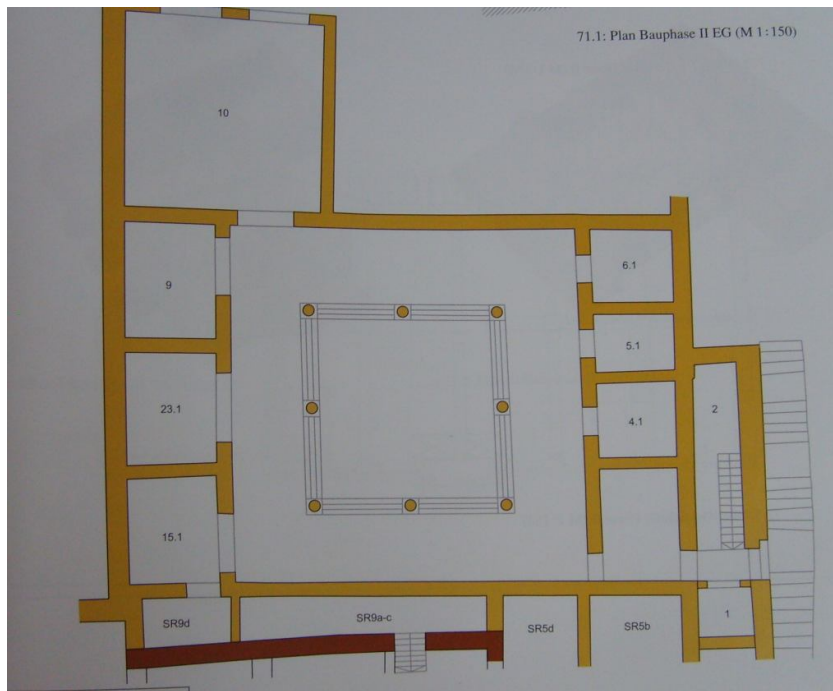


Figure 23 BUILDING PHASE II

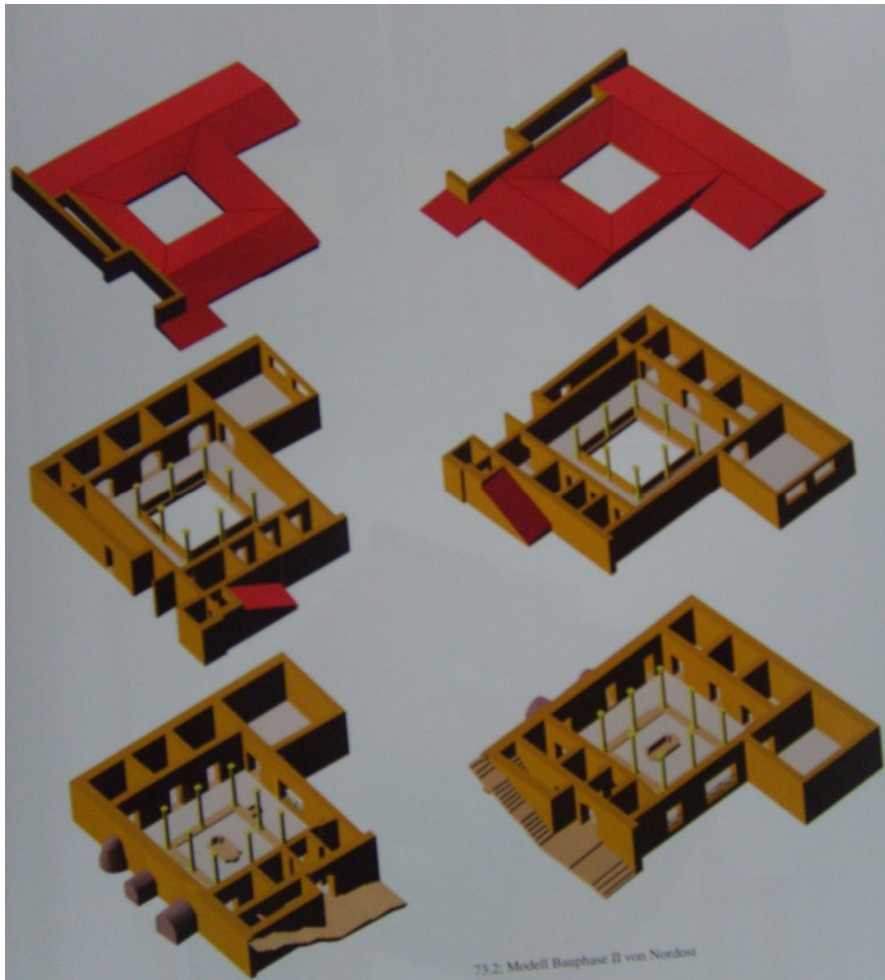
23a. Ground Floor



23b. Upper Floor

