ARCHITECTURAL ELABORATION OF THE 'PUBLIC' IN THE DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE OF LATE ANTIQUE ANATOLIA: CHANGES AND TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE PRIVATE SETTING

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis studies the continuity, change and transformation of the Roman domestic architecture in Asia Minor in late antiquity with reference to the social and political dynamics and the urban context of the period. The sample is chosen from the well-preserved and studied late antique houses in Asia Minor, which provide considerable information and insight into the domestic context of the period. In the light of architectural evidence coming from these houses late antique domestic architecture is discussed with a special emphasis on the 'privatization' and 'elaboration' of 'public' within the domestic context.

Keywords: Late Antiquity, Roman Houses, Anatolia, Public, Private

ÖZ

ANADOLUDAKİ GEÇ ANTİK DÖNEM KONUTLARINDA 'KAMUSAL'IN MİMARİ VURGUSU: ÖZEL ALANDAKİ DEĞİŞİMLER VE DÖNÜŞÜMLER

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Bu tez Anadolu'daki Roma dönemi konutlarının geç antik çağda, dönemin sosyal politik ve kentsel bağlamları ile ilişkili olarak sergilediği devamlılığı, değişimi ve dönüşümü incelemektedir. Çalışmaya baz olan örnekler Anadolu'da bulunan iyi korunmuş ve dönemin konut olgusu hakkında önemli bilgiler sunan geç antik dönem konutlarından oluşmaktadır. Bu örneklerden elde edilen veriler doğrultusunda geç antik dönem konutları, 'özelleştirme' ve 'kamusal'ın konut bağlamında yorumlanması ve öne çıkarılması teması etrafında incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Geç Antik Dönem, Roma Konutları, Anadolu, Kamusal Mekanlar

To My Family

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[1] The photographs are taken by Esra Çonkır unless otherwise indicated.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Late antiquity, covering approximately half a millennium between the 2nd and the 8th century AD, is an important transitional period in between the classical antiquity and the Middle Ages. It witnessed dramatic social and political shifts that gave rise to changes and transformations in both the public and the private spheres, including their architectural contexts.

Roman Empire became the largest and the most powerful empire in the Mediterranean basin in the 2nd century AD. After this century onwards, however, the imperial administration failed to maintain the unity of the empire since it could not manage to succeed in preventing the external and internal wars, in solving political and economic problems and in overcoming natural disasters all of which constituted a far more serious threat to this unity than ever before. In addition, the rise of Christianity brought a radical change and disintegration in the society. All these dynamics, which are briefly overviewed in the second chapter of the study, necessitated new governmental formations and funds and had considerable effects on the general characteristics and the topography of the cities as well as on the lifestyle of their inhabitants.

The city councils, which had a central role in the welfare of the Roman cities, gradually lost their influence and were replaced with provincial governors and wealthy aristocrats in the course of late antiquity. In this period of disorder the increasing financial emphasis on safety and defense absorbed a large amount from

the state budget. The expenses allocated for the maintenance and glorification of the cities, in earlier periods, were decreased by both the government and also the wealthy citizens who now preferred to spend their wealth more for private residences or religious buildings and related activities. As such the Roman cities gained a new image in late antiquity, which is discussed with reasons and consequences in the third chapter.

Late antique cities, especially in the western empire, were less wealthy and ostentatious in terms of the public amenities and monumental public buildings than the early Empire of 1st to 3rd centuries. The eastern cities on the other hand continued to flourish to a certain extent, at least for a few centuries more. In both the east and the west, however, what was significant and archeologically visible is a common phenomenon: the shift of emphasis from 'public spirit' to 'private sphere'. In this period an increasing tendency towards the 'glorification' of the private and the 'honorification' of the individual in the private context can be traced all around the empire.

The private 'stations' of the cities or the urban residences of the affluent and influential were re-conceptualized and re-designed to assimilate 'public' spatially in a much more monumental and direct manner than ever before. These transformations and changes in the domestic context are summarized in relation to the Roman Houses of the earlier periods which are also briefly overviewed in the fourth section.

With reference to these social and political dynamics and urban context of the period and by concentrating on Asia Minor as a case study, this thesis aims to illustrate the ways and means of the assimilation and elaboration of public in the private context in late antiquity, by exploring the changes, transformations and continuities in the meaning, use and design of urban domestic architecture.

Asia Minor encompassed a large and wealthy territory with numerous Roman cities in both the early and the later empire. Remains of a variety of late antique houses

are found in different parts of this territory and are more studied and documented especially in the last few decades. In this study a sample is chosen from the relatively well preserved, studied and published town houses belonging to wealthier households in the cities of southern and western Asia Minor. These houses share common features in terms architectural vocabulary and urban context which provide an insight into the transformation of the domestic architecture. They are mostly located in the central and prominent districts of the cities, have an ample size and had large and elegant reception spaces.

As also exemplified in the Roman west, the domestic architecture of a select group in Asia Minor in late antiquity was re-conceptualized and re-arranged to meet the spatial and social requirements of both the private and the public with an increased emphasis on public within the confines of a private setting. The residences of the local magnates, most of which were found on the focal points of cities were enlarged and re-designed to include publicly conceived spaces in a more elaborate manner compared to earlier periods. In late antiquity the conventional spaces with public functions, such as the *triclinium* or the *tablinum* in a Roman house, were enlarged and re-decorated almost to compete with spaces found in public buildings. In some cases, other units such as private baths were also added in the same manner. 'Public rooms' of the domestic architecture were, in a sense, transformed into 'public halls'. As such late antique domestic architecture, with a new context and design, was intended to compete with the monumental public architecture in a number of ways including location, size, specialized spaces and decoration.

Consequently, this study illustrates how and in which ways in late antiquity some distinguished houses were transformed into the seats of individual power and prestige and became the new urban foci with their new architectural vocabulary, meaning and use.

CHAPTER 2

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN LATE ANTIQUITY

Late Antiquity, covering approximately half a millennium between 200 and 700 AD, is a quite distinctive and decisive period in terms of its social and political dynamics. In the later years of the Roman Empire the geographical territories of the classical world changed dramatically in close relation with the political and social changes. The period witnessed not only the decline and collapse of powerful empires and the gradual disappearance of paganism but also the birth and rise of new states and the triumph of new religions. The same period also saw the fall of old institutions, ideas and traditions and the appearance of new ones most of which formed the basis of more contemporary ones. [2]

This chapter will briefly outline the Roman world in late antiquity in terms of its political, economic and social contexts all of which had an influence on both the urbanism and the architecture of the period.

2.1 The Changing Politics and the Disintegration of the Roman Empire

In classical antiquity the Roman Empire was the largest and the wealthiest state that dominated the Mediterranean basin, Europe, North Africa and Middle East. In the 3rd century AD its borders were stretching from Britain in the north, to the Rhine and upper Danube, and from the Danube to the northern Balkans and to the Black

[2] For more information on the definition of 'Late Antiquity' as a period see Clover and Humphreys, (1989) 3-19.

Sea; in the east from the Black Sea down to the Sinai peninsula through Armenia, Iraq and Mesopotamia and in Africa from the coastal strip and north of the Atlas Mountains to the Atlantic Coast and the westernmost province of Tirgitania (fig.1). In such a big territory it was difficult both to provide the internal stability of the empire and also to protect it from outer threats. Hence from the third century onwards the Sassanian Empire in the east, the Goths in the north and the Germanic immigrant populations along the Rhine-Danube frontiers gained power and posed a serious threat for the Roman lands. Between the years 240 and 300 AD the Roman Empire was confronted with the invasions of these barbarian groups. Together with the political instability and the breakdown of the frontiers these invasions caused the western part of the empire to go through a period often called as the 'crisis period'.[3]

The third century crisis in the Roman Empire was tried to be overcome first by a military revolution, which provided a temporary improvement and which caused a considerable cost to the empire; the senatorial class which traditionally formed the military forces was replaced with well-trained and paid soldiers. The army was reorganized and the number of soldiers in the frontier zones was increased. With these reforms, the number of soldiers in the army was doubled and the army became the largest organization within the empire.[4] Moreover, unlike most of their predecessors, a number of soldier-emperors with military backgrounds assumed the throne in this period (Garnsey and Humfress, 2001: 3, 15). Besides the increase in the number of soldiers serving for the army, the imperial administration also increased the number of its functionaries -men employed for the state work - due to the doubling number of provinces (Marcone, 1998: 364). Just like some of the emperors themselves military professionalism became a defining feature of the imperial office as well. An important change in this respect was the gradual replacement of the traditional aristocracy with a different social class that came from more modest backgrounds. In this respect the new aristocrats in the fourth

[3] The term 'crisis period' is used to define the period in between the 2nd and 4th centuries in the Roman west by many scholars such as Brown (2000); Liebeschuetz (1999); Burns and Eadie (2001).

[4] The fiscal problems caused by this military reorganization will be mentioned more in section 2. 2.

century came most often from the families who had powerful local roots. This phenomenon of upward mobility, which created new opportunities for social advancement, was indeed a general characteristic of late antiquity (Marcone, 1998: 338). As Marcone (1998: 339) emphasizes, the political hierarchy did not precisely mirror the hierarchy of wealth in this period.

The internal wars were also among the major domestic problems of the empire in addition to the external threats that started in the third century and increased in the fourth. The internal struggles between different provinces of the Empire dominated the history of late antiquity. These wars often took place in specific areas in the imperial landscape. As a result, fundamental geographical changes occurred and eventually the states were grouped in two main regions on the western and the eastern parts of the Adriatic (Shaw, 1999: 148). This dualism seems to have been officialised in 324 AD with the move of emperor Constantine to the East and the declaration of his sovereignty in an ancient Greco-Roman city called Byzantium whose history goes back to the 7th century BC.

In the first half of the 4th century Constantine initiated a renovation program to make Byzantium compete with Rome in terms of power, influence and appearance. First of all he planned to enlarge the city and expanded its periphery with new walls. Then he constructed a big palace, a hippodrome, fountains, porticoes and other urban amenities which were to adorn his new and powerful capital[5] (Sozomen, II. 3)[6] (figs. 5, 6). He re-named the city as '*Constantinopolis*' -The City of Constantine- and also as 'New Rome' and declared it as 'the capital city of all the inhabitants of the North, South, East and the shores of Mediterranean' (Sozomen, II. 3). Moreover as he was aware of the fact that the present population would remain inadequate for filling such a large city he summoned new people of rank and their families from Rome and other provinces to Constantinople. He created another senate and endowed it with the same honors and privileges of the one in Rome. He also imposed special taxes to cover the expenses of building, urban embellishment

[5] For a detailed study on the city of Constantine and its architectural edifices see Erkal (1995).

[6] Davis (1912-1913) pp. 295-296.

and food supply for the increased population. In sum Constantine strove to make the city of his name equal to Rome in every aspect. With him actually the Roman Empire was finally divided into two halves; not only geographically but also politically with two different rulers and fiscal and military resources. Moreover, the Eastern Roman Empire which would occupy an important role in the history of the Middle Ages under the name of 'Byzantine Empire' and which would survive more than a millennium came into existence after Constantine in the early 4th century (fig. 2).

Until the fifth century the empire was governed from two different centers: Rome in the west and Constantinople in the east. However while the eastern empire reasserted the dynastic unity in the first half of the fifth century AD, the western empire was still loosing lands due to the previously mentioned three factors: outside forces including the Huns, Franks and Alamannis, immigrant groups like Goths, Vandals and Alans and lastly the internal separatist groups, especially the ones in Britain and Northwest Gaul. These forces caused the detachment of some areas of the Roman Empire from the imperial center and as such disrupted the exercise of administrative control and power outside the capital (Lee, 2000: 40).

The main reason for the fall of the Western Empire was indeed the barbarian invasions. From 450 AD onwards the major autonomous barbarian groups in the Roman territory began to demand and play an increasingly active role in the affairs of the western part of the empire (Heather, 2000: 19-20). Different than the eastern one, the barbarian settlers did not diffuse into the society but established their own kingdoms in the western empire. In fact the movement of the barbarian tribes from the Rhine and Danubian regions was not a phenomenon of late antiquity. In earlier centuries they were already penetrating into the lands of the empire and at the same time were also employed as agricultural or military workforce. From the 4th century on substantial military contributions were made especially by the Goths and the Alaric people but they were never considered as an integral part of the regular Roman army. Their contribution depended on the outcome of ad hoc negotiations through which their demands and ambitions of leadership grew more in time

(Garnsey and Humfress, 2001: 102; Cameron, 1993: 36). When the Hunnic power which was used to overcome and to minimize the political influence of the barbaric invaders in the previous periods, also collapsed the only viable alternative for the continuation of the empire was to insert all or some of these groups into the political body of the western empire (Heather, 2000: 18-21). The leaders of these immigrant groups in turn became active in the running of the empire. In addition they were also rewarded with money or land in order to support the local leaders. Indeed with every change of regime they were given more rewards, which caused continuous shrinkage in the imperial lands and funds that also meant a major loss in the revenues and power.

As a result of the weakening of the Roman state, the ties between the local elites and the imperial center were also weakened. The local landowners who traditionally participated in the imperial institutions such as the senate or the provincial administration constituted the 'late Roman elite'. In this system they were making money and acquiring important positions within their local contexts under the protected roof of the state structure. After the weakening of the Roman state, however, they were no more sustained and their attachment to the empire was gradually loosened (Heather, 2000: 18). Consequently the local landlords either tried to establish their own defense or else they attached themselves to the most powerful barbarian immigrant group in their own locality (Heather, 2000: 18). Such local situations evidently prompted different local and individual strategies for survival and self-advancement. In other words, the unity of the Western Empire was fragmented into a series of mutually antagonistic successors (fig. 3) (Heather, 2000: 31). A number of smaller political capitals such as Toulouse of the Visigothic Kingdom in the 5th century, Paris of the Merovingians in the 6th century, and Pavia of the Lombards in the 7th century were all scattered within the territory of the classical empire. From the 5th century onwards the unitary mission of the emperor was no more and no longer meaningful. Although a series of emperors tried to consolidate the empire in the 470s they could neither stay on the throne more than a year nor succeed in providing the continuity of the Western Empire. Eventually the last emperor Romulus Augustulus lost control of the imperial army and on 4

September 476 he was deposed by a subordinate commander who also murdered the commander of Romulus' army and replaced a Germanic military leader instead (Heather, 2000: 27). From this date onwards it is assumed that there was no longer an empire called Roman in the West.

The Eastern Empire on the other hand was not equally affected from the decline and the fall of the Empire in the West. In contrast, Constantinople, the capital city of the eastern empire, gained more power in the fifth and sixth centuries. The most serious threat for the Byzantine Empire came in the late sixth and seventh centuries from the Sassanians. The big wars with the Sassanians in the first half of the seventh century damaged the empire a lot but it succeeded to survive till the fifteenth century by the help of its political strategies and economic sufficiency.

The factors that shaped the Eastern and the Western Empires in late antiquity cannot be explained with political realities alone. The following sections of this chapter will discuss and outline the economical and social dynamics of the empire in terms of wealth and expenditure of social classes, property ownership and the influence of Christianity which had major impacts on the formation and definition of late Roman social and economical contexts.

2.2 The Shift in Wealth and Expenditure: Re-orientation of Public and Private Revenues

As in the pre-industrial societies the major source of private wealth and public revenue in the later Roman Empire was the land (Whittaker and Garnsey, 1998: 277). The commerce and redistributive power of the state also played an important role in the vitality and the operation of the economy (Perkins, 2000b: 382). For this reason the economic decline of the Western Roman Empire and the decline of the state were closely interrelated.

As the archaeological record suggests, in both the Roman and Late Roman Empires, the regional wealth was closely related to the overseas trade (Perkins, 1998: 375). Within the empire the more structurally integrated a region to the Roman

economical system the more advantageous it was to import and export goods, since the cost of land transportation was high. (Wickham, 2003: 399). However, when the coherence of that economical-system vanished in the later empire some regions such as Tunisia and Italy whose economic vitalities were structurally linked to the Mediterranean network and which were influenced economically with the break of this link suffered more than the other areas. Moreover the state could neither engage easily in large-scale movements of goods over long distances nor could it continue to act as an important buyer of commercial goods due to its weakened state. In the 3rd and 4th centuries, Africa (especially Tunisia at its center) was the major export region of the western Mediterranean while Italy was a considerable marketplace as an importer. The Vandal conquest in the 5th and 6th centuries in Africa and the Gothic War and the Lombard conquests in the 6th century in Italy caused a break in this economical network. As such, the economy of these areas seriously declined and became more localized (Wickham, 2003: 389-391).

In the Western Empire's expenditures the budget was allocated for the army and the defense of the empire had the lion's share. The continuous wars, the payments given to the increased number of soldiers and functionaries and the expenses for the production of arms or construction and repair of fortresses costed a considerable amount of expense. In addition, the barbarian groups who were also rewarded with money, gold, grain or land in order to keep them inactive or to induce them to move elsewhere absorbed large sums from the budget (Cameron, 1993: 47, Garnsey and Humfress, 2001: 102). Persia, for instance was paid large sums for the peace treaties of AD 531 and 562.

The money required to compensate the increasing expenses in the West was supplied through increased taxes which were almost tripled in the 4th century. This over-taxation system, which was indeed very strict and unequal, worsened the conditions of the lower income group and threatened the prosperity of modest landowners most of whom had to sell their properties. In turn, huge amounts of land and wealth began to be collected by few senatorial aristocrats (Wickham, 2003: 398; Sodini, 2003: 28). In addition, with the weakening of the traditional

landowning system a peasant middle class came into existence. Moreover later in the 7th and 8th centuries while the possessors of large properties mostly disappeared and their houses were split into smaller apartments or used for agricultural or commercial purposes as olive presses, the number of shops and workshops increased considerably, indicating the formation of other social classes (Sodini, 2003: 50).

Heavy taxation, the decrease in public spending and increase in military expenditure together with the failure of some regions to compete commercially caused a decline and instability in the economy of the state in the west in late antiquity and also a shift of focus for intensive, specialized and sophisticated economic life in the south and east in between the 5th and the 7th centuries (Perkins, 2000b: 350, 381-382).

The economic progress of the East on the other hand was different from the west in late antiquity. The fifth century was a period of growing prosperity in the east while it was of marked decline in the west.[7] In the fifth century the wealth of the Western Empire was in the hands of big and powerful families whereas in the East the inequality of wealth was less profound. In terms of the socio-economic conditions as well, the east was more homogenous than the west; in the west there was a dramatic social gap between the senatorial aristocracy who were powerful due to their property and nobility by birth, and the functional aristocracy who could only boast a rank by a good service at the court. In the east however the successful functionaries who did not derive a career from their pedigree formed the senate. In Constantinople, for example, diversity characterized the social groups that constituted the court (McCormick, 2000: 156). A mixed group of people having different social positions, religions, languages, kinship networks and rival organizations co-existed inside the Great Palace of Constantinople.

[7] According to some scholars such as Whittow (2003: 405-408); Wickham (2003: 385-403) and Zanini (2003) it is not the 5th but the 7th century which witnessed a real decline in the economy in the Western provinces.

2.3 The Social Context: The Rise of Christianity and the Changing Culture of Society

One of the most important factors that changed and reshaped the social context of late antiquity was the triumph of Christianity. From the 3rd century onwards, and especially in the 4th century Christianity was widely spread among the Roman society and the bishops had already gained a strong position within the Roman state (Cameron, 1993:57). As such Christianity would play a major role in the social transformation of the Empire.

The bishops' influence extended beyond the religious matters. They became involved in political, economic and social life starting from the reign of Constantine. They had the precedence of secular jurisdiction and a leadership role within the civil administration[8] (Cameron, 1993: 61, 65). They provided economic and moral support for those who were in need and directed their attention to people who were neglected by others such as the poor, the widows and the sick, a practice which was remarkably well appreciated in a period in which poverty was a major problem. Moreover the church became powerful enough to acquire sufficient financial sources to organize the protection of the unfortunate social groups since the additional income of the state budget, which was hitherto used for spending on public buildings in the second century and for the honorification of the emperor and the elites in the fourth century, were all directed to the church starting from the fifth century onwards (Brown, 2000: 64).

Nevertheless Christianity rose on different foundations in the East and the West. In the West Christianity was spread with more violence whereas in the east the emperors tried to be in peace with the church. On the other hand, although the influence of Christianity in terms of practice and in the personal lives of many people was remarkable, paganism continued to linger for some more time. In the Eastern Empire the pagan rites and rituals were tolerated till the legislation of Theodosius I outlawed such practices in both public and private spheres in 391-2

[8] For more information on the position of the church and bishops, and their mission in the late antique society see Brown (1995) and (1992).

AD (Garnsey and Humfress, 2001: 132-140). For example a number of literary sources mention about the presence of thousands of pagans in Asia Minor under Justinian when John, the bishop of Ephesus, was sent out to convert them (Cameron, 1993: 70).

The eastern emperors tried to be in touch with the peasant class irrespective of differences in culture, language or family also by the help of the church and thus imposed on them the idea of being the citizens of a single Christian Empire. Hence the idea of the Christian Community, which dominated the middle ages, was formed already in the fifth and sixth centuries by the Roman emperors residing in the East.

The Roman Empire in late antiquity then faced a number of significant problems such as the barbarian invasions and wars, economic instability and the social conflicts all of which had varying regional impacts and effects within the imperial landscape. These problems caused initially the division of the imperial lands between east and west and then the gradual disintegration of the empire both in the east and in the west. In the meantime, the disturbances which happened earlier and caused more severe consequences in the west had a considerable effect on the urbanism and architecture of the period in both parts of the empire. In this period both the urban topography and the architecture in several areas witnessed some fundamental shifts and transformations following the changing dynamics in late antiquity. These are outlined and illustrated in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 3

URBANISM IN LATE ANTIQUITY

The physical development of the classical city reached its highest level in terms of offering impressive public buildings and services that provided a comfortable and rich urban life in the second and the first two decades of the third century AD. The Roman cities all throughout the empire were typical in their urban character in this period; they had several public buildings including *forum*, theatre, baths, temples, *nymphaea* and colonnaded streets in addition to residential quarters. They were autonomous with their own administration and finance as well. In late antiquity although the Roman Empire preserved its city-based structure, the urban character in the cities started to change. Changes and transformations occurred both in the urban and the rural contexts, especially from the third century onwards, but the dynamics were different in the eastern and the western parts of the empire.

This chapter discusses those factors that affected considerably the fate of the Roman cities in late antiquity with a particular emphasis on the changing urban topography of the period in reference to three cities in Asia Minor. Ephesus, Aphrodisias and Sardis illustrate well the urban change and transformation in the eastern part of the Roman Empire.

3.1 The Reasons of Change in Late Antique Urbanism

The main motives that initiated a change in the urban character of the Roman cities in both the east and the west in late antiquity (with different chronologies) are not actually different than those discussed in the previous chapter. Taking the same

order, these motives were the governmental attitude towards the changing political and economical dynamics of the period, which were closely related, the military anxieties and problems, and the impact of Christianity as a totally new and different form of belief and faith.

3.1.1 Administrative Changes and the Decline of Public Patronage

The Roman Empire was made up of a patchwork of hundreds of *civitates* of various size; these were the territories, each ruled from a local capital town by an aristocratic council called '*curia*'. After the third century however the administrative power of *curia* which had a vital importance in the fate of the Roman city was weakened due to mainly two reasons: new governmental formations and the decrease in public expenditure.

In the 3rd and 4th centuries AD, the western emperors set up an enlarged and enhanced network of imperial power over the network of *civitates* partly in order to facilitate the collection of imperial taxes (Perkins, 1998: 375). In time, in each city, a new senatorial administration acting and mediating between the local public and the central government in Constantinople was formed who worked more for the benefit of the central government unlike the *curiae* who concentrated more on the local issues. Thus especially in the Western provinces, the *curiae* lost their priority in their own regions and instead, the provincial governors assumed much more local authority and responsibility in the provinces (Cameron, 1993: 168). The latter started to exercise more severe control over their constituent *civitates* than the provincial governors of the earlier empire (Perkins, 1998: 375). Moreover after the third century the central imperial administration confiscated a greater portion of the local wealth than it did before, a fact that caused a serious decline in the city incomes.

In the 3rd and 4th centuries, the more integrated a town to the imperial network, the more new opportunities opened up for it (Burns and Eadie, 2001: XVII). In the same centuries the provinces were divided into smaller units that gave way to the formation of more cities that benefited from the advantages of becoming provincial

centers (fig. 4). As such, most of the large settlement sites in the western states shrank considerably and instead many smaller provinces with newly flourishing cities were created.

The state officials became the main actors in the local political life in such a system and as they resided mostly in the provincial centers, activities became much more concentrated in some cities such as Sardis, Ephesus, Aphrodisias and Ancyra in Asia Minor in the East and Trier and Ravenna in the West. Inevitably these cities gained more importance and power compared to the other cities in their provinces.

It was not only the central government but also the local aristocrats that had a significant role on the fate of the urban life especially in the Western Empire. The aristocrats in the early empire were eager and used to spend a huge amount of their wealth for organizing public events and for constructing and repairing public buildings to enhance the appearance and conformity of their towns and hence to impress and gain applause from their fellow citizens. However, the western aristocracy of the late empire became aware of the fact that the patronage of traditional civic amenities no more provided power and status. Instead they focused on the imperial service (Ellis,1997b: 46; Cameron; 1993: 93-94) and by the end of the 4th century, the money spent by the aristocratic families for public expenditure decreased tremendously. Consequently the western city councils could hardly find sufficient financial resource for the construction of new public buildings or for the repair of the existing ones (Liebeschuetz, 1999: 6). In the Eastern Empire on the other hand, the tradition of euergetism continued well up to the 5th century (Lavan, 2003: 318). In the provincial capitals such as Corinth, Ephesus, Side and Aphrodisias for instance the *fora* and *agorai* received major repairs in the 4th and 5th centuries and at Caesarea Maritima on the Palestinian coast a new and monumental colonnaded street was laid out after 562 AD (Lavan, 2003: 317; Whittow; 2000: 14).

