AN ARCHITECTURAL INVESTIGATION OF "LEISURE SPACES" IN THE ROMAN DOMESTIC CONTEXT: THE CASE OF EPHESUS

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ABSTRACT

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Leisure is most basically defined as "the time free from work". The ancient conception and forms of leisure were quite different from the modern ones, which came into discussion during the industrial era. The Roman society was highly stratified and comprised of diverse social classes for which leisure acquired different forms and meanings. Every stratum of the Roman society enjoyed the possibilities and pleasures of leisure proportional to its hierarchy in the social system, so that leisure can be investigated in both public and private contexts in the Roman world. This study aims to investigate "leisure", which was one of the main driving social forces in the Roman society, in spatial terms with reference to Roman domestic architecture. The study focuses on central Italy and particularly on Ephesus, the latter of which is a good example to discuss how the Roman conception of leisure was spatially materialized in a provincial private setting since a

group of well studied, documented, and published houses constitute an appropriate comparative sample and context in Ephesus. The spatial organization and characteristics of the spaces housing leisurely activities are discussed on the basis of an "axes-scheme" that regulated and even dictated the visual and bodily interaction of the participants with certain spaces and elements during leisure activities either in a static state (sitting, reclining), or a kinetic one (walking, perambulating). The "visual axes" are those perceived in either of these states, along which the eye is directed towards a visual focal point, whereas the "dynamic axes" are those along which people move during a kinetic leisurely activity. The location, architecture, and use of leisure-oriented spaces in the Roman period houses in Ephesus, such as *triclinium*, *exedra*, *oecus*, *museion,* and *peristyle* courtyard are examined with reference to the proposed axes-scheme to present and compare the operation of leisure in the Roman provincial and private setting.

Keywords: Leisure, Roman House, Ephesus, Terrace Houses, Axes-Scheme

ÖZ

ROMA KONUT BAĞLAMINDA SERBEST ZAMAN MEKÂNLARININ MİMARİ BİR İNCELEMESİ:
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Serbest zaman, en basit anlamıyla "işten bağımsız zaman"dır. Geçmişteki serbest zaman kavram ve biçimleri, endüstriyel çağ ile ortaya çıkmış olan modern kavram ve biçimlerden hayli farklıydı. Roma toplumu oldukça tabakalıydı ve serbest zamanın her biri için değişik biçimler ve anlamlar kazandığı farklı sosyal sınıflardan oluşuyordu. Roma toplumunun her bir sosyal tabakası serbest zaman olanak ve zevklerinden mevcut sosyal hiyerarşi içindeki konumuyla orantılı olarak yararlanıyordu; bu nedenle serbest zaman, Roma dünyasında hem kamusal hem de özel bağlamda incelenebilir bir konudur. Bu çalışma, Roma toplumundaki yönlendirici ana toplumsal kuvvetlerden biri olan "serbest zaman"ı Roma konut mimarlığına referansla mekânsal anlamda incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma orta İtalya ve özellikle de Efes'e odaklanmaktadır ki bunlardan ikincisi, sunduğu bir grup iyi çalışılmış, belgelenmiş ve yayınlanmış konut

dokusunun uygun bir karşılaştırmalı örnek ve bağlam oluşturması nedeniyle, Roma "serbest zaman" anlayışının eyalet konutlarında mekânsal olarak nasıl biçimlendiğini tartışmak için iyi bir örnektir. Serbest zaman etkinliklerini barındıran mekânların mekânsal organizasyonları ve karakteristik özellikleri, katılımcıların ya durağan (oturma, uzanma) ya da devingen (yürüme, gezinme) halde gerçekleştirdikleri serbest zaman etkinlikleri sırasında belli mekânlar ve elemanlar ile görsel ve fiziksel etkileşimlerini düzenleyen ve hatta dikte eden bir "akslar şeması" temelinde tartışılmaktadır. "Görsel akslar", her iki halde de algılanan ve aks doğrultusunda gözün görsel bir odak noktasına doğru yönlendirildiği, "dinamik akslar" ise devingen bir serbest zaman etkinliği sırasında insanların takip ettiği akslardır. Serbest zamanın Roma eyaleti konut mimarisindeki işleyişini sunmak ve kıyaslamak için, Efes'teki Roma dönemi evlerinde tanımlanan *triclinium*, *eksedra*, *oecus*, *museion* ve *peristilli* avlu gibi serbest zaman odaklı mekânların yerleşimi, mimarisi ve kullanımı önerilen akslar şemasına referansla incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Serbest Zaman, Roma Konutu, Efes, Teras Evler, Akslar Şeması

to whom said:

chi vuol esser lieto, sia:
di doman non c'è certezza

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Leisure is a difficult concept to define. It is also a "polar"[1] concept, that is, it is explained in reference to another and opposing concept: *work*. Most scholars studying the theory and philosophy of leisure seem to have a basic consensus on the fact that leisure is "the time free from work".[2]

Leisure, in the modern sense, came into discussion following a gradual decrease in the working hours in the later stages of the industrial era. Having more free time, together with the encouragement of leisure consumption created the basis for the modern phenomenon of mass leisure.[3]

In contrast to the modern conception of "leisure" or "work" versus "non-work", the ancient conception and forms of leisure were quite different. The conception and philosophy of leisure began with the Greek philosophers of the Classical era. For them, leisure was a privilege and a tool by which they could focus on their personal and intellectual development to achieve wisdom.[4] This ideal passed to Rome and influenced

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[1] Barrett, 1989, p. 9.

[2] For discussions in length see ibid; Craven, 1958; Grazia, 1962; Berger, 1963; Gross, 1963; Roberts, 1970; Dumazedier, 1974; Deem, 1988; Allen, 1989; Sayers, 1989; Stokowski, 1994; and Toner, 1995.

[3] Sayers, 1989, p. 46.

[4] Grazia, 1962, p. 35.

the Roman conception and forms of leisure. The Roman society was highly stratified and comprised a leisure class exempt from manual work as well as other social classes for which leisure acquired different forms and meanings. For most Roman elite, life consisted of long periods of free time and they were keen on using it productively. In fact, every stratum of the Roman society enjoyed the possibilities and pleasures of leisure proportional to its hierarchy in the social system, so that leisure can be investigated in both public and private contexts in the Roman world.

Leisure in the Roman public context covered a number of activities including bathing, gladiatorial fights, circuses, and communal drinking during which the social boundaries between classes diminished and both the elite and the non-elite shared the same public space.[5] Whatever the form of public leisure was, the final end to which it served was the dissemination of the imperial ideological system through directing the internal forces of the society and regulating the tensions between the different strata of the society.[6]

Leisure in the private context, on the other hand, took forms like festive dining, visual pleasure, or private spectacles in which a pleasure aspect as well as an expression of power were the dominant features. Private leisure involved a codified social behavioral system and played an essential role in the relationships between the members of the elite and their dependents as well as in between themselves.[7]

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[5] Toner, 1995, pp. 34 – 35, also p. 57.

[6] Ibid, p. 122.

[7] Dunbabin, 2003, p. 2.

The spatial manifestation of leisure in the Roman domestic context is observable in the form of specially designed spaces to house leisurely activities such as banqueting, and also in the form of visual pleasure perceived either in a kinetic state or a static one. The dining hall (Latin: *triclinium*), the *peristyle,* the *oecus*, and the *exedra* are among the leisure-oriented spaces in a Roman house. Their location in the house, interior arrangements, lavish decoration and characteristic furnishings as well as their visual and physical connection to each other or to the other spaces in the house, and carefully designed vistas in and out of these spaces make them stand forth for studying and understanding the conception, operation and architectural accommodation of private leisure in the Roman society.

A similar attitude towards the design and décor of such spaces related with leisure is observable, with some variations, also in the provincial Roman context. This phenomenon is also related to the process called Romanization, by which a "Roman way" of life in terms of desiring and consuming similar cultural and social habits and traditions, including those associated with the private setting, was adopted.[8] A strong and visible tool of Romanization was architecture. Many monumental public buildings were erected and the already existing buildings were altered in the cities under the Roman rule in a way that showed the power of the empire/emperor and also encouraged the implementation of Roman social and cultural values. In the domestic context, on the other hand, Romanization manifested itself in the provision of particular ceremonial and living spaces and settings designed in a proper spatial scheme to suit to a Romanized life style. This included the use of the house both as a public and private setting and hence to accentuate the domestic context both as a "leisure" and "work" locus. Therefore, although the general planning could

[8] MacDonald, 1986, pp. 131 – 2.

differ, many provincial houses shared similar planning ideals in terms of incorporating a Roman way of leisure oriented spaces.

Ephesus in Asia Minor is one provincial city with houses reflecting a Roman character. Being the capital of the province of Asia, Ephesus became the most important city of Roman Asia Minor and a focus of prosperity under Roman rule. Wealthy Ephesians built impressive and lavish dwellings in which to live and enjoy themselves. A group of these dwellings are still extant and mostly in a good state of preservation. Of these, two building *insulae* comprising a number of individual *domus* in a prominent position of the city, called the Terrace Houses, demonstrate the Ephesian way and delight in the domestic spatial arrangement and decoration. The so-called "Palace above the Theater" with its huge dimensions and commanding view of the city is one other example. Both the Terrace Houses and the Palace above the Theater were at their peak in the Imperial times and comprise a representative sample for an examination of "leisure-oriented spaces" in Ephesian houses. Their strategic positions, the layout of their reception areas and major living rooms and the rich decoration (wall paintings and mosaics) of such spaces support the idea that means of private leisure, also used to display power and social status in the Roman society, had an important role and functioned in the very same way also for the Ephesian elite. The public display of "power" was crucial to a man's status in the Roman society, and the Roman elite, whether in the center or in the province, desired to use their houses, especially their leisure-oriented reception spaces, for public display and consumption.

In the context of this brief overview, this study aims to investigate "leisure", which was one of the main driving social forces in the Roman society, in spatial terms with reference to Roman domestic architecture. The study focuses on central Italy and Ephesus, the latter of which is a good example

to discuss how the Roman conception of leisure was spatially materialized in a provincial private setting since a group of well studied, documented and published houses constitute an appropriate comparative sample and context in Ephesus.

The topic in this sense is introduced, discussed, and exemplified in four chapters. Accordingly, the second chapter deals with the concept of leisure itself. For this, foremost, the modern conception of leisure is discussed with reference to various authors. Forms of leisure, as well as its operation, and social and personal function are introduced. In this chapter, a historical development of the concept of leisure is also briefly outlined. The third chapter, on the other hand, deals with the Roman conception of leisure, as well as the notion of Roman public leisure together with its architectural context. Large scale leisure oriented public buildings such as amphitheaters, *circuses*, *stadia*, and baths are examined in their urban context in terms of their location, distribution, use and architecture and the "Roman image" of a city, which was composed of such buildings is exemplified with reference to two prominent Roman cities - Rome and Ephesus which showed a similar development both historically and architecturally.

The fourth chapter focuses on leisure in the Roman domestic context. The Roman town houses are introduced with examples from Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Ostia and a general outline of the spatial organization and characteristics of the spaces housing leisurely activities are discussed on the basis of an "axes-scheme". This scheme is composed of a number of axes that regulated and even dictated the visual and bodily interaction of the participants with certain spaces and elements within leisure activities either in a static state (sitting, reclining), or a kinetic one (walking, perambulating). Of these, the "visual axes" are those perceived in either of these states, along which the eye is directed towards a visual focal point, whereas the

"dynamic axes" are those along which people move during a kinetic leisurely activity. The interaction of these axes with each other and their role in the overall scheme of the house are exemplified first from the houses of Campania.

The fifth chapter focuses on Ephesus to illustrate the similar or different attitudes towards the conception, operation, and spatial manifestation of leisure in the Roman period houses. The spaces housing leisurely activities in the houses of Roman Ephesus are described, discussed, and compared, and their architectural and functional features are investigated with reference to the archaeological evidence by applying the "axes-scheme". In the concluding chapter the similarities and differences between the central Italian and provincial Ephesian domestic contexts are outlined to develop a broader view of the attitude towards the operation of leisure and the arrangement of leisure oriented spaces in accordance with the proposed "axes-scheme" at the "center" and the "province" of the Roman empire. Some geographical and cultural variations in the attitudes towards leisure, as such, can be detected from the way provincial houses were planned and used.

It is hoped to illustrate how studying the concept of "leisure" can provide different perspectives not only on the driving forces within the Roman society and how these were managed and manipulated in both public and private settings but also on the conception and mentality of "leisure" and its spatiality from the Roman perception.

CHAPTER 2

LEISURE: CONCEPTUAL AND HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

2.1. Definitions

The word "leisure" originates from the Latin word *licere,* which means to be permitted.[9] Leisure is defined in the dictionary as:[10]

(1) freedom from the demands of work or duty;
(2) free or unoccupied time;
(3) unhurried ease

Scholars working on the theory and philosophy of leisure have set forth other definitions based on theoretical research: according to Barrett[11] leisure is "time free from necessity" while it is "time off from work" according to Allen[12]. Sayers[13] defines leisure as "liberation" and work as "unfreedom". "Freedom from the necessity of being occupied" is the definition Toner[14] suggests. Stokowski, in her book[15], adds an emotional aspect into her account by saying that "… [leisure] generates some positive emotional response or 'feeling' in participants". Moreover, she points out that the

[9] Kando, 1975, p. 22, cited by Walmsley and Jenkins in Jenkins and Pigram (Ed.s), 2003, p. 279.

[10] The Random House Dictionary of the English Language, 1967, (Stein, J.).

[11] Barrett, 1989, p. 13.

[12] Allen, 1989, p. 20.

[13] Sayers, 1989, p. 35.

[14] Toner, 1995, p. 11.

[15] Stokowski, 1994, p. 2.

traditional definitions of leisure cluster around three main topics: "Leisure is commonly defined as either: (1) an 'attitude' or feeling of freedom; (2) a kind of social 'activity'; or (3) a specific 'time' period".[16] Gross, in his definition, covers all three topics ironically: "If work is what a man does when he would rather be doing something else, then leisure is what he does when he does not have to work".[17]

This list of definitions can be further extended without achieving a standard definition. The difficulty of defining leisure, according to Roberts[18], arises from the fact that the concept of leisure represents different things for different people. Leisure was an opportunity to cultivate the mind and soul for an ancient Greek, whereas to a Puritan it is threat of indolence and sin, or it is just a means of release and escape from the routine of work for many of the workers in the modern society. It is this diversity in the conception of leisure that distorts the real social significance when leisure is defined with unambiguous terms. The suggestion of Roberts, in order to overcome this problem, is to define leisure negatively, in terms of what it is not, as in "leisure time … [is time] that is not obligated".[19]

Berger points out a similar difficulty. According to him, the conceptualization of leisure has been difficult because:

> conceptualization in sociology requires the abstraction of a common property or properties from a relatively wide range of events or social behavior. Leisure activities include such a colossally varied assortment of behavior that it has been virtually impossible to conceptualize it on a behavioral basis. Instead, a circumstance of that

[16] Ibid., p. 3.

[17] Gross, 1963, p. 41.

[18] Roberts, 1970, p. 6.

[19] Ibid., p. 6.

> behavior (that it goes on in time not given over to paid occupations) has typically been made the sole criterion of leisure.[20]

His point is that such a definition lacks the normative content of leisure:

> Leisure refers to those activities whose normative content renders them most important to us, those things that we want to do for their own sake.[21]

Accordingly, Grazia makes a distinction between "free time" and "leisure":

> Leisure and free time live in two different worlds… Anybody can have free time. Not everybody can have leisure… Free time refers to a special way of calculating a special kind of time. Leisure refers to a state of being, a condition of man, which few desire and fewer achieve.[22]

From these definitions and discussions listed above, it emerges that there are three main characteristics of "leisure"; it is freedom from certain kinds and numbers of obligations; it serves no other end than a state of satisfaction as an end in itself, for its own sake; and finally, it generates some positive emotional responses such as relaxation and "pleasure".[23]

Nevertheless, all these definitions refer to modern and contemporary forms of leisure and hence are studied by scholars who are inevitably influenced by more contemporary perspectives and associations of leisure. If we are to analyze the past, on the other hand, we have to take into consideration the social and cultural context of the period in which we are interested.

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[20] Berger, 1963, p. 28.