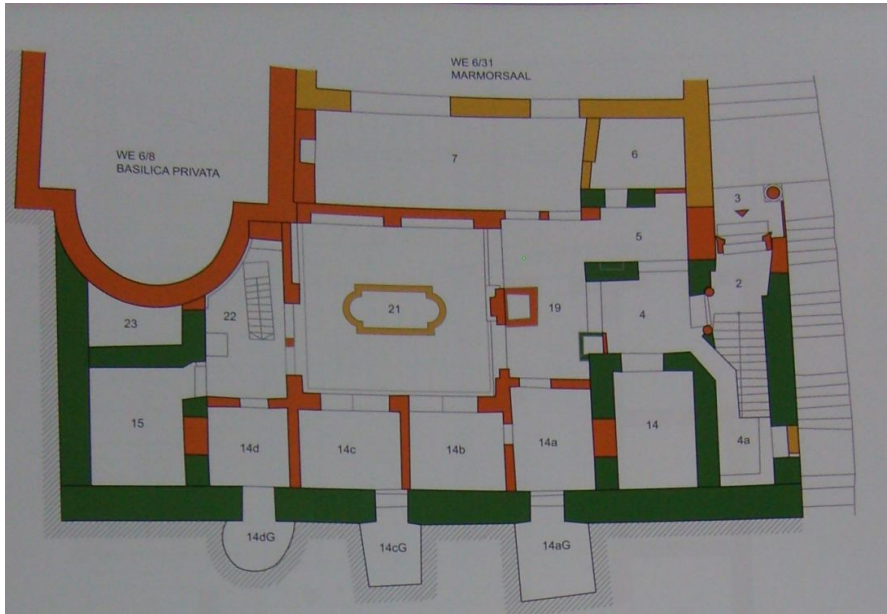


23c. Axonometric illustration of BPII from Northeast and Southeast

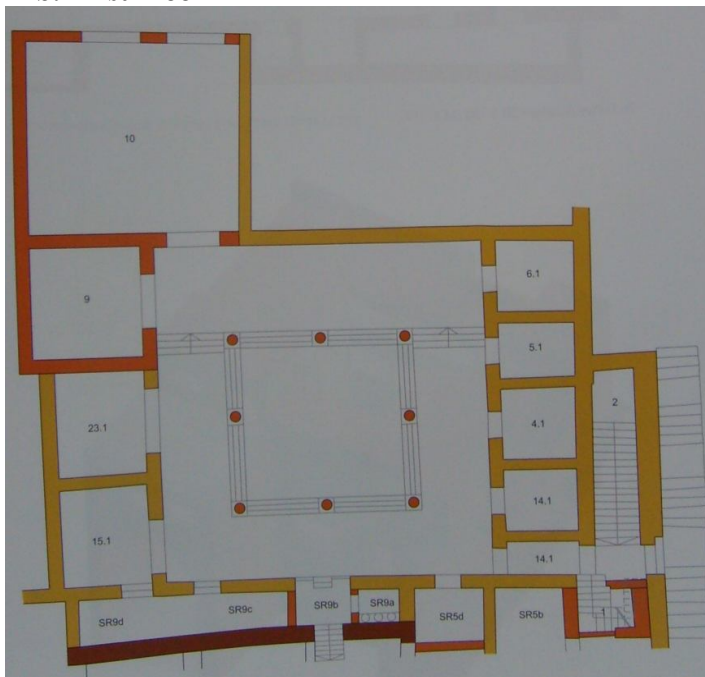


24 BUILDING PHASE III