On the other hand, despite the observable decrease in the expenses for the public buildings, festivals and the monuments with dedicatory inscriptions large and ample

residences continued to be built and redecorated as indicated by the archaeological evidence in different parts of the empire (Liebeschuetz, 1999: 3). The aristocratic elite of the late empire spent their wealth not so much for public buildings and activities of grand scale but rather for luxurious private houses and for religious buildings and related activities like public events associated with Christian holy days (Burns and Eadie, 2001: XVII; Whittow, 2003: 409).

3.1.2 Military Reorganization: Emphasis on Frontiers and Fortifications

One other factor that initiated a change in the geographical hierarchy and importance of the cities and their physical aspects was the military reorganizations. Especially after the 'third century crisis', defense and safety became major considerations in the cities of the western empire. In the 4th and early 5th centuries, not only was the army re-located along the frontiers but also the emperors chose to reside close to the frontiers and within the reach of the frontier armies as a response to the threat posed both by the outer and the inner enemies (Perkins, 1998: 390). The emperors had to re-locate their new capitals either close to a particular frontier such as Antioch at the Persian frontier in Asia Minor or else in a strategic location to provide easy access at least to one frontier such as Constantinople for both lower Danube and Persian frontiers (Perkins, 1998: 390).

The presence of the army or the emperor in some cities which were previously considered to have been located in the peripheral areas of the empire not only increased the capacity of the local economy and the number of better roads and transportation systems but also attracted large amounts of immigrants. As such, many frontier cities became more crowded and wealthier in a short period of time. Consequently they became the new centers of the empire. Thus a number of cities like Trier, Milan, Constantinople and Antioch gained importance due to the presence and residence of the emperor, and Rome eventually lost its previous importance and dominance as the center of political and economical life in the Roman Empire. In these cities, the presence of imperial courts and special defense forces assured the perpetuation of urban markets, good and efficient transportation roads and concentration of resources (Burns and Eadie, 2001: XIX). The prosperous

villa estates that also emerged in these periods continued to be used in the 5th century at Trier, and in the 6th century in Constantinople.

It was only in the early years of the 5th century in the west and the Balkans and much later in the East that the situation changed and the cities near frontiers became unsafe for the emperors to reside in. Hence the emperors moved to new and safer cities; the western emperor for example moved to Ravenna from Milan in 402 and in the East Constantinople became the imperial residence of the eastern empire during the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries (Perkins, 1998: 391).

The consideration of safety in late antiquity did not only lead some cities to gain importance and develop due to their geographical location or importance but also changed their physical aspects. Till the 3rd century the army was considered as the sole protector of the cities but after the crisis in the same century additional precautions were needed. Respectively, from the 3rd century onwards, several cities were surrounded either with new defense walls or else the existing walls were repaired, a practice which was usual only in the towns near the frontiers in earlier periods. In late antiquity a big portion of the city incomes was allocated to the construction works related to fortifications and other defensive structures. As a result, it was in this period that both a physical and a conceptual shift from a 'city' to a 'defensive city' began which later formed the foundations for the formation of Middle Byzantine *kastron* or fortress town (Zanini, 2003: 217; Haldon, 2003: 98). In the mids of the 7th century, for instance, Ancyra shrank to a walled citadel though it remained as an economic and administrative center (Foss, 1977: 85; Haldon, 2003: 98).

3.1.3 The Impact of Christianity on the Urban Monumental Topography

In late antiquity, the Christian bishop and his clergy constituted the local Christian congregation and they not only assumed an increasing authority in the administration of cities but also took part in the politics of the empire.[9] They were involved in organizing the religious activities in their locality but at the same time

[9] For the role of bishops in late antique cities see Maas (2000) and Urbainczyk (1997).

assumed the right to interfere in several social issues not related to religious matters. From the second half of the sixth century onwards the bishops seems to have become the protectors of cities much more than the earlier senators, the governors or the local elite. The church received not only a certain amount of the city incomes but also several personal donations and hence its property holding increased considerably compared to the early 4th century (Whittaker and Garnsey, 1998: 301). As such the church became wealthy enough to act as a patron and to make significant contributions to the urban survival by constructing new public centers such as ecclesiastical complexes and sponsoring public benefactions. It was not only the government and the pioneering Christian congregation but also the wealthy citizens who contributed to the church building programs through monetary donations or else with property to be used for the construction of religious buildings (Wataghin, 2003: 243). There are also several examples for private houses, *domus* converted into churches or for churches constructed over *domus* in many places. In Xanthos for example a late 5th or early 6th century church was built over a residential district (Harl, 2001: 314) [10].

In this period then church building became a means for displaying wealth and power for both the church and the donor. The churches were decorated with marble furniture and elaborate floor mosaics which could be paved in sections to bear the name of a donor, of his/her family or even their portraits (Brown, 1992: 96). Moreover the elite could retain their name and eminence by building a grandiose mausoleum or a monumental tomb with a privileged position inside the church (Sodini, 2003: 40).

The public entertainment and leisure buildings; theatres, baths and circuses on the other hand were often criticized by the clergy on moral grounds in late antiquity. Such negative comments about public pastime and leisure activities and spaces are taken by some scholars as one of the main reasons for the gradual decline of the use

[10] In Rome as well there is an example of a church built over a *domus*, for more information on this house see Nash (1981: 310-311).

of public buildings especially in the western provinces (Ellis, 1988: 566; Cameron, 1993: 164).

These three major factors; administrative changes and the decline of public patronage, military reorganizations and the impact of Christianity combined with some natural disasters such as earthquakes, pestilence and famine had a considerable impact on the future of cities in both the East and the West in late antiquity. However not only their occurrence rate in the Eastern and the Western parts of the empire differed in the course of time but also their consequences varied from one region to another. Nevertheless the Roman Empire managed to keep its city-based structure with political, religious and aristocratic life revolving around the *civitates* and the provincial capitals in the 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries in both the East and the West (Perkins, 1998: 409; Burns and Eadie, 2001: XIV).

Starting from the 3rd century AD, then, the cities continued to prosper in the East as opposed to the West where there was a relative decrease in the urban life. In the 4th century a visible urban prosperity was observed especially in North Africa and Asia Minor (Perkins, 1998: 408, Liebeschuetz, 1999: 23). Moreover in the fifth and sixth centuries most settlements spread out and the population density reached its highest level in the eastern provinces (Perkins, 2000a: 321). The western provinces, on the other hand, faced troubles and witnessed an urban decline much earlier; yet this was not a sharp decline till the 6th and 7th centuries. In the west the urban prosperity in terms of keeping the public buildings in good shape or building new ones was not anymore the main issue.

Italy, as one of the most prosperous and urbanized regions of the Roman Empire, kept its prosperity well up to the 5th century. It was mainly in the 6th century and due to the barbarian attacks and economic problems that the cities in Italy faced major urban problems: substantial urban areas which used to have been important centers in terms of public amenities and population densities were often abandoned, monumental construction and urban planning almost came to an end, rural villas

vanished and the town houses started to be subdivided into smaller units (Wickham, 2003: 391; Ellis, 1988: 566-567).

Northern Gaul faced a crisis earlier than Italy in the 5th century. While it exhibited a relative prosperity during the 3rd century, the political instability and the external attacks caused a significant urban decline in this region as well. The villas between the Seine and Rhine were abandoned in the period between 350 and 450 AD and fragmentation occurred in the 5th century (Burns and Eadie, 2001: XVII; Wickham, 2003: 393).

Some other regions within the empire were able to keep their wealth and economy more stable. Tunisia at the core of Roman Africa, with many other African cities for example was still prosperous and the rural settlements seem to have been stable in 400 AD. It was only in the 7th century that a general decline in the number of identifiable rural sites is seen first due to the Vandal conquests and the associated economical constraints and then to the Arab invasions.

Asia Minor, just like Roman Africa, witnessed an urban vitality and prosperity in the 4th and 5th centuries. The numismatic and ceramic evidence indicate an urban continuity well up to the early 7th century. Many large aristocratic houses for instance are identifiable in different cities from the 5th century, which were subdivided in the 6th century, except the ones in Constantinople (Whittow, 2001: 149). In and around this capital city villa estates continued to prosper in the 6th century (Burns and Eadie, 2001: XIX). It was only after the 7th century, however, that some cities had totally disappeared and Asia Minor entered a 'Dark Age' as well (Liebeschuetz, 1999: 32).

Apparently it was only in the 6th century that the eastern part of the empire faced serious military threats including the Persian invasions and natural catastrophes like earthquakes and plagues. The Persian sovereignty and the Arab invasions prepared the basis for the end of the cities in Roman East in the 7th and 8th centuries a period much later than the west.

3.2 The Monumental Topography of Late Antique Cities

The archaeological evidence and the literary sources both show that the late antique city exhibited a mixture of traditional and innovative urban features (Zanini, 2003: 200). While avenues with porticoes, administrative buildings, and structures like aqueducts continued to function in the same capacity, entertainment and leisure buildings like baths and theatres became less popular and used. In late antiquity fortification walls and religious buildings like churches started to dominate the topography of many cities. Thus a new type of city which was imperial, Christian, small and fortified came into existence in the course of the later Roman Empire (Zanini, 2003: 215).

The political topography of the Roman cities seems to have been unchanged in late antiquity. The buildings in which institutionalized governmental activities were carried out could still be recognized in this period. The *agora* or *forum* as the political center of the Roman cities continued to be so in the 4th and early 5th centuries, especially in the provincial capitals such as Corinth, Aphrodisias and Ephesus (Lavan, 2003: 317-318). The *praetorium*, that is the official residence and the administrative headquarters of the civil governor in a province, could easily be detected in many late antique cities, as it was often located next to the *forum* and not at the edge of the city. These residences differed from the houses of the well-to-do with their large courtyards, offices, shrines and sometimes with large audience halls, prisons, tax offices and archives (Lavan, 2003: 315-316). [11]

Some other public buildings however had gone out of use and were subdivided or encroached by poorer dwellings or else by small-scale ateliers of traders and artisans (Cameron, 1993: 160). This was the case in the *palaestra* in Anemurium in southern Turkey, or the olive press at Tunisia which was placed on top of a former main street, most probably in the 7th century. The presence of burials within towns and even on the sites of earlier public buildings or houses commonly seen in North

[11] For detailed information on late antique *praetoria* see Lavan (2001) 39-56.

Africa also indicates a major shift in the use of urban space as well (Cameron, 1993: 161).

The churches became not only common but also the new foci in the urban grid as the meeting place of the civic community in cities in late antiquity (Wataghin, 2003: 243). This early Christian topography usually included a primary episcopal church with a baptistery used for formal worship and liturgical use, domestic quarters for the clergy and also other churches, which were used for funerary practices and the cult of martyrs (Wataghin, 2003: 230).

Such religious buildings gradually replaced the former public buildings of the pagan culture. The existing buildings, especially the pagan temples were destroyed, let to decay or sometimes were converted into churches and other religious buildings. The 3-aisled basilica, for instance, with its long naves leading to an apse was adopted as the dominant form of church architecture together with the often octagonally shaped *martyrium* that gave form to the baptisteries of the following centuries (Cameron, 1993: 58-60).

As such late antiquity witnessed the gradual transformation of the traditional Roman cities which were planned and adorned with temples, public entertainment buildings and large aristocratic houses and villa estates for an enriched communal life and the 'honorification' of the urban elite, to smaller cities dominated with fortification walls and churches that were built mostly by the interventions of the state and the Christian Church.

The transformation of the city and its public buildings and spaces influenced the design and use of domestic architecture as well. The character of residential districts was also changed in many ways.[12] Some prominent late antique cities in Asia Minor

[12] The domestic architecture of late antiquity will be discussed in the next chapter. Therefore the transformation of the residential districts and the individual residences are not mentioned in this section.

merit more attention and are exemplary in this respect as they not only illustrate the transformation of public buildings but also the private ones.

3.2.1 Urbanism in Late Antique Asia Minor: Change, Transformation and Continuity

Asia Minor came under the political rule of the Romans in the 1st c. AD and experienced a remarkable security and prosperity for several centuries. It was buffered by Armenia and Syria in the East and Greece and Thrace in the West and hence was relatively protected from the barbarian invasions that brought turmoil and destruction to the western provinces in late antiquity. Moreover the strategic position of Constantinople enabled the protection of both the land and the sea routes. Although the Goths were able to invade the peninsula and threatened the coastal cities in the 3rd century, Anatolian lands remained relatively secure under the Roman control throughout late antiquity (until the Persian attacks of the early 7th century).

From the 4th century onwards, the eastern part of the empire was governed from Constantinople and it finally became the only capital of the Roman Empire in 467, causing a rapid increase in the number of members in the senate. This was an important development in the transformation of the traditional civic life in late antique Anatolian cities. The increasing demand for men to serve in the imperial administration and the creation of new provinces offered many new positions and opportunities for promotion and social mobility for the citizens of the eastern empire and consequently encouraged them to draw away from the public life in their own cities and focus more on the capital.

Under these relatively safe and promising conditions, the majority of the cities in Asia Minor continued to prosper in late antiquity but with some visible changes and transformations. For instance, certain types of buildings such as temples fell out of use and *spolia* coming from these buildings were used in the construction of new

types of buildings like churches or city walls.[13] As such not only the urban topography of the cities in Asia Minor was transformed but also the architectural characteristics and the use of individual buildings were changed, a fact which illustrate the impacts of social and the political shifts of the period.

The multi-dimensional change, transformation and continuity in the late antique cities in Asia Minor are well documented for some cities. Among these Ephesus and Aphrodisias as the provincial capitals reflect the dynamics of the change profoundly. Moreover they also exhibit well-preserved examples of public and private architecture from late antiquity. Sardis as a smaller but still a lavish city is also exemplary in terms of illustrating the late antique trends in urbanism and private architecture.

3.2.1.1 Ephesus

Ephesus was one of the largest cities in Roman Asia Minor and owed its prominence to its strategic location and to the wealth of resources in its territory. It was the terminus of two important routes, one connecting the Lycian Coast with inner Asia Minor and the other connecting the ancient Persian Royal Road to the main trade route of the Romans that linked the Maeander valley and the surrounding plateaus (Foss, 1979: 3). It was also the largest seaport in the Aegean region where the important trade routes of the Mediterranean met. Moreover it had a fertile land and was rich in minerals. Hence Ephesus respectively became a crucially important center for trade, finance and industry in the Roman Empire.

Especially after 29 BC, when Ephesus became the residence of the proconsul and thus the new capital of Asia Minor instead of Pergamon, the city was re-organized and adorned with several grandiose public and private buildings, as well as with paved streets and statues, all of which reflected the prosperity of the city (fig. 19).

In the 3rd century Ephesus was affected from the plunder of the Germanic sea lords and a disastrous earthquake. The invaders destroyed the famous temple of Artemis

[13] For a detailed study on the transformation of the existing buildings to basilicas in western Asia Minor see Ceylan (2000).

and the earthquake caused damage and destruction in the terrace houses, the Tetragonas Agora, the Serapion precinct and the theatre. It took some time for Ephesus to recover but under the rule of Diocletian and his successors the urban life prospered and flourished again.

Ephesus preserved its importance as a provincial capital in late antiquity and provided all the public services for its inhabitants, a fact easily observable from the architectural remains and the public and administrative inscriptions. Its prominence increased among the other cities in the region, especially when the city became the seat of the church councils in the 5th century.

The theatre square continued to function as the focus of urban life in Ephesus in late antiquity. From this square a processional street led to north and south, a magnificent marble avenue led to west to the harbor and another colonnaded avenue gave access to the agora. The Arcadiane, leading from the port to the theatre, was the widest and the most impressive thoroughfare in the city. As the major street coming from the port it was likely to be the main route for the ceremonial processions of the dignitaries who arrived from the sea (Ellis, 1997b: 39). Named in honor of emperor Arcadius, it was paved by re-used marble and lined with shops at the end of the 4th century (Foss, 1979: 56). The Embolos was a narrower steep street running from the theatre and passed through a major residential district ending with the council chamber. It was also a lively street lined with colonnades, statues and shops. The statues erected along this avenue date from 450 to 550 AD and the inscriptions found on these statues indicate that they continued to adorn Embolos until the 7th century.

Hence many of the large buildings were either maintained or rebuilt in Ephesus in late antiquity. The theatre and the theatre *gymnasium* located at the city center were maintained and repaired probably in the 4th or 5th century. The stadium in which the games continued to be performed received a major rebuilding program in the 4th century although Christian preachers discouraged the performance of the animal and gladiatorial combats. The basilica, after a partial destruction, was strengthened

in the 4th century by the addition of supports between the columns of the interior colonnades. At the end of the 4th century further rebuilding took place in the basilica and the building was used until it was totally destroyed around 500 AD by an earthquake. The agora continued to function in late antiquity but primarily as a cattle or food market. However its open space may have continued to function as a place for public meetings (Foss, 1979: 63). Some parts of the agora were reconstructed in the 4th or early 5th century.[14] The public baths of Ephesus were also in use in late antiquity. The baths of Constantius II near the *palaestra* and the large Bath of Carious east of the upper agora were restored in the 4th and 5th centuries mostly with re-used materials.[15]

Many private residences were also restored lavishly in late antiquity and thus reflect the prosperity of the period. The terrace houses illustrate best the continuity of use and also the wealth of its inhabitants well up to the 7th century.

A number of new and elegant buildings were also constructed in Ephesus in late antiquity. In addition to the monumental avenue of Arcadiane, the Baths of Scholasticia near the residential district, many new churches including Saint Mary and Saint John and elegant private houses such as the 'Governor's Palace' were all erected in this period.

On the other hand some buildings changed their functions or fell out of use in the city. The Library of Celsus for example changed its function and appearance completely after it had fallen into ruins during the 3rd century earthquake. Its roof and interior decoration were removed and a colonnade was built against the south wall. In the 4th century it was transformed into a monumental fountain, which was also a usual practice in late antiquity (Foss, 1979: 65; Ratté, 2001: 143). The

[14] Unlike Ephesus the open public spaces in many other cities were abandoned, a fact which caused a fundamental change in the appearance of the cities during late antiquity. For instance two large basilical churches were built in the *agorai* of Phaselis and Iasos in the 5th and 6th centuries (Roueche, 2000: 582).

[15] In late antiquity the baths in Aphrodisias, Didyma, Perge and Side were also repaired and used.

basilica, which was destroyed in the Gothic attacks of the 3rd century also changed its function. In the 4th century it was converted into a 3-aisled and apsed church with a *narthex* and a large atrium. A large and spacious bishop's residence was conveniently added to this new church now called Saint Mary as the church and its atrium could not totally fill the area of the ancient basilica.

Christianity had further impacts on the monumental topography of Ephesus and its individual buildings. The famous temple of Artemis, after its destruction in the Gothic plunder of 262 AD, was poorly restored and continued to be used only until the 4th century. At the beginning of the 5th century it was despoiled by Patriarch John Chrysostom. The temple of Serapis which was in use in the 4th century was converted into a church. The temples of Rome and Caesar and of Isis were destroyed and new houses were built over them. In the meantime a new and impressive church, the Church of Saint John, was constructed near the Artemision outside the city and was in use in late antiquity. Together with Saint Mary the Church of Saint John captured the attention of the visitors arriving from the harbor as was the case for the temple of Artemis a few centuries ago. Moreover twenty or more churches of varying size are known to have been built in the 5th and 6th century Ephesus in addition to the previously mentioned two monumental churches (Scherrer, 2001: 80).

The written documents and the architectural remains thus show that Ephesus continued to be an active city in late antiquity. It was an active metropolis which provided all the public services. Large public buildings were mostly maintained while many new ones were constructed at the expense of some older ones that were in ruins then. *Spolia* from such abandoned buildings were used in even the most lavishly built new buildings. On the other hand, some wide streets were narrowed by new constructions and some open squares were filled with poor houses. The pagan appearance of the city was gradually transformed into a Christian image with the addition of several religious buildings into the urban fabric.

The prosperity in Ephesus came to an end in the 7th century. Like many other provincial cities in Asia Minor it was considerably reduced in size and prosperity during this century. The Persian and Arab invasions and the plague disrupted the commerce and industry on which the urban life had been based. The eastern part of the city, the Embolos area and the Upper Agora were abandoned and some parts were completely destroyed. The luxurious houses in this area were ruined while some others were divided into smaller units. Finally the city was divided into two small, fortified centers with smaller and poorer buildings, indicating a much modest urban life.

3.2.1.2 Aphrodisias

Aphrodisias suffered to some degree from the third century crisis just like many of the other cities in western Asia Minor. During this century, the administrative problems and the Gothic invasions caused the decline of building activity in the city. From the mid 3rd to the mid 4th century almost no new building activity took place in Aphrodisias. It was only after the mid 4th century that building activity was revitalized and the city continued to prosper until the 6th century.

After the crisis of the 3rd century, Aphrodisias became the capital of the new province of Caria/ Phyrygia which was a crucial status for keeping the vitality of the city (Ratté, 2001: 124). One of the first evidences of building activity after this period is the repair of the Hadrianic Baths in the early 4th century which is associated with the governor Helladius. A governor's involvement in such an activity was not an unusual practice in this period. On the contrary it was a common phenomenon in provincial capitals like Sardis and Ephesus. Another substantial project in which the governor was involved was the construction of the city walls around 350s and 360s and it was in the same years that a *tetrastoon* was built behind the theatre (fig. 13).[16]

[16] Like Aphrodisias, the city walls in many other cities in the region seem to have been built in the 4th and 5th centuries. In Sagalassos, the city walls seem to have been built in the early 5th century, Amorium was fortified under Zeno in the 5th century, and in Smyrna the city walls were built or repaired under Arcadius in the 4th century.

There is little epigraphic evidence for new public building activity in the late 4th and the first half of the 5th centuries in Aphrodisias. Construction works are recorded again from the mid 5th to the early 6th century. In the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century, the east end of the stadium was converted, with some modifications, into an arena with a capacity of 5000 people. Another project of this period was the restoration of the Tetrapylon, the gateway to the Sanctuary of Aphrodite. After staying damaged for a while it was restored by the addition of some columns taken from a different building (Ratté: 2001: 127).

One of the most important building activities of the period was the conversion of the temple of Aphrodite into a church. The colonnades of the temple were remodeled to function as the inner partition of the nave and aisles of the church. The columns on the shorter ends were taken out and added to the longer colonnades on the northern and the southern sides to extend them. The walls of the *cella* were deconstructed and were used for building new walls outside the colonnades. As such the temple was made to 'disappear' within the new basilica. Moreover the image of Aphrodite was also erased from the western pediment of the Tetrapylon but care was taken not to damage the surrounding reliefs (Ratté, 2001: 133). The new church was reoriented to the west and the roads as well were reoriented accordingly, which emphasize the importance of the building in the new urban topography.[17]

Another evidence illustrating the continuity of use of public areas in Late Roman Aphrodisias is the erection of statue monuments especially in the south agora, next to the entrance of the Hadrianic baths and in the north *stoa* of north agora, showing that this area remained as an important public space (Ratté, 2001: 127). On the other hand the monumental hallway of the city, the Sebasteion, was converted into public use and its lower level was given over to shops which were in use from the 5th to the 7th century according to the coin finds (Harl, 2001: 312)[18]. As in the Aphrodite

[17] Conversion of temples into churches were also seen in other cities of Asia Minor such as the Temple of Zeus at Aezonia and the temples of Cybele and Augustus at Ancyra (Harl, 2001: 313).

[18] For more information on the reliefs of the Sebasteion and basilica in Aphrodisas see Yıldırımn (2004)

Temple, the images of deities and the scenes of pagan sacrifices were taken out from the Sebasteion while mythological and other reliefs were left untouched, a practice associated to the Christianization of ancient cities.

In many respects the center of the city was not changed significantly over the centuries. The great colonnaded squares of the north agora and south agora were still largely intact. The main streets in the city center were still paved with marble and lined with colonnades and statues, thus retaining their monumental character. The agora gate however was converted into a fountain (Ratté, 2001: 136).

Besides the public buildings, the elegant private houses mark the continued prosperity in late antique Aphrodisias. A grand residence was built next to the *bouleuterion* and some roads were reoriented accordingly. This so-called 'Bishop's Palace' was continued to be used until the 6th and early 7th century. In addition to this ample residence, the north Temenos House, the Atrium House and some other less excavated houses show the continuous inhabitation and the prosperity in the private residences at least until the late 6th centuries (Özgenel, forthcoming). The excavations revealed that the houses in the North and South Agora however were abandoned in the 6th and 7th centuries and were never re-occupied (Ratté, 2001: 146).

There is a certain decrease in the number of building inscriptions and the coin finds in the second half of the 6th and 7th centuries in comparison with the earlier periods. From this period onwards almost no new monumental building was erected or none of the existing ones were restored. In the early or mid 7th century the stage building of the theatre was incorporated into a fortification wall that encircled the Theatre Hill just like in Xanthos where the upper seats of the theatre were re-used for fortifications in the same century (Ratté, 2001: 139; des Courtils and Cavalier, 2001: 160). The metalwork and the coin finds in the trenches between the church and the stadium and in the north agora show that the activity in these areas continued at least into the early 7th century. However after this century habitation

may have been concentrated only on the core areas of the Theatre Hill and Pekmez Hill (Ratté, 2001: 146).

3.2.1.3 Sardis

Sardis was built at the center of a rich and fertile region with a river passing through it. The Pactolus River was a source of gold and the mountain behind the region was rich in minerals. In addition several natural routes passed through the city, some of which later became the main roads[19]. In addition to these natural sources of wealth, Sardis was also an important center as a provincial capital, as a military and industrial center and also as the seat of a philosophical school. Due to these advantages Sardis reached the height of its prosperity in the 2nd century when it flourished as a metropolis of perhaps 100.000 inhabitants and was adorned with imposing public buildings (Foss, 1976: 2).