[21] Ibid., p. 29.

[22] Grazia, 1962, pp. 7 – 8 .

[23] Dumazedier, 1974, pp. 73 – 76.

2.2. History

In the social life of the very early nomadic organizations, which relied on a hunting and gathering economy, work and leisure appear to have been intertwined and almost indistinguishable.[24] Or as Sayers puts it:

> … in the earliest communal forms of society, based on hunting and gathering, it is not possible to distinguish clearly between work and leisure, either in society as a whole or in the lives of individuals. Virtually all members of the community (apart from young children) participate in the necessary labour of society … work and what, by modern standards, would be regarded as "leisure" are intermingled in the course of daily life.[25]

Sahlins[26], supporting his idea by ethno-archaeological studies, states that there existed abundant leisure for each individual in a hunter-gatherer society. However, the leisure time was mostly consumed in rest and sleep. The majority of people's time free from the main objective, food collection, was spent in resting in the camp, visiting other camps or entertaining visitors from other camps.

Sayers connects the emergence of "leisure classes" to an economical bases and class struggle:

> The growth of a sphere of leisure, distinct from work, goes together with the emergence of classes and groups exempt from necessary work. The economic basis of this development is the distinction between necessary and surplus labour. Necessary labour is the work needed to reproduce the working portion of society … while surplus labour is production above and beyond this, which creates the basis for a privileged group of non-workers. So, too, it creates the basis upon which "higher" leisure activities have developed.[27]

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[24] Stokowski, 1994, p. 6.

[25] Sayers, 1989, p. 44.

[26] Sahlins, 1972, pp. 14 – 23.

[27] Sayers, 1989, p. 45.

According to Craven[28], The first privileged leisure class was established with the emergence of a distinct priestly class. It was followed soon by that of warriors. Growth of other leisure classes was based on the recognition of a difference between the pursuits of men and women.

In Classical Antiquity we see leisure gaining a social relevance and emphasis. In this sense, in ancient Greece, for example, leisure was of utmost concern. Plato, Aristotle, and Epicurus were the first to think on and develop a concept of leisure.[29]

The ancient Greek men of intellect highlighted and advocated wisdom as a virtue. For them, wisdom could be achieved only through leisure during which they could focus on their personal and intellectual development. However, since work was inevitable, not everyone could have leisure. But if at least some men could have had it, they might have had the chance of achieving a splendid wisdom and these great wise men might even edify the others who did not have the privilege of leisure.[30]

> A man of leisure, according to Aristotle and Plato, was a man who devoted the best of himself to the state, and who believed that cultivating the mind, so important for the state, was the brightest of all activities, the single one in which man was revealed as related to the gods, and in the exercise of which he celebrated the gods. Politics and religion were at the heart of leisure. Fun never dominated the picture. … What a man does when he does not have to do anything he does for its own sake, but he does not think of it as fun or having a good time. It may be difficult or easy, pleasant or unpleasant, and look suspiciously like hard work, but it is something he wants to do. That is all.[31]

This ideal of leisure was carried to Rome, largely through the works of Plato, Aristotle, and Epicurus; and had an impact on the Roman conception

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[28] Craven, 1958, p. 6.

[29] Grazia, 1962, p. 349.

[30] Ibid., p. 35.

[31] Ibid., p. 349.

and forms of leisure. Leisure in the Roman context will be elaborated in the next chapter.

The Greco-Roman ideals of leisure were dominating the world when Christianity appeared. For a Christian, the only real end was salvation and any other activity other than salvation was not essential. The way to reach salvation was contemplation, which required free time. This was close to the Greek view of achieving wisdom and the Greek hierarchy of leisure changed little: a privileged class, the monks, who were totally exempt from labor, spent their days in contemplation; and all the manual work was done by the "brothers."[32]

After the fall of Rome, the western civilization quickly turned back to a simple, rural, and agrarian society, which preserved this character for about a thousand years. In order to establish the kingdom of the god on the earth, monks promoted manual labor in this "dark" age. This was the birth of a new ideal of work and leisure, according to which labor, too, was good for the soul.[33] Still, however, contemplation was above all other activities, the work rhythm was much slower than the modern times and there was a considerable amount of free time in the Medieval ages, in which holidays, festivals, and the Sundays were considered as off days and occupied about three days of a seven day week, although variations existed from one place to another. Even serfs and slaves shared many holidays and festivals.[34]

A vital change in the sphere of leisure took place during the industrial revolution in the 19th century after which the modern meaning of leisure

[32] Ibid., pp. 25 – 8.

[33] Ibid., pp. 41 – 4.

[34] Ibid., p. 89.

emerged and caused a substantial transformation in both forms and conception of leisure. The neat separation of work and non-work time took place in this period. The free time achieved after the gradual decrease in the working hours, which had been extremely long in the earlier periods of the industrial era, together with the encouragement of leisure consumption created the basis for the modern phenomenon of mass leisure.[35] "Leisure … has itself become industrialized"[36] and:

> increased personal freedoms and greater consumer choice, the products of the industrial revolution, have been reflected in both leisure activities and concepts.[37]

Industrialization not only created new forms of work and production, it also brought new forms of leisure and leisure consumption.[38] Frisby's comments summarize this in a lucid way:

> Modern leisure is ultimately associated with consumption. Leisure is associated with the possession of things, with having rather than doing. It is also identified with escape. Escape from the mundane everyday world, whether it be through sociability, adventure, travel, and fashionability.[39]

Considering the brief discussions on the definition of leisure and its social context above, the modern definition of "leisure" in this study is taken to refer to "whatever done for its own sake for no other end than itself in order to arise positive emotions, such as pleasure, in the participants in the time free from the necessity of being officialy occupied".

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[35] Sayers, 1989, p. 46.

[36] Toner, 1995, p. 16.

[37] Ibid., p. 16.

[38] Deem, 1988, p. 5.

[39] Frisby, 1992, p. 119.

This definition can be further modified to approach the Roman concept of leisure in the private setting. Accordingly, certain static or kinetic activities, each involving a visual extension to a planned and designed setting, dominated the concept and operation of private leisure in the Roman domestic context. These included activities such as banqueting, literary recitations, relaxation and ambulation in a carefully planned setting which often integrated certain references to nature by the use of elements such as greenery and water within the inward looking house: all these activities aimed for generating a pleasurely experience to the participants. The definition of what constituted leisure in the Roman private context is taken throughout this study as "any static or kinetic activity that took place in specially designed spaces in the time free from the necessity of being officialy occupied in the public sphere and which at the same time also included a pleasure aspect incorporating visuality and planned vistas into specially arranged settings including courtyards and other spacious decorated rooms in range".

CHAPTER 3

PUBLIC CONTEXT OF LEISURE IN THE ROMAN WORLD

Neither the conception nor the forms of leisure were static throughout the Roman world and era. They changed not only in terms of time and area, but also in class, gender, and age. Hence, it is not possible to talk of a static conception of leisure applicable to all. Nevertheless, leisure in the private sphere was a phenomenon more of the elite and the well-to-do.

Etymology is a good starting point to introduce the Roman conception of leisure. The Latin equivalent of leisure is *ōtium* and it means:[40]

> (1) unoccupied or spare time;
> (2) a. freedom from business or work, leisure, leisure-time, esp. as devoted to cultural pursuits; (spec.) the leisure afforded by retirement from office or by discharge from the army, b. rest or relaxation from work, a holiday, c. (pl. meton.) the place where one rests or relaxes; the productions of one's leisure;
> (3) relaxation from pain, toil, etc., ease, rest;
> (4) a. (in political contexts) a state of public peace or tranquility; peaceful relations (with another country), b. a peaceful or tranquil existence (in private life), security, safety, c. tranquility, calm (of weather etc.);
> (5) a. the state of doing nothing, inactivity, idleness; also, leisureliness, b. (transf.) the state of being unused;
> (6) a temporary cessation, respite, lull

The negative of *ōtium* is *negōtium* and it is used in different contexts to mean:[41]

> (1) the fact of being occupied, work, business;

[40] Oxford Latin Dictionary, 1994, (Glare, P. G. W.)

[41] Ibid.

(2) a. difficulty, pains (usu. in rog. or quasi-rog. context), b. a difficult matter;
(3) trouble, annoyance, distress;
(4) a particular activity in which one is engaged, job, employment;
(5) *dare negōtium alicui (usu. w. a defining cl. or phr.):* to charge or commission a person (to), *id dare (etc) negōtii alicui:* to give it to someone to do;
(6) *negōtia publica or negōtia alone (also sg.):* public or official engagements generally;
(7) (esp. pl.) what concerns a particular individual, his business or interests;
(8) a. (sg. or pl.) commercial activities or interests, business, b. a specific business or official transaction;
(9) (sg. or pl.) legal proceeding, a lawsuit;
(10) *negōtium est cum (or sim.):* one has to deal or do (with), *quid tibi negōtii est?:* what is your business?, what are you about?; also what concerns is it of yours?;
(11) a. a situation, question, etc., which is the object of consideration, a matter, concern, business, *quid negōtii est? (and sim.):* what is the matter?, what is all this about?, b. (pl., vaguely) events, circumstances;
(12) (as an indeterminate sb. to which an ep. may be attached) a 'business', 'affair': a. (applied to a fact or circumstance), b. (applied to a person, usu. derogatorily; also to an object)

What is striking in these definitions is not only the tension between leisure/*ōtium* and work/*negōtium* but also the fact that the word *negōtium* (work) was formed with the addition of the negative prefix "*ne-*" to the word *ōtium* (leisure). It can be suggested that for a Roman, leisure was the ideal state of the mind and the body; whereas, work or business was the *lack* of that ideal state.

"*Ōtium* represented the best that life could offer, what people would choose if they had the chance".[42] Life consisted of long periods of free time and emphasizing the productive use of that time was a concern for most of the elite. As powerful images in the society, the lives of the elite were on constant display and thus they were constrained to act in accordance with the prestige and authority of their social position also in their sphere of *ōtium*; hence, the dividing line between leisure and work actually remained unclear for the elite.[43] Nevertheless, the elite were keen on using their leisure properly as leisure could provide opportunities for personal and

[42] Toner, 1995, p. 24.

[43] Ibid., p. 27.

intellectual development as well as chance for recovery and recreation after a hard day of work.

The work of the elite, in general, consisted of voluntary performance of civic duties and management of their assets:[44]

> [In Rome] a man is occupied –in the affairs of army, commerce, or state, whatever- and then he rests and re-creates himself. Old age itself is a peaceful well-earned rest from on-the-go of *negōtium*. Aristotle would not have called this leisure. *Ōtium* thus conceived is not for its own but for *negōtium's* sake.[45]

In the Roman view, it was clear that a certain amount of rest and recreation were required for a person to sustain living. On the other hand, however, laziness, idleness, and leisure were also considered both hazardous and destructive in certain contexts. The inappropriate temptations of leisure could, for example, lead to immorality.[46] Hence, according to the Roman elite leisure could be dangerous and destructive if it fell to the hands of the lower social classes:

> Leisure was an indulgence, a time-bomb of destructive possibilities, which the powerful could readily afford, but against which the plebs had to guard, or else be protected. Leisure was to be meted out in small doses and enjoyed with self control, but this was a quality which the elite thought they alone possessed.[47]

Accordingly, those, who were socially inferior to the elite, should have been kept from involving into leisure. From this perspective, it is appropriate to suggest that the amount of leisure that one enjoyed in the Roman world was closely tied to his or her social status.

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[44] Ibid., p. 26.

[45] Grazia, 1962, p. 22.

[46] Toner, 1995, p. 28.

[47] Ibid., p. 25.

Yet, in terms of free time, the Roman calendar provided a considerable number of non-work days for people of all social classes, even for slaves who participated in the activities on these days. The Roman year, in general, was divided into two kinds of days; the *dies fasti* during which business could be conducted without the fear of offending the gods, and the *dies nefasti* in which business was suspended.[48] In other words, the *dies fasti* can be identified with the modern "work day" whereas the *dies nefasti* with the "holiday".

There were two further kinds of *dies nefasti*; *feriae* (public holidays) and *ludi* (public games). In both days work was relaxed or totally suspended and people reserved their time for rest and pleasure.[49]

Feriae as well as *ludi* were religious in origin, through time however their entertaining character surpassed their religious aspect. With the establishment of the empire, public games came to be held on certain *feriae*, whereas no games had been held on those days in the Republic. Not only the number of *dies nefasti* but also the money spent for them was subject to a persistent increase. In Rome of the early empire, 159 days of the year were reserved for public holiday and games were held in 93 of these, while the manuscript calendar of Philocalus, dated to 354 AD, records about 200 public holidays in 175 of which games were held.[50] In addition to the above mentioned holidays, some important events in a year could be announced as a festival or the emperor could decree a day to be celebrated as a festival, often unexpectedly.

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[48] Carcopino, 1940, p. 203.

[49] Ibid., p. 203.

[50] Ibid., p. 206; also Balsdon, 1969, pp. 244 – 248 for a detailed analysis of the origin and number of Roman holidays.

Wealthy individuals or families as well could arrange *feriae privatae* on their own expense to gain political support. This picture did not change also in the provinces. Magistrates, high priests of the imperial cult, and town councillors arranged and supported public games and festivals with official grants from the city treasury. *Feriae privatae* also increased in number and more days were reserved for these events. Even the smallest towns which had no appropriate public buildings had the opportunity of enjoying the pleasures of games held in temporary stands. This large number of holidays led Carcopino[51] to conclude that the Romans, at their peak of power and prosperity, enjoyed at least one day of holiday for every day they worked.

The most attractive leisure activities for all people in these holidays were the public games, shows, and spectacles, if there was any to be held on that day. Chariot racing, gladiatorial combats, wild animal fights, theater spectacles like tragedies, comedies, pantomime, and mime, as well as musical performances and athletic games were among the commonly held public performances.

Chariot racing was one of the oldest Roman games whose roots dated back to the pre-republican times. Chariots were two-wheeled horse-drawn vehicles and their racing took place in *circuses*, which were specially built for the chariot races and generally at the outskirts of the city. These were long, rectangular buildings with a semi-circular end only on one side. In their developed form, they were surrounded by a raised seating all around except the non-curved side that was open. In the center of the tracks, towards each end, there were two turning posts joined with a low wall. Chariots entered from the open end and had to complete seven laps around the turning posts.

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[51] Ibid., p. 206.

In gladiatorial combats, which are thought to have been adapted from the Etruscan burial rites, on the other hand, mostly slaves, criminals, or war captives were put to a fight of death. There were also animal fights in which men fought against wild animals or animals fought against animals. These fights took place in the *fora* or *circuses* until the time of Caesar who ordered the construction of the first permanent amphitheater in Rome. Amphitheaters were composed of an arena and a seating around it. They could be oval, elliptical, and round or nearly so in form. The first amphitheaters were temporary and wooden, whereas in time permanent stone amphitheaters were introduced.

Public spectacles were also among the popular leisurely activities. Drama was one of the earliest forms of entertainment in the Roman world. However, by the end of the Republic, tragedies, comedies and other forms of drama began to go out of fashion with the changing taste of the Romans; and instead, mimes and pantomimes involving miming roles with accompanying singers, dancers, and musicians came forth.[52] Such spectacles were performed in theaters. A Roman theater, which was a temporary structure in its initial stage, was a closed unit composed of a stage building and a semicircular seating area.

Musical performances took place in the *odea*. The form of the *odea* resembled that of the theater but they were smaller in size. Some *odea* were also roofed in which case the curved seating was enclosed within a square building that carried the roof. However, it should be noted that the *odea* were built less

[52] Balsdon, 1969, pp. 273 – 274.

frequently than the theaters and were mostly found in those parts of the empire where the Greek influence was strong.[53]

Athletic games should also be mentioned among the public games. Regular athletic games had been established long before in the Greek-speaking communities of the eastern Mediterranean. Starting with Augustus, the Roman emperors attempted to establish and spread such games all over the empire. Nevertheless, these games did not find a large popularity among the Romans; on the contrary, they were criticized as being degenerative and offensive, mostly because of the nudity of the athletes.[54] *Stadia*, which are of Greek origin, were the buildings where athletic events took place. These long and narrow buildings were hairpin-shaped with a track in the center and were bordered by rows of seats.[55] Some were temporary.