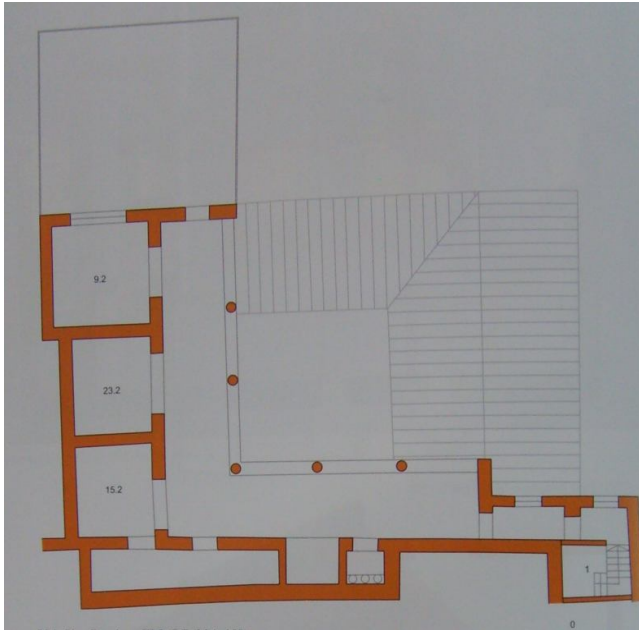
24a. Ground Floor



24b. First Floor



24c. Top Floor



24d. Axonometric Illustration of all three floors