All natural sources, except the gold of Pactolus which made Sardis a major center of trade and industry in earlier times were also available in late antiquity. The industries of imperial arms factory, metalworking, textile and glass manufacturing were still running and the city continued to benefit from its role as a provincial and military center until the 6th and 7th centuries (Foss, 1976: 14).

In late antiquity the municipal life continued, the civic buildings in the city center were maintained and new ones were added (fig. 27). The theatre, the *odeon* and the stadium continued to function in the eastern part of the city. The Roman bath and *gymnasium* complex was also maintained (Hanfmann, Yegül and Buchwald, 1983: 160-161). However the *gymnasium* functioned primarily as a bath and the *palaestra* was utilized only as a ceremonial space (an exercise ground was no longer needed in Christian belief).[20] All those public buildings; the *gymnasium*, the baths and the

[19] For detailed information on the geography and natural resources of Sardis see Hanfmann and Waldbaum (1975: 17-22).

[20] A similar development took place in Salamis where two *gymnasia* were abandoned and in the 5th century the baths were cleared from debris and put back into use. In Anemorium the *palaestra* was also abandoned and was built over by houses and shops, but two bath complexes were maintained and a third smaller one was built. At the end of the 3rd century the southern wing of *palaestra* in the *bath-gymnasium* complex at Sardis was converted into a monumental synagogue.

colonnades of the main avenue were richly supplied with marble- revetted floors and floor mosaics in late antiquity (Hanfmann, Yegül and Buchwald, 1983: 146).

The commercial life of the city has been documented by the excavation of the Byzantine shops along the main highway adjacent to the *gymnasium*. This row of 34-35 shops which opened into a wide colonnade were built adjacent to the south wall of the *gymnasium*-bath complex during the 3rd or 4th century and the coins demonstrate that the trade and manufacturing in this area continued until the early 7th century. In these specialized shops there are remains from ironmongers, glass sellers, paint dealers and jewelers (Yegül, 1987:48). Besides demonstrating the vitality of the commercial activity these shops also represent a phenomenon typical of the age: commercial centers of the cities shifted from open squares and ancient agora, to rows of shops located behind colonnades (Foss, 1976: 16).[21]

The building activity of the 4th and 5th centuries was mostly confined to churches and domestic architecture, as was also the case in other cities in this region like Xanthos (Scott, 1987: 78; des Courtils and Cavalier, 2001: 164). The pagan image of the city was rapidly replaced with a Christian image after Constantine made Sardis a metropolis of his church in 312 AD. Just after this date, the temple of Artemis which was the major cult in Sardis was abandoned and no resources were reserved for its restoration as Christianity became the dominant force in this period; the area was covered with alluvium from the streams by the middle of the 4th century. Only a small chapel was built, to serve as a local chapel, over a corner of this temple in the same century and crosses were carved on its walls to nullify the power of the demons (Foss, 1976: 34; Scott, 1987: 76).

One of the earliest known Christian basilicas was built outside the late antique city wall and a Christian quarter grew up around it, over an area that had been left unoccupied except the graves (Scott, 1987: 75). This Christian basilical church overlooked the wealthy residences along the banks of Pactolus River. This so called

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[21] For the Byzantine shops see also Crawford (1990).

Church EM is dated to 348-352 AD from the coin evidence. Just like the first churches in other cities such as Ephesus or Aphrodisias, this church was also positioned on the visual focus of the city to attract crowds (Harl, 2001: 311).

A substantial evidence for a residential quarter in late Roman Sardis comes from the sector MMS in the gently rising hill on the south of the main road and the southeast corner of the *bath-gymnasium* complex. This densely built up quarter of late antique housing dates to the 4th century, and in the 5th there seems to have been more building activity, especially in terms of constructing elegant and expensively furnished townhouses.

In the 4th or the early 5th century, a small bath was built to the west of the highway. Together with this bath there were three major functioning bath complexes in the city in late antiquity (Yegül, 1987: 50).

Older buildings were also restored in especially the 5th century. Redecoration took place in the bath-*gymnasium* complex and the synagogue in this century (Scott, 1987: 78). The marble court of the complex was restored and a new marble floor was laid over the old mosaics in a room adjacent to the court around 500 AD.

After the 5th century the city seems to have lost its prosperity and vitality. In the 6th century the streets and the *palaestra* were encroached and subdivided. Moreover in this century the houses seem to have been subdivided, stripped of their decoration and were used by poorer inhabitants or as workshops. The coinage and fine wares among the rubbish show that the occupation continued well into the 7th century (Whittow, 2001: 145). However medieval Sardis was no longer a great metropolis but rather consisted of a group of small settlements resembling villages dominated by a castle on the acropolis, which itself contained a settlement.

As such, just like in the eastern Mediterrenean, the imperial system lasted for longer, with some changes in Asia Minor compared to the west. A decisive shift in patronage from the private donors responsible for most of the public building in the

earlier centuries to the Roman provincial governors transferring most of the local revenues to the local government or church is seen in most late antique cities (Ratté, 2001: 144). On the other hand these rich private donors who used to invest their wealth on the well being of their citizens and improving their cities by sponsoring elaborate public buildings channeled their sources more to private houses and churches which became the new symbols of wealth and power in late antiquity.

During this period most of the Roman cities were fortified with walls which were built around the peripheries of the cities without causing any shrinkage in size. Inside the fortifications the public activities continued and most of the public buildings like the theatres, baths and sometimes *agorai* were maintained or repaired. On the other hand, especially with the impact of Christianization some public buildings like *gymnasia* and *stadia* fell out of use. The pagan temples were also replaced with Christian churches, which became the new monumental foci in cities.

Prime residential areas saw a consolidation of desirable property in the hands of relatively small number of citizens who were able to buy building plots and hence combine two or more houses into a single grand residence (Ratté, 2001: 124). Thus new, large and elegant houses appeared or the existing small ones were enlarged and lavishly re-decorated. These rich residences were mostly located in the city centers, near the important public areas and buildings.

In the early 7th century the Roman imperial system ceased to function in Asia Minor too. However in marked contrast to the cities further east such as Gerasa or Antioch where the transition from late antique to Medieval was more gradual, the cities of western Asia Minor saw a sudden decline and decay in this period (Ratté, 2001: 146).

The disappearance of central administration in the Roman Empire together with other factors such as the invasions, earthquakes and plague in the course of especially the 6th and 7th centuries, caused the cities to transform into smaller

centers, limited to the most defensible areas surrounded with fortifications (Rouché, 2000: 578). Most of the Roman public buildings were gradually abandoned and occupied by poor residents or workshops during these centuries.

Moreover as the imperial system no longer provided the public services such as administration and defense or the connection of the cities into the imperial trade routes or the services like water supply, it became almost a necessity to turn back to the lifestyle that had prevailed before the Romans: small villages and settlements spreading throughout the valleys (Ratté, 2001: 147).

CHAPTER 4

THE 'ROMAN HOUSE' AND ITS TRANSFORMATION IN LATE ANTIQUITY

Since urban architecture lost importance as a stage for elite competition in late antiquity domestic architecture came to play a more central role in social and political life (Scott, 1997: 59). In this period houses became seats of power as the political life became more personal and the rivalry between the autocratic elites grew greater. Especially in the 4th century, while some of the imperial Roman buildings were abandoned or given over to poor quality housing, many large and elaborate town houses and rural villas were continued to be built and the existing ones were enlarged or refurbished in the empire, in most provinces including Syria, Britain, Sicily, North Africa, Spain and Asia Minor.[22]

In late antiquity not only the importance of the private residences within the social and urban contexts had changed but the houses themselves were also transformed in terms of their architectural characteristics and use in parallel to the changes in these contexts. This chapter discusses the transformation of the Roman house from the imperial period to the later empire. Roman domestic architecture is best exemplified in Italy from the 1st century BC onwards. Especially the sites like Pompeii, Ostia

[22] In the Roman Empire, it was a common phenomenon that a number of generations from the same family continued to live (in the same or similar ways) on the same lands and in the same houses with their ancestors; sometimes spanning over 200-300 years (Mitchell, 1996: 203). The existing houses could be transformed according to the needs of the owner and the architectural trends of the period; in some cases they were turned into smaller apartments by subdivisions. These changes also continued in late antiquity as well.

and Herculeneum which were all excavated and restored to a large extent accommodate numerous Roman houses which give important clues about the domestic architecture of the Roman imperial period. In the light of these houses, the Roman domestic architecture will be overviewed in the following sections in order to be able to follow its transformation in late antiquity.

4. 1 The 'Roman House' Before Late Antiquity

The term 'Roman House' covers the houses which were built or used by the Romans or those who lived under the Roman dominancy and in the Roman way of life approximately in between the years 3rd c. BC and 3rd c. AD. Different types of houses existed in this period. The differences resulted mainly from the social class and the wealth of the owners rather than individual tastes and preferences. Though the Roman house was composed of smaller spaces set around larger ones, both of which were highly decorated, there were certain differences between the small and humble houses of the poor, the modest houses of the middle class and the large, elegant houses of the wealthy. In addition there were *insulae*, the multi-storey apartments found in Rome and Ostia (fig.10) and several rural villas belonging to the aristocratic families, which were located in the peripheries of the cities in Italy and the provinces and served for both production and leisure purposes.

This section will introduce the *urban domus*, the single family town house that prevailed, with changes, until late antiquity. A brief presentation of Roman family and its the daily practices (of private, social and business life of the house owners and their families) is essential in this context as these practices and rituals shaped the spatial layout and use of the house.

4.1.1 The Roman *Familia* and the Household

The *domus* was the basic unit of the Roman society (Gardner and Wiedemann, 1991: I). In its widest sense the term *domus* denoted the house together with the '*familia*' which refers to all the inhabitants living under the authority of the *paterfamilias,* the patron of the house (Rawson, 1986b: 7; Saller, 2000: 856). The Roman *familia*, different than the modern one, included the husband who was the

owner of everything that belonged to the house and the house itself, his wife and unmarried children, slaves and in some cases the grand-parents, the foster-children or the freedmen (Rawson, 1986b: 7; Dixon, 1992: 8). In addition to the *familia* the Roman household, during the day, also included the *clients*, the dependants of the owner of the house, coming usually from lower social classes, and the *amici*, the friends of the owners who visited for various reasons.

The Roman *familia*, had a patriarchal structure which was based on the dominance of the master of the house. The *paterfamilias* was the one who assigned the routine duties and labors of the slaves, and organized the financial matters concerning the house and the household (Veyne, 1987: 72). Moreover he conducted his business from home a fact which had significant consequences on the design and the use of the house and will be mentioned more in the following sections.

The *materfamilias*, the wife of the owner of the house, had less authority than his husband. Only in rare cases she was put in charge of the house by him (Veyne, 1987: 72). However she probably was more active in controlling the household and housework when his husband was not available at home. She also had the responsibility of rearing the children though they had their private nurses and teachers in wealthier households.

The children were important in the Roman society since they were seen as a guarantee of the continuity of family name and wealth.[23] Although the Roman families were expected to give their children a moral training and were responsible from their formal education the relationship between a child and his/ her family was much different than it is today (Dixon, 1992: 131). The children in well-to-do families grew up by babysitters, nurses and private tutors. They normally lived with their families until they got married. Upon marriage they left the house and established their own *domus* (Rawson, 1986a: 170).

[23] Daughters could retain their family name after marriage but they could not pass it to their offsprings (Rawson, 1986b: 18). The family name could only pass from fathers to sons.

The slaves or servants were also considered as members of the Roman family. They mostly lived together with the family of the owner of the house and were indispensable in the running of the *domus*. In fact the institution of slavery had a crucial importance in the Roman society. Most Romans depending on their wealth and the size of their house/s and villa/s had a number of slaves. The slaves were responsible for accomplishing several duties in the house such as doing the housework, providing the security of the house, taking care of the children and serving the owner and his guests. Thus they were omni-present even in the most private spaces of the house at any time.

In addition to these members of the family there was another group of people who could be included as part of the household since they frequently, some regularly, visited and spent time in the house. This group included the *clients*, the social equivalents and the *amici*, the intimate friends.

A Roman aristocrat had a number of dependants or clients usually belonging to lower social classes. As a wealthy and influential person a *paterfamilias* was a 'patron' and received his dependants every morning to listen to their praises, complaints and requests. In return for his help a patron gained and guaranteed the political support and the votes of his clients which were crucial in maintaining a political career, power and status. This morning greeting ritual, called *salutatio*, marked the reciprocal relationship between the *patronus* and his *cliens* and formed the basis of the Roman patronage system which prevailed well into late antiquity.

The social equivalents in terms of power, wealth and status were also accepted regularly in houses. They were mostly invited for occasions like festive dining and were accepted and entertained in one of the most elaborate and well decorated spaces of the house in the late afternoons and evenings. 'Banqueting' was as important as *salutatio* for the owner as it was a means of demonstrating wealth and power in a different scale and scope in a system where the social and political life of an aristocrat was closely related and tied to his contact to and relationship between his dependants and social peers. The Roman aristocrats did not usually accept men

of higher social rank in their houses for the Roman custom dictated the man of lower status to visit those with a higher status and not the reverse (Vitruvius, VI: 5.1).

As a last group the Roman household could include the intimate friends, the *amici*, of the owner of the house or his family. The friends usually belonged to the same social class with the owner and as opposed to the other groups, the relationship with the friends could have been more intimate and less formal. Indeed it is known from ancient literary testimony that the friends could enter the private spaces of the house contrary to the clients and the equivalents who could enter mostly the reception rooms like banqueting rooms, or sometimes the study room of the owner for *salutatio* and some other business activities.

It is apparent that the Roman house was the locus of its owner's social, political and business activities, and was open to both invited and uninvited visitors (Clarke, 1991: 2) who occupied a considerable place and importance in the owner's life. Thus the house itself was designed not only for the needs and use of the household but also for the use of various social groups who were included in the household in different ways and for different occasions.

4.1.2 The Roman House: Its Spatial Layout and Use

The dominating factors taken into consideration in the articulation of the domestic space in the Roman society, where the house played an active role in enhancing social status, were the provision of a suitable spatial context for the use of the *familia* and the visitors and the creation of a medium for manifesting and consolidating 'status' in various architectural and decorational ways. (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 4, 12, 117). Hence there was a strong relation between the scale and the elegance of a Roman's house and his social standing. According to Cicero as well not only the hospitality and the large scale admission of visitors justified and necessitated opulent buildings but also such buildings made possible and encouraged an ample flow of visitors (Wallace- Hadrill, 1994: 4).

The modern definitions of gender and age seem to have been irrelevant in shaping the spaces within the Roman house. The main criterion of spatial organization was to differentiate the degree of accessibility for different social groups using the house. As such the public spaces such as the reception rooms were easily accessible whereas the private ones such as resting rooms of the family members could be reached through corridors or other intermediary spaces. Such a separation was also mentioned by Vitruvius who emphasized the necessity to distinguish the private spaces such as bedrooms, dining rooms and bathrooms which should not be entered without an invitation, from the public ones like the entrance halls and *peristyles* into which visitors could enter without invitation. (Vitruvius, VI: 5.1)

The Roman House had an introverted character with large and elegant spaces, some of which were interconnected and opened into adjacent smaller spaces. Few spaces had a direct relationship to the outside world through windows in which case they were small and placed on the upper levels of the walls facing the street. The facades of the houses were modest and plain. By doing so the Romans achieved not only security and privacy but also climate control.

The traditional Roman house[24] was shaped around a central public space, *atrium*, which formed the core of the house (fig. 7). *Atrium* was a covered room with an opening in its roof, *compluvium*, and a corresponding rectangular pool, *impluvium*, placed at the center underneath the roof opening, which provided water for the house (fig. 12). This large and elaborate space into which the surrounding rooms opened was the central focus within the house not only in terms of its spatial qualities but also its use and meaning. *Atrium* together with the *tablinum*, the study or the meeting room of the *paterfamilias* which was placed right across the main entrance, was the area where the owner of the house conducted his daily business activities. He accepted his dependants for the *salutatio* in his *tablinum,* while the rest waited in the *atrium* for their turn. Thus the *atrium* and the *tablinum* which

[24] The best examples of Roman urban houses, both in terms of quantity and quality are seen in Pompeii and Herculaneum. Therefore the contemporary studies of Roman domestic architecture are dominated with the examples coming from these towns.

were relatively the more public spaces of the Roman house worked together as a spatial unit.

Tablinum was usually slightly elevated and adjoined the *atrium* as a stage and was closed often only on two sides (Dwyer, 1991: 27). It was located on one of the shorter ends of the *atrium* and on the main axis of the house so that the visitor who came in from the main door of the house or stood in the *fauces*, the entrance lobby, could see the owner seated with dignity and power in the *tablinum* (Clarke, 1991: 4; Wallace-Hadrill, 1989: 63). In some cases the *tablinum* was separated visually from the *atrium* by means of curtains, shutters or doors (Dwyer, 1991: 27; Leach, 1997: 56).

The *atrium* was not only the spatial and the business center of the house. It also had a special and symbolic place in the life of a family as the occasional family ceremonies like weddings or funerals took place here (Clarke, 1991: 9; Dwyer, 1991: 27). Furthermore it was a place for family worship with the ancestral images displayed on the walls and the family gods kept in a *lararium,* a small shrine usually located in one corner of the *atrium*. In addition to these ceremonial activities the *atrium* could also house some humble activities like storage. In some houses in Pompeii, for example, quantities of construction and other materials found in the *atria* indicate a storage function[25] (Allison, 1993: 4). The *atrium* was a 'multi-purpose' space where many socially significant and prestigious activities took place.

As it was a central and relatively more public space in the Roman house the *atrium* was also treated specially not only in terms of its scale but also its setting and decoration. With its elegant wall paintings and floor mosaics[26] that served to

[25] The storage function of the atrium can be an exceptional case. In Pompeii some bulk storage vessels or building materials, which do not include domestic storage, are found in the *atria* of some houses. Thus it is more probable that these spaces may have had a more commercial/ industrial function or were temporarily used as storage spaces for building materials especially after the earthquake (Allison, 1993: 3-4).

[26] For detailed information on wall paintings and floor mosaics see Kondoleon (1991: 105-116); Clarke (1991: chapters 2- 8); Ellis (2000: 114-144).

demonstrate the intellectual capacity and the social status of the owner the atrium was one of the lavishly decorated spaces in the house. The ancestral images which emphasized the noble lineage of the family to the visitors also contributed to this display of social standing (Dwyer, 1991: 27).

From the 2nd century BC onwards the centrality and the spatial emphasis associated with the *atrium* was challenged by an additional space; the *peristyle* or the colonnaded courtyard (Clarke, 1991: 11-12). With the Roman conquest of the East in the 2nd century BC the *peristyle,* which was the characteristic courtyard type in the Hellenistic houses in the East became popular in the Roman domestic context (figs. 8, 9) (Clarke, 1991: 12). *Peristyle* as a large –sometimes with vast dimensions- semi-open space was usually located on the main axis of the house at the back and brought additional monumentality to the Roman *domus* (fig. 11). In most cases it included a central pool or a fountain, rich plantation and statues which increased its visual quality and splendor.

With the addition of a *peristyle* not only the spatial layout of some of the existing spaces around the *atrium* of the traditional *domus* were re-oriented to view the courtyard but also some new spaces were added (Wallace-Hadrill, 1997: 235; Leach, 1997: 52). From then on most *tablina* were transformed into a wide passage opening to the *peristyle*, and the adjacent rooms as well were either designed to open to the *peristyle* or else functioned as passageways that led into it (Wallace-Hadrill, 1997: 235).

Some spaces called with Greek names such as *exedra* and *oecus* could be found around the *peristyle*. *Exedra* was usually an open, recessed space, like an *iwan* in Islamic architecture, which was smaller than the dining room but larger than the other rooms and according to Vitruvius was used for receiving guests, dealing with business activities or for conversation and lectures in the view of a garden. *Oecus* was a living or a reception room used often for dining without the characteristic layout of the main dining hall, the *triclinium* (Leach, 1997: 60-62).

In the late republic and early empire a new public room called *triclinium*, was introduced in the Roman *domus*. This special room which was often larger than the other rooms were planned to hold three dining couches in the Greek dining-style (Clarke, 1991: 13). In many known examples the houses included more than one *triclinium* designed and oriented for seasonal usage (Dunbabin, 1996: 66; Leach, 1997: 68). The *triclinium* was usually located either around the *atrium* or the *peristyle* and was not restricted to a certain place in the spatial layout.[27]

The *triclinium* was used for sumptuous banquets given especially to the socially equivalent visitors and/or intimate friends. This festive dining, performed during late afternoons and evenings became one of the most important public activities within the Roman domestic context. Respectively, the *triclinium* became one of the most lavishly decorated spaces in the house; the wall paintings and the floor mosaics in the *triclinium* were among the most elusive and intricate. In such ample dining settings the guests were made 'witnesses' to the wealth and the social status of the owner while they enjoyed the food, the setting and the ostentation of the space.

Several smaller and relatively more private rooms were located around the large public spaces of *atrium* and *peristyle*. These spaces, which are often called indiscriminately as *cubicula*, are considered to have been more private mainly for two reasons. First of all they were often associated with more personal activities such as resting, sleeping, dressing, making sex, and even murdering and committing suicide in ancient texts (Riggsby, 1998: 37-40). Secondly though they were usually located around the *atrium, peristyle* and *triclinium* most did not have a separate access and could be reached via corridors or adjacent spaces.

As Riggsby (1998) illustrates, the *cubicula* did not have a single, well-defined function. They might have been used as resting rooms, bedrooms or living rooms and it seems that at least some of them were used as a subsidiary space connected to

[27] Vitruvius (VI: 4.2) emphasized the need to differentiate the orientation of the dining rooms for summer, fall and spring.

an adjacent public room. The ones found next to a *triclinium* for example were most probably used, especially during the banquets, for resting, for private interviews or for sleeping after the banquet. Cicero too defines the *cubiculum* as a room where one retreated after a dinner party in the *triclinum* (Riggsby, 1998: 37). Some *cubicula* in a Roman house can easily be distinguished by the alcoves reserved for beds and by their differentiated decoration and height. However no visible separation between the *cubicula* of the parents and the infants, between the husbands and wives or between male and the female can be observed.

However despite being relatively more private than the other spaces, a *cubiculum* was not considered as the most distant and inaccessible room for the visitors within the Roman house. For example, it is known that the owner of a house and his wife could prefer to accept their intimate visitors like friends or peers in their *cubicula* (Riggsby, 1998: 37, 42). *Cubiculum* could also be considered as an appropriate place for displaying art both for the owners' personal pleasure and for the privileged audience, and hence for displaying power, wealth and status in a smaller scale. In Pompeii some of the highest quality wall paintings were found in *cubicula* (Riggsby, 1998: 38).

In the Roman house, the more humble sections belonged to the slaves. As the slaves in the Roman house served for a multitude of functions, they were omni-present in every corner from *atrium* to *cubiculum*. As such, their presence was not limited to the servile quarters. The service quarters included the spaces reserved for cooking, washing and working and also the living or the sleeping rooms of the slaves and their families (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 39). These quarters were differentiated from the rest of the spaces in the house not only in terms of accessibility but also the architectural quality of spaces and their decoration. They were relatively found in the more inaccessible and invisible parts of the house in relation to the main entrance. They were usually located on the peripheries and were hidden by means of long corridors and secondary courtyards or else were located on the upper or lower stories. They often consisted of small spaces with poor lighting conditions

and were treated with humble and low quality wall paintings; in some cases they could even be left bare that formed a sharp contrast with the rest of the house.

In short, the Roman's social standing depended on his social intercourse with his clients and equivalents that mainly took place in his home. Thus the main consideration behind the design principles of a Roman house was to provide the necessary spatial prestige and practicality for the crowded household and visitors that would ensure the social status of an owner. For this reason, Berry (1997: 194) defines the Roman house as a dynamic and changing environment rather than a static institution that produced a great deal of flexibility for the social and domestic organization of space.

Architecture and decoration in the Roman house served to demonstrate the status and power of the owner to the visitors and to channel the flow of these visitors coming from different social classes in the house by distinguishing the outsiders from the intimates and the grand from the humble (Wallace-Hadrill: 1994, 38). In this manner the spaces with different functions were distinguished not only by their scale and different means of accessibility but also by the amount and quality of decoration that embellished them. The larger public spaces and the relatively smaller private spaces located around them were decorated with better and lavish wall paintings and floor mosaics whereas the service spaces or the servile quarters were left more modest and simple in terms of scale, quality and decoration.

4.2 Transformation of the Domestic Context in Late Antiquity

The elite became not only the main power but almost also the sole authority in cities during the 4th and 5th centuries, a period during which the local governments remained inefficient in solving the problems of cities and their citizens. The lower classes and the poor needed the help of high-ranking patrons much more in this period. Hence the autocratic nature of personal patronage was further increased. Since most of the Roman public buildings were not used properly and efficiently, the patronal power became very much supported and maintained through the assemblies of clients in the houses of the powerful in late antiquity (Ellis, 1991:

123). This phenomenon made the urban houses a focus of attention and penetration. The house, respectively, became increasingly independent of the public facilities offered in the cities and was designed to accommodate a variety of once publicly executed functions such as meeting for business, performances and spectacles, personal cleansing and worship in its boundary.

Moreover, the increasing hierarchy in the definition and operation of social relations in late antiquity resulted with a much greater emphasis on the individuals and the 'exaltation' of authority. Influential Romans were, in a way, obliged to handle more public affairs and deal with the public in an increasing capacity. In turn the Roman aristocrats found themselves much more exalted and in turn desired to represent and enhance this identity in more impressive settings; the house became an 'instrument' for manifesting the increased power, wealth and individualism in late antiquity. Accordingly the size and the level of luxury of the houses were increased and their interiors were further compartmentalized and specialized for accommodating different publicly attributed functions (Thébert, 1987: 392; Gazda, 1991: 14).