These public games were held in nearly every city within the empire. In terms of popularity, however, there were regional differences. For example gladiatorial combats and animal fights were most popular in the western part of the empire.[56] This is also supported by the rarity of the amphitheaters found in the Roman east.[57] As opposed to this, athletic games, which appealed to a limited populace in the west, were much more popular in the eastern provinces. The wild beast fighting was much more common in North Africa due to the availability of exotic animals such as leopards and elephants in this geography.

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[53] Dodge, 1999, p. 223.

[54] Toner, 1995, pp. 51 – 52.

[55] MacDonald, 1986, p. 123.

[56] Dodge, 1999, p. 231.

[57] See Onrat, 1997 for the Roman amphitheaters in Asia minor.

The Roman leisure in the form of public entertainment briefly summarized above had certain significant aspects. In most of the games there was a factor of "competition". As Toner[58] points out, the Roman society was a highly competitive society and men had to be vigorously competitive in defense and preservation of their self-image, masculinity, and honour — just like the gladiators. The spectators, regardless of their class, wealth, gender, or age, shared this common tension and excitement. Therefore, these games also provided places of "equalization"[59] between classes where social differences blurred. This "equalization" aspect of the public shows and spectacles was deliberately used by the emperors for the consolidation of their authority and the dissemination of the imperial ideological system. According to Carcopino;

> The emperors developed skill in canalizing this mass emotion and directing its currents, and often succeeded in transferring to the multitude the responsibility for acts of vengeance which they had already planned but preferred to execute under an appearance of popular duress…
>
> Nor was this all: they formed a barrier for autocracy against revolution… The shows occupied the *[free]* time of these *[idle]* people, provided a safety valve for their passions, distorted their instincts, and diverted their activity. A people that yawns is ripe for revolt. The Caesars saw to it that the Roman plebs suffered neither from hunger nor ennui. The spectacles were the great anodyne for their subjects' unemployment, and the sure instrument of their own absolutism. They shrewdly buttressed their power by surrounding the plebs with attentions and expending fabulous sums of money in the process.[60]

Furthermore, the provision of public shows and spectacles all over the empire created a common popular culture and architecture and thus, assumed an important role in the Romanization process.

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[58] Toner, 1995, pp. 44 – 47.

[59] Ibid., p. 35.

[60] Carcopino, 1940, p. 210.

A Roman, however, had other possibilities for occupying his or her leisure time in public even if there were no games or shows held that day.

Bathing, beyond cleansing, was a popular means of leisure. People not only cleansed themselves but also exercised, played games, and relaxed in the baths. Bathing also provided an opportunity for socializing and meeting with friends. As such, Roman citizens were provided with a good number of baths of different size located in various districts in their cities. There were imperial monumental baths, which contributed to the "Roman image" of the city, like the entertainment buildings, as well as small district baths and those whose size varied in between. Private baths could also be found in the houses of the elite. Baths were places of equalization as well. Even the poor could experience the pleasures of bathing, like the elite, by paying a small fee or even having a free admittance. With the clothes off, the status divisions were even more blurred in the Roman baths.

Reading was also a popular means of leisure especially among the educated men. Some Roman elite had private libraries in their houses. Yet, reading was a public activity as well. There were also large public libraries in some Roman cities. These public libraries could be the benefactions of rich citizens to their cities or else could be built from the cities' own treasury. Public libraries could be incorporated with or in the vicinity of temples, baths, or *fora*. There were free standing monumental library buildings as well.[61]

These briefly introduced public entertainment buildings provided different types of leisure opportunities such as entertainment, bodily exercise, rest, and relaxation, for the citizens. While theaters, amphitheaters and *stadia*

[61] Balsdon, 1969, pp. 148 – 149; MacDonald, 1986, p. 118.

offered entertainment through spectacles and shows, buildings such as baths provided spaces and means for relaxation and rest. *Odea* and libraries on the other hand, provided opportunities for intellectual enjoyment and development for the educated. In all these activities, irrespective of type, the time was consumed for involving into leisure through means like entertainment, relaxation and reading. The empire as well provided and supported the building and operation of such public buildings, which offered the means for the mass consumption of non-work time.

The role of architecture in the buildings of entertainment must be briefly examined in this context as well[62]. The huge dimensions of buildings reserved for entertainment exceeded any other public building and their physical dominance reflected not only the prominent role they played in the lives of the people but also the claim of the Roman empire; as the supreme power of the world, it provided her people with abundant social and urban facilities under "Pax Romana". Many of these buildings were distinctively Roman. Even the local examples built before the arrival of the Romans later gained a Roman character with some additions and alterations, like the Romanized Greek theaters altered with the addition of stage buildings. As such, the architectural symbols of Roman way of life were promoted throughout the empire with such Roman or Romanized public leisure buildings.

The distribution of these public buildings within a city is significant in terms of analyzing the character of the urban fabric. The large buildings of entertainment, such as amphitheaters, *stadia*, and theaters, did not have a fixed or allocated location in the city, but they were generally located close

[62] See Ward-Perkins, 1994 for an overview of leisure-oriented public buildings in Rome; see Ball, 2001 for an overview of those in the eastern provinces.

to the perimeter of the city. The main reason for this was their huge size and their late appearance; especially in the provincial cities they were often added to urban fabric in which the basic lay-out was already set and the city was grown to a certain extent.[63] Baths, *odea*, and libraries on the other hand, could be found in more central locations. Whatever the factors affecting the preference of such locations were, the dispersed character of large public buildings contributed to the collective "Roman image" of the city. Anybody walking in the streets and being exposed to the physically dominant images and memories of the Roman way of life dispersed in different parts of the urban fabric, even centuries after, can feel that the city he or she is walking was once a Roman city.

Nevertheless, not all public entertainment required a huge and monumental building; on the contrary, some entertainment took place in unattractive and modest buildings, while some took place outside.

Gaming and gambling were popular leisure activities for all classes in the Roman society. There were many different dicing and board games based on moving bones or glass according to the dice as well as games like modern chess. Gambling and betting, on the other hand, were forbidden but despite the fact that there were severe punishments for those who gambled and kept a gambling house, it was common for people to gamble in the dark, back premises of taverns and inns.[64]

Taverns and inns were the primary places for the everyday cheap mass leisure.[65] In addition, there was a large number of cook-shops, restaurants

[63] Zanker, 2000, pp. 39 – 40.

[64] Carcopino, 1940, p. 250, considers gambling in the Roman society a "mania".

[65] Toner, 1995, p. 67.

and bars. The clients of these places were mostly the working class men and the slaves. These places also offered a place of escape for the poor as well. However, despite their large number, such taverns and the associated facilities were not creditable places and were continuously condemned and criticized as being unrespectable and immoral places by the elite.[66]

It is clear that leisure was an imperially supported opportunity for most of the Romans who were provided with a considerable amount of both free time and also the facilities to enjoy this free time. Nevertheless, it is also clear that there was a differentiation in terms of taste and preference determined by social status. Moreover, the wealthy Romans could extend their leisure opportunities into their private setting as well.

3.1. Locus of Public Leisure in the Roman Urban Context

It will be helpful to examine the so far summarized public leisure in the Roman society with reference to a specific urban context. Rome and Ephesus constitute a good comparative sample for our purpose for a number of reasons. The study of the organization of public buildings of leisure in the lay-out of these cities; comparison of the attitudes in their juxtaposition and interaction with other buildings and with the city as a whole; and comparison of buildings of leisure in terms of their number, scale, and monumentality will help to illustrate the role and place of leisure in the urban context in both the capital and the province.

[66] See Laurence, 1994, pp. 70 – 87 for a discussion on discreditable leisure activities and places.

Archaeology has traced the earliest settlements around Rome back to around 1000 BC.[67] Though the first settlements were nothing more than shepherds' villages, Rome became the largest and the most impressive city of its time after undergoing an extraordinary urban change and a continuous construction process during the Republic and the early Empire. Ancient Rome was situated at some distance from the western coast of the central Italian peninsula by the river Tiber, where volcanic outflows had produced a group of tightly knit hills. Romans expanded their influence in this territory and through time built one of the most advanced ancient civilizations of the world. Ancient Rome, being the center of a great power and prosperity, attracted people from all over the empire which caused an expansion of the city in all directions and an ever increasing population.

Ephesus, similarly, has a distant past, too. The inhabitance around the bay of Ephesus, located on the western coast of Asia Minor, dates back to the 5th millennium BC.[68] Like Rome, the settlement around Ephesus also evolved from a village of wooden huts into a capital; the capital of the Roman province of Asia. The decree of Ephesus as the capital city dates to 29 BC and was a milestone in the city's history. From then on Ephesus, which already had undergone a number of construction and planning programs[69], was subject to continuous building activity and an increase of population. These resulted in making one of the largest and flourishing cities of not only Asia Minor but also of the empire adorned with many impressive public buildings including those reserved for leisure.

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[67] Bradley, 1990, p. 22.

[68] Scherrer, 2001, p. 57.

[69] Ibid., pp. 66 – 8.

Hence, Rome and Ephesus witnessed a similar urban development, had similar political and economical prominence, and were subject to the pressures of population increase. In both cities, abundant leisure opportunities were provided for the citizens; hence, public buildings of leisure had prominence in the urban layout. Many of these buildings are excavated and exposed to a great extent in both cities and numerous studies, and publications exist. Therefore, they can potentially illustrate not only the locus of public leisure in the large Roman urban contexts but also the distinctions between the Roman west and the Greek east in the context of their capital cities. For this reason, Rome and Ephesus comprise a good comparative sample for our purpose.

The public buildings of leisure are marked on the plans of Rome and Ephesus together with the main urban transportation and movement axes and nodes (Figs. 3.1, 3.2). Both plans reflect the mid 3rd century AD phase, when both cities were at their peak. This comparison provides a preliminary insight into the distribution of public leisure in both cities.

There is no specific location for a specific leisure building or for a specific leisure activity in both Rome and Ephesus; on the contrary, the locations of public leisure buildings seem to have been determined by the internal dynamics of the city; that is, the availability of free space or the wealth of the builder to purchase the necessary parcels of land. This is especially apparent in Rome. Older public buildings of leisure seem to have been gathered around the core of the city, whereas the later additions that could not find a place in the center were located in the newly developing quarters, especially in the Campus Martius. Most large scale buildings of leisure, such as circuses and amphitheaters, found their place at the perimeter of the city, even outside the fortifications. Ephesus demonstrates a similar development in this sense. There is a development from the Greek theater at the center

towards the perimeter of the city, to the later built governmental center and to the new areas obtained by the filling of the sea after erosion. In Ephesus however, we can clearly trace the juxtaposition of the public leisure buildings along the main transportation axis of the city, that is, along the Plateia in Koressos, the Kuretes Street, and the Arkadiane Street. In general, all buildings of leisure had a connection, physical or visual, to these axes. This relationship is seen in Rome in the form of clustered buildings around focal points; the axis of the Palatine – Esquiline, and the Campus Martius. In short, the distribution of leisure buildings in both cities had a dispersed character, which, as mentioned before, contributed to the "Roman image" of the city as a whole.

A comparison of the number of public leisure buildings on the other hand, shows the dominance of Rome. Rome far exceeded Ephesus in terms of the number and the type of buildings reserved for leisure. This was most probably due to the much higher population of Rome and its better economical and financial sources as being the capital city of the empire. However, the presence of many *gymnasia* in Ephesus as opposed to Rome which had none should also be noted. This can be attributed to the influence of the Greek past of Ephesus. The construction of *gymnasia* in later periods as well denotes the strong ties of the Ephesians with their Greek heritage and favorability of the Greek way of leisure. The non-existence of amphitheaters and *circuses* in Ephesus supports this connection as well. Yet, this should not be taken to mean that gladiatorial combats or chariot races were not held in Ephesus; the Ephesians preferred to get involved in the leisure activities with Greek origin, such as the athletic games and drama.

In terms of the scale and the grandeur of the public leisure buildings including some of the largest public building types; Colosseum, the largest Roman amphitheater and the Circus Maximus, the largest Roman *circus*,

Rome also dominates. Nonetheless, Ephesus was not less impressive with its imposing theater, baths, library, and stadium. Indeed, the Roman emphasis on monumentality and visibility was clearly apparent in both cities, especially in the buildings reserved for the mass-consumption of leisure.

This chapter has outlined the forms and buildings of leisure consumed in the Roman public domain. The public buildings of leisure and their role and place in the development of the urban layout were also briefly introduced. Leisure in the private context, that is, the leisurely activities that took place and consumed within the domestic architecture, is discussed in the next chapter, which introduces the Roman house and its spaces that were primarily associated with leisure.

CHAPTER 4

THE ROMAN HOUSE:
SPACES AND AXES OF LEISURE AND VISUAL PLEASURE

Describing the "Roman house" is not an easy task since the term "Roman" refers to a time span roughly in between the end of the 6th century BC and the 5th century AD; and stretches over a geographical area from the Atlantic in the west to the Caspian sea in the east, and from the Great Britain in the north to the Sahara desert in the south. In this broad context the Roman house is often discussed with reference to an "*ideal*" and standard type of dwelling; the *atrium* house.

McKay[70], who has compiled one of the earliest comprehensive studies on the "Roman house", distinguishes between the urban and rural houses, and defines an ideal type for each. Accordingly, he classifies the urban houses into two as the *domus* (the single family dwelling) and the *insula* (multi-storied, multiple family dwelling). Rural houses on the other hand are classified further as rustic (farm houses), suburban (villas outside the city walls, but close enough to the towns), and maritime (seaside villas). The representative house types for each category in this study are taken from central Italy. The provincial houses, on the other hand, are evaluated and discussed in terms of their resemblance or difference to the ideal types found in central Italy.

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[70] McKay, 1975.

Clarke[71], in his book focusing on the Roman dwellings in the Italian peninsula, enlightens the social dynamics and concerns that shaped the house of a Roman family. He illustrates his arguments with reference to a distinction between the *domus*, *insula*, and *villa* by referring to the case studies chosen from Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Ostia.

Ward-Perkins[72] makes a similar distinction between town houses and country houses. In his study, town houses are also divided as *domus* and *insula*; whereas, those in the country are divided as modest farm houses of smallholders and tenant farmers, rustic villas of the wealthy land owners, and the pleasure residences of the rich. His examples are also from central Italy; from Pompeii, Herculaneum, Ostia, and the villas in Campania.

Wallace-Hadrill[73], in his influential study, carries out a statistical methodology to shed light on the spatial arrangements and typologies of the dwellings in Pompeii and Herculaneum as well as on the social dynamics of the Roman households.

Ellis[74], on the other hand, indicates the difficulty as well as the undesirability of defining a standard "Roman house".[75] Instead, he prefers a distinction between the elite houses and those belonging to the lower classes. According to him, not only the lower social classes, but also the provincial elite adapted some elements of the aristocratic houses found in central Italy. Thus, his "ideal Roman house" also corresponds to the houses of central Italy, namely those found in Pompeii and Herculaneum.

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[71] Clarke, 1991.

[72] Ward-Perkins, 1994.

[73] Wallace-Hadrill, 1994.

[74] Ellis, 2002.

[75] Also see Tamm, 1973 for a discussion of a standard Roman house.

What is common in all these studies is their geographical reference to central Italy, namely to the towns of Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Ostia; and the view that most of the houses throughout the empire had adapted some "Roman" elements exemplified in these sites.

"Romanization" or the cultural adaptation and transformation of Roman urban life and architecture outside Italy can, in this sense, be traced also in the private architecture. As such, some constituent elements of Roman domestic architecture exemplified in central Italy, whether originating from an Etruscan background, a Greek influence, or a Roman innovation, were adapted in several provincial houses all over the empire. The degree of this adaptation, the persistence of local traditions, or variations might change from one place and period to the other, but a sense of "Romanness" is observable in many ways in the Roman houses exemplified in the provinces.

Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Ostia became the reference sites for studying Roman domestic architecture as they provide the largest sample of the best preserved Roman period houses. The burial of Pompeii and Herculaneum under the lava of the Vesuvius volcano made these towns considerably well preserved at a moment when they were still inhabited. Both cities, in this sense, provide detailed and rich evidence up until 79 AD, the date of the eruption. Ostia on the other hand, was a planned, commercial port town near Rome, and hence presents the remains of densely populated urban apartments as well as private houses dating mostly to the 2nd century AD when the city was at its peak.