24.e. Axonometric Illustration from Northeast and Southeast

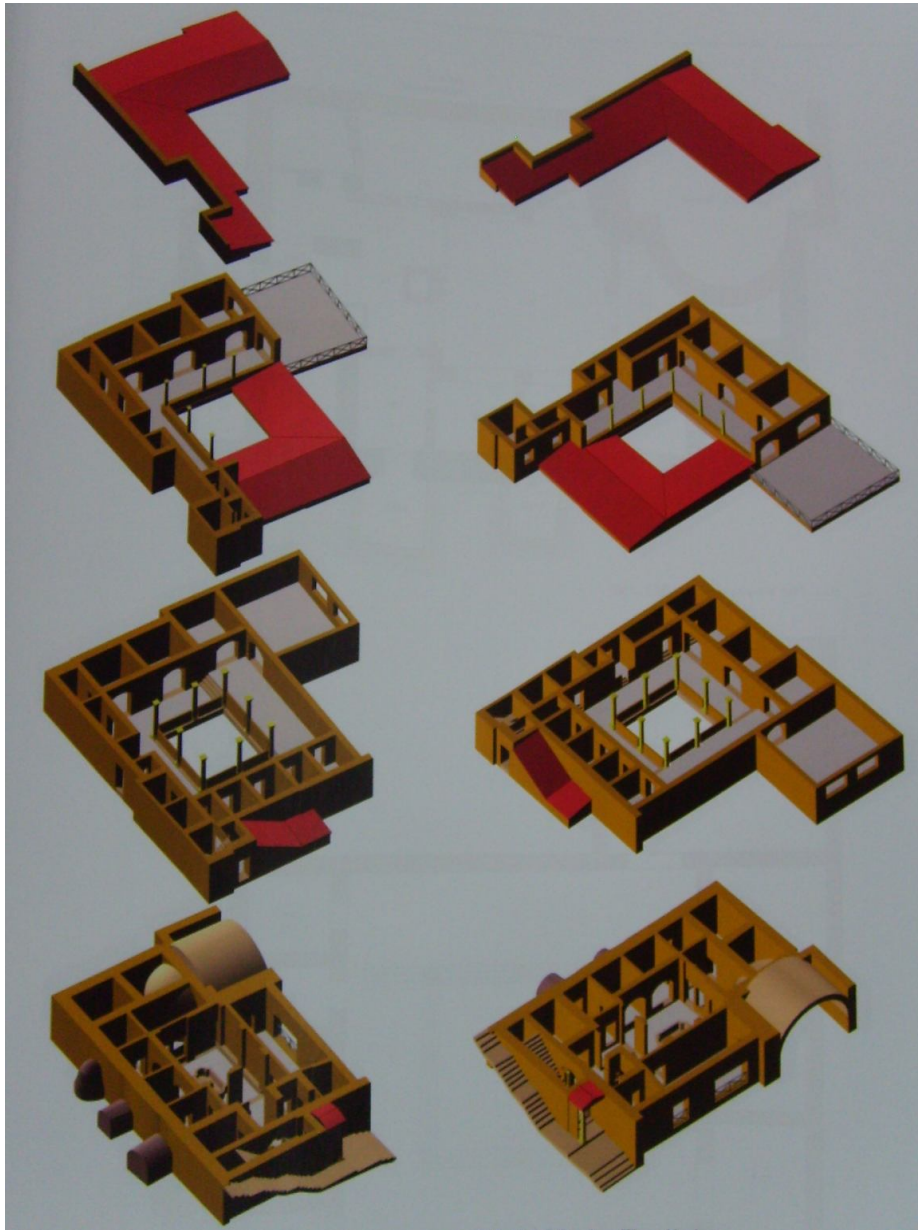
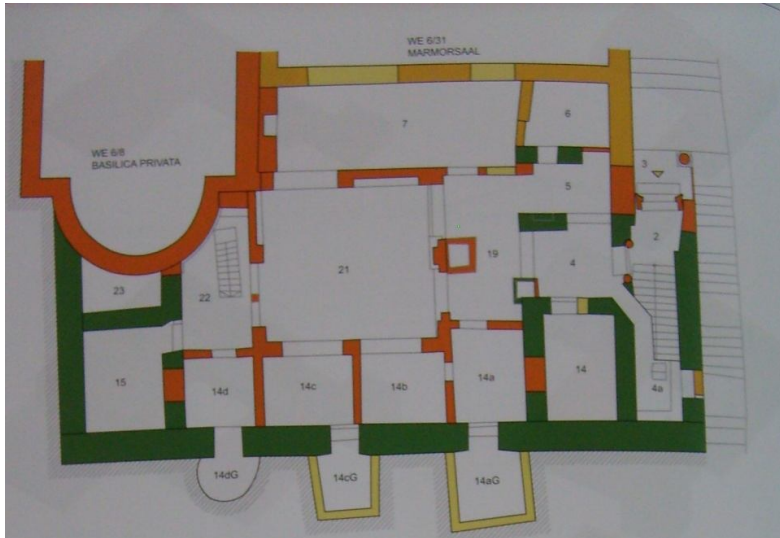
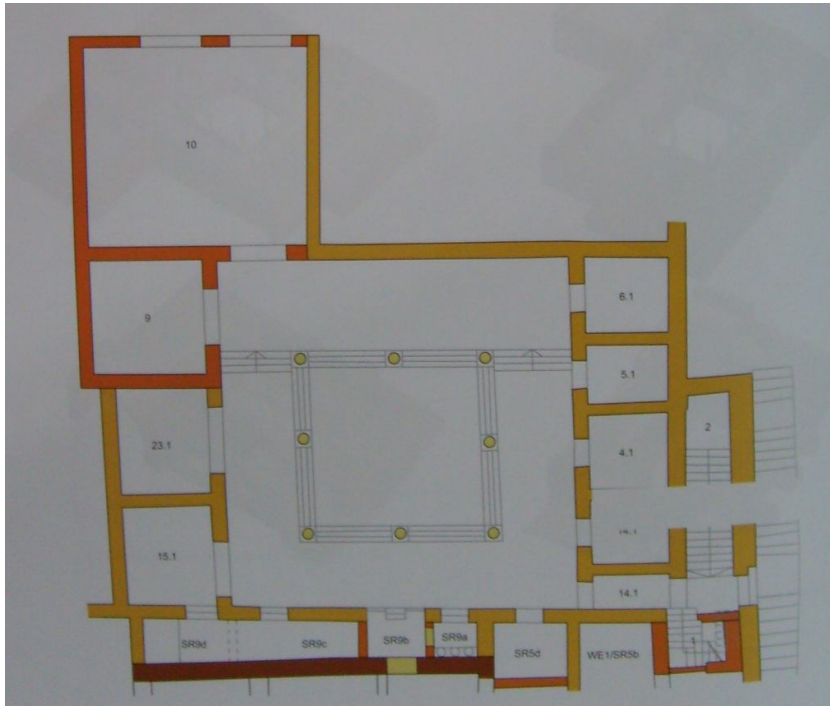