From the 3rd century AD onwards new types of specialized rooms began to appear in town houses including large dining halls, audience chambers and in some cases private baths and chapels as opposed to the provincial houses of the early and middle imperial periods in which there was one type of reception/ dining room; the *triclinium* (Ellis, 1991: 122). The *peristyle* courtyard also became much more dominant in the planning of the 5th and 6th century houses compared to earlier examples.

The location of the specialized spaces within the architectural layout, their relation with the rest of the spaces in the house and their architectural form were also re-defined. While some of these rooms like audience chambers were relatively detached from the other spaces with a new location next to the street, a direct access from this street and a difference in their floor level, some others like *triclinia* and grand dining halls were more integrated especially to the open courtyard or *peristyle* and also to a number of adjacent spaces to create architectural suites. Besides, new

architectural forms like apses were used in the design of such spaces. Nevertheless the late antique *domus* kept its exclusive and introvert character with few openings on the external walls in late antiquity.

The increased power assumed by the aristocrats was demonstrated as much with the decoration of the spaces as with the size and architectural features of their houses. It became a common practice to consolidate a desirable property in the prime residential areas and to combine two or more houses to make a single grand residence especially in the period between the 4th and early 6th centuries (Ratté, 2001:124). There was also a great demand for expensive marble in the domestic architecture of 4th century (Van Aken, 1949: 243; Lin, 2003: 238). Not only sculptures but also a *nymphaeum* which is a familiar element of public architecture were utilized as decorative and recreative 'monuments' to reflect the splendor and luxury of wealthy households. In the mosaics and wall paintings new themes were used for aristocratic propaganda. Heroic and allegorical themes like great hunting scenes depicting the *dominus* on horseback with his entourage, and the mythological themes became more widespread. Such themes were used to impose the power and the virtue of the owner to the visitors; the 'superiority' of the *dominus* and his companions was indicated by their costumes, equipments and their activity (Ellis, 1991: 124, 127; Thébert, 1987: 401; Scott, 1997: 58).

Most of the evidence on domestic architecture in late antiquity is urban based. In this period the elite were still linked and bounded to the city for their political career and personal satisfaction; they never abandoned the cities for the countryside and continued to live and work in their urban residences. Nevertheless they also constructed sumptuous villas in their country estates or re-built the existing ones with more luxury and elaborate plans, especially in the west during the 4th century (Chavarria and Lewit: 2004: 19-21). These villas served leisure as much as business activities especially in relation to the production and processing of agricultural products. Common features of many of these late antique villas, especially those in the Mediterranean region, were central *peristyle* courtyards, reception halls, *triclinia*

with apsidal forms and elaborate private baths. As such these country residences were no less luxurious than the urban houses or even the imperial palaces.

In late antiquity, when public buildings lost their prime importance, the emphasis on domestic architecture increased. In this period the cities flourished in terms of large and elegant urban houses situated in the most prominent locations. They were designed or re-designed in order to serve the public activities and use, and included specially designed related spaces and settings for the requirements of these activities. They were designed and decorated in a sumptuous manner so as to indicate the high social and financial status of the owner to the visitors. As such some of the Roman public occurrences were assimilated in the late Roman urban houses; these residences offered suitable settings, no less impressive than the public buildings, for such activities.

CHAPTER 5

ARCHITECTURAL ELABORATION OF THE 'PUBLIC' IN THE DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE OF LATE ANTIQUE ANATOLIA: CHANGES AND TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE PRIVATE SETTING

The 'urban identity' in the late Roman eastern provinces did not change much since the Imperial Period as the eastern cities kept a relatively active political and civic life and many of the public buildings continued to be used to some degree. The architecture of the late Roman town houses in Asia Minor on the other hand show similar characteristics with the western examples. They reflected the implications of the social and political shifts of the period; the shift of emphasis from the 'public' domain to the 'private' one. The wealthy and influential families were not only involved in the public affairs of the cities but also invested large sums from their revenues to re-design, enlarge and re-decorate their houses. In this period many large and elaborate houses were constructed or re-designed in several cities in Asia Minor.

A group of these urban houses are excavated in different cities of Asia Minor and they provide considerable information and insight into the transformation of domestic architecture in late antiquity. In contrast, there is less evidence for rural villas, just like most other eastern provinces few have been excavated so far in Asia Minor. The known villa estates had relatively large residences within their

territories but none seem to have been large and elegant as their western counterparts were (Rossiter, 1989: 102).[28]

In contrast to elegant townhouses and large rural villas there were more modest types of housing inhabited by lower-income families as well. Among them the better-off could live in the mezzanine levels in the shops that lined the streets.[29] Other poor families could also occupy the subdivided units built into earlier large public structures. Such families probably rented these units from public or private landlords or else from the owners of the site to whom they were probably dependent as clients for political protection (Ellis, 1997b: 46; Ellis, 2004: 48). The early imperial *insulae* which housed a range of middle to better income social groups was also in decline and being replaced by poorer quality apartments in late antiquity, a fact which seems to suggest an increasing polarization of urban society (Ellis, 1997b: 47).

The Roman political and social life in both the earlier and later empire was concentrated in the cities where the wealthy aristocrats were the main actors; their houses illustrate the changing dynamics of the period and the consequences much better than the rural villas, and the middle or poor class housing. A sample from these houses are chosen to be investigated in this chapter. These houses are:[30]

Ephesus:	Villa above Theatre
	'Governor's Palace'[31]
	Terrace Houses

[28] For detailed information on late-antique rural villas in both the east and west see Chavarria and Lewit (2004), for the ones in Anatolia see Aydınoğlu (1999); Ellis (1997: 39); Foss (1976: 47); Hanfmann, Yegül and Crawford (1983:146); for the villa of Gregory of Nyssa see Rossiter (1989); Chantraine (1994).

[29] At Hierapolis the shops along the Frontino Street were clearly used as residences in 5th and 6th centuries AD (Ferrero, 1993: 316). They had two-stories; the ground floor was used for cooking and the upper one for living.

[30] The sample is formed in reference to Özgenel (forthcoming) with Hierapolis, Sagalassos and the Terrace Houses in Ephesus added for this study. The houses are referred to with the names given by their excavators.

[31] There is no concrete evidence to associate this house with a governor. It was initially identified as a bath (Foss, 1979: 50-51; Lavan, 1999: 148-149).

Aphrodisias[32]:	'Bishop's Palace'[33]
	North Temenos House[34]
	Atrium House or 'Priest's House'[35]
Sardis:	Late Roman Town House
	Twelve-Room House
Xanthos:	Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis
Perge:	Late Antique Residence
Halicarnassos:	Late Roman Villa
Hierapolis[36]:	The House of Ionic Capitals
Sagalassos:	Large Urban Mansion

All of these houses share a common context and architectural language. They are all found in urban contexts, are centrally located, large and detached residences (except the Terrace Houses at Ephesus) with an occupation phase in 5th and 6th centuries AD. Besides being relatively large and situated in prominent locations within the urban fabric, the houses in question also have large and specialized spaces in which formal or informal receptions were held. Moreover these spaces were also embellished with lavish floor mosaics, wall paintings, or other good quality and expensive materials like marble or *opus sectile*.

[32] In Aphrodisias some other houses were also partially excavated but they provide only very limited information. Two of these are the Tetrapylon House near the city wall and the Cryptoporticus House just south of the west end of the Sebasteion and they are not included in this study.

[33] Just like the 'Governor's Palace' in Ephesus there is no archaeological evidence to prove that this house once belonged to a bishop. It is so called since a seal was found in it. Campbell (1989: 191), for example, does not agree with this association due to the connection of the house to the odeon and also to the themes of frescoes in the NW rooms; three Graces and a Nike, which she thinks are not appropriate decorational themes for the residence of a bishop. She suggests that the North Temenos House is a better candidate for the residence of a bishop (1989: 188).

[34] This house is so called because it lies just north of the Temple of Aphrodite (Campbell, 1989: 188).

[35] This house is named after the finds including two marble altars and a headless bust of a man dressed as a priest and holding a statuette of Aphrodite (Campbell, 1989: 192).

[36] The houses at Hierapolis and Sagalassos are not yet fully excavated and sufficiently published as their excavations continue. But their architectural and urban contexts fit into the framework of the sample under consideration in this study and hence are included despite the changing state of knowledge.

In the light of the material evidence coming from these houses, the transformation of the 'Roman House' during late antiquity can be traced with respect to three main themes: 'location and size', 'public rituals and related specialized spaces in the private context' and 'elaboration of decoration'.

5.1 Location and Size: Private Nodes within the Urban Fabric

The large urban houses in late antiquity were mostly located in the prominent districts of the cities. They were located either close to the urban thoroughfares like colonnaded avenues and streets or to public buildings like theatres, *gymnasia* and baths. As such they were not only at the center of activity but also could attract the gaze and the attention of the passers-by and as such could also be easily accessed. Some houses were located at elevated positions and had the chance for a good view; which was an important criteria for domestic architecture in late antiquity as it was in the earlier periods (Ellis, 1997b: 41).

These houses were differentiated from other houses in a city with their relatively large scale, sometimes even approaching the size of some public buildings. As such they manifested, even from a distance, the wealth and social importance of their owners.

The houses in Ephesus, where the majority of late antique housing was formed by adopting the pre-existing buildings, represent well these characteristics (fig. 19). Here two groups of houses are excavated in different parts of the city. The 'Villa Above the Theatre' and the 'Governor's Palace' are large and detached residences while the Terrace Houses are more modest in scale and were organized on elevating levels and accessed by stepped streets.

The so-called 'Villa Above the Theatre' stood on the slopes of Panayırdağ above the theatre and was a large and imposing private house with a commanding location overlooking the center of the city (fig. 22). It not only offered a view of the Arcadiane towards the port but also of the coast and even of the island of Samos

(Thür, 2002: 261). Being enlarged and remodeled from a Hellenistic residence in the 4th or 5th century this house covers an area of approximately 4500 m² (fig. 21).

The 'Governor's Palace' on the other hand is located on a lower location, approximately midway between the Theatre Gymnasium and the *stadium*. The house once had the view of both the *palaestra* and the church of Saint Mary. The section excavated in this residence covers approximately an area of 75 m by 58 m but parts of this complex are still uncovered (fig. 20).

The Terrace Houses were also located in the city center and opened to the Embolos, which was one of the main arteries of the city (figs. 24, 25, 26). The inhabitants of the Terrace Houses could follow the activities taking place on the Embolos. Respectively they could also be seen and reached easily from the street. Terrace houses were built in the 1st and 2nd century AD and continued to be used till the 7th century.[37] These two story high houses are architecturally different than the other examples as they included several attached apartments of relatively smaller size and spaces (fig. 23). Their richly decorated spaces however suggest that the inhabitants of these dwellings were among the relatively well-off citizens.

Aphrodisias was another prosperous and large city in Asia Minor in late antiquity. Many large urban houses here were either built or re-constructed in this period including the 'Bishop's Palace', the North Temenos House and the Atrium House (fig. 13).

The 'Bishop's House' is located respectively on the northern side of the great open space known as the Portico of Tiberius, on the western side of the *bouleuterion* and next to the *odeon* with which it formed an adjacent façade (figs. 16, 17). It had a view of the old temple and the new church of Aphrodite and also the North Agora (fig. 18). It is considered to have been constructed at the same date with the *odeon* in the late 2nd century AD; as it is physically connected to it and was constructed in the same masonry technique (Campbell, 1989: 190; Lavan, 1999: 149). Though this

[37] For the construction and restoration phases of Hanghaus I see Lang-Auinger (1996) and Lang (1999).

dating is not yet proven for certainty, it is evident that this house continued to be used through the 6th and early 7th centuries. This compact but elaborate house covers an area of approximately 47 m by 55 m.[38]

Two other partially excavated houses are also found within the central part of Aphrodisias. Both the North Temenos House which is on the north of the sanctuary, and the Atrium House which is located on the north of the *Sebasteion* both had good views of the surrounding public buildings and were built probably before the 3rd or 4th century and remained to be occupied as late as the 6th century (fig. 14, 15) (Ratté, 2001: 134, 136). So far 875 m² of the ground floor of the North Temenos House, and approximately 1100 m² of that of the Atrium House have been excavated.

In Sardis two large houses were uncovered south of the *gymnasium.* They were surrounded by the Roman Avenue and a plaza like area on the north, and a broad colonnaded street to the south (figs. 27, 30). This area is thought to have been a residential area with elegant townhouses in the 4th and 5th centuries. Coinage from this sector showed that the occupation continued well into the 7th century as in other previously mentioned examples (Whittow, 2001; Rautman, 1995: 49).

The Late Roman townhouse is the best-documented house in Sardis. It is bounded on three sides by the hill, the Roman street and the modern highway. The complex in late antiquity was interrelated with the life going on in the colonnaded street and also had a view of the *gymnasium* as well. It was occupied between the 5th and early 7th centuries (Rautman, 1995: 49) during which it was enlarged and transformed into a complex and irregular plan resulting in a prolonged building history. In its present state of excavation the residence consists of more than thirty spaces that occupy a total area of about 800 m² (fig. 28).

[38] Ellis (1997: 43 and 1988: 570) points out the similarity of this structure with the 'Palace of the Dux' at Apollonia in Cyrenaica. Both houses have the same overall dimensions; a similarly sized peristyle and a similarly arranged private audience chamber.

The Twelve-room House is located on the southwestern side of the Late Roman Town House, to the other side of the colonnaded street. It was most probably demolished or re-organized in the 5th century when the colonnaded street was built (Crawford, Greenewalt and Rautman, 1998: 481) The excavated part of the house had an approximate area of 650 m² with twelve ground floor rooms (fig. 29).

The excavated residential districts of Perge are located to the south of the *decumanus* on either side of the *cardo maximus* (fig. 31). In general each house covered an area of 300-500 m² and the presence of stairs indicates that some buildings had a second story. One house differs from the others not only in its size but also in terms of including a room with an apse. This house covers an area of approximately 1800 m² in its 5th century AD phase of occupation (fig. 32) (Abbasoğlu, 2001: 183). It has two staircases in its entrance corridor and courtyard which indicates the existence of a second storey (Abbasoğlu, 1995: 109; Abbasoğlu, 1993: 598).

In Xanthos a number of houses are excavated on the old Lycian Acropolis where they directly overlaid the buildings of the classical period (fig. 33). These were two storey peristyle houses whose earliest building phase is dated to the 4th century. They seem to be used till the late 7th or early 8th century (des Courtils and Cavalier, 2001: 165). The Northeast House is the best-preserved edifice on the Lycian Acropolis in Xanthos. It is a large dwelling measuring 1650 m² with an upper storey at least on its west end where there are remains of a staircase (fig. 34).

The House of the Ionic Capitals in Hierapolis is located along the road that leads to the theatre which appears to have been a wealthy district of Roman Hierapolis (fig. 35). It had, thus, a good view of the theatre (fig. 37). The original house dates to the 1st or early 2nd century AD but it continued to prosper in the 5th and 6th centuries AD after it was substantially rebuilt following the damaging earthquake of the 4th century (fig. 36) (Whittow, 2001: 141).

The villa in Halicarnassos differs from the others, as it was situated a little far from the city center; it is located about 200 m west of the mausoleion terrace (fig. 38). Pederson (1991: 163) believes that it was situated at the junction of two ancient streets despite the lack of any evidence. Little is known about this house as it is now located in the modern city center where excavation is not possible. Thus the surrounding buildings or the view of and from the house are also unknown. However it is known that the whole complex was re-built in the Roman period and furnished with extensive mosaic floors probably in the 5th century AD (Pederson, 1991: 163). Even in its partial state of excavation this house covers a total area of over 1400 m² (fig. 39).

A large urban mansion is being excavated in the city center in Sagalassos, to the east of the street which connected the central and the upper parts of the town. This is a large residence with 43 spaces excavated so far on three levels (figs. 40, 41, 42, 43). Six major building phases are identified between the construction of the house in the 2nd century AD and its subdivision into three smaller residences in the 6th century. It was in the 4th century AD that the house was transformed into an elegant urban palace (Waelkens, 2004: 76).

All the houses presented so far were re-designed from the existing structures and reached their highest level of expansion in the 4th or 5th centuries. They were located either within the city center or else with ease of access. As such the inhabitants of these houses had a chance to view the activities going on in the main streets and their residences could attract both the attention and the gaze of the passers-by.

Most had vast dimensions with several large spaces some of which were specially designed for reception activities. These reception rooms were usually the largest and the most elegant in the house and were differentiated not only with their size but also with their architectural layout and lavish decoration.

5.2 Public Rituals and Spaces within the Private Context: Specialized Spaces and Their Use

Organizing receptions and receiving guests had always been important occasions in Roman social and political life. The houses, accordingly, were designed to contain relatively large and elegant spaces to meet both the necessities of these festively arranged receptions as well as the spatial requirements of the daily activities of the household. These well-decorated spaces served not only to entertain guests in a fashionable manner but also to impose and remind them the social significance and the wealth of the house owner.

Receiving guests, however, became much more accentuated in late antiquity with an increasing tendency towards privatization of more public amenities and entertainments. Thus, spaces for the receptions of banqueting or business activities in this period were either re-designed and re-decorated or else new and more elaborate spaces were added. The large and well-decorated reception spaces in late antique houses were mostly located around an open and colonnaded courtyard which itself was also enlarged and elaborated in a more monumental fashion in late antiquity. Although few in number, some earlier residences also incorporated private baths[39] and private chapels[40].

5.2.1 Colonnaded Courtyards

The *peristyle* courtyard which is commonly seen in the houses in Pompeii and Herculaneum was in use in Asia Minor since the Greek period and became more monumental and widespread in the 5th and 6th century houses (Mitchell, 1996: 201; Ellis, 2004: 38)[41]. In most cases a colonnaded courtyard was located centrally to act as the spatial core of the house and was designed as a prestigious area with water elements, statues and plantation. The regular *triclinia*, the larger dining halls and

[39] For the private baths in Roman houses in Africa see Thébert (1987: 370-380).

[40] In our sample only the Villa Above the Theatre and the 'Governor's Palace' in Ephesus have small apsidal spaces that are identified as private chapels. Since there are very little information and evidence on these private chapels they will not be studied under a separate subtitle.

[41] The latest known *peristyle* house in the eastern empire dates to 530-550 AD and is found in Argos-Greece (Ellis, 1988: 565).

some other prominent rooms within the house usually had a direct access or opening to this *peristyle*.

All of the listed examples in Asia Minor have at least one open courtyard most of which were centrally located (fig. 44). The courtyards could be large and elegant in showy houses and relatively small and more modest in some others, most probably due to available building plot. Some even, had more than one courtyard; they were differentiated from each other with their location, size and/ or decoration.

The houses in Xanthos, Villa above the Theatre in Ephesus, and the 'Bishop's Palace' and Atrium House in Aphrodisias have relatively large courtyards with colonnades. The first two houses, just like the large house in Sardis, the North Temenos House in Aphrodisias and the Large Urban Mansion in Sagalassos have also secondary courtyards which were inferior in terms of their location, size and decoration. The main courtyards in these houses were centrally located and had connections to the large and elegant spaces within the houses.

The *peristyle* of the 'Bishop's Palace' in Aphrodisias has direct access to a large *triconch* room, a large apsidal hall, and several other smaller rooms to the west and south (fig. 45). The large courtyard in the Villa Above the Theatre in Ephesus has direct access to two *triclinia* on its south and north sides and a larger space, probably a large dining hall, on its east side, and the one in Xanthos as well gave way to three large rooms two of which are evidently public reception halls (des Courtils and Laroche, 1999: 377).

The large courtyard in the Atrium House in Aphrodisias is differentiated not only with its size but also with its form. It has an apsidal wall on its south with several niches where a series of Roman philosopher portraits were found[42] (Ratté, 2001: 136). A large apsidal hall opened to this courtyard whereas the other, most probably the more private, spaces were separated with corridors. The Atrium House has also

[42] The marble portraits of the philosophers initially led the excavators to identify this structure as a philosophical school (Smith, 1990: 130, 153-155).

a secondary courtyard which is more modest in terms of scale and decoration. It is located deeper in the house and was surrounded with larger and most probably more private spaces (fig. 46).

The open courtyards of the other houses in Ephesus, Aphrodisias, Perge, Sardis, Halicarnassos, Sagalassos and Hierapolis are relatively small but no less elegant than the others. The Late Antique Residence in Perge represents a continuation of the Hellenistic *peristyle* type of dwelling (Abbasoğlu, 2001: 183).[43] Next to its *peristyle* are a latrine, an *oecus*, a kitchen and a *triclinium*.

The Late Roman House in Sardis has two colonnaded courtyards both of which were well decorated (fig. 47). One (Space I) was located near a possible entrance and probably was used to welcome guests. The other one (Space XII) is more centrally located and has direct access to an apsidal room and the largest ceremonial space which includes the remains of a dining table. In the Twelve Room House in Sardis, the courtyard (Space L) has direct connection to a smaller but well decorated room (Space R) and leads to the dining hall in the northern part of houses through a corridor. Since it is partially excavated it is not yet known if this house had another courtyard or not.

North Temenos House in Aphrodisias has also two open courtyards. One is located in a peripheral area and constitutes a suite with two ancillary rooms on its north and south. To the west of this suite there is another group of rooms with a *tetrastyle* court. Both courts have direct access to a large apsidal hall. The latter one could have provided service to the apsidal room since it has smaller rooms around it.

In the Terrace Houses in Ephesus although space was at a premium, *peristyle* courtyards were integrated into the plans. The courtyards were much more modest in scale but rather elegant with colonnades and lavish decorations (figs. 48, 49, 50). The larger spaces in the houses mostly opened to these courtyards.

[43] For a detailed study on the domestic architecture of Anatolia from Archaic to the Hellenistic periods see Özgenel (1992).

The courtyard in Halicarnassos is a closed one though at an earlier stage it seems to have been an open court and possibly even included a *peristyle* (Özgenel, forthcoming). The house in Hierapolis is organized to include various rooms that opened onto a central square peristyle, with three columns per side (fig. 52).

The house in Sagalassos had a central paved and colonnaded courtyard which had an *exedra* and was in connection with a large dining room (Room XL) on its south, a private bath complex (Rooms IX, X, XV, XVI) on the north and the service spaces in the west (fig. 54). In the east the court was connected to another courtyard (XXV) through a small room (XXXIX) (fig. 55). This second courtyard is surrounded by smaller spaces forming another quarter within the house. It was bordered by an arcade (XXXIII) on two sides which was originally covered by a vault.

In many of these houses, the *peristyle* courtyards included water elements such as pools, basins or water tanks, either for domestic use or display. The most elaborate courtyard is the one in Xanthos, which has a monumental fountain that was designed by articulating one wall with semi-circular basins. In Sagalassos and some apartments in the Terrace Houses too the main courtyards were articulated with decorative fountains (fig. 51). Likewise, several types of water arrangements were found in the courtyard in Perge and although their courtyards are relatively small the two houses in Sardis had basins and water tanks as well.

The scale and the splendor of the courtyards were increased in late antiquity which is significant in terms of showing how open areas with a public scale are incorporated into houses. In this period even in the smaller houses, *peristyle* courtyards occupied a considerable area.

These decorated and colonnaded courtyards were not only monumental and imposing in character but also formed delightful auxiliary spaces for the surrounding rooms and provided a good view and light for them. Especially the

reception rooms which were themselves elaborate in size and decoration were conceived as part of the courtyard in terms of providing a pleasure setting for both the inhabitants and guests.

5.2.2 Reception Spaces: Dining and Audience Halls

In late antiquity two kinds of receptions dominated the public life in the domestic context. These were, the banquets done with socially equivalents and friends and the meetings done with clients, both of which received distinct spaces within the house. These reception rooms were distinguished by their location, size, form and decoration. They were often the largest and most lavishly decorated spaces within the house and in many cases designed with one or more apses. Although it is not always possible to distinguish the spaces in terms of function as banqueting rooms or business-oriented reception rooms[44], they could be differentiated by their location, architectural layout and archaeological contents in many examples.

5.2.2.1 Dining Halls

The dining activity, just like some other reception ceremonies in the Roman daily life was much more elaborated and emphasized in late antiquity. Accordingly the dining spaces were modified to serve this new trend. The traditional size and layout of a *triclinium* with three rectilinear couches and an inward orientation could be replaced with a semicircular couch known as the '*stibadium*' and a semi-circular dining table called '*sigma*' seen in many examples[45] (fig. 55) (Dunbabin, 1996: 70). The place of a semi-circular couch was sometimes marked out on the floor of a rectangular room with the mosaic floor paved accordingly or rooms themselves could be designed with an apse or an alcove into which the couch could be placed thus leaving the frontal part of the room free (figs. 56, 57). The first apsidal *triclinium* found so far was constructed in the Domus Augustana of Domitian in the 1st century AD but it was only after the 3rd century that it became widespread and recurred more often in wealthy domestic context including both townhouses and

[44] These spaces could also have been used as multi-purpose rooms housing more than one kind of reception. In this study, however, their most probable and most common use will be considered.

[45] For a detailed study on the transformation of dining spaces till the Late Empire see Bek (1983).

villas in late antiquity and also in almost all parts of the empire (Ellis, 1991: 119; Dunbabin, 2003: 169).

The *stibadium* could accommodate comparatively fewer diners than the three rectilinear couches, which may be one of the reasons for the design of *triconch* spaces with three apses each containing a *stibadium,* and thus accommodating a larger number of diners. Although the tri-apsidal form was used in Rome during the first two centuries AD it remained as a rarity in the early empire. In the late antiquity however the *triconch* as a formal articulation reflecting the spatial richness of a house was assimilated in the domestic architecture in especially the western provinces (fig. 58) (Irving, 1962: 4).