A brief overview of the urban dwellings in central Italy will demonstrate the architecture of *domus* and *insula* in terms of their plan and constituent spaces. The spaces of the Roman house associated with leisure will be

investigated in reference and comparison to this overview in the following chapter.

4.1. Urban Houses: Domus and Insula

Low rise buildings of usually one or two stories were the typical housing scheme used in the Roman cities. Since most Roman cities were of moderate size with moderate populations no larger than modern towns, alternative housing schemes like multi-storey dwellings were sought for in only much larger cities like administrative or commercial centers.[76] *Domus* was the name given to such low rise dwellings of one or two stories usually inhabited only by a single but often extended family.

Domus would be lined up side by side along the streets in a building island and could share party walls with the adjacent dwellings on two or three sides. The floor areas of *domus* varied considerably not only in different building islands but also within the same island. Though regularly planned, building islands could also be of different sizes. Strict grid-iron planning, however, was not common.

The origins of the *domus* are traced back to the Etruscan times by some scholars.[77] The Etruscan settlement of Marzabotto near modern Bologna, which accommodated several houses with central courtyards, is thought to have accommodated the earliest roots of the *domus*. Accordingly some aspects of these houses such as the cisterns used for collecting water from the roof, entryways, and the main reception rooms are comparable with the

[76] Özgenel, 2000, p. 107.

[77] Lake, 1937, pp. 598 – 600 ; Graham, 1966, pp. 6 – 9; McKay, 1975, pp. 11 – 29; Ellis, 2002, pp. 23 – 24.

Pompeian *domus.*[78] Moreover, Etruscan tombs that were organized around a central space resembling a courtyard are thought to be another aspect linking the Etruscan spatial arrangements and the *domus.*[79]

In terms of origins, Wallace-Hadrill draws attention to Maiuri's view that the *domus* was derived from the farmhouse with a central courtyard which was traced back, earlier than the 5th century BC, to the period of clustered huts within a palisade for reasons of safety in which the *paterfamilias* had a special group set apart by open spaces from the rest.[80] He also recalls the 6th century BC dwellings at Etruria and Latium, 4th and 3rd century BC dwellings from Lucanian Tolve and the aristocratic residences of 6th century BC Palatine to illustrate the similarity of their spatial arrangement with that of the *domus*. According to him, all shared a common language of placing the spaces of the dwelling around a central space with a large, open room at the far end from the entrance.

4.1.1. The Architecture of the Domus

Domus was shaped according to the domestic needs of the inhabiting family as well as the public and ceremonial events such as the *salutatio* and the banqueting. The term "family", in the Roman context, could include the nuclear family, the grand parents, families of sons, slaves, and even the freed-men and women, thus a large group.[81] This large family often shared a single *domus,* which was an axially planned inward looking house with a

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[78] Ellis, 2002, pp. 23 – 24.

[79] Brothers, 1996, pp. 38 – 39.

[80] Wallace-Hadrill, 1997, pp. 224 – 238.

[81] Saller, 1994, pp. 75 – 80; also see Saller, 1984, for a detailed discussion of the Roman *familia*.

concern for symmetry. On the centrally located axis that connected the entrance to the back garden in several Campanian houses was a semi-open courtyard around which the other spaces were arranged. There was often an opening, called *compluvium*, at the center of the roof of the courtyard which let both the rain water and daylight in. This water was collected in a shallow pool, called *impluvium*, which was found right beneath the opening. This kind of a semi-open courtyard is referred to as an *atrium* and formed the core of the Roman *domus* exemplified in Campania.

Atrium, being at a central location in the *domus*, was a multi-functional space. It foremost provided access as well as light and ventilation to the other spaces constituting the *domus*. Visitors were accepted in the *atrium*, which could also be the location for domestic production and storage. *Atrium* was also the place for rituals and cults. Images and statues of the family's ancestors were placed in and adorned the *atrium*.[82] Atrium could also house the altar of domestic deities. Not only the rituals associated to birth, death, wedding, and maturity, but also the daily ceremonies such as the *salutatio* were held in the *atrium*.[83]

In a society which strongly relied on patronage, *salutatio* had a special importance. *Salutatio* was a greeting ceremony of the clients or the visitors to their patron. It was a considerably formalized ceremony in which the visitors had the chance of requesting help and advice from their patrons on

[82] Hales, 2003, p. 14; also see Flower, 1996 for a detailed discussion on ancestral display in the *atrium*.

[83] Ibid., pp. 200 – 203.

various matters and in return were asked for political support by their patrons.[84]

As the ceremonial and the functional core of the *domus*, the *atrium*, was entered through a narrow corridor situated on an axis that connected the entryway to the garden at the back. This corridor, called the *fauces,* provided access from the street through an often monumentally designed entrance door. One who stood in the *fauces* could generally see all the spaces lined up along the axis, until the furthest end of the house, the garden, without a visual and a physical obstruction. Effects of perspective and play of light could sometimes be used to emphasize this axis and to make it look longer and hence, to make the perception of the house more dramatic, which was a deliberate attempt to visually impress the visitor upon entering the vestibule.[85]

Along the axis, on the opposite side of the *fauces* and reached from the *atrium,* was a large and lavishly decorated room which is thought to have been the room of the master. Called *tablinum*, this space often also opened to or overlooked a garden located at the back from a large window or opening. Ancient sources indicate that the *paterfamilias*, the master of the household, could use this room as an office for business and the morning *salutatio* ceremony, as a reception room and even as a bedroom.[86] Though looks fully open to the atrium, the *tablinum* could be closed by doors as understood from the holes of door posts in many examples. In addition curtains or folded doors could also be used when privacy was required. However, the large openings of several *tablina* indicate that this room was meant to

[84] Clarke, 1991, pp. 4 – 12; also see Wallace-Hadrill, 1989 for a discussion of patronage in the Roman society.

[85] Bek, 1983, p. 83.

[86] Pliny, *Natural History,* 35.7.

provide a dramatic visual effect stretching even to the back garden. This visual extension was designed to be viewed both from inside and outside of the room, which suggests that the *tablina* were planned as "visually open" spaces.

The *fauces–atrium–tablinum*–garden court sequence formed the horizontal visual axis of the Roman *domus* whereas the *compluvium–impluvium* line formed the vertical one. According to Clarke[87], such a strict axial arrangement was deliberately planned so as to strengthen the visual image of the patron and create a dramatic effect especially in the *salutatio*. Seated in his *tablinum* for the *salutatio*, the image of the patron seen from the entrance through the *fauces* with the background of the illuminated garden at the back must have left a dramatic impression on the viewers.

Other spaces of the *domus* were arranged as rows of rooms flanking the *atrium* on its two sides along the *fauces–atrium–tablinum* axis. One space on each side was usually arranged as an open area called *ala*. The function of *alae* is not clear, but they are thought to have been used in association with the morning *salutatio,* as waiting areas, or with the ancestral cult. The rooms found around the *atrium* or the garden at the back could have been used for private purposes, such as sleeping and resting rooms or living rooms and irrespective of their functions are named as *cubicula* by many scholars.

Another characteristic space of the Roman house was the *triclinium*. *Triclinium* could be found on one side of the *tablinum* or at the back garden. It was used for dining which was a highly formalized eating practice including a codified behavioral system. *Triclinia* derived their name from the three couches, on which the diners reclined during the meals. The

[87] Clarke, 1991, pp. 4 – 6.

dining couches in a typical *triclinium* were placed in a U-shape with a table in the middle, and the remaining area was used for service. *Triclinium* was one of the most lavishly decorated rooms in the house and was usually identified with the characteristic T shape mosaic arranged as such according to the position of the couches. The ceremonial aspect of dining as well as the décor of *triclinia* will be explained in more detail in the next section.

Designating the spaces of the *domus* with such names as *triclinium*, *cubiculum*, and alike on the other hand, is itself problematic. These spaces are identified as such by the archaeologists by assigning them the names mentioned by the ancient Latin authors. In this sense they are often identified to have had a single function which, however, is misleading as the Romans did not have a clear functional differentiation of spaces like the "bed room" or "living room" in the modern sense. Rather, a single space could serve different functions scheduled on a temporal basis. Allison's assessment of the functions of spaces in the Roman house by analyzing the artefact distribution within the house demonstrates the multifunctionality of the Roman house quite well.[88] For example, albeit its refined decoration and the presence of the domestic shrine which indicate formal display and religious activities, the distribution pattern of artefact finds in the *atrium* suggests that this space could have been related also to domestic industry such as spinning, weaving, and storage along with the other domestic activities.[89]

The outlined Roman house, commonly referred to as the *atrium* house, constituted the "ideal" dwelling for the wealthy. However, through time, this house type was altered in some ways. A number of factors influenced

[88] See Allison, 1993; Allison, 1994; and Allison, 2004 for discussions on determining the use of space in the Roman house.

[89] Allison, 1994, pp. 136 – 137.

and gave way to some changes. The contact with the Greek culture, the Roman peace and thus the increasing wealth accumulated through land and commerce had an impact on the taste and fashion concerning the domestic spatial arrangement and decoration. Consequently, the *atrium* houses were modified and new sections were added in accordance with the new trends.

The most preferred architectural element in this new style was the *peristyle,* which was more commonly found in the Greek houses.[90] The original Greek *peristyle* was a paved, open courtyard surrounded with colonnaded porticos from where the other spaces of the house gained access and light. Therefore it was a central space forming a focus, around which other spaces were placed. The Romans adopted the Greek *peristyle* in a different mode. The focal character of the *peristyle* together with the surrounding spaces was preserved; however with the major difference that the *peristyle* was placed as a secondary court, after the *atrium*, at the back of the house. Moreover, as opposed to the Greek practice, the Roman domestic *peristyles* were usually designed as pleasure gardens and decorated not only with fountains, statuaries and pergolas but also with plants and flowers. Such a garden arrangement when considered along with the ever-present perambulation function and carefully designed vistas from the spaces situated around the *peristyle,* such as the *oecus* and *exedra*, and their elaborate decoration, suggest that a strong aspect of pleasure was in operation in the design of *peristyles.*[91]

Peristyles, whenever possible, were incorporated into the *fauces–atrium–tablinum* axis, and inserted to where the back garden once was. However, there were variations due to the restrictions of land; hence some *peristyles* were found adjacent to and not at the back of the house. Usually a corridor

[90] See Wycherley, 1978; Walter-Karydi, 1998; and Nevett, 1999 for ancient Greek houses.

[91] Ellis, 2002, pp. 34 – 35.

or the *tablinum* connected the *atrium* and the *peristyle.* Therefore, some *tablina* gained the character of a wide corridor in time. In this new scheme a number of spaces were located around the *peristyle* court. Among these, the aforementioned spaces the *oecus* and *exedra* are of importance in terms of the special attention given for their décor and design. *Oecus* is commonly defined as a large and decorated reception room which was distinct due to its location aligned with the center of one of the *porticos* of a *peristyle*, whereas *exedra* is defined as a deep sitting niche opening off a portico of a *peristyle*.

This change of plan and the elaboration of the back garden with a *peristyle* are seen by some scholars as the downgrading of the *atrium.*[92] However, other scholars emphasize the distinct character of the *atrium* and the *peristyle* to support their idea that the two existed side by side with different spatial and functional emphasis: now the *atrium* had become the more formal focus with less restricted access; whereas the *peristyle* formed the "exotic" and pleasure-oriented focus for a more privileged group of people who had the right to penetrate deep into the house.[93]

On the other hand, if one factor possibly responsible for a change of emphasis of the atrium was the Greek influence, the other was the economic pressures. Towards the end of Pompeii and Herculaneum, grand social and economic changes were taking place in the Roman society. The long established peace gave way for a safety of trade in a broader area which led to the emergence of a middle class of traders in several towns. The newly accumulated wealth in the towns attracted masses of people from the country to the towns. In consequence, the increasing population pressure in

[92] Brothers, 1996, p. 48.

[93] Clarke, 1991, pp. 12 – 13; Wallace-Hadrill, 1997, p. 239.

the towns resulted in an increase also in land prices and thus created a shortage in terms of both housing and commercial units.

One response to the pressure on the availability of commercial units was the separation of the rooms found on either side of the *fauces* on the façade from the house and their conversion into shops. Called *tabernae,* these shops were often rented out. Some of these units were used only as shops but the presence of back rooms and stairs leading to mezzanine floors together with the traces of hearths, stoves, and latrines indicate that some were also used as dwellings. It is also interesting to note that the number of second stories tended to increase during this time of social and economic change.[94]

Similar social and economic changes resulted in a different kind of dwelling in crowded cities such as Rome and Ostia. The new type of dwelling was the multi storey apartment block which could accommodate several families of different social classes.

4.1.2. The Architecture of the Insula

Insula originally meant a building parcel surrounded by streets on all sides; however, it is also used to denote the apartment blocks whether these blocks occupied the full *insula* or not. *Insulae* were a later innovation than the *domus* and they were built only in substantially crowded cities which were subject to a high population pressure.[95] A vertical scheme composed of a number of stories (often 3 or 4, sometimes as high as 5), each occupied by one or more flats were devised to accommodate families who moved into

[94] Brothers, 1996, p. 49.

[95] See Carrington, 1933 for a study on the interaction of the *domus* and the *insula*.

economically prosperous cities such as Rome and Ostia, which became cosmopolitan urban centers.[96]

The vertical expansion of buildings became possible also with the development of concrete. Being an adaptable, cheap, flexible, and easy to shape material, concrete brought many construction opportunities and a new façade language composed of brick over a concrete core. However, this new material and the increasing height of the buildings however brought several problems, both structurally and spatially. Cracking walls and collapsing apartment blocks are two of the commonly mentioned problems in ancient literature, while fire and water supply to the upper stories were never resolved satisfactorily.[97] Spatial concerns of circulation and provision of light on the other hand could be solved by the incorporation of different plan schemes in problematic cases.[98]

One of the earliest and most detailed studies on Ostia was done by Meiggs.[99] Meiggs investigated Ostia in depth, including its history, planning, society, culture, economy, and religion. He also dedicated a chapter for the Ostian *insulae* in which he discusses the common plan schemes and derives some principles in the spatial arrangements of the flats in an *insula*.

In his reference study Brothers[100], on the other hand, discusses the change of urban housing scheme from *domus* to *insula* by focusing on Ostia. He sheds

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[96] McKay, 1975, pp. 83 – 84.

[97] Ibid., pp. 84 – 88.

[98] Meiggs, 1973, pp. 242 – 249.

[99] Meiggs, 1973.

[100] Brothers, 1996.

light on the social and economic dynamics of this change and moreover examines the typical spatial schemes for each.

As both studies indicate the occupants of an *insula* could vary. Families with modest income seem to have constituted the majority as supported by the modest quality of wall paintings and mosaics.[101] Yet, it is also possible to have wealthier families occupying especially the easily accessed ground floors, which could also house larger flats.

Ground floors of the *insulae* often included shops some of which must have also served as dwellings for their tenants; whereas the upper floors were occupied by the residential flats which gained access either directly from the street or from the courtyard by means of staircases. An *insula* could have a number of staircases located at different spots.

In a very recent study DeLaine[102], examines a special type of an *insula* flat called *medianum* by using a qualitative and statistical methodology. She analyzes the architectural features and spatial arrangement of this type of *insula* units as well as the economical and social factors affecting the development of that scheme. Her study also includes a comparison with the Pompeian *domus*.

According to DeLaine, a highly favored spatial arrangement in an *insula* flat at Ostia was the *medianum* plan. A flat of the *medianum* type generally consisted of four or five rooms, one of which was an enlarged in-between corridor named as the *medianum*. The longer side of the *medianum* had windows facing the street while the other three sides were flanked by further rooms. Consequently, the *medianum* functioned as the central space

[101] McKay, 1975, p. 95.