Figure 25 BUILDING PHASE IV

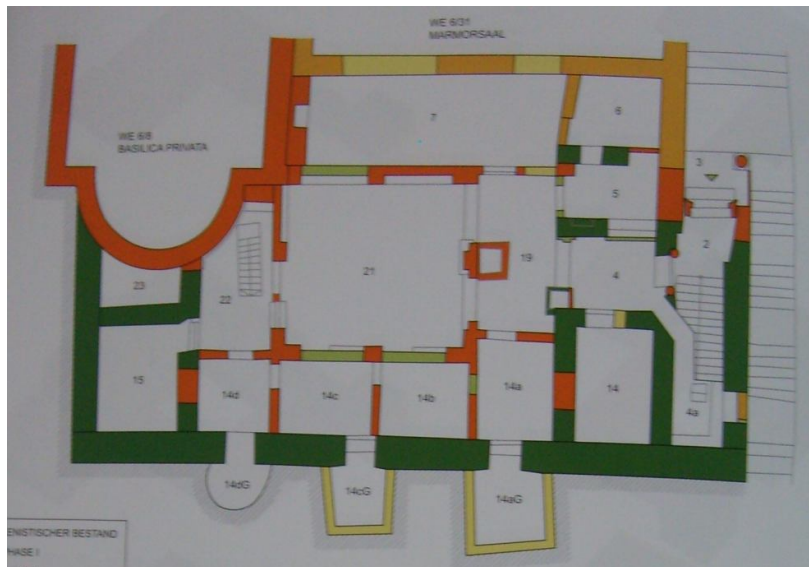
25a. Ground Floor



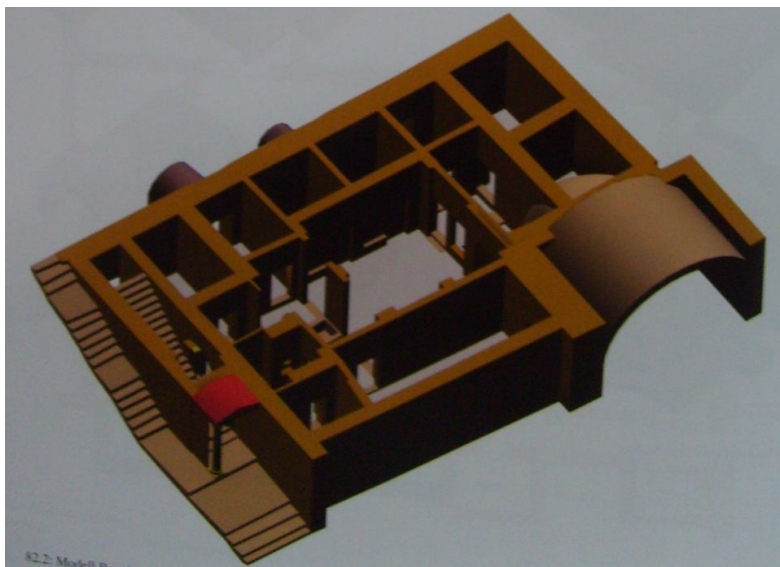
25b. First Floor



25c. Upper Floor



25.d Axonometric Illustration of all three floors



25e. Axonometric illustration from Northeast and Southeast

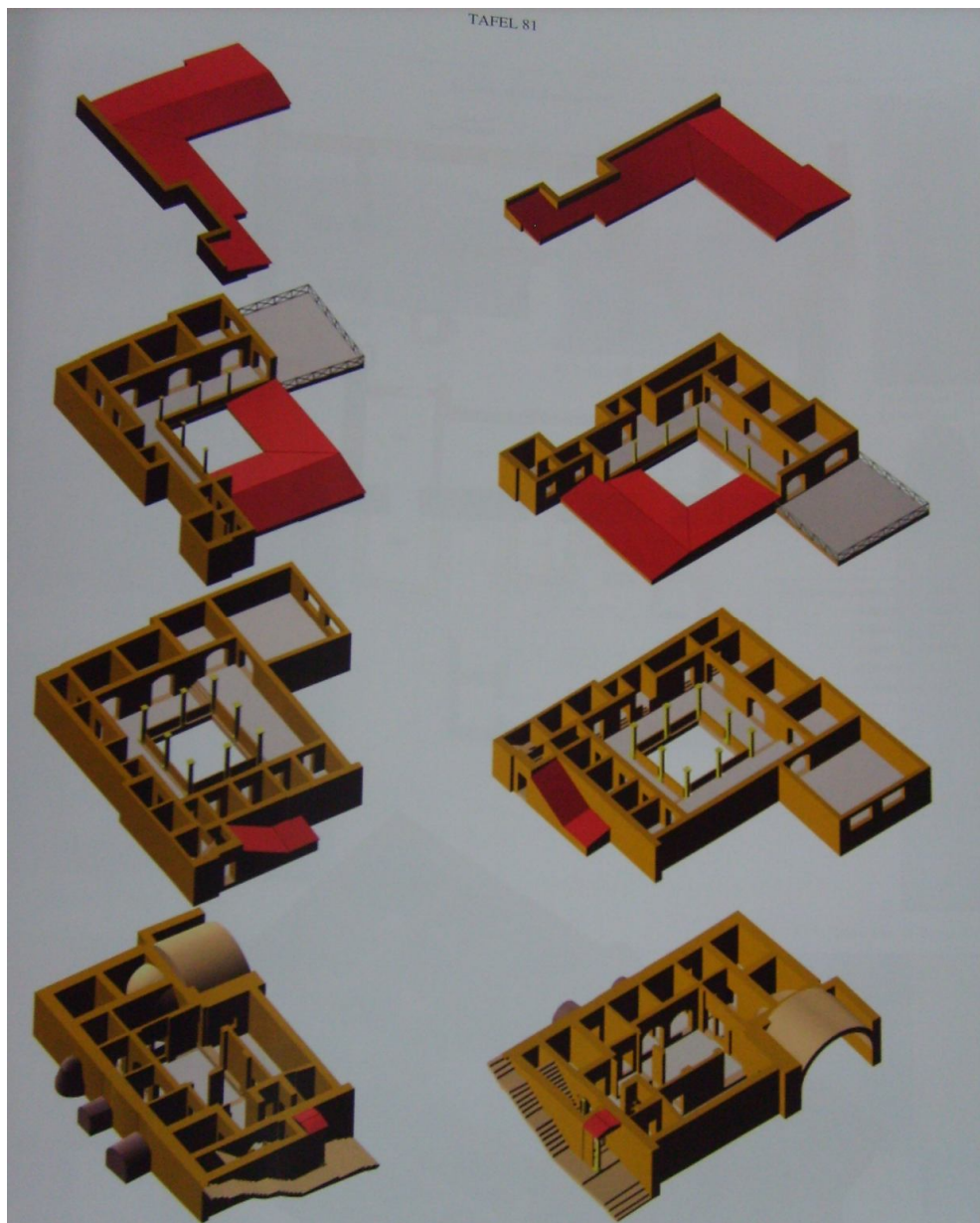


Figure 26