Apsidal and *triconch* forms were advantageous in terms of leaving more free space for service and performance in front of the dining couches. In the Republic and Early Empire, the wealthy were usually entertained with music, dance and alike while they dined. In late antiquity, however, more substantial performances that had belonged to the public sphere earlier, such as drama, were transferred into the domestic sphere, which may indicate a greater ritualization and formalization in entertainment and banqueting (Ellis, 1997a: 50; Dunbabin, 1996: 78). Due to their form and layout the apsidal room and *triconch* left the front part of the room empty for actors, musicians, mimes and jugglers who kept the diners amused during banqueting (Polci, 2003: 88).

Large dining halls, rectangular or apsidal, exist in all of the sample houses in Asia Minor (fig. 59). In some cases it is definitely known that apsidal rooms were used for dining from the remains of *sigma* tables or *stibadia*. In some other large rooms however, there is no such diagnostic find and these rooms might have been used for some other receptions as well.

The most elegant reception hall found so far in Asia Minor is the *triconch* room in the 'Bishop's Palace' in Aphrodisias. It is the only known example of a *triconch* found in the domestic context in this region. This *triconch*, as well as the audience

hall in the western part of the house, were added or re-designed according to the new trends in one period in late antiquity (Lavan, 1999: 149). The interiors of the apses would have been lined with *stibadia* and fitted with *sigma* tables, fragments of which were found in situ (Berenfeld, 2002: 126). The room had three entrances one of which is from the peristyle and most probably was used by the guests; the second one was in the central apse leading to a staircase and would have enabled the host to make an appearance and entrance after the guests had assembled while the third one was in the south apse and probably provided access to the service areas.

The Villa Above the Theatre in Ephesus had a large room opening directly to the *peristyle* which most probably functioned as a dining hall. Two other relatively smaller rooms (still among the larger rooms within the house) were located on two other sides of the *peristyle*. Their entrances were marked with columns which made them more emphasized. These latter two spaces could also be used for dining or related activities but with more intimate guests and friends while the former could have served for more formal and ceremonial receptions (Özgenel, forthcoming).

In Perge, the decorated fragments of a *sigma* table were found in a large rectangular room (Room XXVIII), which is identified as a *triclinium* (Abbasoğlu, 1995: 108). The room is accessed through a doorway from the peristyle and it constitutes a suite with two smaller rooms that had access only from this room. It is also well decorated and has a fountain on its northeast corner.

In the Late Roman Townhouse in Sardis two spaces (Room VI, X, XIV) can be identified as reception rooms which could be used for ceremonial or smaller scale and more private banqueting. One of these is an apsidal room and is located in a central location in the south wing (Room XIV). It was originally a rectangular room and transformed into an apsidal hall with modifications in its west wall in the 5th century (Rautman, 1995: 58) (fig. 60). It opened to the courtyard and had a large rectangular alcove separated by a raised floor in its south part. On the north it is connected to a barrel vaulted small room which might have functioned as a

dependent *cubiculum* (Rautman, 1995: 58). The other was a large rectangular space (Room X) and was situated on the other side of the courtyard across the apsidal room which included a *sigma* table and a large basin. It formed the spatial focus of the southern wing of the house and evidently played a prominent role in the household routines. These arrangements suggest that the west part in this wing offered the owner a setting for formal reception and ceremonial dining.

In the Twelve Room House in Sardis one rectangular room (Room D) is distinguished by its size and location. It is connected to the courtyard and also to a secondary room. Part of its floor was slightly raised where a *sigma* table is found.

A large room in the character of a *triclinium* is recognizable in the large residence in Xanthos. It is located adjacent to the *peristyle* court and had rich decoration. The large apsidal room in the east wing of the house might have been a *triclinium* but its peripheral location and architectural layout makes it a more probable audience hall (des Courtils and Cavalier, 2001: 165; Maniere-Leveque, 2002: 236).

Atrium House in Aphrodisias contains at least two large reception rooms which were highly decorated in their present state of excavation. The main room, which opens to the NE from the *peristyle*, had a monumental entrance with two columns and its location and scale indicate a possible usage for dining receptions (Erim, 1990: 15; Campbell, 1989:192).

Most of the individual apartments in Terrace Houses in Ephesus had one or two sizeable rooms on one side of the *peristyle*. Besides their size, the location and rich decoration of these spaces indicate their public use for formal receptions or banqueting.

In Sagalassos a partially excavated room (Room XL) in the southern part of the house was identified as a large dining room (Waelkens, 2004: 76; Waelkens, 2005: 422). Unlike the other examples, however, it is not directly connected to the *peristyle* but opened to it through a longitudinal space (fig. 61).

As illustrated so far, at least one distinctive space is identifiable in our sample in Asia Minor. These spaces are differentiated with their central location next to the *peristyle*, their large size and/or decoration as dining rooms. Some also included remains of dining tables found in-situ. The place of these tables were either marked on the floor or differentiated with apsidal sections.

These dining halls, apsidal or rectangular, were much larger and elaborate than the ones found in the houses of earlier periods. They were all located next to the *peristyle*, but were connected to it through narrower doorways and thus had less visual contact with the courtyard (except the ones in the Villa in Ephesus and the Late Roman Townhouse in Sardis). Hence they indicate both an increase in the ritualization and formalization of the ceremonial dining and also its becoming a more introverted character (Özgenel, forthcoming).

5.2.2.2 Audience Halls

In late antiquity the local aristocrats had to deal with more civic issues than they did in the early empire following the decline of city councils. In this period not only did the clients needed more help from the local aristocrats but also the leading individuals needed more dependents both to have political support and also to use them as private forces for defensive purposes. As a result both the number of the *clients* received in the private residences increased and also their social class became more diversified in this period (Marcone, 1998: 362).

Accordingly the public spaces where the clients were received were also contextually and architecturally transformed. These spaces were now more enlarged and elaborated with apses and lavish decoration. They received ostentatious vestibules and/or waiting rooms. As such the *tablinum* in the Roman house was transformed into halls which are usually called as “audience halls” by contemporary scholars. In addition they were located more often in the peripheral zones to preserve the privacy of the rest of the house. These new trends were reflected in the audience halls of almost all houses chosen for this study in Asia Minor (fig. 62).

In the Villa Above the Theatre in Ephesus the apsidal hall is located on the southern part of the house and was reached from a separate street entrance by a flight of steps through its own vestibule where the clients could wait for their patron. It had two other doors on one of its long walls, one of which is located near the apse and opened to a group of small rooms, and the other to a longitudinal passageway leading to the *peristyle*. These three doors, thus, provide separate entrances for the patron, the clients and also perhaps for the servants or officers within the house.

Similarly, the audience hall in 'Bishop's Palace' in Aphrodisias was entered from the street through a vestibule. In this example the hall is located next to the *peristyle* and has a direct access to it from a door near the apse. Across this one there was a third door, on the other long wall, which opened to a long corridor and a small space. The apse of the hall with a half-domed ceiling was set apart from the rest of the room by a parapet or low screen with an opening in the center which put a distance between the patron and his clients (Berenfeld, 2002: 128).

Different than the other examples the apsidal halls in Xanthos and Sagalassos are located at different levels than the rest of the house. In Xanthos it was at a lower level and had a separate street entrance leading to its vestibule (figs. 66, 67, 68)[46]. This apsidal hall is opened to four small interconnected rooms at the same level. In the upper level of the house, however, there exists another large rectangular room which was reached by a few steps from the street entrance and opened to the western ambulatory of the *peristyle*. This direct access to the street entrance and its relatively large size indicates a public use for this room. It might have been used as an audience hall.

The large reception hall (Room XXII) in the Large Urban Mansion in Sagalassos is situated on the first floor whereas the *peristyle* courtyard, large dining hall, bathing

[46] The apsidal hall is identified as a *triclinium* by Maniere-Leveque (2002: 236); des Courtils and Cavalier (2001: 165) but its location and architectural layout within the house makes it more likely to be used as an audience hall (Özgenel, forthcoming). Nevertheless this space could have been used for both types of receptions.

units, living and utility quarters were at a lower level. This room is entered through a vestibule or a waiting room (Room XVII) next to an entrance hall (Room XXXV) which was preceded by a monumental L-shaped staircase (fig. 69, 70). This room also had some secondary doorways but due to the incomplete state of excavation it is not possible to comment on the possible other connected rooms.

The apsidal hall in Perge resembles the one in Xanthos in terms of its spatial organization. Nevertheless, it does not have a separate street entrance. It was originally a rectangular room before it received an apse with niches and a vestibule in between the 5th and 6th centuries (Özgenel, forthcoming). It is also connected to three smaller rooms through narrow doorways. The finds in this room include a small rectangular pool located next to the entrance on the south wall and fragments of small columns and similar to Aphrodisias balustrade pieces possibly from a screen that divided the apse from the rectangular space in front (Zeyrek 2002: 88-89).

The most impressive reception hall is in the 'Governor's Palace' in Ephesus. It is a large rectangular chamber with semi-circular niches on all four corners. It is entered through a large and longitudinal space with apses on both ends which seems to be a later addition and might have been used as an audience hall (Foss, 1979: 51). A wide door on the east of the room leads to a smaller room with an apse, which might have been a more private reception space. On the south, too, the *tetraconch* room is opened to an apsidal room serving as the narthex of the attached chapel (fig. 72). [47]

In Halicarnassos there is an apsidal hall (Room F) situated next to the street. To the south of this apsidal room remains of at least three different rooms could be seen which is a very similar layout to the ones in Xanthos, Perge, Sagalassos and North Temenos House in Aphrodisias. To the west lay a small paved yard L, adjoining a large room (Room K) and a rather narrow room or perhaps a corridor (Room M). From this large apsidal room, access was presumably provided by two doors to

[47] The Villa Above the Theatre contains a small apsed space which is identified as a possible chapel too (see fig. 72).

another large reception room (Room B) situated to the west[48] (Pederson, 1991: 62). In this decorated apsidal room the floor of the apse was demarcated from the main body of the room with mosaics. There are also indications that the apse was separated from the rest of the room by a low screen or a parapet (Özgenel, forthcoming).

In its partial state of excavation the North Temenos House in Aphrodisias has an impressive apsidal space and as its close location to the street door suggests most probably was used to hold audiences and conduct business. The main entrance to the room is from a colonnaded forecourt which was presumably connected to a street on the east (Campbell, 1989: 188; Özgenel, forthcoming). It is also connected to three small rooms on the north and a small *tetrastyle* court surrounded with a number of small rooms on the south. The apse of the room is again slightly raised from the rest of the room.

Different than the other examples in the sample, the apsidal reception halls in Late Roman Townhouse in Sardis were both centrally located (fig. 64). From the location and architectural layout of the one in the northeast wing of the house (Space VI), however, it can be suggested that it was used for more formal receptions and business affairs. This apsidal space and the two preceding spaces (Space I and III) formed an important cluster of related rooms. The apsidal room is preceded by a large room (Room III) extending south, which communicates with the adjoining spaces on all sides. This large space included a basin and is approached from a colonnaded forecourt that seems to have acted as a monumental vestibule. Its size, location and architectural setting indicate that this space was used for reception activities. The apsidal hall attached to it, then, could have been used for more formal and ceremonial receptions that necessitated more privacy and a more imposing spatial layout.

[48] Since the entrances are not indicated in the published plan of this house we do not know the exact location of the doorways.

In the Twelve Room House in Sardis the largest room is an apsidal hall located next to the street (fig. 65). It is reached from the small street entrance via a small space (Room T) and through a decorated vestibule (Room R). It has also a second door in its apse wall that leads to an irregular and small room with a latrine. Different than the other houses studied so far this room is attached to the street on its short side and had an opening on the street facade as suggested by the remains of a window mullion and glass found on the east side of the room (Greenewalt, 1999: 2).

In the Terrace Houses in Ephesus only the apartment 6 in insula 2 received an apsidal hall (fig. 63). This apartment was larger than the others within the insula and could have belonged to a household who was more involved in public affairs and had to hold more receptions. This large room is reached by a flight of monumental steps from a vestibule adjacent to the *peristyle* courtyard. The households in the other houses, on the other hand, might have used more modest rectangular spaces which were attached to their *peristyle* courtyards for receptions. As mentioned in the previous section such spaces with no distinctive formal attributes such as an apse could have been used as multi purpose rooms for different types of receptions.

The apsidal hall in the House of Ionic Capitals in Hierapolis is a relatively small one compared to both the other spaces within the house and also to the similar reception halls in the other houses. It has two doors on its two long sides. Due to its partial excavation there is not much information about neither the characteristics of the adjacent rooms nor whether the house had other larger spaces appropriate for receptions or not.

In the light of the evidence examined so far, it is evident that the reception spaces that served to receive clients and conduct business affairs in the Roman house were either enlarged or re-designed to respond to the changing needs and requirements in late antiquity. There was an increase in the number and social diversity of visitors to the houses in this period. Accordingly the spaces which were used to receive guests were also enlarged and re-located. Unlike the similarly functioned *tablinum* of the early Roman house which was a smaller space next to the atrium and allowed

visitors to penetrate into the core of the house, the late antique audience halls were large spaces and were often placed in a peripheral location to let the visitors in from a separate street entrance and thus providing more privacy for the rest of the house (Özgenel, 2000: 286, Özgenel, forthcoming).

In addition to their location and size, these reception spaces also changed in terms of their spatial characteristics and architectural settings. They often received apses, recalling the contemporary basilical structures used for civic assemblies and churches, which allowed the aristocrats to appear in a ceremonial fashion in the apse (Ellis, 2000: 171 and 1991: 119). These rooms were also preceded with decorated vestibules where the clients could wait to meet their patrons. The patrons, on the other hand, could have entered the space from a separate doorway. In addition in most of the audience halls the apse where the patron appeared was differentiated from the rest of the space with a raised floor and low screens which introduced a physical barrier between the patron and the clients. As such, both the monumentality of the chamber itself and also its related spaces indicate that the relation between a patron and his clients became more formal, ceremonial and autocratic in the course of late antiquity (Ellis, 1988: 575).

5.2.3 Private Bath Suites

In late antiquity not only the formal civic assemblies held in the private residences were accentuated and elaborated but also some leisure activities, most significant of which was bathing, penetrated into the domestic context. In Roman culture bathing was a significant public activity; it was a means of gathering and entertaining as well as bodily cleansing. Accordingly the Roman cities in the Early Empire were embellished with imposing bath buildings which continued to function, to a certain extent in the eastern provinces including Anatolia and which gradually disappeared in the western cities in the course of late antiquity. Both in the east and in the west, however, it was not an unusual practice in the domestic context to add new spaces or to re-arrange the existing ones in order to provide the house with a private bath complex.

In Ostia for example some large houses with walls heated by flues were found (Hirschfeld, 2003: 261). In Asia Minor as well a number of houses received private baths. The houses in the Villa Above Theatre and the 'Governor's Palace' in Ephesus, the Large Urban Mansion in Sagalassos and the 'Bishop's Palace' in Aphrodisias received private bath suites in one of their occupation phases in late antiquity (fig. 71).

The most elaborate example of a private bath suite in the domestic context in Anatolia is the one in 'Governor's Palace' in Ephesus. The bath suite in this house dominated the northeastern part of the complex. The bath here consisted of several rooms, of which a *tepidarium*, *caldarium* and *frigidarium* are identified. It was separated from the reception wing by a long corridor but was open to the long chamber on the west and was connected to the street on the east by a paved ramp (Foss, 1979: 51).

The mansion in Sagalassos also had a large bathing complex with an *apodyterium* (IX), a *caldarium* (X) and a *tepidarium* (? XV). Another room, originally provided with a hypocaust system, was identified next to the *peristyle* at the ground floor level. The apsidal pool of the bath (Room X) was accessible from four doors; one was placed between this room and an adjacent room (Room IX), the second one was in the east wall and the rest were in the north wall. Against the east wall there was a bench built by brick. Two rooms in the bath suite (Rooms IX and X) were decorated with mosaics and marble.

The 'Bishop's Palace' in Aphrodisias too received a bath suite in the late 5th century AD. The south rooms in the house (Rooms 13 and 14) were converted into a private bath complex, and in order to close off the bath the arcade on the east side of the west entrance corridor (Room 12), as well as the south windows of the bathrooms were walled. A small doorway was punched through the east wall of a room so that the narrow room to the east which up until then was a transitional or possibly a storage space, could be used as a hot room. A hypocaust system was built to heat this narrow room and a sunken basin with two shallow steps was installed on its

south side (Berenfeld, 2002: 129). These rooms were all decorated with marble revetments.

In the Villa Above the Theatre a private bath located higher up the hill is considered to be associated with the residence (Foss, 1979: 61; Mitchell, 1996: 201). Likewise a large space with a hypocaust to the south of the vestibule in the Apartment 1 in Terrace Houses in Ephesus is thought to be a bathroom (Erdemgil, 1986: 76) though there is no compelling evidence for a bathing facility (Parrish, 1997: 582).

The owners of these houses discussed here had all the means to separate themselves from the masses that frequented the public buildings including bathhouses (Hirschfeld, 2003: 261). They added or re-designed spaces, especially in the more private areas and wings of their house, to create their own bathing suites. The decoration of these spaces, the use of marble revetments or floor mosaics for example, indicate a desire for a certain amount of luxury. The location and the size of these suites found in the domestic context definitely indicate a more private use and not a public one.

5.3 Elaboration of Decoration

Decoration of spaces had always been a primary consideration in the design of a Roman house. The presence and quality of decoration, as well as the architectural features of the spaces themselves, were not only used as a tool for articulating and differentiating spaces but also were a means of reflecting the wealth and status of the owner. In the Roman Empire the most commonly used artistic media to decorate spaces were floor mosaics and wall paintings.

This tradition continued well into the late antiquity even in a more elaborate manner. In this period the floor mosaics and wall paintings decorated more spacious rooms often with newly introduced themes. In addition the widespread use of marble which was more commonly used in decorating grand public buildings before was also introduced in a greater extent into the houses in the form of columns, water elements, floor pavemnts and wall revetments.

The use of marble was not uncommon in the Roman architecture since the Hellenistic period, however, it was mostly preferred in the public sphere.[49] In late antiquity, however, the use of marble became more common in the domestic architecture especially in the splendid reception spaces of large town houses. It is not unusual to see the walls of these spaces covered with marble plaques at least up to a certain level. The popularity of the marble-revetted walls in this period is also apparent from the marble-imitating wall paintings.[50]

In addition to its use on the walls, the marble was also commonly used in decorating the floors especially in the form of *opus sectile.* As this type of floor pavement was made from the combination of small marble pieces cut into geometric forms it could easily be sourced from broken elements of other buildings. Thus the *opus sectile* floors were commonly preferred in the embellishment of especially reception spaces and open courtyards of the large town houses in Asia Minor as well as those in their western counterparts in Rome and Ostia (Hansen, 1997: 116).

In our sample the houses in Xanthos, Hierapolis, Sagalassos, Halicarnassos, Sardis, Aphrodisias and the Terrace Houses in Ephesus have at least one distinctive space with marble floor and/or wall revetments. Among these the Terrace Houses provide more complete data about the decoration of individual spaces and the overall decorational concepts of the dwelling units as they are the best preserved in terms of decoration.

In the Terrace Houses several spaces in different units have marble floor pavements and wall revetments (fig. 76). Among these, House 2 has the most splendid décor. Almost the entire *peristyle* was clad with marble with a splendid *exedra* having an *opus sectile* floor, marble cladded walls and a vault with glass mosaics. Another room next to the peristyle (SR 28) on the other hand exhibits white panels of

[49] For a detailed study on the development of use and style of marble decoration in Asia Minor under the Roman sovereignty see Ceylan (1994).

[50] The imitation of marble panels to make them look as if they were built from rows of marble blocks was also common in Pompeii from the 2nd century BC onwards (Ellis, 2000: 116).

imitated marble framed by red stripes. Such imitation of a material instead of the material itself may indicate that the room was of secondary importance.

In the House of Ionic Capitals in Hierapolis a fine *opus sectile* floor composed of four different marble types including white and purple Frigian marble, onix and pure white marble was used to pave the courtyard in the 5th or 6th century (fig. 75) (Whittow, 2001: 141; Ferrero, 1992: 317). Besides, a reception room which was formed by enclosing the southern portico of the *peristyle* also had an *opus sectile* floor (D'Andria, 2003: 145). In this house imitation of marble especially that of onix is seen in the wall panels of one room (D'Andria, 2002: 417).

The house in Xanthos, to a large extent was paved with white marble slabs. The lower parts of the walls of the apsidal room were clad with marble while the upper parts were ornamented with painted plaster in the 6th century (des Courtils and Cavalier, 2001, 165; Maniere-Leveque, 2002: 236; des Courtils and Laroche, 1999: 378). At the same period the floors of the *peristyle* court were also revetted with marble (des Courtils and Laroche, 1999: 378).

In the 'Bishop's Palace' in Aphrodisias the *peristyle* was covered entirely with marble. The open space in the center of the court was paved with white marble and was surrounded by 14 gray marble columns. The floors of the aisles were paved with blue and white marble tiles and the walls were also covered with marble revetments (Berenfeld, 2002: 124). The floor of the apsidal hall was paved with an *opus sectile* floor made of imported colored marbles (Berenfeld, 2002: 128; Lavan, 1999: 149). The floor of the *triconch*, on the other hand, was paved with a relatively simple pattern of marble tiles. The walls of this room were also covered with painted plaster (Berenfeld, 2002: 125).

Similarly the North Temenos House and Atrium House in Aphrodisias have marble revetments. The floors and the lower parts of the walls of the large apsidal room in North Temenos House were paved with white marble (Campbell, 1989: 188). Likewise the main room in the Atrium House which opens to northeast from the

atrium had a pavement of white marble squares. One other room in the west was also paved with marble squares and with an inset panel of *opus sectile* in white and medium blue marble lozenges (Campbell, 1989: 191-192; Lippolis, 2001: 121).

In the Late Roman Townhouse in Sardis both the public space in the eastern wing of the house (Room XIX) and the corridor leading to it (Room XVIII) had marble floors (Rautman, 1995: 54) (fig. 73). The lower level of the walls in this room too were faced with marble. On the east as well there is a suite of at least three large well-built and marble-paved rooms. In addition a more private space (Room II) on the northern wing contained deep marble-lined niches and paintings with simple bands, foliage patterns, and several small crosses (fig. 74).

In the Twelve Room House in Sardis few rooms with marble revetments were excavated so far (Crawford, Greenewalt and Rautman, 1998: 482-485). The excavated western part of the entrance space (Room E) was paved with a well-preserved marble floor incorporating architectural *spolia*. The large dining hall to the west of this space has a raised platform with an *opus sectile* floor.

In Sagalassos the space that contains the apsidal pool of the bath had richly painted walls and marble revetments (Waelkens, 2000: 168). Likewise some spaces in the Late Roman Villa in Halicarnassos have marble revetments (Pederson, 1991:162).

The use of marble became common in the late Roman domestic architecture, especially in the decoration of reception spaces. At the same time the floor mosaics and wall paintings continued to embellish these spaces sometimes in a more elaborate manner than before.

In late antiquity the floor mosaics became more vigorous and appealing. In Italy and in eastern provinces a preference for polychrome mosaics began to overtake the black and white style (Ling, 1991: 187). This is easily observable in the Terrace Houses in Ephesus. The black and white geometric mosaics of the socially most important spaces in the Apartment 1 in insula 2 were changed with polychrome

mosaics after the reconstruction in the second half of the 2nd and early 3rd century (Parrish, 1995: 147) (fig. 82). Other rooms in the house which are of secondary status kept their black and white mosaics with repeating motifs. Likewise all other houses in our sample, too, have splendid colorful mosaics especially in the spaces where the guests were received.

In this period new subject matters were introduced in the depictions in the floor mosaics and wall paintings. While simple geometrical patterns and classical mythical subjects were rich sources and the most common topics in the earlier periods, minor heroes or generic themes (seasons, *nymphs* etc) became the source of inspiration in the later periods of the empire (Ellis, 2000: 115-125). It is likely that such changes can be linked to the diminishing role of the classical pagan religion in the face of Christianity and an increasing concentration of the power of the individual (Dunbabin, 2003: 141; Ellis, 2000: 125). In addition the scenes of activities associated with the lifestyle of the elite such as outdoor games and hunting became widespread in the decoration of the rich late antique houses. Depictions of the villa owner in these scenes can also be linked to another major development in late antique art: a desire to promote the self-image of a wealthy Roman to display visibly the possession of estates, hounds, horses and servants and, even more important, of the leisure necessary to engage in such activities, as well as, the heroic courage required for confronting the larger game (Ellis, 2000: 133; Ellis, 1997a: 51; Dunbabin, 2003, 146).

These new themes emerged in North Africa in the 3rd century and became more widespread in the domestic architecture of late antiquity in several provinces (Ellis, 2000: 132). In Asia Minor the well preserved mosaics of Antioch and the Great Palace of Constantinople show numerous examples of mosaics depicting such themes (figs. 78, 80). The floor mosaics and wall paintings in western regions of Asia Minor, on the other hand, are less informative since the remains are scarce and are not completely excavated in many cases.

The figure of a single hunter on foot spearing an onrushing animal is the most common theme in the mosaics in Asia Minor (Campbell, 1991: 3). In our sample, for example, the North Temenos House in Aphrodisias has a hunting scene (fig. 79). In the room south of the entrance forecourt is a mosaic which depicts a hunter seemingly spearing a lion.

The Late Roman Villa in Halicarnassos has several rooms embellished by mosaic floors (fig. 83). The floor of the apsidal room is decorated with a figural composition consisting of eight medallions containing motifs of running stags, deers, a dog and a panther apparently to be considered as a coherent hunting scene (Pederson, 1992: 135). Likewise two other large reception rooms (Room A and B) had mosaics with representations of hunting scenes (fig. 77). Moreover the mosaics in one room (Room E) is distinguished from the others. This room contains city personifications of Halicarnassos, Alexandria and Berytos (Poulsen, 1993: 139).