[102] DeLaine, 2004.

in this type of plan from which the other spaces in the flat gained access as well as light and air.[103] As such, the *medianum* is comparable with the *atrium* of a *domus* since they both have a spatial and functional significance. Having been the central space, the *medianum,* similar to the *atrium*, is also thought to have been the locus of rituals and ceremonies; hence, it was large enough to accommodate visitors. The food could have been cooked, and the household production could have taken place also in the *medianum.*[104]

At the far side of the *medianum,* which was usually preceded by a vestibule, was often the largest and best decorated room of the flat. This room is comparable with the *triclinium* of the *atrium* house not only for its decor but also for its similar location within the house - the furthest end of the residence. The typical T-shaped floor mosaics in most such rooms in the *medianum* plan also show a similarity. Another larger room could be found on the opposite side of the dining room, in which case it is thought to have been the master's room (like a *tablinum*).[105] The *cubicula*, which could be inferior in decoration and size, could open off the *medianum* facing the façade with windows.

The Ostian *insula* as a block was commonly arranged around a large, open courtyard when the depth of the insula prevented receiving adequate lighting and ventilation. This courtyard not only provided light and air for the inner rooms of the apartments but also included facilities such as cisterns. Thus, washing and cooking could have been done also in this central courtyard since no water or cooking facilities are found in the upper stories. Courtyards must have also provided the necessary open space for

[103] Ellis, 2002, p. 74.

[104] Ibid., pp. 73 – 75.

[105] Ibid., p. 74.

domestic production and artisanal activity such as iron smithing.[106] Wooden balconies overlooking the court could have been used for circulation. Nevertheless, an elegant garden organization could well be sought in the courtyard with various arrangements of trees and shrubs along with benches, fountains, and statues; or porticoes could be incorporated to the courtyard to create an atmosphere like that of a *domus,* in which case the entrance level of the *insula* would have gained a more pleasant, semi-public setting.[107]

Several plan schemes devised for different cases are traceable in the Ostian *insulae*. However, in every case the secondary rooms were gathered at the center of the house, whereas the more important ones were located at either end of the flat. In addition the main room was located, in each case, at the far end of the flat with respect to the entrance, thus indicating a desire to create an axis even in a smaller dwelling unit.[108]

Insula formed an alternative housing scheme in comparison to the *domus* in especially densely populated towns where both types actually existed together. As such, a number of elaborately decorated and large *domus* stood side by side with the *insulae* at Ostia.

4.2. Spaces of Leisure in the Roman House

In reference to this overview of the Roman house, spaces that were associated primarily with pleasure and leisure appear to have been the *triclinium* and the *peristyle* with the related spaces of *oecus* and *exedra*; all of

[106] Ibid., p. 75.

[107] McKay, 1975, pp. 89 – 99.

[108] Meiggs, 1973, pp. 247 – 249.

which were found usually at the back of the house in a *domus* and on two sides of the central wide hall in an Ostian *insula* flat. These were the spaces that were often aligned on an axis or axes with respect to each other and hence were connected either only visually or else both visually and physically. Moreover they were placed and decorated so as to offer vistas to each other from their interiors through the entryways and, if existed, also through their openings. In addition, they were placed so as to generate at least one visual axis towards a preceding space such as a *peristyle* or a *medianum*, which were well embellished and specially designed with some decorative elements such as fountains. On the other hand, one other dominant axis could be generated by these preceding spaces, such as a *peristyle,* in which case a sense of movement was generated along its porticos.

4.2.1. Ceremonial Dining: The Triclinium

For the Roman culture in general and the elite in particular, banqueting was one of the most common ways of indulging in pleasure and leisure in the private context. Since the cultural norms on respectability required and included enjoying one's self privately according to the elite point of view, the well-off preferred to enjoy themselves in the company of their friends and clients with a specially served dinner and entertainment in a specially designed and decorated room in the *domus* and *insula*.[109]

Banqueting was a ceremonial and festive dining involving both a pleasure aspect and a codified behavioral system. From its beginning to its end, it was controlled by strict social rules and practices. A banquet usually began

[109] Balsdon, 1969, p. 152.

in the afternoon, after the bath. Each invited guest was assigned a specific place according to his or her rank, on the reclining couches around the table. Guests could include friends, associates, close clients, and even freedmen who were often invited one or two days beforehand.[110]

The menu and the food to be served depended on the host's wealth and guests' prominence. The serving of the food was itself a ritual. Often a three course meal was brought in by the slaves in lavish dishes and it was common to give a break between the courses. Various kinds of food were served usually in large and lavish bowls put on the common table and diners were provided with spoons, knives, and napkins. Food was generally accompanied by wine which might have been served even earlier, before the meal and may have been served also after the dinner was over.[111]

Entertainment was an inseparable part of banqueting. Reading, music and singing, quizzes and riddles, and occasionally spectacles such as dancing and acrobatics could be performed during the meal. Subjects of conversations, on the other hand, could range from daily affairs to politics, from business to literature and reading, or even gossiping.[112] So the banquet was more than an eating session. It was a theatrical event that included enjoying the pleasures of consuming good food, entertainment, and company. As such, banqueting was a long and static event and hence, despite the possible component of some business conversation, it was one of the most favored leisure-oriented activity among the Roman wealthy, in which *otium*, fun, and pleasure were more paramount and pronounced.

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[110] Ibid., pp. 33 – 41.

[111] Ibid., pp. 41 – 51.

[112] Ibid, pp. 44 – 47.

The room in which the banquet was held was naturally of great importance for the theatrical atmosphere of this ceremonial eating ritual. As mentioned before, the banquets were held in specially designed and decorated rooms, called *triclinia*. *Triclinia* are long and narrow rooms which were advised by Vitruvius to be built two times longer than their width and with a height of half of the sum of their length and width.[113]

Eating in a reclined position with respect to the standing slaves was a sign of power and prestige in the Roman society[114]; hence the reclining couches comprised the major furniture in the *triclinia*. They were normally of timber; in more wealthy houses they could be decorated with fittings of bronze or other expensive materials. The couches could be movable or else *in situ*. Three couches would be placed at the far end of the room along the walls, in relation to the door, to form a U-shape. In the middle of the "U" a small, central table that served all the diners was placed. The remaining area was reserved for service and entertainment.[115]

Mosaics were the characteristic floor decoration of a *triclinium*. The couch positions, following a U-shape, could be left undecorated or with more plain mosaics while the remaining area was decorated with lavish, colored, and figural mosaics and panels.[116] The wall paintings constituted another vital part of the décor. The most elaborate paintings of the *domus* were usually placed in the *triclinia*. They could display a number of themes including mythology, nature, and architectural depictions and contributed to the atmosphere of the room. The wall paintings and the mosaics could be

[113] Vitruvius, VI. III. 8.

[114] Dunbabin, 2003, p. 11.

[115] Ibid., p. 38.

[116] Ibid., pp. 41 – 42.

arranged in terms of position and subject matter to transform the spatiality of the *triclinia* into a different character. Illusions created by *trompe d'oleil* or nature depicting wall paintings could offer a different perception in which the physicality of the walls could be seen as diminished and hence the closed space as opening towards the nature. As exemplified by Bek[117], this illusion could be so effective that a *triclinium* could be transformed into a colonnade surrounded by temples and altars or an open air garden atmosphere could be created with depictions of nature such as flowers, birds, and water. Moreover, columns and fountains could be incorporated into the *triclinium* to contribute to this dynamic and theatrical atmosphere.

Framed views of the *peristyle* could be glimpsed from the couches in the *triclinium*. Such views were carefully arranged to be seen during the banquet from different angles and together with the wall paintings and mosaics, introduced a strong aspect of visual pleasure to dining.[118] In order to provide the viewer with the best position to enjoy this visual pleasure, the *peristyle* and the garden as well as the visual focuses such as fountains and sculptures were designed and located to complement the mosaics and frescoes where necessary, along the angle of view from the *triclinium*. Moreover, those views could be framed with the carefully arranged doors and windows as well as columns and pillars.[119] *Triclinia* were generally provided with wider entryways in comparison to the entryways of other *cubicula*. The presence of holes for door posts in the thresholds of *triclinia* indicate that these entryways could be closed by means of often two winged

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[117] Bek, 1983, pp. 85 – 87.

[118] Clarke, 1991, pp. 16 – 17; also see Bek, 1980, pp. 181 – 194 for a discussion on the vistas and optical axiality provided from some reception and living rooms in the Campanian houses; Bek, 1980, pp. 164 – 181 for the description of Roman villas and houses by some ancient authors who mention about the emphasis given to views and visual extensions from certain spaces.

[119] Bek, 1983, pp. 82 – 88.

doors, when privacy was desired. However, the conception of privacy was different in the Roman society from its modern conception and did not necessarily mean sharp isolation.[120] Banqueting did not strongly include a motive for sharp isolation, in regard to the generally wide entryways of *triclinia*, which in fact could well have been designed much narrower if the intention was not to provide a vista to the *peristyle*. The presence of wide entrances therefore suggests that the *triclinia* were intended also as "visually open" spaces allowing opportunities for both to see and to be seen. But its close association to a decorated garden implies that the emphasis was on "to see". Thus, a strong visual axis is generated from the *triclinium* towards the *peristyle*. Even in *triclinia* with narrow entryways the privileged couch would catch a view of the *peristyle*.

Lighting must have contributed to the perception of this visual pleasure as well. Daylight entered *triclinia* only through the entrance door since usually few or no windows existed in the *triclinia*. Light entering through a single opening and reflecting on the mosaic floor and leaving the rest of the room relatively dim, together with the bright backstage of the *peristyle* must have created a very dramatic effect in the *triclinium*. After the sunset, on the other hand, oil lamps and candles were placed on stands in dining rooms. Flickering lamps illuminating the food, mosaics, wall paintings and creating plays of shadow, generated once more a dramatic and a theatrical atmosphere for the later stages of the banquet.[121]

Such an effort spent for the design and décor of the banqueting halls and the splendor of food, and a vast amount of expenditure for dining in general indicate that banqueting was a socially significant ritual in the life of

[120] See Özgenel, 2000 for the conception and operation of privacy in the Roman domestic context.

[121] Ellis, 2002, p. 150.

especially the Roman wealthy and elite. This elaborate convivial eating and drinking played an essential role in establishing and maintaining the relationships between the members of the elite and their dependents as well as in between themselves, and hence was a tool of self-propaganda and promotion and also social status display.[122] The wide-spread appearance of *triclinia* in the other Roman period houses in Italy demonstrate that banqueting was the primary leisure-oriented activity in the private setting. The way banqueting was designed as a reclining activity also shows that it was meant to be a longer and relaxed activity that would incorporate some pleasure giving experiences other than eating and drinking.

4.2.2. Visual and "Dynamic" Pleasure: The Peristyle

As mentioned above, the incorporation of the *peristyle* into the Roman house is attributed to the Greek influence by many scholars.[123] With the Roman conquest of the east and expansion of the empire during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, the Romans came into direct contact with the Greeks.[124] Thus, the Greek taste of art and private architecture was introduced to the Romans, which had a strong impact in the articulation of Roman private setting. The adaptation of the *peristyle*, which has been used commonly in the Greek domestic architecture as the main plan generating element, was one of the most apparent impacts of the Greek domestic architecture on the design of Roman dwellings.

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[122] Dunbabin, 2003, p. 2.

[123] McKay, 1975, pp. 34 – 35; Clarke, 1991, p. 12; Wallace-Hadrill, 1994, pp. 20 – 21; Ellis, 2002, pp. 32 – 35.

[124] Clarke, 1991, p. 12.

The *peristyle* was an open courtyard surrounded by porticoes often on all four sides. In its homeland Greece, it was the central space of the house around which all the other spaces of the house were organized. It was a paved, open area, which functioned as the center of the house. Since the Greek house was also an inward looking house like its Roman counterpart, the *peristyle* was also the place from where most of the other rooms gained light and air. Much of the daily domestic practices took place in the shady ambulatories of the *peristyle*, which also housed the well and the domestic altar[125]. Hence, it is functionally and symbolically comparable with the Roman *atrium*.

Romans adapted the *peristyle* to their *domus* from the beginning of the 2nd century BC.[126] However they modified it according to their needs and spatial layout principles. As such, the *peristyle* was incorporated in the back garden, where possible, as an extension of the *fauces–atrium–tablinum* axis. The earlier *peristyles* were constructed with the addition of porticoes to the existing gardens.[127] In this way, the central visual axis of the *domus* was further extended and the impression of this axis on the viewer was strengthened. However, since the *peristyle* was a late comer, its adaptation was limited due to land restrictions. As a consequence inserting off-centered and shifted *peristyles* also became very common. Nevertheless, even in such cases the columns were arranged in some way to refer to the main visual axis and in any case, the ideal was to place it right on the axis to have a symmetrical disposition and hence an axis terminating element.[128]

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[125] Nevett, 1999, pp. 83 – 103.

[126] McKay, 1975, p. 40.

[127] Ellis, 2002, p. 34.

[128] Clarke, 1991, p. 12.

The architectonic qualities of the *peristyle* were also altered in the *domus*. Though located at the back, it retained a central character as a focus around which several other spaces were gathered. But the *peristyle* was now a "pleasure garden" embellished with plants and trees, which brought an aspect of "nature" and "rural" into the domestic setting.[129] Arrangement of flowers, shrubs, and trees, decoration with sculpture assemblages and fountains, together with the airy atmosphere of the *peristyle* filled with daylight added an aspect of strong visual pleasure to the *peristyles*. In the dense urban fabric of towns, where opening to nature was extremely limited, these pleasure gardens recalled the pleasures enjoyed in the villas of a much ample scale and intensity.

In consequence of the adaptation of the *peristyle* to the *domus* alongside the *atrium*, rather than replacing it, the *domus* became a two centered entity- the traditional *atrium* that maintained its character as the public and *negotium* center of the house, and the recently established *peristyle* that became the center of more private leisure and pleasure with its special décor and accompanying spaces. Now, the *atrium* became more pronounced as the public sphere of the *domus,* to which access was not restricted and was even unlimited; while the *peristyle* became the more secluded and private, into which only privileged intimates were admitted to share the pleasures offered by the *peristyle* and its extensions such as the *oecus*, the *exedra*, and the *triclinium*.[130]

The pleasure aspect of the Roman domestic *peristyle* is more apparent when it is examined as an entity together with its surrounding spaces. In contrast to the Greek *peristyle* that was surrounded by spaces related to various

[129] Ellis, 2002, p. 34; also see Zanker, 1998, pp. 145 - 183 on various aspects of garden design and use in the Campanian houses.

[130] Wallace-Hadrill, 1997, p. 239.

domestic functions, the spaces surrounding the Roman *peristyle* were mostly related to leisure, relaxation, and pleasure; of which the aforementioned *triclinium*, *oecus,* and *exedra* were the most characteristic.

Oecus, the multifunctional living unit that could be used as a reception, living, and dining room located off the *peristyle* and usually at the center of one of the *porticos*, was distinguished first of all from the special emphasis given to the view seen from this room, especially from the sitting place of the viewers.[131] *Exedra*, a deep sitting niche opening off a *portico* is a fully open space and could be used for various short-term activities such as reading, contemplating, relaxing, or conversations with intimates and like the *oecus* was designed to have and offer visual extensions to the *peristyle*, even to the entrance in some cases.[132] Therefore, both the *oeci* and *exedrae* offered views and generated axes of vista towards the *peristyle* from within.

In contrast to the more "static" leisure-oriented activities in the *triclinium*, *oecus* and the *exedra*, which embraced an aspect of visual pleasure designed to be viewed and captured while sitting or reclining, the *peristyle* itself advocated a strong aspect of "dynamic" leisure-oriented activity, that is, it presented a pleasure setting, which could be perceived through movement and kineticism with regard to a perambulation activity. The *peristyle* provided an opportunity for an uninterrupted walk along its *porticos*, which protected the pedestrian from the uncomfortable effects of weather conditions such as direct sunlight. The *peristyle* was enjoyed by the Romans as a favorable area for a leisurely walking.[133] A person could perambulate alone for contemplation or together with a family member or an intimate

[131] Clarke, 1991, p. 13.

[132] Ibid., pp. 12 – 16.

[133] Balsdon, 1969, pp. 217 – 218.

benefiting from the chance of making a private talk around the pleasure garden. Discussions on politics, literature, and business could well be held even with a small group of perambulators, some of whom would presumably stay longer in the house for a following banquet. The *porticos* of the *peristyle* then define a dynamic, pedestrian axis. Along this axis, the perambulators could not only capture the vista of the elaborate garden together with water elements and statuary but also catch glimpses of the rich décor of the spaces surrounding the *peristyle* such as the *triclinium*, the *oecus* and the *exedra*. They could even pay homage to the domestic shrine that could be found also at one corner in the *peristyle* as well.