Building Phase II and the Distribution of the Wall Paintings on the Ground Floor



Figure 27

Socrates Wall Painting



Figure 28

Muse Urania Wall Painting



Figure 29

Achilles Wall Painting



Detail of Achilles Wall Painting

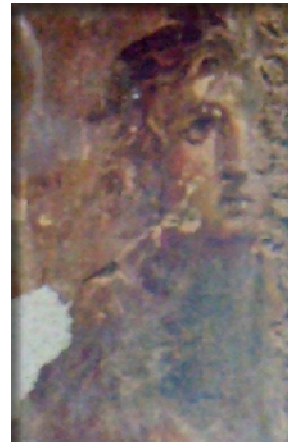


Figure 30

Building Phase III and the Distribution of the Wall Paintings

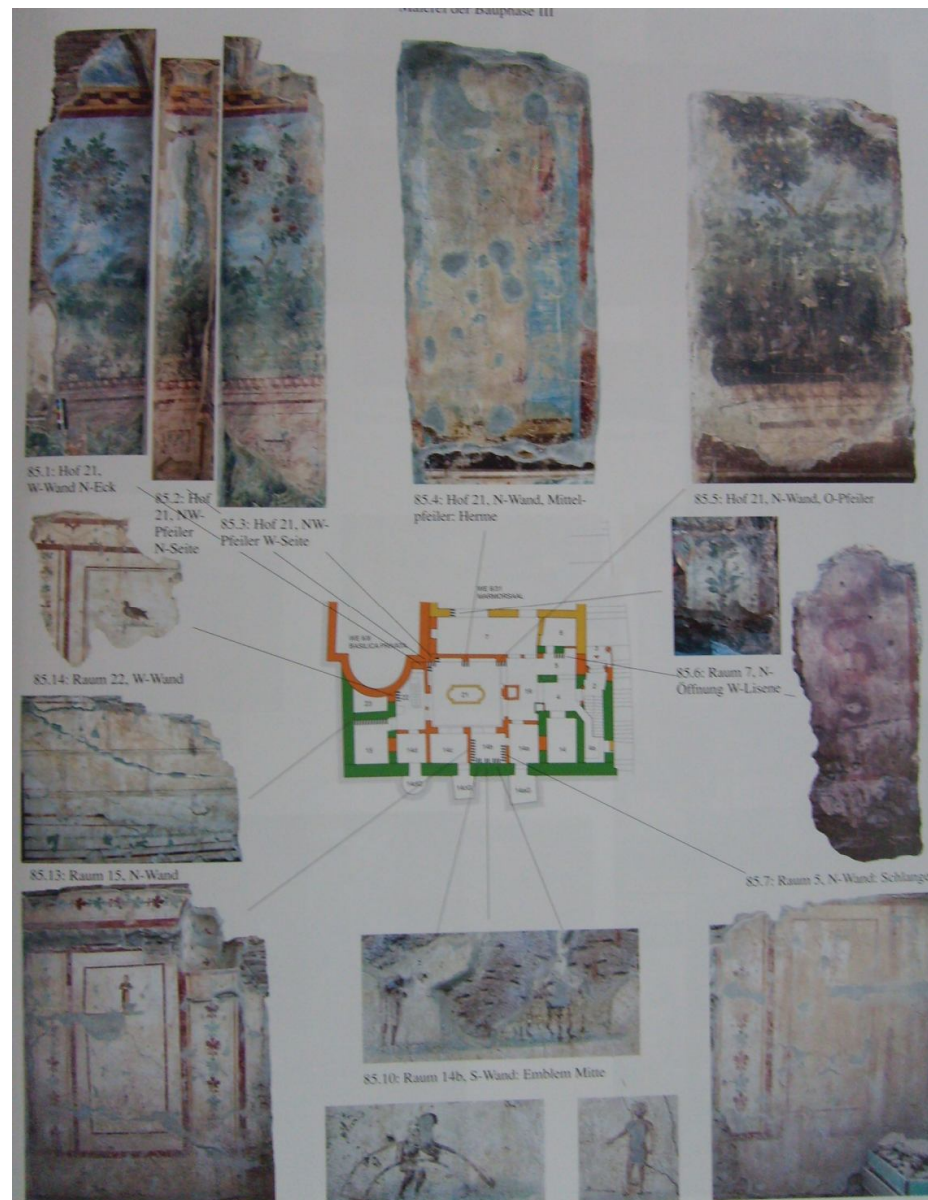


Figure 31

31a.



31b.