In the Terrace Houses in Ephesus, where the wall paintings are still in good condition, the owners mostly preferred mythological and allegorical themes symbolizing the proprietor's pride in classical culture (fig. 81). In the *oecus* of the Apartment 1 in insula 2, for example, a series of scenes from plays by Menander and Euripides were depicted. This theme not only indicates the personal literary taste and cultural values shared by the Roman upper class in general but also display the preference for a common form of entertainment in those occasions: the recitation or performance of classical plays (Parrish, 1995: 155, 157).

The remaining houses in our sample give little clue about the quantity, quality and the subject matters of their wall paintings and floor mosaics. Some of them are partially excavated and the others are not in good condition in terms of their extent wall paintings and floor mosaics. Therefore it is difficult to comment on their decoration.

It can be suggested that there was also a transformation in decoration in addition to architecture in the houses of the well off in late antiquity. In this period not only did

the marble, a material that was more common in the public architecture, became more widespread in the domestic sphere but also the floor mosaics and wall paintings became more lavish in terms of their quality and content. The floor mosaics were treated in a more colorful manner and they became more imposing with the mythological, allegorical and the heroic themes depicted on them. These themes were used as a means of expressing the power, wealth and status of the owner who, himself, was sometimes included in the depicted composition.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Late antiquity is a period of dynamic change and transformation regarding the interrelated contexts of social, political, urban and architectural spheres. The Roman Empire faced a number of destructive problems in late antiquity, the most serious of which were the barbarian invasions and the internal struggles that threatened the unity and continuity of the empire. Therefore, in late antiquity, safety became the main consideration of the state and the army which actually failed to protect it. Starting from the 3rd century, the lands of the empire gradually disintegrated and were split in between smaller kingdoms of the minority groups especially in the western part of the empire. The eastern half, on the other hand, remained more secure and did not face serious invasions; the eastern provinces maintained their presence and unity, even perhaps in a more prosperous manner, until the 7th and 8th centuries.

In such a state of turmoil the lion's share of the state budget was allocated for the army and the defense of the empire. Moreover, the natural disasters such as earthquakes and pestilence absorbed a considerable amount of the state incomes. In addition to these, the disintegration of the state and the unity of the Roman lands caused the collapse of trade and commerce in the 5th and 6th centuries. The increased expenditure on defense was tried to be compensated with the increased amount of taxation that inevitably widened the gap between different social classes in the society and huge amounts of land and wealth began to be collected by few leading figures in the cities.

Another important phenomenon of late antiquity was the rise of Christianity which played a major role in the social transformation of the Roman society. In this period, the church and the bishops became the dominant figures within the cities and their influence extended beyond the religious matters. Bishops were involved in political, economic and social life especially after the 3rd century. They also manifested their power in the private context by building ample and decorated 'bishops' residences'.

All these shifts in the social, political and economic structure of the empire initiated a transformation in the urban context. With the loosening of the unity of the empire a new senatorial administration acting and mediating between the local public and the central government, partly, in order to facilitate the collection of imperial taxes was formed. Thus the city councils or *curiae*, which were responsible for managing the local issues and the maintenance of the cities lost their importance and the provincial governors and wealthy aristocrats instead assumed much more local authority. Moreover, the central imperial administration, especially in the west, confiscated a greater portion of the local wealth than it ever did before and could no more allocate large sums of money for the glorification and maintenance of the cities.

The western cities in late antiquity were less prosperous in terms of public amenities and monumental public buildings. In this period the income of cities, though much less, was usually spent for the construction or restoration of fortification walls, or else used for the benefit of the Church and construction of new religious buildings. The monumental public buildings of the classical Roman cities, thus, gradually lost their previous importance and magnificence especially because they were not repaired or maintained in good shape and were also criticized by the clergy on moral grounds. As such some public buildings, like theatres, *gymnasia* and temples, were abandoned or subdivided and encroached by poor dwellings or small-scale ateliers. Likewise some others, even though were still in

use such as *fora* or colonnaded avenues, were not in a good condition since not much was allocated for their repair or restoration.

On the other hand, in the 4th and 5th centuries a visible urban prosperity is observed in the eastern empire especially in North Africa and Asia Minor. In the course of late antiquity similar changes and transformations were observable in the cities of both regions which are comparable to west in certain aspects. However, they were less sharp and critical and occurred a few centuries later than the west.

Although the social and political dynamics and respectively the urban transformation in late antiquity were different in the eastern and western cities of the empire they display significant impacts which were similar in terms of pointing out an increasing emphasis on individuals and domestic context. With the breakdown of local governments in this period it became more effective to solve problems through a man of power with influence at the court than through legitimate bureaucratic routes (Ellis, 2000: 134). Thus power became more associated with the individuals who mostly chose to remain seated in their own residences rather than in the public buildings as was the case before. Accordingly the leading figures among the wealthy citizens spent huge amounts of money for elaborating their private houses rather than the public buildings as they previously used to do.

In late antiquity the urban residences of the rich became the seats of individual power and prestige as the political life became more personal and the rivalry between the autocratic elites increased. Thus the Roman house gained much more dominance and became the private focus within the urban fabric. It is enlarged and elaborated with monumental and ostentatious public reception spaces resembling the ones in the public sphere in terms of size, spatial form, quality and decoration. The transformations concerning the private context and domestic architecture of late antiquity are illustrated in a group of well-studied houses in Asia Minor in a lucid way. These houses most of which were transformed from the existing buildings were re-arranged in order to combine the features of Hellenistic *peristyle* houses,

the Roman atrium houses and the new trends of the 5th and 6th centuries to create a distinctively late antique phase and synthesis in the architecture of the private sphere in Roman antiquity.

Late antique urban houses of the wealthy in Asia Minor were usually differentiated from the remaining houses, foremost, with their prominent locations within the urban centers and their relatively large size. As such they not only took advantage of being close to the civic activities and thoroughfares but also could attract the attention of the passers-by. In this manner the Villa Above the Theatre and the Terrace Houses in Ephesus and the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis in were especially advantageous and attractive with their elevated locations overlooking the cities. The other house in Aphrodisias, Sagalassos, Sardis and Hierapolis were also located in the city centers. These houses were enlarged and re-designed in order to include larger spaces to respond to the needs of more ritualized and crowded public activities as well as the private ones.

The Roman house had always included numerous outsiders for different kinds of gatherings and accordingly it was designed to provide the necessary spatial practicality and prestige both for these visitors and the household. However the setting of these rituals and related spaces were much more elaborated in late antiquity. The most distinctive spaces within the late Roman town houses were the *peristyle* courtyards, large dining halls, apsidal audience halls and the private bath suites.

The colonnaded courtyard, *peristyle*, a common element of the Roman House in Anatolia became more monumental and imposing in late antiquity with respect to the size of the house. It was mostly located at the spatial core of the house as was the case in the larger courtyards of the Villa Above the Theatre in Ephesus, 'Bishop's Palace' in Aphrodisias, the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis in Xanthos and also in smaller courtyards in other houses. These courtyards received splendid decoration and/or water elements either for domestic use or display as in Xanthos, Ephesus, Sagalassos and Sardis. As such *peristyle* courtyards formed

prestigious open spaces incorporating the surrounding spaces, most of which were designed for receptions.

In Roman and late Roman houses mainly two kinds of receptions dominated the public life and received distinctive spaces and rituals of usage. These were the banquetings done with social equivalents and intimate friends, and meetings done with clients or lower social classes. The spaces reserved for both activities were differentiated with their location, size, form and decoration in both periods but with varying emphasis and respective re-organisations.

The dining halls in late antiquity, not different than the *triclinium* in earlier periods, were among the largest and most decorated spaces within the house and were usually located next to the *peristyle* forming a delightful spatial unity with it.[51] What is transformed in late antiquity on the other hand is the dining ritual itself and the architectural layout of the dining spaces. In this period, we observe a greater ritualization and formalization in entertainment and banqueting with the transfer of some substantial types of performances, such as drama, which belonged to the public sphere earlier, into the domestic sphere. As such, it is not surprising to see that the dining spaces were enlarged and re-designed possibly, among other things, to provide a better accommodation for these new trends of performance. A common practice was to replace the traditional layout of a *triclinium* with three rectilinear couches and a table, with a semicircular couch known as *stibadium* and a semi-circular dining table called *sigma*. This new setting was more advantageous as it left more space for slaves and service and the performers in front of the room, but on the other hand it could accommodate comparatively fewer diners than the rectilinear organisation. Thus in some cases the number of the *stibadia* was also increased. The place of these couches was sometimes marked out by the pattern of pavement on the floor of a rectangular room or the rooms themselves could be designed with apses or alcoves into which the couch could be placed. If the room was planned to accommodate more than one semi-circular couch, three would be more common; the resulting space would then be called a *triconch,* an example of which exists in

[51] For a brief overview on the organization of dining spaces in Asia Minor in general and the ones in Antioch in particular see Özgenel (1998).

the ‘Bishop’s Palace’ in Aphrodisias. Besides these formal articulations, the dining halls were also lavishly decorated imposing the status and wealth of the owner to the diners in terms of artistic embellishment as well.

Just like the dining activity and the *triclinium*, the ritual of *salutatio,* the meeting with clients and the *tablinum* were also modified in late antiquity. In this period the meeting rooms were enlarged, re-located and elaborated with apses and more lavish decoration following the increase in the number of clients and also the diversity in their social class. They were located in the peripheral zones to preserve the privacy of the rest of the house and often received apses, recalling the contemporary basilical structures as in the late antique houses in Sagalassos, Ephesus, Xanthos, Aphrodisias, Sardis and Perge. The other houses in Asia Minor had also apsidal or rectangular reception halls in a smaller scale. The apses were usually differentiated with a raised floor and separated with low screens from the rest of the space in some examples. Called more appropriately as audience halls, they usually had more than one entrance for the use of the aristocrat and the visitors waiting for their patron in the vestibules before entering the room separately. As such these spaces could provide the appropriate spatial setting for more formal and ceremonial meeting receptions and imposed the more exalted figure of the aristocrat by distinguishing and separating him from his audience in a highlighted spatial arrangement.

In late antiquity, bathing as a more informal and leisure activity, was also assimilated in the domestic context. In the Roman culture bathing had always been an important social activity, however it was more of a public phenomenon and a means of coming together and entertaining in the public sphere for all classes of the society. In late antiquity, on the contrary, it was transferred also into the private sphere since the well-to-do felt a need or preferred to separate themselves from the masses -especially the lower classes that frequented the public bathhouses- in regard to their role as local leaders. New spaces were added to the houses or the existing spaces were converted into private bath suits with a certain luxury and decoration resembling the public baths in a miniature scale. Villa Above the Theatre and Governor’s Palace in Ephesus, Large Urban Mansion in Sagalassos and the

‘Bishop’s Palace’ in Aphrodisias had their own bath suites at a time of their inhabitation in late antiquity.

Late antique urban houses were also differentiated with their decorational schemes as well as their architectural vocabulary. In this period domestic reception spaces were much lavishly decorated with the widespread use of some materials and themes. Marble, a common architectural and decorative material in the monumental public architecture of the early Empire, became widespread especially in the form of *opus sectile* floors and wall revetments, in the late antique domestic context. In addition the wall paintings and the mosaic floors which became more colorful depicted more mythological, allegorical and heroic themes which were preferred to imply and reflect the power, wealth and status of the owner.

As such the town houses of the rich in late antiquity seem to have emulated the grandeur and ostentation of public architecture. These houses became the monumental private nodes within the urban fabric with their prominent locations, extensive size and elaborate spaces. They were designed or re-designed to accentuate ‘public’ in a different way. By adopting the forms and size of public architecture in a more monumental and direct fashion they were conceived as little palaces. In this period the reception spaces were transformed into reception halls with their larger size, elaborate layout and decoration. Thus the wealthy owners, in a sense, intended to own their private *fora* in the form of colonnaded courtyards or *peristyle*, their private basilica in the form of apsidal halls, their private bath suites reminiscent of monumental public bath buildings in form, decoration and material and sometimes even their private worshipping spaces in the form of small chapels, within the domestic context. In the end, some late Roman town houses became independent small centers of power and administration within the existing urban fabric and as such, the town houses, themselves, almost became independent small ‘towns’.

FIGURES

Fig. 1 The Roman world in the 3rd century AD

Fig. 2 The Roman World in the late 4th century AD.

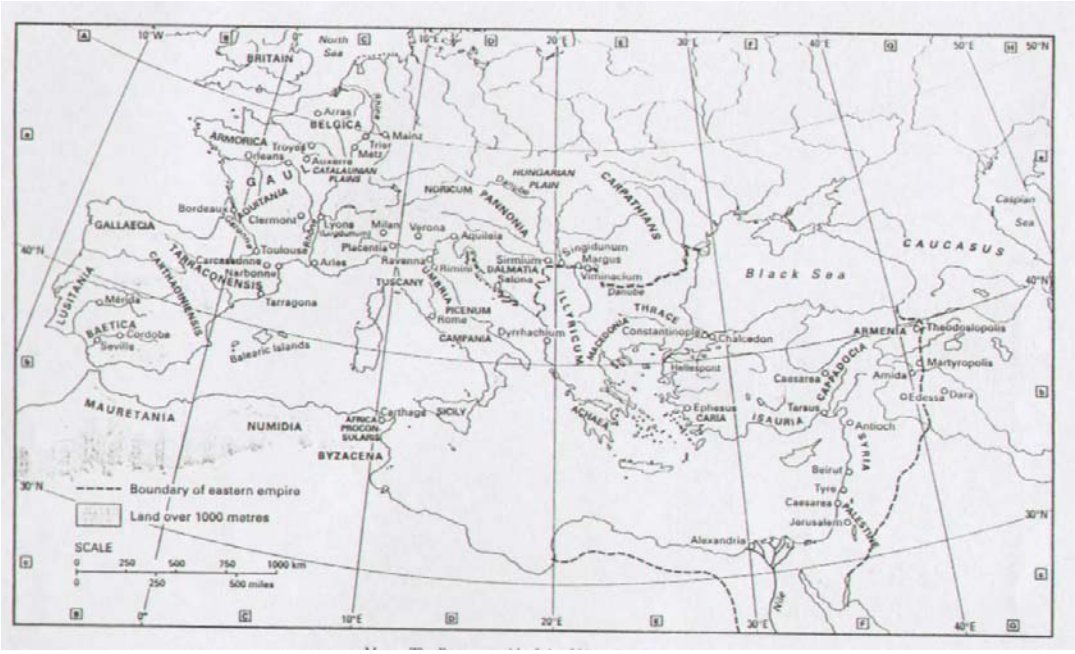


Fig. 3 The Roman world in the 5th and 6th centuries AD.

Fig. 4 Provincial Boundaries in Asia Minor in Late Antiquity

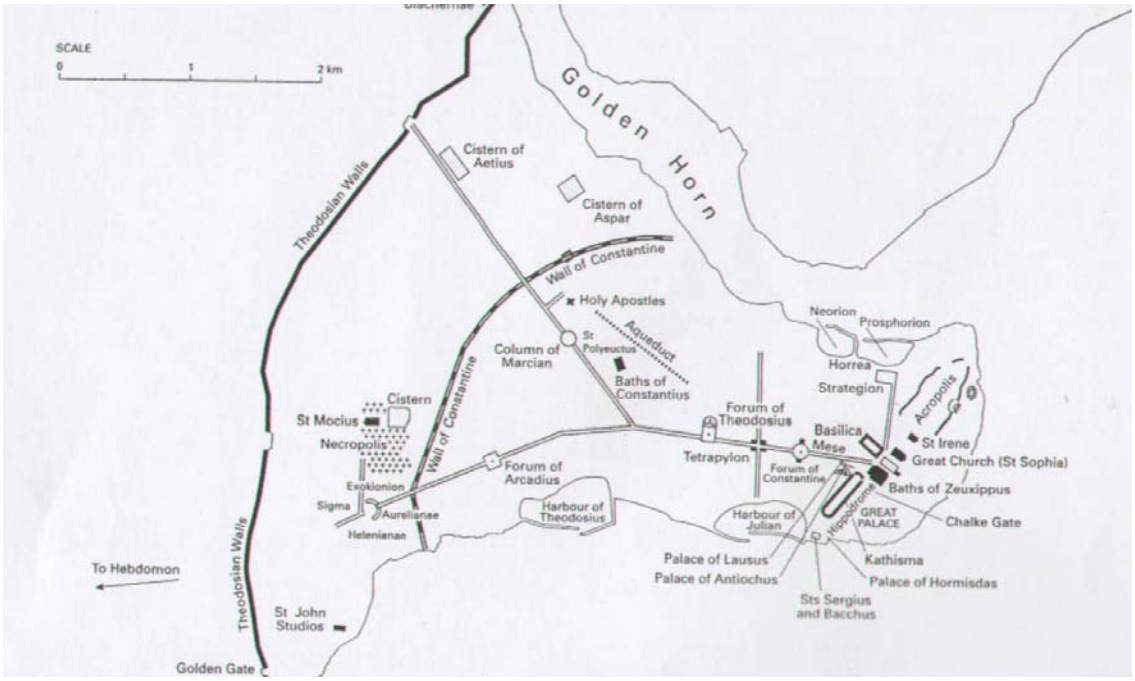


Fig. 5 Constantinople, the city of Constantine

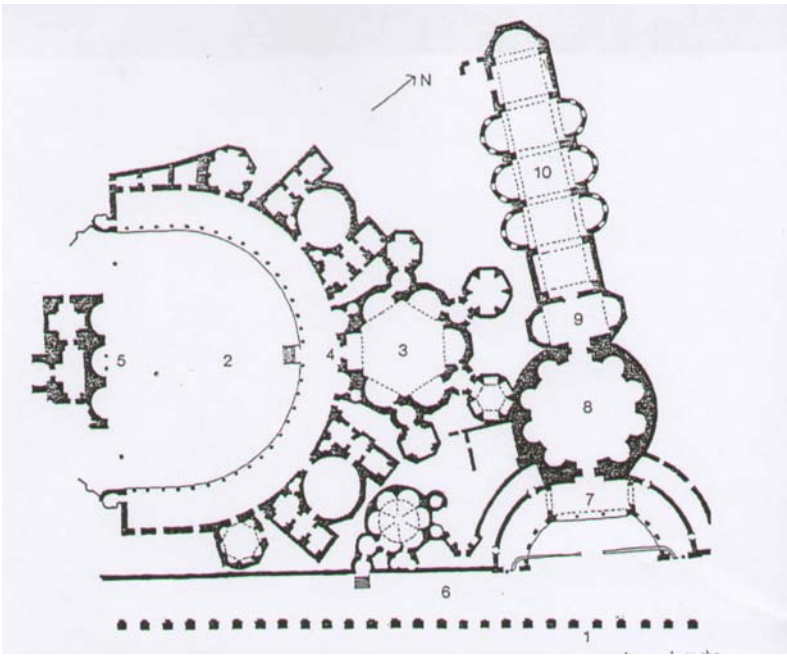


Fig. 6 The Great Palace of the Emperors in Constantinople

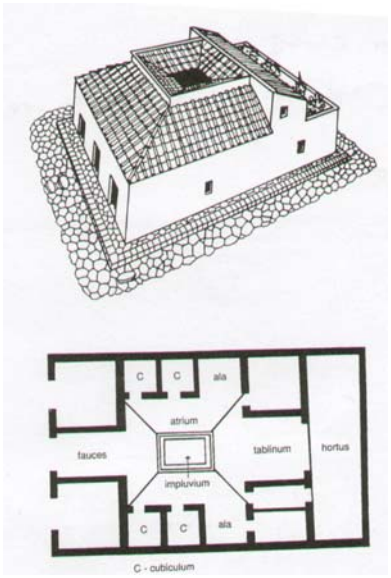


Fig. 7 Schematic plan and perspective of an Atrium House

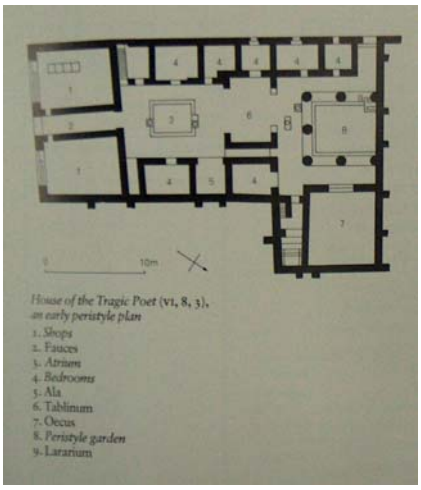


Fig. 8 House of the Tragic Poet, Pompeii

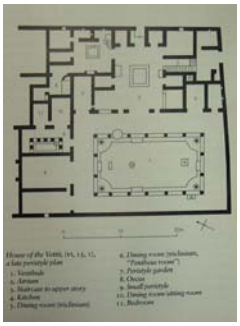


Fig. 9 House of Vetii, Pompeii

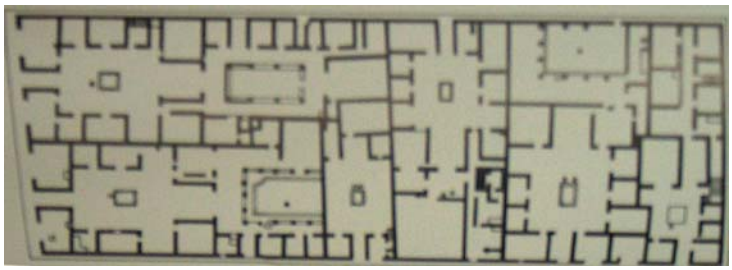


Fig. 10 Plan of a typical residential insula, Pompeii

Fig. 11 Peristyle of the House of Vetii, Pompeii

Fig. 12 Atrium from tablinum in the House of the Tragic Poet, Pompeii

Fig. 13 The city plan of Aphrodisias with houses marked

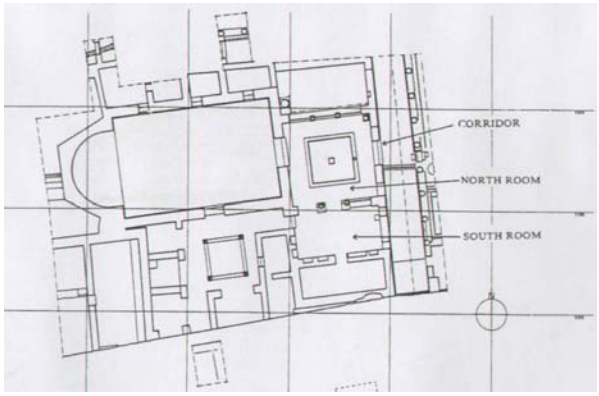


Fig. 14 Plan of the North Temenos House, Aphrodisias

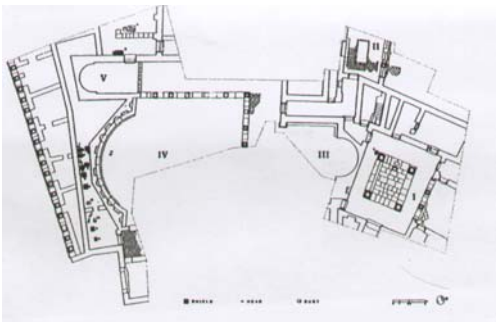


Fig. 15 Plan of the Atrium House, Aphrodisias

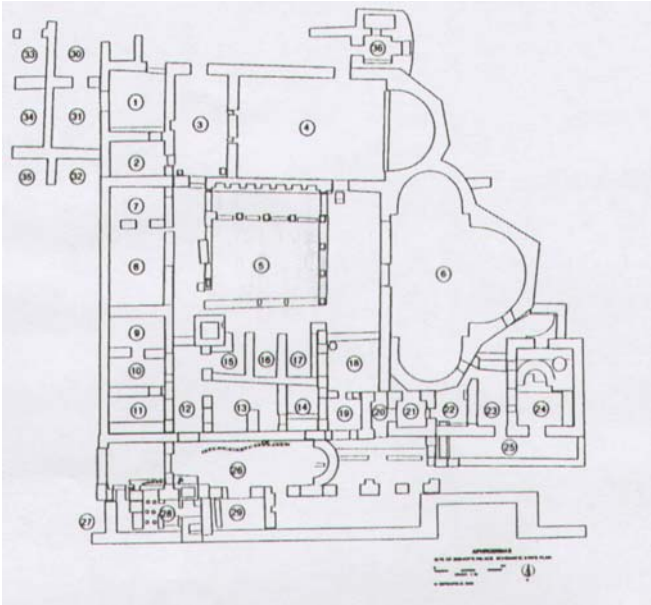


Fig. 16 Plan of the 'Bishop's Palace', Aphrodisias

Fig. 17 Aerial view of the 'Bishop's Palace'