It can be argued that the *peristyle* was the locus of both dynamic and static leisure-oriented activities. While the porticos were meant to be walked around, the surrounding spaces were meant to be stopped in for longer or shorter durations and for various leisure-oriented activities such as eating, drinking, entertaining, conversation, sitting, reading, and alike. In both types of spaces, whether under a portico or in a reception, living, and dining room, the visual pleasure was paramount. Whether walking, reclining, or sitting, the *peristyle* in general was enjoyed as the pleasure and leisure center of the house.

4.3. Sampling the Domus and Insula: Planning and Axes

In the previous section, some leisure activities were defined as having a "static" or "dynamic" character. In addition, two sets of axes were described: a visual axis that could connect the entrance to the deeper spaces of the house along a horizontal perception and other minor visual axes which brought the reception and living spaces as well as the *peristyle* into a visual relationship. The role of these axes in the arrangement and

decoration of the *domus* has also been set forth. Accordingly, a visual axis is the axis that defines the visual pleasure captured from the leisure spaces such as *triclinia*, *oeci*, and *exedrae,* where that pleasure was enjoyed either as sitting or reclining; whereas the "dynamic" axis is circumferential, that is, it was generated by the *peristyle* and was experienced during walking and perambulation –in a "kinetic" and "dynamic" state–. In this sense the *fauces–atrium–tablinum* axis was extended with the *peristyle* in later times, on the other hand, has both a "visual" and "dynamic" character in having formed a visually impressive axis along the house as well as having directed the visitor to walk along this axis towards the *atrium, tablinum,* and the *peristyle*. The *tablinum*, which was generally used for the more static natured *salutatio* or other *negotium*-oriented interaction, had also an aspect of visual pleasure with the vista provided towards the *peristyle*. Thus, another visual axis can be defined in between the *peristyle* and the *tablina*, in addition to the visual axes from the leisure spaces such as *triclinia*, *oecus*, and *exedra*. The same axes with some modifications can also be seen in the corresponding spaces of the *insulae,* too. Some examples from the Campanian and Ostian houses will demonstrate the operation of these axes in a schematic way in both types of dwellings. The examples given below are chosen from houses of different size and embellishment.

The first example is a large *domus*, the House of the Centenary (Fig. 4.1), from Pompeii. This house had a visual *fauces–atrium–tablinum* axis identifiable along all the way through the house, which also passed through the *peristyle*, and catching a glimpse of the *triclinium* ended at the furthest opposite side of the house with respect to the street entrance. Parallel to this axis but on the opposite direction ran the visual axis from the *triclinium*. The dynamic, the pedestrian axis, on the other hand, completed a full circle around the *peristyle*, also allowing visual contacts to the above axes as well

as offering glimpses into many of the rooms in the *peristyle*. A pedestrian would have walked approximately 100 m to complete a full cycle around the *peristyle.* Along the cycle, he or she would catch vistas to the *triclinium* and the *tablinum-atrium–fauces* sequence and even to the exterior of the house if the doors were open, along with the vistas of the garden arrangement. The pedestrian would catch the direct view of the *triclinium* and the *tablinum–atrium–fauces* axis at points where the pedestrian axis intersected with the visual axes from those spaces, while at other points along the axis he or she would still catch the view of those spaces but in an oblique way. Thus, an ambulation around the *peristyle* offered the opportunity to experience the visual pleasure of each room around the *peristyle* with some of their wall paintings and mosaics, and also the garden in the center from different angles. Therefore the dynamic pleasure of ambulation was supplemented with the visual pleasure in the *peristyle*, which certainly was the focus of leisure and pleasure in the House of the Centenary.

The House of the Tragic Poet (Fig. 4.2), also from Pompeii, was on the other hand, a relatively small *domus*. The same axes therefore can be traced in a smaller scale. The visual *fauces–atrium–tablinum* axis, which was rather oblique yet symmetrical, due to the slightly tilted *fauces,* terminated at a point where it focused on the small fountain, which was presented as a framed vista seen through the opening of the *tablinum*. The visual axis from the *triclinium* was perpendicular to this axis, having the vista of the *peristyle.* As such, the *triclinium* in this house gained a more secluded character situated perpendicular to the main visual axis in contrast to the parallel axes seen in the House of the Centenary. The pedestrian axis here was also different. Perambulation was not an option here as there were only three porticos. However, catching glimpses from the rooms surrounding the

peristyle while walking was also possible in this house. The pedestrian in the *peristyle* could visually penetrate into the richly decorated *triclinium* from different angles through its 2.5 m wide door and enjoy its visual richness from a different position than sitting or reclining inside. When compared with the doors of the *cubicula* situated on the opposite side of the *peristyle,* which were only about 65 cm wide, the deliberate attempt to capture the vistas from the *triclinium* becomes even more apparent. This was an attempt to satisfy a mutually functioning phenomenon, that is, to provide both a pleasant vista of the *peristyle* for the viewer in the *triclinium* and at the same time to provide a vista of the *triclinium* for the pedestrian in the *peristyle*. The same approach can also be seen in between the *peristyle* and the *triclinium* in which a pedestrian in the *peristyle* was provided with the vista along the *tablinum–atrium–fauces* axis, whereas the gaze of the visitors in the *tablinum* could extend visually into the *peristyle,* which in a way formed a natural setting for the viewers. The fact that the southern portico was wider than the others is also indicative of this "vista architecture". Being wider than the other porticos, the southern portico gained a spatial character rather than being a passageway and this would enable a pedestrian to stop and enjoy the vistas of the surrounding spaces from where one can also capture an oblique view of the *triclinium* and an axial view of the *tablinum–atrium–fauces* sequence accompanied with the more nature recalling atmosphere of the *peristyle* garden.

A good example of a *medianum* type of flat from Ostia is the House of the Yellow Walls (Fig. 4.3). The visual axis from the entrance of this house is not as dominant and straight as that of the *domus*; however, it still offered, from the entrance, a full perspective of the *medianum* and a glimpse of the main reception room at the opposite end. Further vistas of the surrounding rooms as well as of the outside could also be captured by a pedestrian walking

along this axis. The small scale in this house, indeed, gave way to the development of different solutions to impress the visitors. The wide doors of the *cubicula* measuring more than 2 m. and their lavish mosaic embellishment should be noted in this respect. It can be said that the lack of vistas in the absence of a *peristyle* was compensated with the large openings to the secondary rooms and also the view of the exterior from the *medianum*. The visual axis from the main reception space on the other hand, was straight and designed to extend into the secondary reception room on the opposite side for the viewers sitting or reclining in this room. This was moreover supplemented by the windows in both reception rooms, which opened to the street. The view of the exterior was framed by three windows that occupied a large area on the façade. The House of the Yellow Walls in this sense exemplifies that similar visual considerations and connections were sought for in a flat type of dwelling regardless of its size.

The House of the Cupid and Psyche (Fig. 4.4) is an independent *domus*-like house found in an Ostian *insula*. Here as well an indirect entrance to the central hall of the house, a long and narrow space with a colonnade on one side, was preferred. This colonnade created a strong visual axis extending along the house and directing the visitors to the main reception room at the other end of the colonnade, which itself was a strong visual focus with its extremely lavish decoration. On the left side of the axis opposite the colonnade were lined three decorated rooms, while on the right side the most distinctive element of the house, a splendid *nymphaeum* adorned with columns, created a strong visual focus and a scene of visual pleasure for those who were spending time in the three adjacent rooms. Having a symmetrical arrangement on two sides, this axis is very similar to the *fauces–atrium–tablinum* axis of a Campanian *domus* with the main reception room comparable to a *tablinum* in terms of its location. Also similar to the

Campanian *fauces–atrium–tablinum* axis, the visual axis in this house is also experienced in a "kinetic" mode and hence turns into a "dynamic" axis as the visitor proceeded along this axis to reach to the main reception room. Along the axis glimpses of the rooms on the left and the view of the *nymphaeum* framed by the colonnade on the right would be caught. The rhythm of the colonnade emphasized the procession and the sound of the water added an auditory aspect to the visual pleasure. The middle room on the left is thought to have been used as a *triclinium*[134]. The visual axis from this *triclinium* is perpendicular to the axis running across the house and focused on the *nymphaeum*. The House of the Cupid and Psyche, thus, exemplifies how the "dynamic" and "visual" axes in a house could be articulated to impress and entertain the visitor proceeding towards the main reception room or else sitting or reclining in the *triclinium*. In addition it also supports the fact that similar visual tools were used to accentuate certain leisure-oriented activities and related spaces in the houses of the Roman households regardless of their urban location, type, and size.

[134] Packer, 1967, p. 129.

CHAPTER 5

ROMAN DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE IN EPHESUS: THE OPERATION OF THE AXES–SCHEME IN THE LEISURE–ORIENTED SPACES

The ancient city of Ephesus today lies on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor, close to the point where the river Caystrus (Küçük Menderes) meets the sea. It is approximately 70 kilometers south of İzmir and 50 kilometers west of Aydın with a distance of about 5 kilometers from the sea. The bay of the river Caystrus however changed considerably both geographically and historically in time.

5.1. Geographical and Historical Development of the Area

The area where the city of Ephesus was situated is a fertile flat land today, which was formed by the silt carried by the river Caystrus over the years (Fig. 5.1). Two groups of elevation dominate this land. The eastern of these is the Ayasuluk Hill; whereas the double mountains of Mount Preon (Bülbül Dağı) and Mount Pion (Panayır Dağı) form the western one. The branches of the river Caystrus flow between these two elevations, while the Caystrus itself flows further north of the Ayasuluk Hill (Fig. 5.2).

During the Holocene period, which started about 10 thousand years ago, a rise of more than 100 meters occurred in the sea level.[135] This prevented Caystrus and its branches from transporting their silt far out into the sea which caused the deposition of all this material in the bay. Around 800 BC, when the Greek colonists arrived, the sea level had already reached a height of about 2 meters below the modern sea level and the shoreline extended from the western slope of the Ayasuluk Hill, toward the south, to the northern slopes of Mount Pion and Mount Preon, forming two bays suitable for seafaring. The westernmost of the bays was to the north of Mount Pion, in the area in front of the Roman theater today. The northern boundary of this bay was formed by a long, narrow peninsula identified as the Cape Tracheia mentioned by Strabo, and further east was the other bay named as the Coressus harbor.[136] The silt deposition has continued until today having formed a permanent danger for the ancient city and the lowland was still marshy up into the 20th century.[137]

This morphological character of the area contributed much to the planning of ancient Ephesus. For example, the city was oriented with reference to the elevations and the sea, which also determined the physical boundary of the city. Topography was utilized also in the design of individual buildings. The theater, which stood against Mount Pion making use of its slope for the seats, is a public scale example for the use of topography; whereas the Terrace Houses and the Villa above the Theater, which were oriented to have nice vistas downhill, are the domestic examples.

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[135] Scherrer, 2001, p. 58.

[136] Scherrer, 2001, pp. 58 – 60.

[137] Scherrer in Scherrer (Ed.), 2000, p. 8.

The inhabitance in this topography can be traced back until the Late Chalcolithic period, around 5000 BC.[138] Ayasuluk Hill, which was a strategic point with its good view on all sides, was most probably the center of local occupation in this period, and continued to be so during the Bronze Age and Mycenaean period; through the Dark Ages and down to the beginning of the Archaic period. This site is identified with Apasha, the capital of the kingdom of Arzawa in the 14th century, which was destroyed by the Athenian prince Androclus, the mythical founder of Ephesus.[139]

Androclus and his immigrants came to the Aegean shores during the Ionian migrations in the 11th century BC.[140] Androclus founded his city to the southeast of the Coressus harbor where Mount Pion formed a natural terrace. Today, the foundations of the city wall as well as very poor remains of houses and holes for *stelai* are still visible in this area.[141] Androclus and his successors ruled this first city for centuries and the area became prosperous both by trade and the fertility of its land.[142]

Around 560 BC, the Lydian king Croesus besieged the city of Androclus. He was successful in his campaign and imposed his sovereignty over the inhabitants.[143] In order to unite the Greeks and the local population under a single deity, he initiated the construction of the temple of Artemis at the

[138] Scherrer, 2001, p. 57 and footnote 4 on p. 58; also ibid., p. 14.

[139] Scherrer, 2001, pp. 58 – 59.

[140] Scherrer in Scherrer (Ed.), 2000, pp. 8 – 11.

[141] Scherrer, 2001, p. 60.

[142] Türkoğlu, 1995, pp. 9 - 10.

[143] Erdemgil, 1986, pp. 10 – 12.

southwest foothill of the Ayasuluk Hill and forced the Greeks to join the settlement around this temple called Artemision.[144]

The Lydian rule did not last long. With the defeat of Croesus in 546 BC, the city along with the whole Lydian territory passed under the hegemony of the Persians. Persians presumably treated the Greeks well and allowed them to maintain their cultural identity.[145]

Alexander the Great defeated the Persians in 334 BC and captured Ephesus. Furthermore, he restored democracy in the city. Nevertheless, with his early death in 323 BC, the whole area was drawn into struggle among his generals and intimate friends.[146]

Lysimachus, one of the heirs of Alexander, finally took control of Ephesus after years of disorder in 300 BC. Due to the silting of the harbor and the danger of being flooded, he built a new city near the coast, on the slopes of Mount Pion and Mount Preon in the first two decades of the 3rd century BC. This was a new city in the Hellenistic style, based on the Hippodamian grid principle. Lysimachus forced people to leave the city founded by Croesus near the temple of Artemis and made them move to the city he named after his wife Arsinoë.[147]

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[144] Knibbe in Scherrer (Ed.), 2000, pp. 15 – 16.

[145] Ibid., p. 16.

[146] Ibid., p. 17.

[147] Ibid., pp. 17 – 20.

In 188/187 BC Ephesus went under the hegemony of the kingdom of Pergamum, and in 133 BC came under Roman rule with the rest of the kingdom of Pergamum.[148]

The year 29 BC was a turning point for Ephesus when Octavian made the city the residence of the proconsul and thus the new capital of the province of Asia. From then on, in about 40 years' time, a whole new city quarter was built around the point which is known as the state agora today. New public and administrative buildings serving for the dissemination of the imperial policy were built and the city gained a "Roman image" by the use of Roman architectural features such as arches, colonnades, and porticoes in the recently constructed monumental public buildings and also in the repaired and restored old buildings within the deliberate program of Romanization.[149]

An earthquake in 23 AD greatly damaged the city and caused a huge amount of expenditure from the city's financial resources on repairing and rebuilding in the succeeding years up until the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.[150]

The golden age began after this rebuilding campaign and Ephesus became the center of wealth and prosperity from the reign of Domitian to the reign of Hadrian. During this period, the main axes of the city were filled with buildings, streets were paved and adorned with statues, intersections and nodes were organized with gates and agorae, public facilities such as baths, latrines, and gymnasia were put into public service, fountains and the

[148] Ibid., pp. 20 – 21.

[149] Scherrer, 2001, pp. 69 – 70.

[150] Ibid., p. 73.

substructure of the city were completed and the city gained the look of a contemporary, wealthy Roman city that suited the prosperity of Ephesus.[151]

The earthquake in 262 AD and the attack of Germanic sealords once more greatly damaged the prosperous Ephesus. Due to the empire-wide economic crisis and a general downgrading of the imperial revenues, a large scale reconstruction of the city could not be undertaken until Theodosius I (379 – 395).[152] By that time, Christianity had become an officially accepted religion and a number of churches started to be built in Ephesus, mostly with stones from the earlier Roman buildings.[153] The famous Church of Mary and the Episcopium are dated to this period.

In late Antiquity the regular planning of Ephesus with the emphasis on the open spaces, nodes, and landmarks was gradually yielded and the city gained a more crowded appearance. On the other hand, many ancient monuments were maintained and new ones were added, and the life standard was high with the public services of all kinds that still functioned.[154]

When a new city wall was built around 610 AD, it almost totally excluded the Hellenistic city of Ephesus and the new Byzantine city extended between Mount Pion and the sea (Fig. 5.3). Almost everywhere outside these walls was found a destruction level dating to the early 7th century AD; although life may have continued here in a reduced scale.[155] Repeated Arab

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[151] Ibid., pp. 74 – 78.