Figure 32

Room 5, Snake Illustration



Figure 33

Staircase



Figure 34

Building Phase IV and the Distribution of Wall Paintings

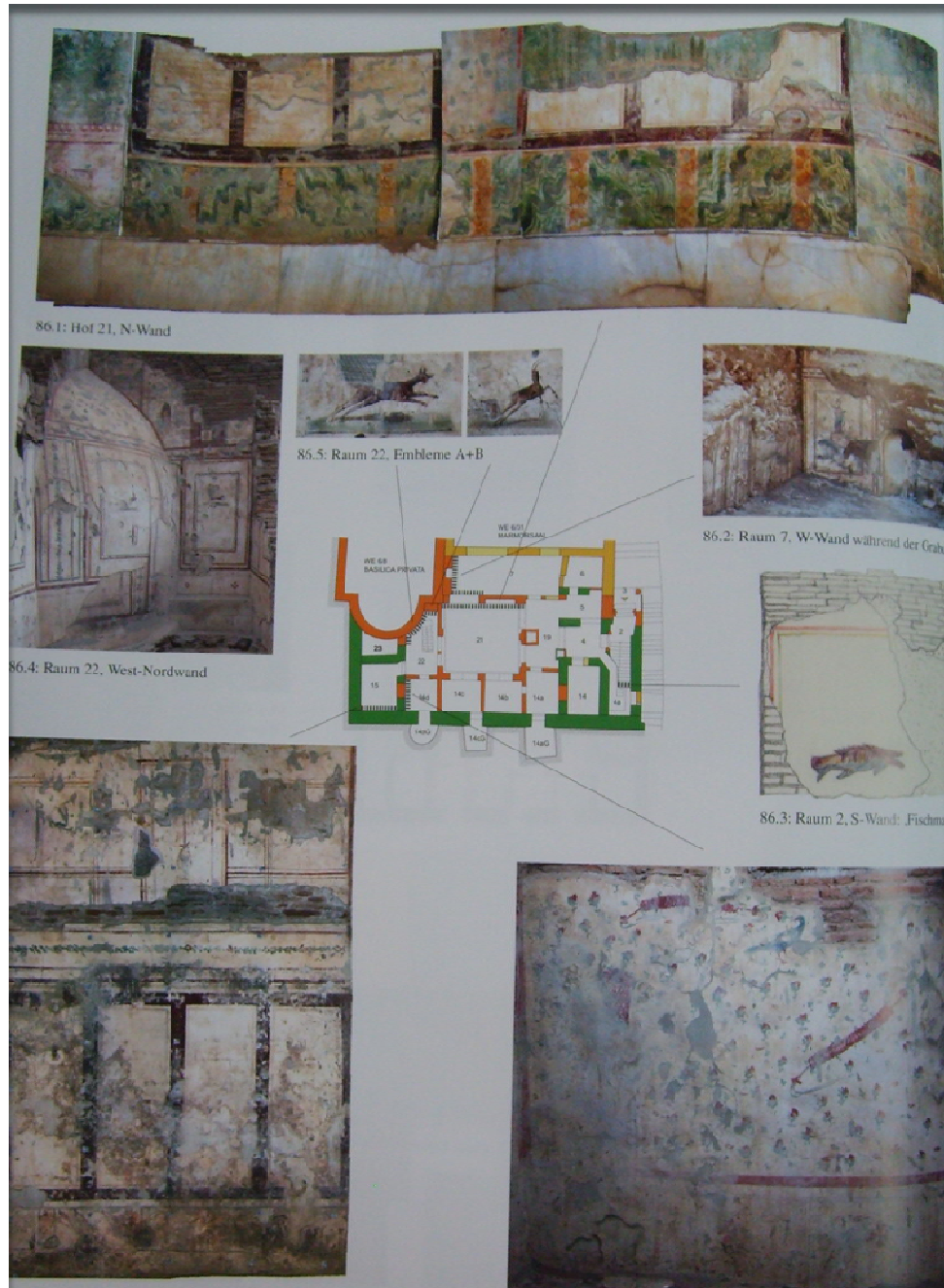


Figure 35

Peristyle Court and its Marble Imitation

35a North Wall



35b. West Wall

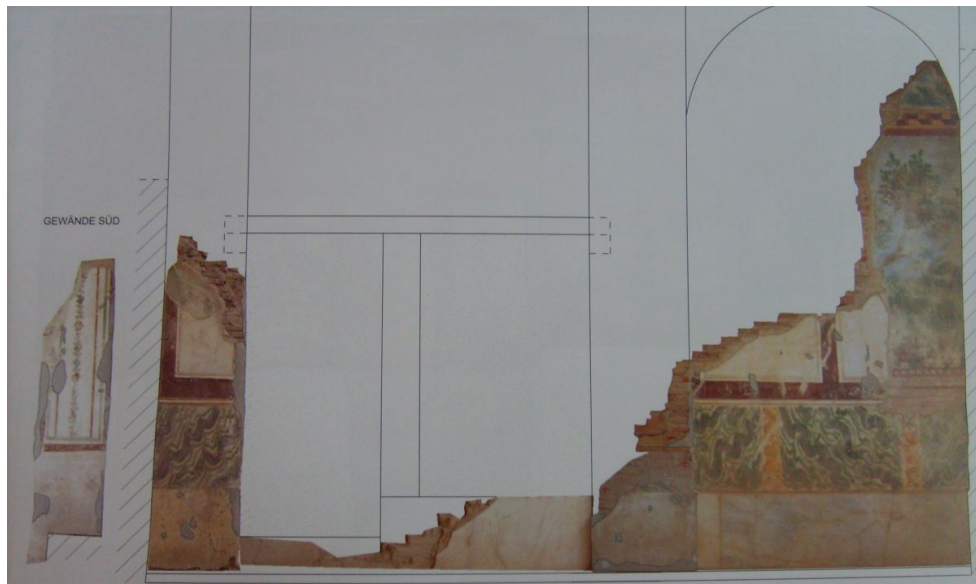


Figure 36

Room 22, Felder and Lisenen Technique with Hunting Scenes

36a



36b.



Figure 37

Mosaic Pavement room 23

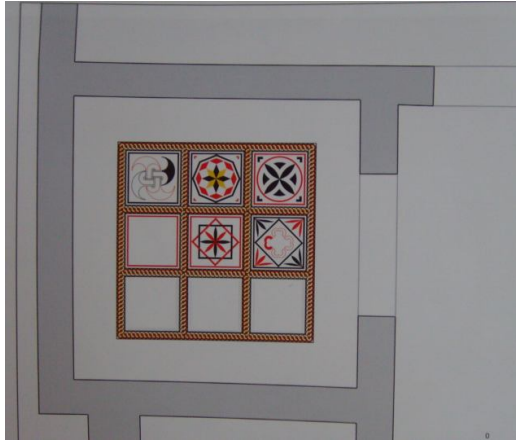


Figure 38

Mosaic Pavement of Room 9