Fig. 18 View of the 'Bishop's Palace' from the agora

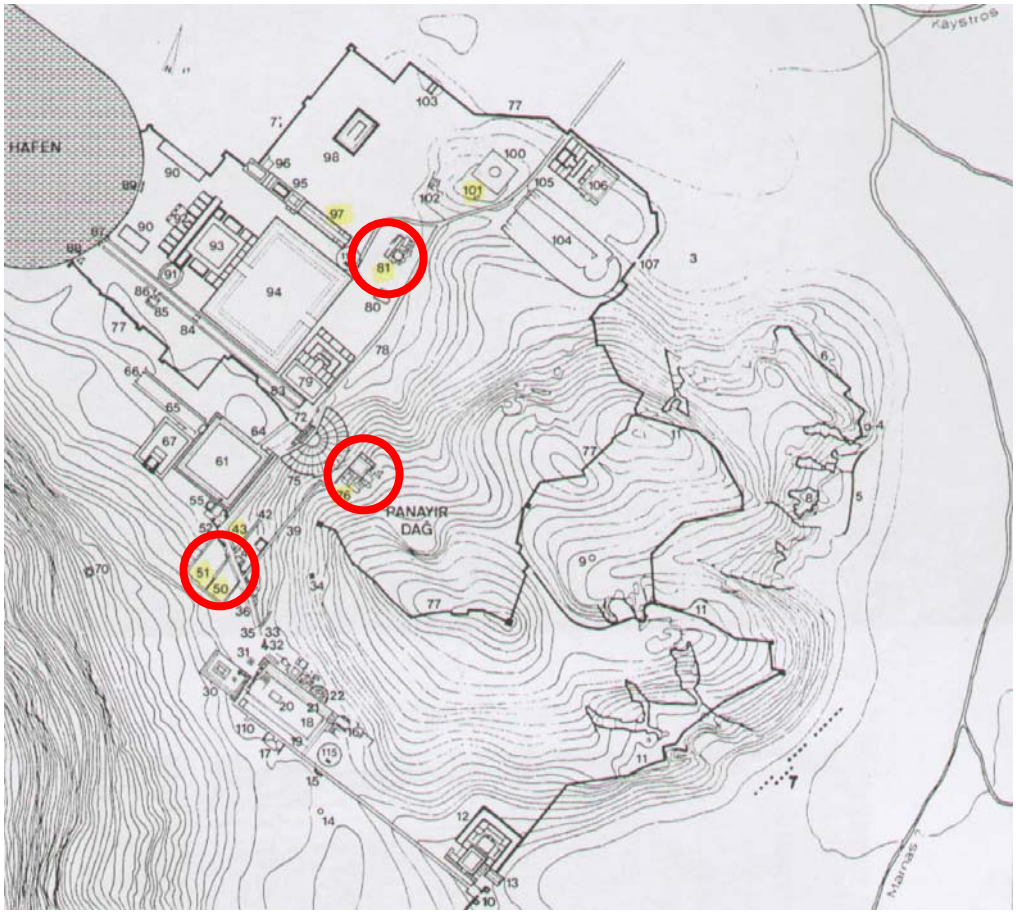


Fig. 19 The city plan of Ephesus with houses marked

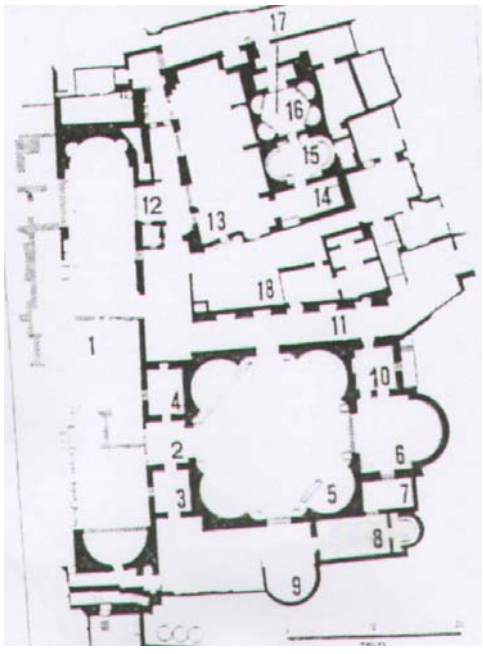


Fig. 20 Plan of the 'Governor's Palace', Ephesus

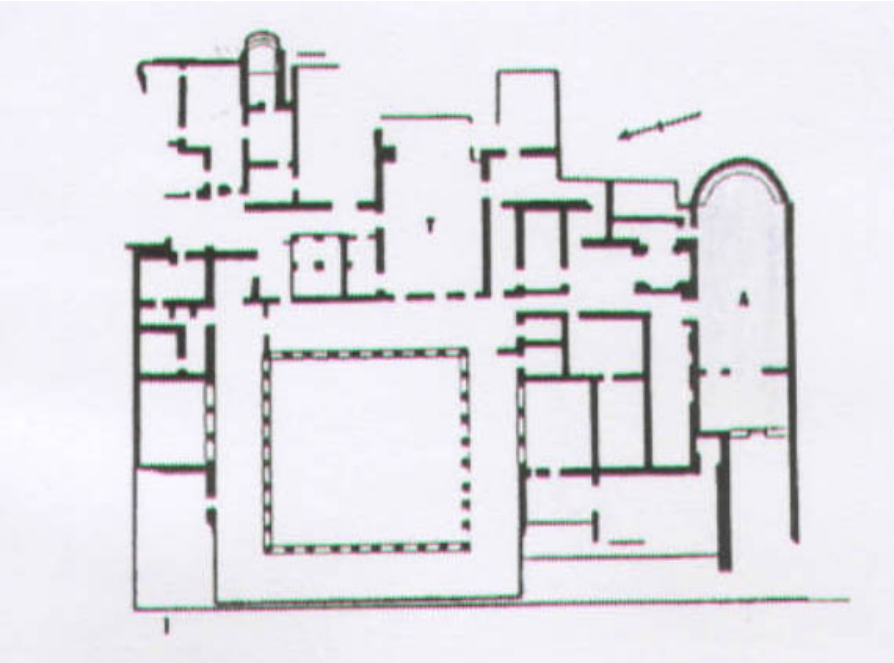


Fig. 21 Plan of the Villa Above the Theatre, Ephesus

Fig. 22 View of the Villa Above the Theatre from the street

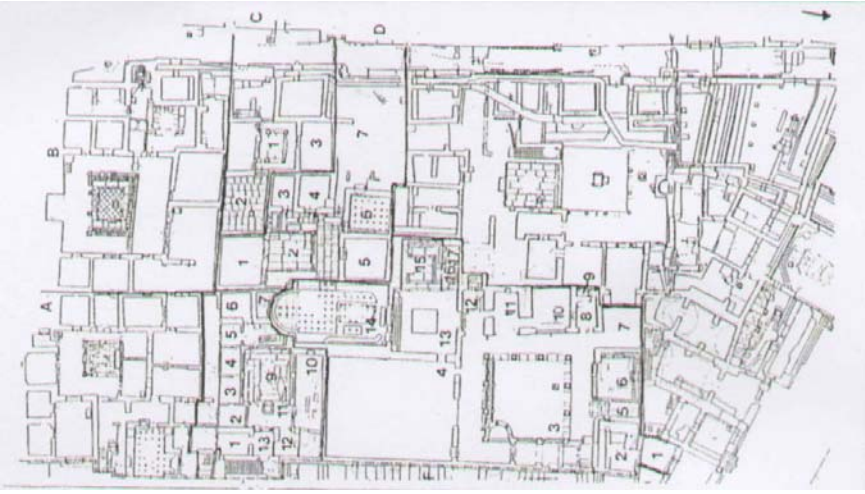


Fig. 23 Plan of the Insula 2 in the Terrace Houses, Ephesus

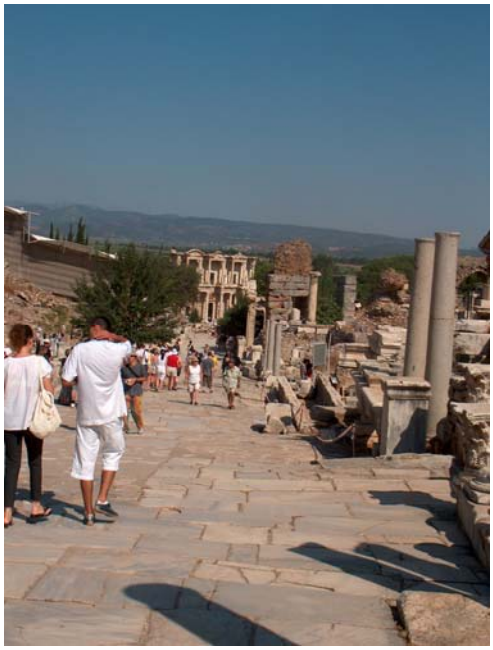


Fig. 24 Embolos Street, Ephesus

Fig. 25 Stairs leading to the Terrace Houses, Ephesus

Fig. 26 Portico in front of the Terrace Houses, Ephesus

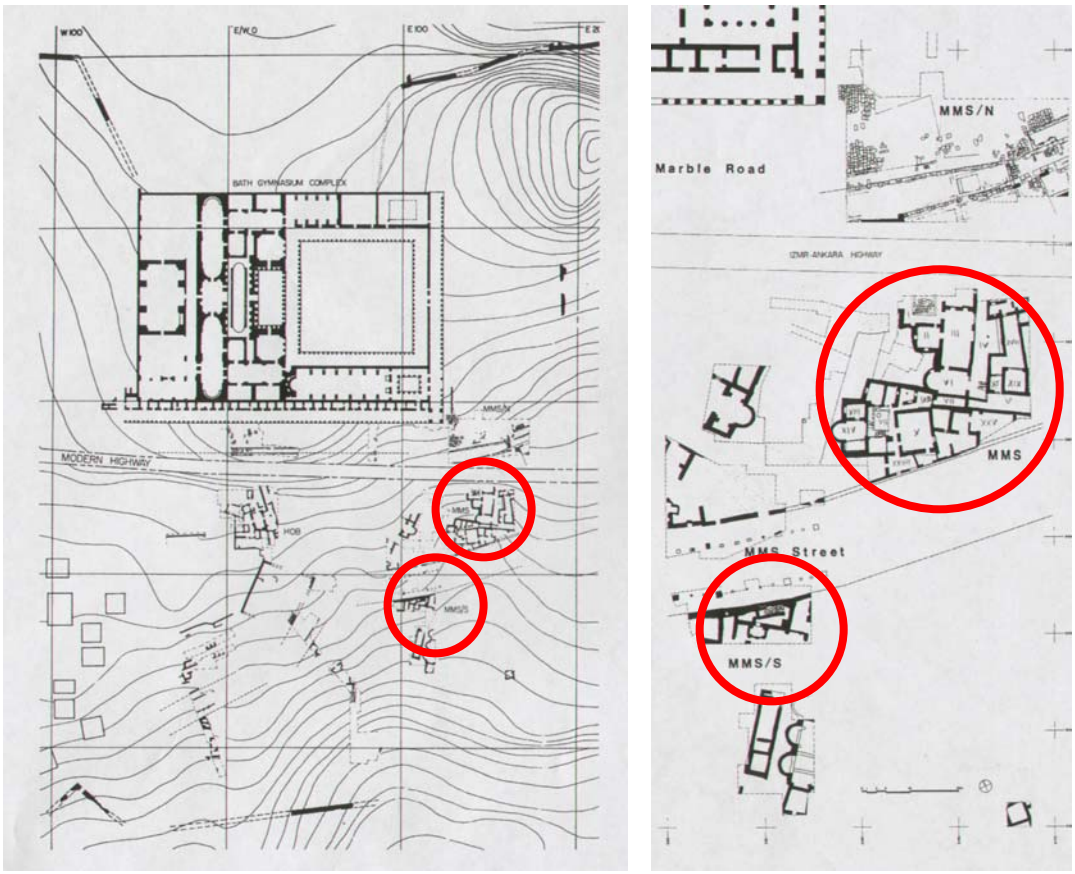


Fig. 27 The urban residential area of Sardis with the houses marked in the west of the gymnasium

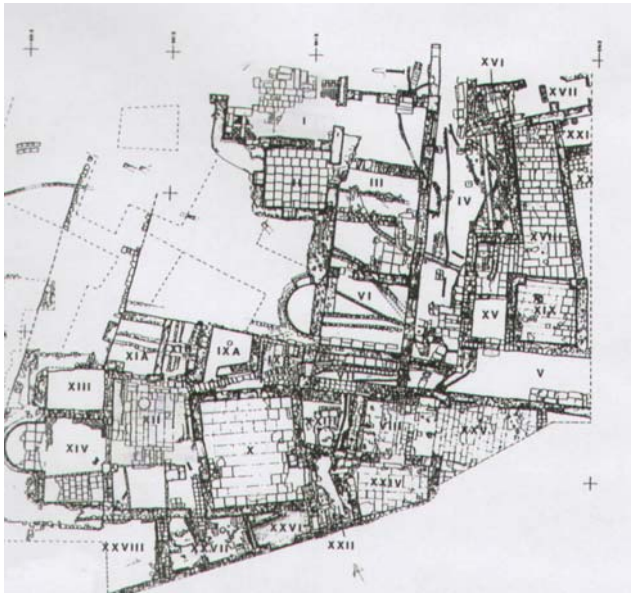


Fig. 28 Plan of the Late Roman Town House, Sardis

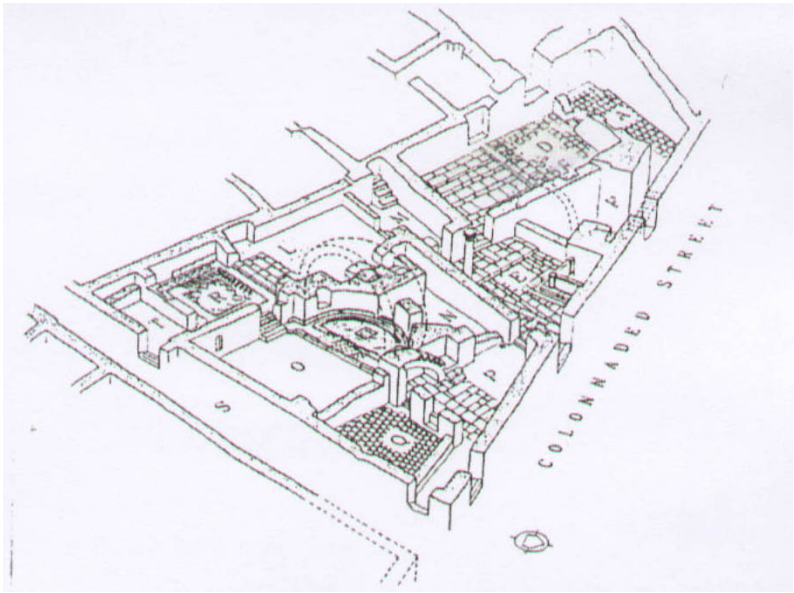


Fig. 29 Plan of the Twelve Room House, Sardis

Fig. 30 View of the Gymnasium from the residential area, Sardis

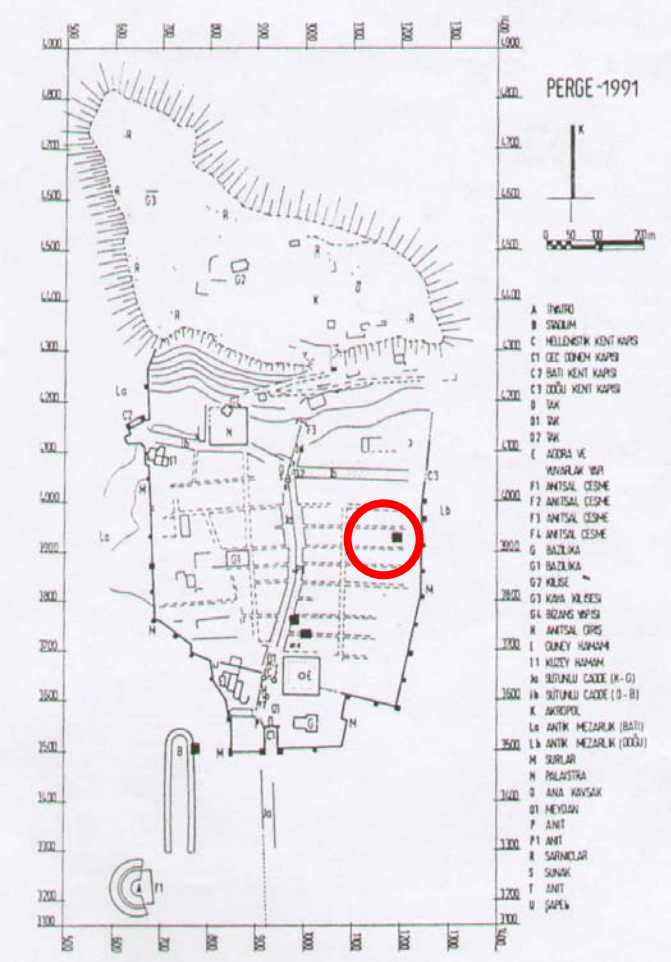


Fig. 31 The city plan of Perge with the house marked

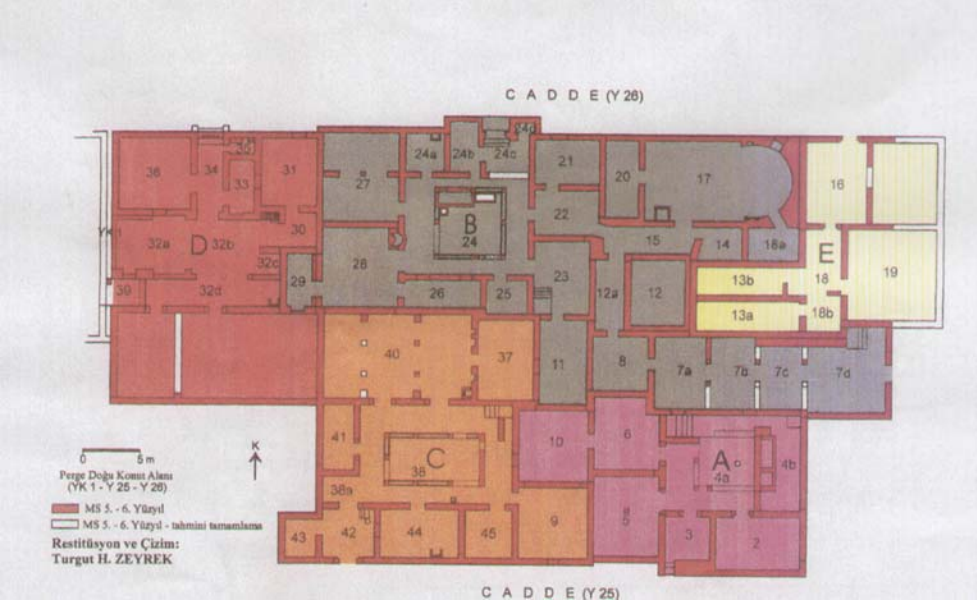


Fig. 32 Plan of the eastern domestic area including the Late Antique Residence (B), Perge

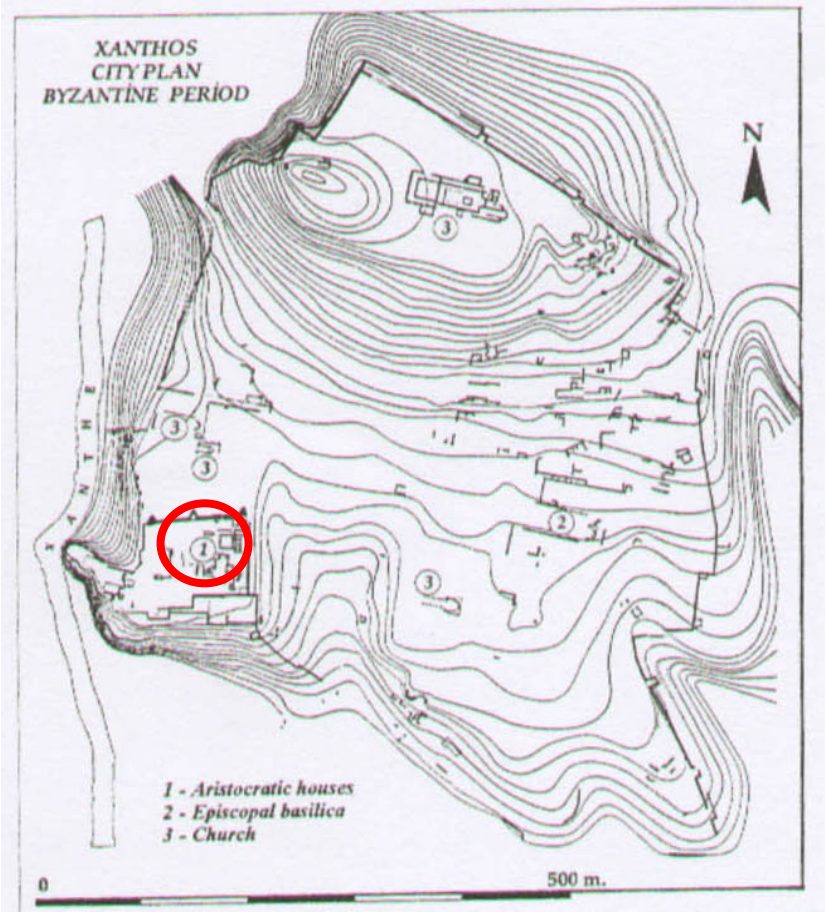


Fig. 33 The city plan of Xanthos with the house marked

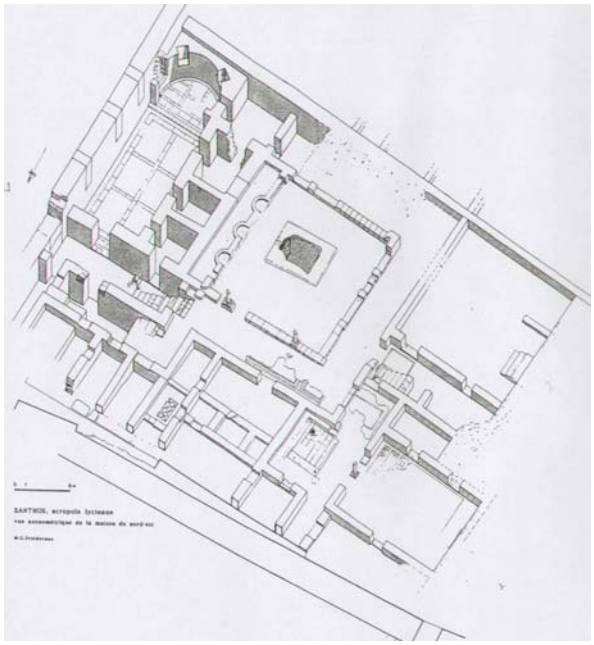


Fig. 34 Plan of the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis, Xanthos