[152] Ibid., pp. 79 – 80.

[153] Knibbe in Scherrer (Ed.), 2000, pp. 32 – 33; also see Vetters, 1966 for the development and change of Ephesus in the Byzantine period.

[154] Foss, 1977, pp. 473 – 474; also see Foss, 1979 for a detailed study on later periods of Ephesus.

[155] Scherrer, 2001, p. 80.

attacks enforced the last inhabitants of Ephesus to move around the Basilica of St. John on the Ayasuluk Hill, which was a fortified precinct. And the curtain fell for the city of Ephesus when the never ending silting finally disconnected the city from the sea.[156]

The curtain was re-opened when the architect and engineer J. T. Wood came to Ayasuluk for the construction of a railway in 1863. Until 1874, he excavated Ephesus himself on behalf of the British Museum. In 1904–5 D. G. Hogarth excavated the ruins of the Temple of Artemis also on behalf of the British Museum and a Greek team worked in the Basilica of St. John in 1921–2. Nevertheless, the longest-lived excavations were those started by O. Benndorf from the Vienna University in 1895. He became the first director of the Austrian Archaeological Institute which was founded in 1898, and the excavations in Ephesus, with several years of interruption during the war years, have been carried out by the same institute until today.[157]

5.2. The Domestic Context of Ephesus

The excavations that have been carried out until today have shed light mainly on the Roman phase of Ephesus; and hence a more detailed reading of the layout of especially the Roman period Ephesus is now possible. The excavations showed that the city was laid out in the Hippodamian grid plan and that two different intersecting grid systems were applied.[158] One of these was the Hellenistic grid system which was designed during the foundation of the city by Lysimachus, and the other was the Augustan grid incorporated during the extensive building activities that were initiated

[156] Knibbe in Scherrer (Ed.), 2000, pp. 33 – 34.

[157] Ibid., pp. 36 – 37.

[158] Scherrer, 2001, pp. 80 – 86.

after the decree of Ephesus as the capital of the province of Asia in 29 BC. Buildings were fitted into these two grid systems and the streets generally followed the contours of the grids.

The main axes of the city are the streets called the Plateia in Coressus and the Arkadiane. The opening of the Plateia in Coressus dates back to the Hellenistic times and was not actually incorporated into the grid system.[159] It followed the natural contours from north to south and made a turn to the southeast in front of the Celsus Library. Its section remaining in the southeast direction is also called Embolos or the Curetes Street. It connected the harbor area to the administrative center on the saddle between mounts Pion and Preon. Arkadiane, on the other hand, was built in the 1st century AD and extended in the east – west direction connecting the harbor and the Plateia in Coressus. As analyzed in the third chapter, major public buildings of the Roman era were built along these two axes.

The evidence for domestic architecture from the Roman period layout came from three distinct loci: The Terrace Houses on the Curetes Street, the Villa above the Theater quarter, and the Byzantine Palace to the north of the city (Fig. 5.4). These dwellings are exposed in more detail and described and discussed in many publications. In addition, their state of preservation is considerably good, in comparison to other Roman period houses in Asia Minor, such as those in Side, even displaying both their decorative elements such as mosaics and wall paintings and also their fittings such as fountains and furniture in several units. A functional differentiation therefore, is traceable and hence an analysis focusing on visual concerns can be made in a number of these dwelling units. Therefore Ephesus, which presents one of the most well excavated, preserved, studied and published groups of

[159] Ibid., p. 63.

Roman period houses in Asia Minor constitutes an ideal case to investigate the leisure-oriented spaces in the Roman provincial domestic context.

5.2.1. The Terrace Houses

Along the Curetes Street, close to its western end where it turned north, have been exposed two building *insulae* which leaned against the northern slope of Mount Preon (Fig. 5.5). The houses in the eastern of these *insulae* are called as Terrace House I (Fig. 5.6); whereas, those in the western one as Terrace House II (Figs. 5.7, 5.8). Both of these are composed of a number of dwellings and *tabernae* arranged on terraces on the slope of Mount Preon. The earliest building activity in this area is detected to have taken place towards the end of the 1st century BC and the houses were in use until the 7th century AD with many alterations.[160]

The northern façade of the Terrace Houses, where the *tabernae* were situated faced the Curetes Street; while their southern façade looked at a street laid out according to the grid system and named as the Terrace House Street. Three parallel stepped streets climbing Mount Preon bordered the houses in the opposite, north – south direction along the slope of the mount which are now called Stiegengasse II, I, and III respectively, from east to west.

The Terrace Houses are significant in terms of their urban locus: They were not only on one of the main and most prestigious streets but also were located at an important node of this street around which many other important public buildings were situated. In the old days, one reached the commercial agora of ancient Ephesus by moving southwards along the Plateia in Coressus, towards Mount Preon. Called the Tetragonos Agora in

[160] Wiplinger and Wlach, 1996, p. 89.

an inscription, this large area enclosed by two-aisled colonnades on all sides was the commercial center of the city.[161] Further south, next to the Tetragonos Agora, was the library of Celsus with its small square in front, which was connected to the agora through the monumental South Gate. An altar, a circular monument with a fountain, and the tomb of the Dionysius Rhetor, a famous sophist embellished this square indicating the prestigious position of the spot.[162]

The north – south portion of the Plateia culminated with Hadrian's Gate at this point and the street bended towards southeast. The Terrace Houses were situated right after this bend on the southern side of the street. A group of commemorative buildings were located in front of the Terrace House II. These were from west to east: a Heroon dedicated to Androclus, the mythical founder of the city, with a late Roman addition fountain in front; the Octagon, a tomb belonging to the youngest sister of Cleopatra VII, who was murdered in Ephesus in 41 BC; and a *nymphaeum*. Next to the *nymphaeum* towards the east was a Hellenistic well house and further east, in front of the *tabernae* of the Terrace House I, was the Alytarchus *stoa* built in the late Roman times with lavish mosaics.[163]

The opposite side of the Curetes Street facing the Terrace Houses was arranged in two building *insulae* divided by narrow streets in the north – south direction, similar to the *insulae* of the Terrace Houses. The western *insula* in the corner facing the Terrace House II was occupied by a public latrine and a richly decorated building which was once identified as "the house of pleasure" due to an inscription found here. The eastern *insula*

[161] Scherrer in Scherrer (Ed.), 2000, pp. 140 – 146.

[162] Thür in Scherrer (Ed.), 2000, pp. 134 – 137.

[163] Ibid., pp. 122 – 129.

facing the Terrace House I, on the other hand, had the Varius Bath with the small temple of Hadrian in front.[164]

It is clear that the Terrace Houses were located at a strategic point in the city around which commercial, intellectual, and ceremonial activities were collected; hygienic and cleansing facilities such as a bath, latrine, and fountains were provided; commemorative buildings bearing the names of important citizens were erected; and special care was given for the arrangement of that particular area with colonnades, a *stoa* and a gate. Moreover, some other additions inserted into this fabric until the later phases of occupation show that this area continued to be a prominent one in much later periods as well. From their urban context, therefore, it can be concluded that The Terrace houses belonged to high social status and/or wealthy households of their time.

Brief information on the size of the Terrace Houses will give an idea of their scale. The Terrace House I, which covered approximately 3000 m^2, originally included six dwellings on four terraces, whereas the Terrace House II, which covered approximately 4000 m^2, had seven dwellings arranged on three terraces. Both *insulae* had *tabernae* on their northern façades facing the Curetes Street.

Dwelling units in both *insulae* were two or three story high private houses with the typical *peristyle* plan common in the ancient Greek and Mediterranean domestic architecture. As such, each dwelling was accessed through a vestibule reaching the *peristyle*, from the steps of the Stiegengasse. Other spaces of the houses, as well as their upper stories, gained access from the *peristyle*. *Peristyles* provided ventilation and light for the house, so

[164] Outschar in Scherrer (Ed.), 2000, pp. 118 – 119 and Büyükkolancı, Thür, and Tuluk in Scherrer (Ed.), 2000, pp. 120 – 121.

that few windows were placed on the outside facades of the houses. *Peristyles* were generally elaborately decorated with marble floors, mosaics, and wall paintings, and usually with a fountain on one side they presented pleasant vistas to, and acted as a focus for, the surrounding spaces. The surrounding rooms were also elaborately decorated with mosaics and wall paintings giving the impression that the ground floors were generally planned as representational (with their decoration and spatial characteristics they functioned as the prestigious areas of the house, thus representing the status and the wealth of their owners) and ceremonial areas while the upper floors presumably housed more private spaces.[165] Among the ceremonial spaces on the ground floors, especially in the better preserved Terrace House II, those including more lavish mosaics and wall paintings are thought to have been associated with leisure activities such as banqueting and literary recitations.[166] The presence of such elaborate decorations moreover support the idea that these houses belonged to people of high social rank or wealth, which is consistent with the prominent position of these residences in the city fabric.

To sum up, the Terrace Houses, which accommodated a group of well-to-do families of high social and/or financial standing, occupied a prominent place in the domestic context of Ephesus. This is supported with their prestigious location in the city and also with their rich architectural embellishment. Of these the Terrace House I is subject to an ongoing debate concerning the use of some of its units and also the function of some of the

[165] Lang in Scherrer (Ed.), 2000, pp. 100 – 103; Krinzinger, Outschar, and Wiplinger in Scherrer (Ed.), 2000, pp. 104 - 113.

[166] See Parrish, 1995; Parrish, 1997; and Parrish, 1999 for a detailed analysis of the rooms in the Terrace Houses; Jobst, 1977 for the mosaics of the Terrace Houses; Strocka, 1977 for the wall paintings of the Terrace Houses. .

rooms within these units.[167] Moreover, in terms of its mosaics and wall paintings, which are highly important in identifying the leisure-oriented spaces, it is not so well preserved. Therefore, it is not a suitable example for an analysis of leisure oriented spaces and the operation of the axes-scheme.[168] On the contrary, the Terrace House II[169], which is considerably well preserved with its mosaics and wall paintings and published in more detail, is a fortunate case for a more detailed spatial analysis of the design and location of "leisure oriented spaces" in the Ephesian houses.

5.2.2. The Palace above the Theater

On a building terrace above the theater are found the remains of a once impressive building with generous dimensions (Fig. 5.9). The remains, which are hard to see today due to the dense vegetation covering the area, belonged to a grand, luxurious residence covering a ground floor area of more than 4000 m^2. It was initially named as a palace due to its grandiosity, though no extensive excavation has been carried out to confirm this. Knowledge and interpretations about this building still rely mostly on the survey and limited excavation carried out in the 1930s when it was first discovered. In the light of this early work, the house is dated to the early Imperial era and is thought to have been in use until the 5th century AD.[170]

The house was situated on the western slope of Mount Pion, towards the harbor. It had a commanding view overlooking the theater and the area until the sea along the Arkadiane, thus indicating that a concern for

[167] Personal communication with Hilke Thür.

[168] See Lang-Auinger, 1996 for a detailed study on the Terrace House I.

[169] See Krinzinger, 2002 for a detailed study on the Terrace House II.

[170] Thür, 2002, p. 257.

capturing the vista was possibly a strong motive in the preference of its location.

The house was arranged around a large, square *peristyle* with a 21 m. long side length, each having 10 columns. Three sides of the *peristyle* were lined by further spaces of the house opening off the porticos, whereas the western side was left unoccupied with rooms, a choice which probably is related to commanding the vista. Among the spaces around the *peristyle*, two *exedrae* stand out with their mosaic floors and location within the house; one of them was placed off the northern portico of the *peristyle*, whereas the other was placed in the southern portico, right opposite the other one. A large room, measuring about 11x19 m. and accessed from the eastern portico, is thought to have been a dining room. A bath complex, on the other hand, covered the north east part of the house. On the southern part of the house another large room with an apse was situated. Its mosaic floor, precedence by a vestibule that could be entered directly from the street, and location close to the outer façade support the idea that it had a reception function and served most probably as an audience chamber.[171]

The Palace above the Theater was apparently a lavish residence of its time in terms of its grand size, special spatial arrangements, elaborate decoration, and prominent position in the city that had an open and commanding vista of the city below. From the emphasis on the reception and related ceremonial and living spaces as well as the opportunities of visual and dynamic pleasure related to the use of those spaces, it can be concluded that the Palace above the Theater is another potential example to provide

[171] Ellis, 1991, p. 120; also see Özgenel, forthcoming for a detailed spatial and functional analysis of the use and architecture of this hall in the late antique houses in Asia Minor; Scott, 1997 for the role and function of audience chambers in the late antique Roman world.

insights for a study of "leisure spaces" in the Roman provincial domestic context.

5.2.3. The Byzantine Palace

To the north of the theater *gymnasium* along the Plateia in Coressus and to the east of the Episcopium, stands the ruins of a large complex (Fig. 5.10). This is an interesting building in terms of its orientation. It had two distinct parts oriented in two different directions. The northern part of the complex that had the bathing rooms and the related spaces followed the orientation of the Plateia in Coressus, whereas the remaining part was oriented more or less parallel to the grid system. A long, narrow, double-apsed hall ran along the western side of the building and connected the bath section with the large, tetra-conch room on the south. This tetra-conch room led to a small, apsed room on the east and to another apsed room to the south that might have been a chapel.[172]

Due to the presence of the bathing rooms and the related dependencies, the building was initially thought to have been a bath. Although it is not fully understood yet, it is now interpreted more as a late Antique or early Byzantine palace belonging to a high official of its time, which is also supported by its ceremonial character and dateable features.[173] The bath section, however, is dated to the 1st century AD and is thought to have been incorporated to the complex at a later period.

The Byzantine palace, with its accentuated ceremonial character and suitable spatial arrangement for ceremonial activities, is also a potential

[172] Karwiese in Scherrer (Ed.), 2000. p. 186.

[173] Ibid., p. 186; also see Çonkır, 2005 for other similar late antique houses in Asia Minor.

example for a spatial analysis of "leisure spaces"; however, in terms of its dating to a late period as well as its fairly incomplete state of excavation and publication, it remains beyond the scope of this study.[174]

5.3. The Architectural Layout and the Operation of the Axes-Scheme

In the previous section it has been set forth that the dwelling units in the Terrace House II and the Palace above the Theater comprise a representative and comparative sample to study and discuss the spaces of domestic leisure in Ephesus around the 3rd century AD. In this section each unit of this sample will be studied separately to describe and examine the spaces associated with leisure and in the following section a conclusion will be derived from the evaluation of these individual units.

In determining the spatial scheme of each unit, the axes, which are shown to be dominant in the design of Campanian houses as well as in the Roman architecture in general in the previous chapter, will also be utilized and a comparison between the Campanian design and the Ephesus scheme will be made. The first axis, recalling the "visual axis" of *fauces-atrium-tablinum* starting from the entryway of the Campanian houses, corresponds to the "visual axis" starting from the vestibule of the Ephesian houses as well. In addition to this, a second "visual axis" was also in operation in between the doorways of the spaces associated with leisure and the preceding spaces such as courtyards. This axis takes into account the vistas from the leisure-oriented spaces and the focal points such as the fountains placed in the preceding spaces like the peristyles. The third axis, the "dynamic axis" represents the pedestrian path along the porticoes of a *peristyle,* a courtyard,

[174] See Özgenel, forthcoming for an analysis of this building.

or a hall and will be used to indicate and discuss the "kinetic" aspects of leisure which included the catching of vistas while walking around a *peristyle* and through a courtyard, a hall or the alike, accompanied with or without other activities of leisure such as having a conversation with a friend or just contemplating. Mosaics that direct and generate a setting for this movement in the ambulatories will also be considered.

The social scheme of the Ephesian dwellings resembled that of the Campanian *domus* in terms of having been occupied by a single household. The architectural scheme on the other hand, differed from the *domus* in having a vertical architectural expansion, with the exception of the Palace above the Theater, in which the presence of an upper floor is not certain.[175] The arrangement of the house around a central *peristyle* or a courtyard with porticoes on the other hand is similar to the arrangement of the Campanian *domus* around the *atrium* or the *peristyle.* However, one major difference is the fact that most Campanian *domus* comprised both of these central spaces (the *atrium* and the *peristyle*), whereas the Ephesian houses lacked an *atrium* in the Campanian style and had only one central space (the *peristyle*).