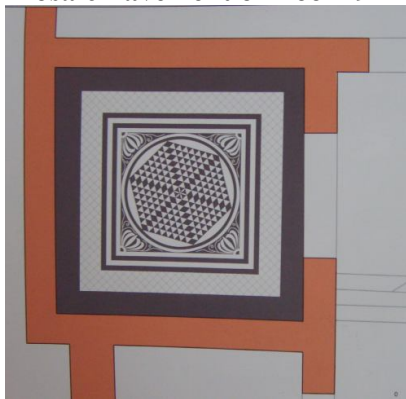
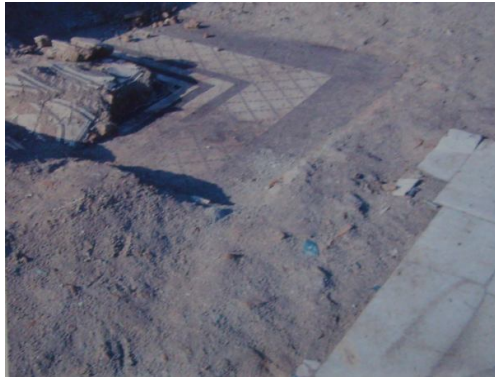
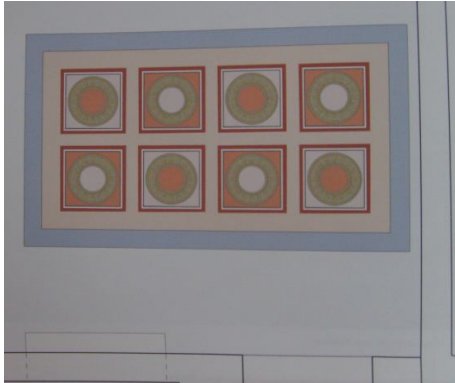


Figure 39

Mosaic Pavement of Room 10

39a



39b.

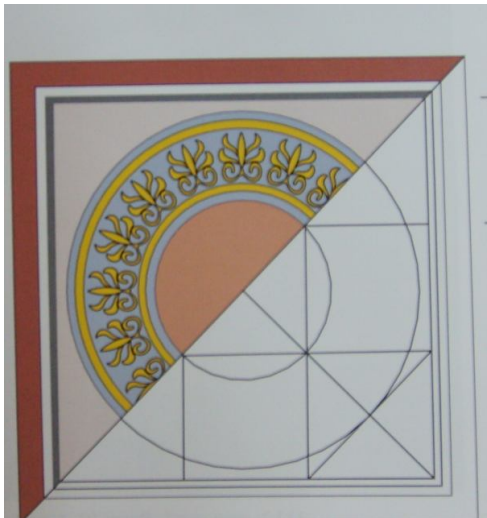


Figure 40

The Distribution of the Sculptural Elements



Figure 41

41a The Statue of Artemis



41b. Statue of Artemis Found in situ in Room 7



Figure 42

Funerary Reliefs in Room 5

42a.



42b.



,

Figure 43

Nymphaeum Relief Room 19



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