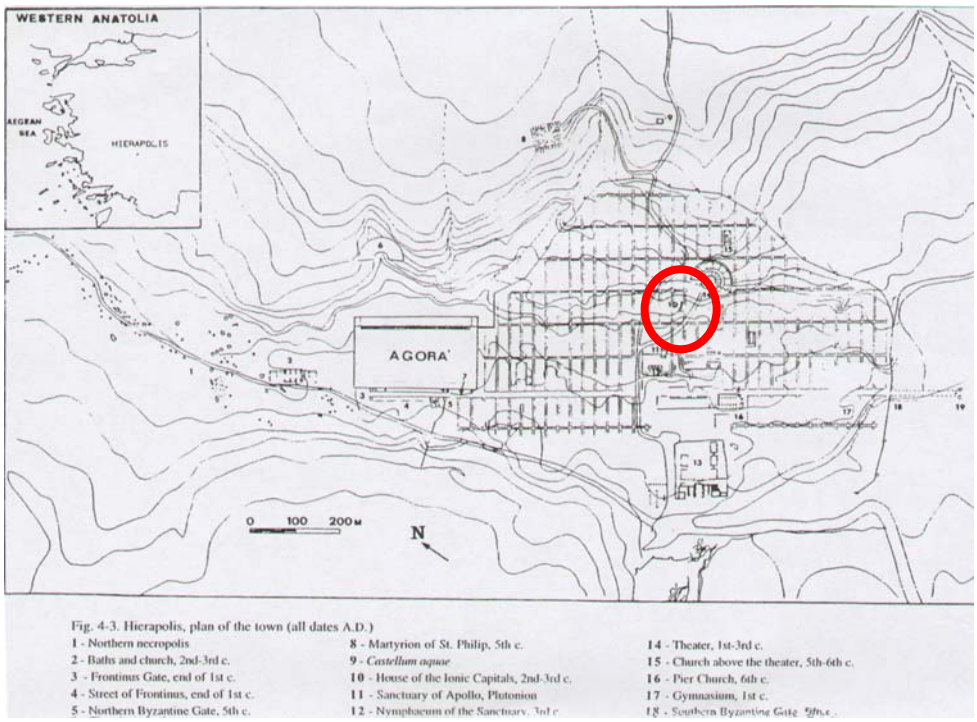


Fig. 35 The city plan of Hierapolis with the house marked

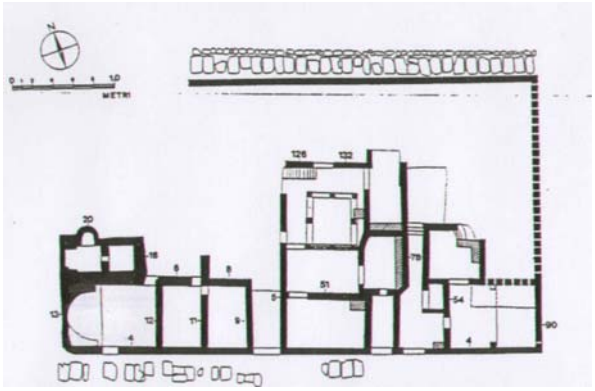


Fig. 36 Plan of the House of Ionic Capitals, Hierapolis

Fig. 37 View of the House of Ionic Capitals from theatre, Hierapolis

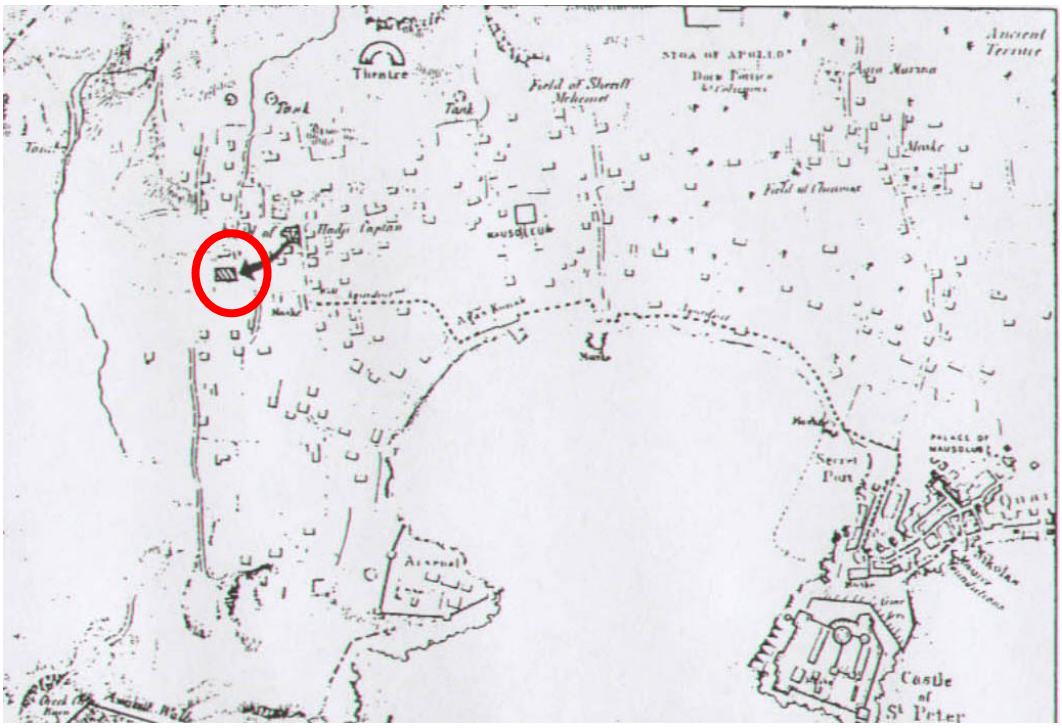


Fig. 38 Newton's city plan of Halicarnassos with the house marked

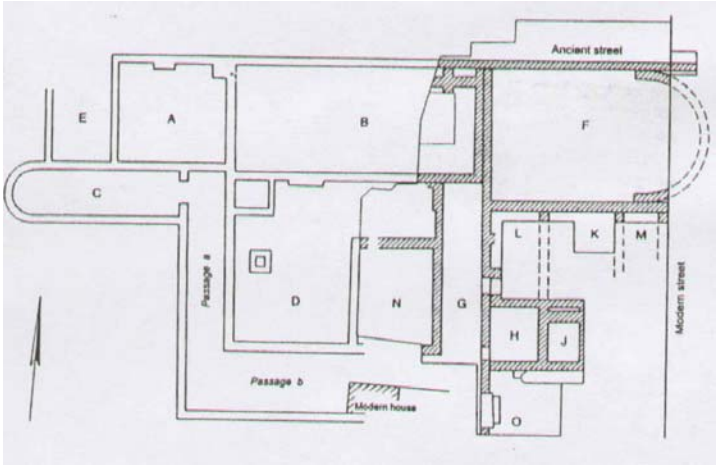


Fig. 39 Plan of the Late Roma Villa, Halicarnassos

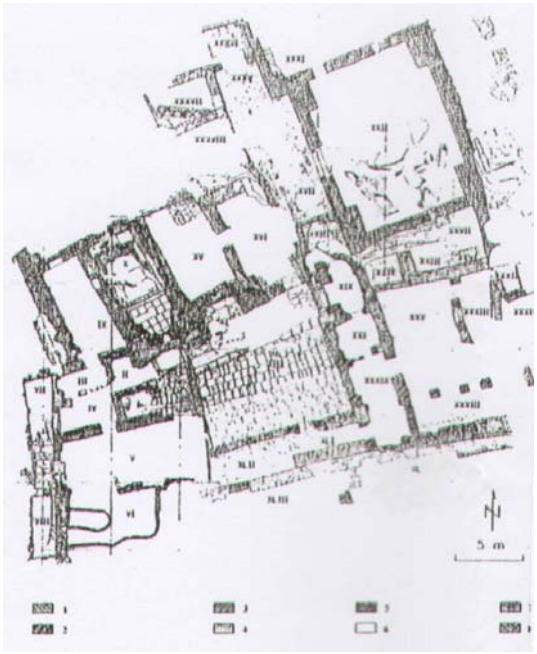
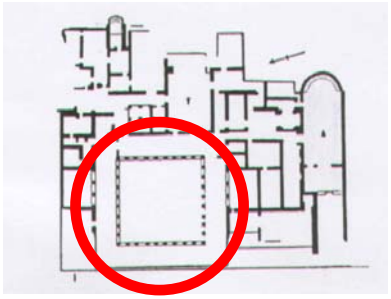


Fig. 40 Plan of the Large Urban Mansion, Sagalassos

Fig. 41 Aerial view of the Large Urban Mansion, Sagalassos

Fig. 42 View of the Large Urban Mansion in Sagalassos from the upper agora

Fig. 43 View of the Large Urban Mansion in Sagalassos from the Roman baths



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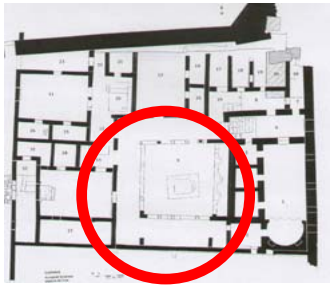

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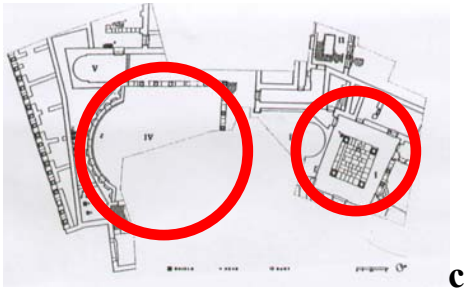

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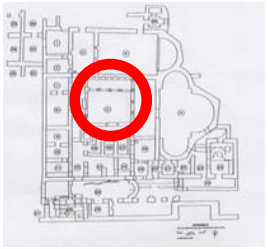

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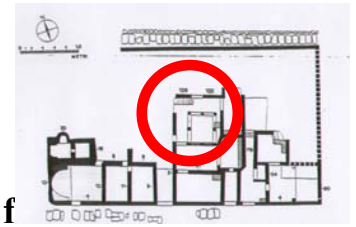

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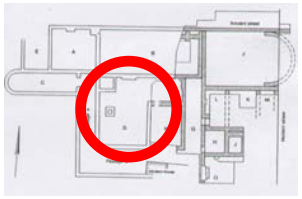

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Fig. 44 The plans showing courtyards

- **a.** Villa Above the Theatre, Ephesus
- **b.** Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis, Xanthos
- **c.** Atrium House, Aphrodisias
- **d.** Late Roman Town House, Sardis
- **e.** Late Antique Residence, Perge
- **f.** 'Bishop's Palace', Aphrodisias
- **g.** The House of Ionic Capitals, Hierapolis
- **h.** North Temenos House, Aphrodisias
- **i.** Large Urban Mansion, Sagalassos
- **j.** Late Roman Villa, Halicarnassos
- **k.** Terrace Houses, Ephesus
- **l.** Twelve Room House, Sardis

Fig. 45 Courtyard of the 'Bishop's Palace', Aphrodisias

Fig. 46 Secondary courtyard of the Atrium House, Aphrodisias

Fig. 47 The two courtyards of the Late Roman Town House, Sardis

Fig. 48 *Peristyle* in the Apartment 2 in the Terrace Houses, Ephesus

Fig. 49 *Peristyles* in theTerrace Houses, Ephesus

Fig. 50 *Peristyle* in the Terrace Houses, Ephesus

Fig. 51 An ornamented fountain in the *peristyle* in the Terrace Houses, Ephesus

Fig. 52 *Peristyle* of the House of Ionic Capitals, Hierapolis

Fig. 53 Main courtyard behind the secondary one in the Large Urban Mansion, Sagalassos

Fig. 54 Main courtyard in the Large Urban Mansion, Sagalassos

Fig. 55 A typical *triclinium* in the house of Julia Felix, Pompeii

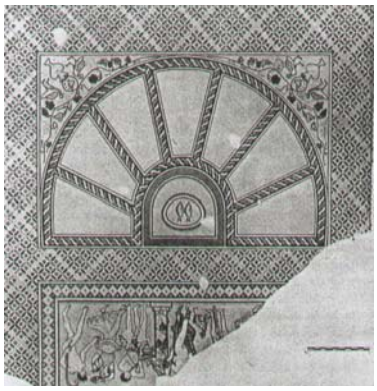


Fig. 56 Mosaic of *stibadium* in Villa of Falconer, Greece

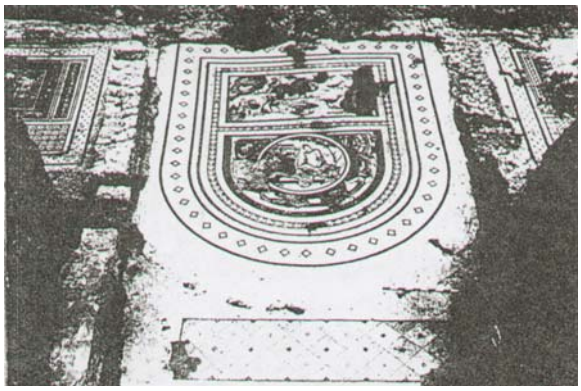


Fig. 57 Mosaic of *stibadium* in the House of Buffet Supper, Antioch

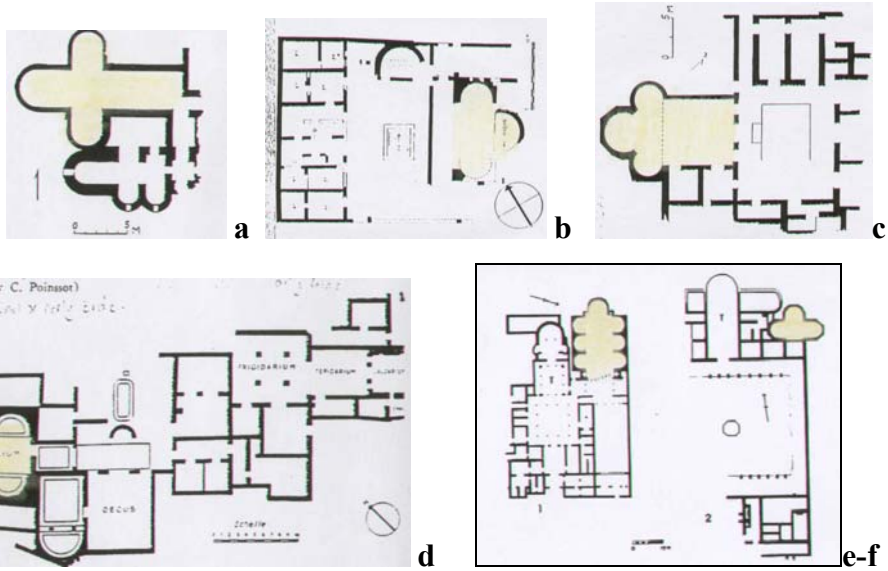
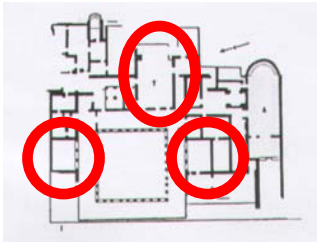


Fig. 58 The multi apsed reception spaces in the western provinces
a. A Roman villa in El-Alia, **b.** A Roman villa in Carthage, **c.** A Roman villa in Thuburbo Majus, **d.** A Roman villa in Thuburbo Majus, **e.** The House of Bacchus, Djemila, **f.** The Palace of Theodoric, Ravenna



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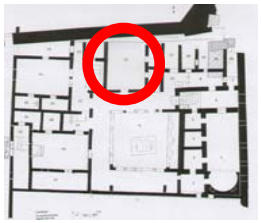

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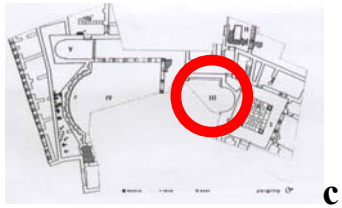

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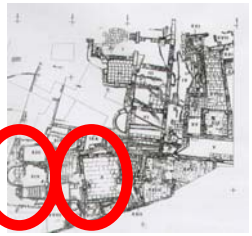

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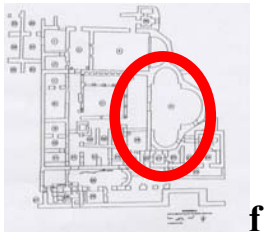

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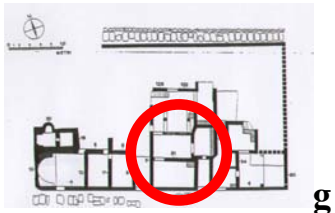

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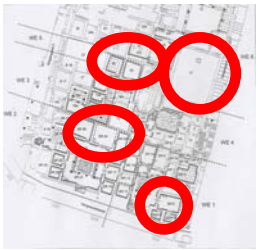

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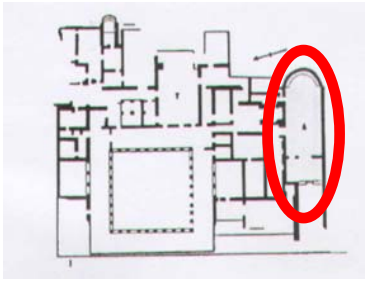
Fig. 59 The plans showing dining halls

a. Villa Above the Theatre, Ephesus
b. Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis, Xanthos
c. Atrium House, Aphrodisias
d. Late Roman Town House, Sardis
e. Late Antique Residence, Perge
f. 'Bishop's Palace', Aphrodisias
g. The House of Ionic Capitals, Hierapolis
h. Large Urban Mansion, Sagalassos
i. Late Roman Villa, Halicarnassos
j. Terrace Houses, Ephesus
k. Twelve Room House, Sardis

Fig. 60 View of the apsidal dining room in the Large Urban Town House, Sardis

Fig. 61 The dining hall in the Large Urban Mansion, Sagalassos



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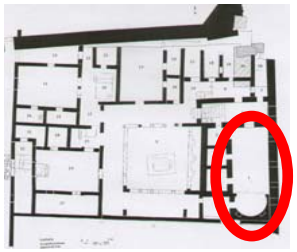

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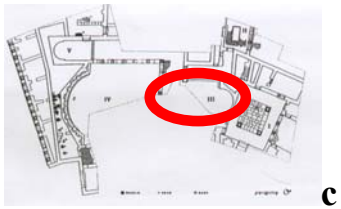

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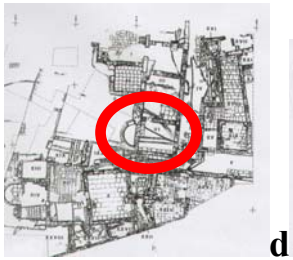

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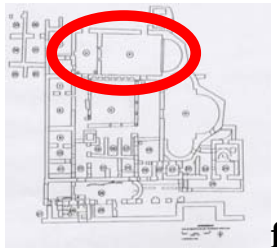

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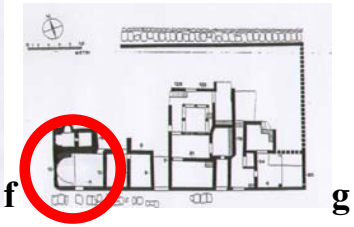

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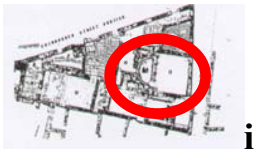

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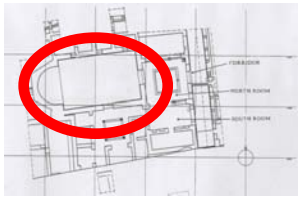

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Fig. 62 The plans showing audience halls

- **a.** Villa Above the Theatre, Ephesus
- **b.** Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis, Xanthos
- **c.** Atrium House, Aphrodisias
- **d.** Late Roman Town House Sardis
- **e.** Late Antique Residence, Perge
- **f.** 'Bishop's Palace', Aphrodisias
- **g.** The House of Ionic Capitals, Hierapolis
- **h.** Apartment 6 in the Terrace Houses, Ephesus
- **i.** Twelve Room House, Sardis
- **j.** North Temenos House, Aphrodisias
- **k.** Large Urban Mansion, Sagalassos
- **l.** Late Roman Villa, Halicarnassos
- **m.** 'Governor's Palace', Ephesus

Fig. 63 The apsidal hall in the Apartment 6 in the Terrace Houses, Ephesus

Fig. 64 The apsidal hall in the north wing of the Late Roman Town House, Sardis

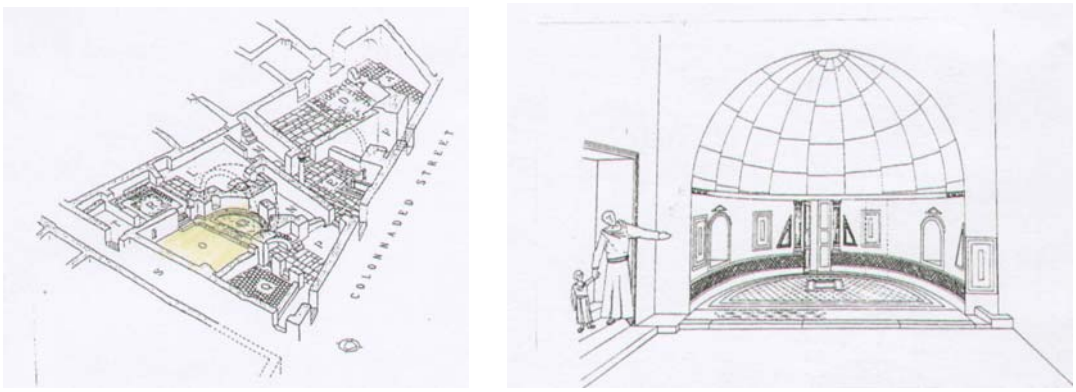


Fig. 65 Reconstruction drawings of the apsidal hall in the Twelve Room House, Sardis

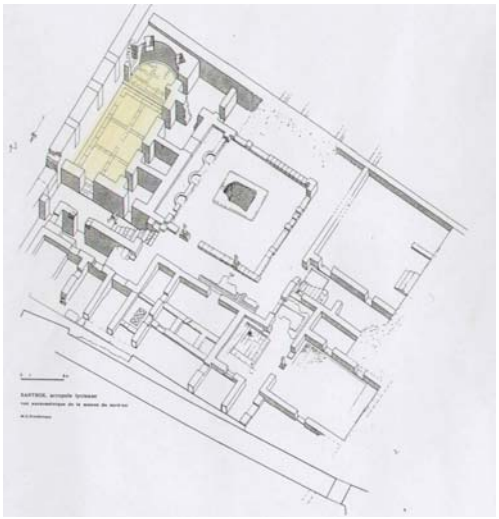


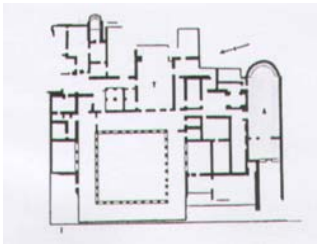
Fig. 66 The apsidal audience hall in the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis, Xanthos

Fig. 67 View of the apsidal hall in the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis, Xanthos

Fig. 68 The reception space in the Large Urban Mansion, Sagalassos

Fig. 69 The stairs leading to the reception room in the Large Urban Mansion, Sagalassos

Fig. 70 The vestibule of the reception hall in the Large Urban Mansion, Sagalassos



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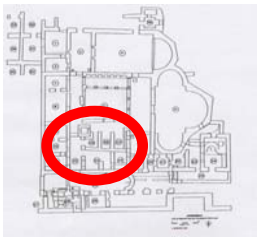

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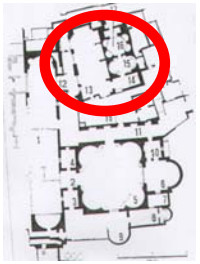

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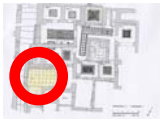

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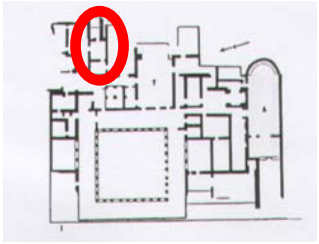
Fig. 71 The plans showing private baths

- **a.** Villa Above the Theatre, Ephesus
- **b.** 'Bishop's Palace', Aphrodisias
- **c.** 'Governor's Palace', Ephesus
- **d.** Large Urban Mansion, Sagalassos
- **e.** Apartment 2 in the Terrace Houses, Ephesus



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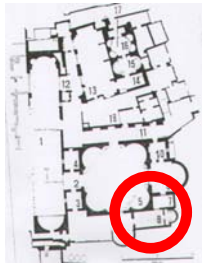

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Fig. 72 The plans showing private chapels

- **a.** Villa Above the Theatre, Ephesus
- **b.** 'Governor's Palace', Ephesus

Fig. 73 *Opus sectile* pavement in the courtyard of the Late Roman Town House, Sardis

Fig. 74 Marble revetments in the wall niches in the Late Roman Town House, Sardis

Fig. 75 *Opus sectile* floor in the House of Ionic Capitals, Hierapolis

Fig. 76 Marble revetments of the walls in the Terrace Houses, Ephesus

Fig. 77 Hunting scene from the Late RomanVilla, Halicarnassos

Fig. 78 Hunting Scene from Yaqta Complex, Antioch

Fig. 79 Hunting scene from North Temenos House, Aphrodisias

Fig. 80 Hunting Scenes from the Great Palace in Constantinople

Fig. 81 The Room with figural wall paintings in the Terrace Houses, Ephesus

Fig. 82 Polychrome floor and wall mosaics from the Terrace Houıses, Ephesus

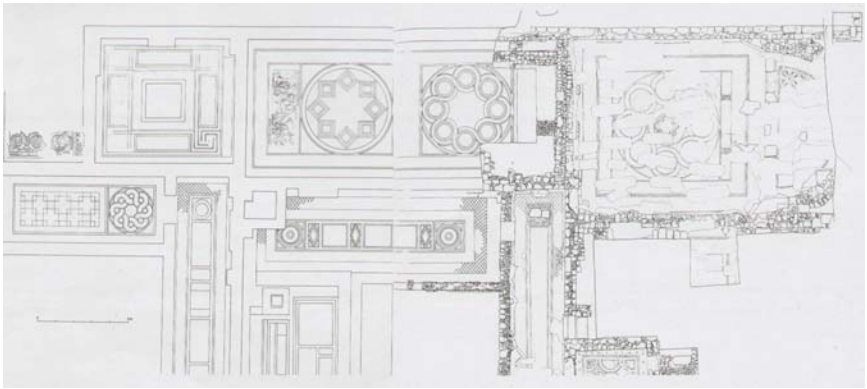

Fig. 83 Mosaic patterns in the Late Roman Villa, Halicarnassos

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APPENDIX

GLOSSARY[52]

Apodyterium: The changing room in a Roman bath building.

Atrium: A covered central court with a roof opening in the Roman aristocratic house.

Basilica: A room with internal colonnades. A civil basilica was a large hall used for the meeting of all the citizens in a Roman town. Early churches are often called basilica, since they took the same architectural form.

Caldarium: The hot room in a Roman bath building.

Cardo: The north-south line of a surveyor's grid; in modern usage, applied to the north-south streets of a town, the main one being the cardo maximus.

Cella: The main chamber of a temple, containing the cult statue.

Civitates: A city with its surrounding territory.

Compluvium: The central opening in the roof of atrium. It corresponds to the impluvium on the floor.

Cubiculum: Smaller rooms within a Roman house that were used for more private activities.

Curia: Council that is responsible from the local administration of cities.

Decumanus: The east-west street of a town.

Dominus: The master of the house, the paterfamilias.

Domus: The Roman house including the household.

Exedra: A large recess opening to a portico.

Familia: Roman household including the family and slaves.

Fauces: Entrance passage leading from the street to the atrium in a domus.

Forum: An open space in a town, used as a marketplace or civic center.

[52] This glossary is prepared in reference to Wallace-Hadrill (1994); Ellis (2000), and Barton (1989 and 1996).

Hypocaust: Roman under-floor heating system. The floor was supported by blocks of brick or masonry. A stroke hole on the exterior wall of the building was used to send hot air under the floor.

Impluvium: A shallow rectangular basin in the middle of the floor of an atrium.

Insula: A tenement or apartment block, usually several storeys high.

Iwan: A large recess opening onto a courtyard in Islamic architecture.

Lararium: Shrine of household gods usually in the form of a small niche in the style of a temple frontage, with a small altar in front.

Materfamilias: The senior female member of the family or household, usually the house owner's wife.

Nymphaeum: An ornamental fountain with an architectural backdrop.

Odeon: Small scale theatre.

Oecus: A smaller reception or a living room opening to peristyle.

Opus Sectile: Floor or wall decoration of colored marble cut in different shapes.

Palaestra: An exercise ground often attached to public baths.

Paterfamilias: The patron of the Roman domus.

Patronus: Patron.

Peristyle: An open courtyard or garden surrounded with colonnades.

Portico: A roofed colonnade usually around an open courtyard.

Praetorium: A large official residence usually belonged to the commander of a military base or a governor.

Salutatio: A Roman's formal morning reception with his clients.

Sigma: A semi-circular dining table.

Spolia: Re-used material coming from demolished or abandoned buildings.

Stibadium: Semi-circular dining couch.

Stoa: A public colonnade.

Tablinum: The study room or formal reception space of the dominus, used for salutatio.

Tepidarium: The warm room of a Roman bath building.

Tetraconch: A room with four apses.

Tetrastyle: A space with four columns.

Triclinium: Dining room including three rectangular couches around a central table.

Triconch: A room with three apses.

Vestibulum: An entrance hall.