In contrast to the linear arrangement of spaces along both an *atrium* and a *peristyle* in the *domus,* which resulted in generating relatively longer visual and dynamic axes, the spaces in the Ephesian dwellings were connected with relatively shorter visual and dynamic axes. Furthermore, the two central spaces in the *domus* provided the opportunity for the development of two different settings with different functional emphasis, while a similar attitude might be arguable only in between the ground floor and the upper floor in the Ephesian houses. More archaeological evidence is necessary to

[175] See George, 2004 for an architectural comparison of the Pompeian *domus* and the Terrace Houses.

determine the character of the upper floors but it can be confidently said, with reference to the lavish embellishment of the ground floors, that these entrance levels had a more public, ceremonial, representative and leisure oriented character than the upper floors. It is likely that the upper floors had a relatively private character.

Another difference between the Campanian and the Ephesian houses is the character of the peristyle courtyards. In contrast to the Campanian *peristyle*, which was later added to the already existing *atrium* scheme and arranged as a decorated garden, the Ephesian *peristyle* was a decorated but a paved area. In the domus some of the domestic tasks could well have taken place in the *atrium* or in the rooms around, thus leaving the *peristyle* free for more leisure oriented activities and spaces. In the central and paved courtyard scheme as employed in Ephesus the *peristyle* could act as the locus not only for leisurely and pleasure activities but when necessary also for certain domestic tasks as a paved area is an easily washable surface. Indeed, such a practical necessity associated with a paved courtyard could have been one of the dominating factors in the design of the Ephesian *peristyles;* in the lack of the dynamic axis that completed a full cycle in most of the houses in Ephesus where perambulation was not possible, the practical use of the courtyard related to domestic tasks, in addition to its use for leisure activities, could have had some primacy as well.

Bearing in mind this general comparative overview between the Ephesian and Campanian houses, each house in the sample of Ephesus is now examined separately and an analysis of the "axes-scheme" is plotted on the sketch plans derived from the scaled drawings of each house. These houses have a complicated occupation history still not clearly distinguished by the

excavators, and hence, where possible, the 3rd century AD phase of each unit is taken into consideration.[176]

5.3.1. The Dwelling Unit I in Terrace House II

Dwelling Unit I (Pl. 1) occupied the southeastern corner of the Terrace House II.[177] It was entered from the eastern side of the *insula* from Stiegengasse I. A flight of steps led down to a vestibule immediately after the entrance, while another flight led to the upper storey. A door in the middle of the northern wall of the vestibule led to a private bath. Moving straight through the vestibule one could reach the marble paved *peristyle.* The floors of the eastern and the apparently wider southern portico were decorated with geometric motifs of black and white mosaics. The northern portico of the *peristyle,* at one period of occupation, was transformed into two rooms with mosaics, and a fountain was placed on the entrance wall to these rooms, looking towards the *peristyle*. The southern portico of the *peristyle* on the other hand, gave access to the east, to an elaborately decorated room with black and white geometric mosaics and wall paintings depicting scenes from plays by Euripides and Menander, after which this room is named as the "theater room". This room is identified as an *oecus* and two small vaulted rooms on its southern side are identified as *cubicula,* probably for the use of guests.[178] While another room with a mosaic pavement was situated on the opposite side of the *oecus*, the most attractive space of the Dwelling Unit I was situated on the southern side of the

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[176] See Ladstatter, 2002 for a detailed chronology of the Terrace House II; Thür, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2002 for the phases of the dwelling units IV and VI; Wiplinger, 2002 for the phases of the dwelling units I and II.

[177] See Wiplinger, 1997 for an analysis of the Dwelling Unit I.

[178] Parrish, 1997, p. 582 – 583.

portico. Identified as an *exedra*, this room was paved with polychrome mosaics with a vista of the fountain in the *peristyle*.

Four axes are identifiable in the Dwelling Unit I (Fig. 5.11). The visual axis starting from the entryway in the vestibule terminates at the furthest wall of the house. Without having any obstruction, this axis visually trespassed the *peristyle* and gave the chance to the beholder to capture a general vista of the house. Parallel to this visual axis runs another visual axis from the *oecus* and following the mosaics of the portico an observer could catch a glimpse of the opposite room. The third visual axis that operated in between the *exedra* and the *peristyle* is perpendicular to these two axes and focused on the water element placed at the far end of the *peristyle*. The visual axis from the *exedra* had a direct and commanding view of the *peristyle* when compared with the visual axis from the *oecus*, which opened towards the largest portico rather than the *peristyle*. The dynamic axis, along which the pedestrian walked and which provided vistas to the surrounding decorated rooms as well as to the fountain, on the other hand, is not fully circumferential but is continuous on only three sides of the *peristyle.* This axis was also identified and accompanied with mosaics in the eastern and southern porticoes which are also wider (2m. and 3m. respectively) than the western portico (1m.). This is further indicative of the concern for making the pedestrians perceive these two porticos as more spacious so that they would have more space and opportunity to stop and catch the vistas of the *oecus* and *exedra* while moving along the eastern and southern porticos.

5.3.2. The Dwelling Unit II in Terrace House II

The Dwelling Unit II (Pl. 2) occupied the southwestern corner of the Terrace House II.[179] It was entered from the western side of the *insula,* from the Stiegengasse III. The entrance led into an "*atrium*" with four Doric columns. This *atrium* is different from the Campanian style *atria* in the way that it lacked the symmetry and *fauces-atrium-tablinum* sequence along with *alae* flanking the *atrium.* In addition, the opening in the roof and the corresponding pool underneath, which define a vertical axis, are non-existent; hence, this so-called *atrium* was rather like a spacious vestibule and/or a reception space. It had undergone some alterations and became the center of the household production in its later phase.[180] From this *atrium*, through the apparently wider northern portico that was paved with black and white geometric mosaics, one proceeded to the large marble paved *peristyle* with nine columns. This northern portico gave access to two elaborate rooms on the northern side, while another much decorated room on its eastern side, right opposite the entrance also opened into this wide portico. The eastern of those two rooms on the northern side is identified as a *triclinium* due to the presence of a T-shaped mosaic pavement characteristic of Campanian *triclinia*. There are two fountain niches decorated with paintings of Nymphs on the entrance wall of this space, one on each side of the entrance. The richly decorated eastern room with floor mosaics and depictions of nine Muses on its walls, on the other hand, is identified as a *museion* where recitations on literature or music performances would have taken place. This identification is also supported by the niches with slots for shelves, probably for books, which indeed also generate a focal point for the visitors even from the entrance of the house.

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[179] See Wiplinger, 1997 for an analysis of the Dwelling Unit II.

[180] Krinzinger, Outschar, and Wiplinger in Scherrer (Ed.), 2000, p. 110.

Among the other mosaic paved spaces surrounding the *peristyle* on the remaining porticos, the most attractive was an *exedra* located on the southern side. This space has a multi- colored *opus sectile* floor, marble cladding on the walls, and an exclusive glass mosaic on its vaulted ceiling. It is noteworthy that a polychromatic mosaic was placed on the portico, right in front of the *exedra,* and behind it was a fountain in between the two columns of the *peristyle,* both of which create strong focal points for the operation of visual and dynamic axes.

Six axes are identifiable in the Dwelling Unit II (Fig. 5.12). The visual axis starting from the entrance passed through the *atrium* and gave a general view of the atrium and an oblique glimpse of the *peristyle*. Moving along this axis, one approached the entrance to the *peristyle* while the intense amount of day light in the *peristyle* must have formed, at the entrance, a strong and bright focus during the day time. When a person reached the entrance of the *peristyle,* he or she would have been able to have a commanding view of the entire ground floor. Passing through the wider portico following the mosaics, this visual axis extended into the *museion* and ended at its furthest wall where the large niche formed a focus and a terminus. The axis from the *museion* coincides with the visual axis of the vestibule along the *peristyle,* extends into and terminates in the *atrium*. Perpendicular to these two visual axes are the visual axes from the *triclinium* and from the *exedra*. Both pass all the way through the *peristyle* and end at the opposite ambulatory wall. The fountain and the polychromatic mosaic on the southern portico form two strong foci on the axis from the *exedra*. The *exedra* is much widely open to the *peristyle* and has a wider vista than the *triclinium,* which presents glimpses of the *peristyle* framed by its 2m wide door. This framed vista, embellished with a fountain on each side together with the wall paintings, must have created a picturesque background for

the diners in the *triclinium*. On the other hand, two distinct dynamic axes are identifiable in unit II. One is generated around the *atrium* and the other around the *peristyle*, both of which follow the black and white geometric mosaics on the floor. The dynamic axis in the *atrium* is a closed one in terms of not catching vistas of the surrounding rooms. The dynamic axis in the *peristyle,* in contrast, provides rich glimpses into the decorated surrounding rooms as well as views of the *peristyle* and completes a full ambulation of 40 m. in total.

5.3.3 The Dwelling Unit III in Terrace House II

The dwelling units III and V together comprised a single dwelling originally, but were later separated into two distinct units following the same principles of a *peristyle* house seen in the other units. The western one of these units is the Dwelling Unit III (Pl. 3), which was entered from the western side of the Stiegengasse III. Similar to the other units, the entrance space formed a vestibule that directly opened to the marble paved *peristyle*. Three porticoes of the *peristyle,* except the southern one which was later transformed into two rooms, each with a polychromatic mosaic, were paved with black and white geometric mosaics. The northern portico gave access to an elaborate room which is named as the "lion's room" after its polychromatic mosaic depicting a lion.[181] This room is thought to have been an *oecus*. Two other rooms were situated around the *peristyle*, one being on the east and the other on the west. The eastern one, located right across the vestibule, was a marble paved *museion* with two columns placed at the far end from its entrance. Walls of this room were embellished with paintings of the Muses accompanied by the god Apollo and a portrait of the poetess

[181] See Scheibelreiter, 2005 for a comparison of this mosaic with other Roman period lion mosaics.

Sappho.[182] Two symmetrically placed fountains on the southern colonnade of the *peristyle* created a strong visual focus for both the *museion* and the *oecus*.

In the Dwelling Unit III four axes are identifiable (Fig. 5.13). The visual axis from the vestibule, after making an immediate turn at the entrance, run through the *peristyle* and extended into the *museion* at a point close to its northern wall. As such, the *museion* was not entirely open to the viewer but a glimpse of the space was provided. The visual axis from the *museion* coincided with the visual axis of the vestibule and extended till the western wall of the house. Perpendicular to these axes is the visual axis from the *oecus* which crossed the *peristyle* and extended into the rooms with polychromatic mosaics. These mosaics and the fountains located at the southern colonnade of the *peristyle* generated visual focuses for the viewer sitting or reclining in the *oecus*. The dynamic axis on the other hand was operative along the three porticos of the *peristyle;* it started from the entrance of the *peristyle,* rotated around the *peristyle* following the mosaics and ended at the entrance of the *museion*. The narrow porticos of the *peristyle* (less than 1 m.) and the fact that the dynamic axis does not complete a full cycle show that perambulation was not the primary intention in this *peristyle*. This was most probably due to the small size of the house. Despite the limitations of its size, the owners of this house still managed to incorporate a colonnaded courtyard into their houses.

[182] Parrish, 1997, p. 583.

5.3.4. The Dwelling Unit IV in Terrace House II

The Dwelling Unit IV (Pl. 4) is located at the eastern side of the middle terrace. It was originally built around an open courtyard but the porticoes were walled up after many alterations. The entrance to this unit was through a vestibule from the eastern side of the Stiegengasse I. Right opposite the vestibule there is a fountain in front of the middle column of the *peristyle*,. Following the vestibule, on the right-hand side, was the *museion* called the "Socrates' room" after a portrait of the famous philosopher which adorned the walls along with the paintings of the Muses.[183] One other room was located opposite the *museion,* while the other rooms in the unit were all gathered around the *peristyle* courtyard.

Of the three axes identifiable in the Dwelling Unit IV (Fig. 5.14), the visual axis from the vestibule is relatively shorter (approximately 5 m. long) than the same axes in the other units; it started from the entrance and ended at the fountain. In contrast to the visual axes from the vestibules of the other houses that extended until the furthest end of the house, the short visual axis of the vestibule in this unit shows that the wish to present a general view of the house to the beholder and impress him or her with the rich interior vistas was not possible in this house. Perpendicular to the visual axis from the vestibule is the visual axis from the *museion*, which, running along the only remaining portico of the *peristyle*, extends into the opposite room and terminates at the furthest wall of this room. This *museion* also did not open directly to the outside but just an oblique glimpse of it could be caught at the exterior. The dynamic axis is also the shortest of the seven units (less than 5 m. in total) and coincides with the visual axis from the *museion* running along the remaining portico. Apparently this portico as

[183] Ibid., pp. 582 – 583.

well was not intended for ambulation and functioned as a corridor linking the exterior of the house with the interior spaces. These relatively shorter visual and dynamic axes and the lack of vistas of the rooms gave a secluded and a closed character to the house. This also supports the view that the Dwelling Unit IV functioned as a guest house for the Dwelling Unit VI after several modifications.[184]

5.3.5. The Dwelling Unit V in Terrace House II

The Dwelling Unit V (Pl. 5) became situated between the units III and IV on the middle terrace, after the division of a larger unit into the two separate units of Dwelling Unit III and Dwelling Unit V. It was entered from the western side of the *insula*, from Stiegengasse III through a long vestibule. Upon entrance, one could reach the apparently wider portico of the *peristyle* on the northern side. On the northern side of this portico, two rooms were situated. Eastern of these rooms was an *oecus* with a polychromatic mosaic floor with geometric motifs. On the western side of the *peristyle* two other rooms were located, and a fountain was placed on the northern end, while on the eastern side was a narrow portico, from where no other space gained access. The southern portico of the *peristyle* was at some point transformed into an *exedra* with an *opus sectile* floor.

Four axes are identifiable in the Dwelling Unit V (Fig. 5.15). The visual axis from the vestibule starts from the entrance and runs all the way across the house along the vestibule and the larger portico of the *peristyle*. One who moved along this axis was exposed to a wide vista of the *peristyle* at its entrance and could capture a glimpse of the *exedra*. Thus, a visual

[184] Krinzinger, Outschar, and Wiplinger in Scherrer (Ed.), 2000, p. 111.

procession is in operation from the entrance; on entry and framed by the vestibule, a narrow vista of the *peristyle* is presented to the viewer. This perspective gets wider and wider towards the end of the vestibule, where the full view of the *peristyle* could be caught. Perpendicular to this visual axis from the vestibule are the visual axes from the *exedra* and the *oecus*, which actually coincide each other as the entrances of these two rooms were placed right across each other in the *peristyle*. As in some other units discussed above, the dynamic axis is continuous only along three porticoes, except the south, of the *peristyle*. Of these three porticos, the eastern one is very disproportionate with its 1 m. width with respect to the others (western portico is 2,5 m. wide and the northern portico is 3,5 m. wide). This can be interpreted as the reflection of a functional hierarchy between these porticos; the widest (northern) one was the most important being the entryway to the central space while the narrowest (eastern) one was the least since it gave access to no other space. As such, it can be argued that the layout of the eastern portico was guided by a formal necessity related to the use and view of the *peristyle*. This also indicates as if the intention of the owners was to complete the cycle of the dynamic axis even though there was not enough width for a comfortable portico (in comparison to the remaining wider porticoes). The spatial limitations and restrictions therefore, could result in different formalist solutions to extend this axis both visually and dynamically.

5.3.6. The Dwelling Unit VI in Terrace House II

The Dwelling Unit VI (Pl. 6) covered the north eastern corner of the Terrace House II and was one of the largest of the seven dwellings. It is thought to have belonged to Flavius Furius Aptus, one of the leading citizens of Ephesus at the end of the 2nd century AD, due to an inscription that

included his name.[185] The entrance to the house was from the Curetes Street, through a vestibule opening onto the eastern portico of the *peristyle*. This *peristyle* was also the largest of all in the Terrace House II with its 12 columns and it was paved with marble. On the northern side of the *peristyle*, an elaborate room with a mosaic pavement and a fountain was situated together with an adjoining space. This spacious room must have been a dining and/or a reception space. Three rooms are found on the western side of the *peristyle*. On the southern side of the *peristyle* on the other hand, a huge and impressive marble paved and marble riveted room was situated. To the west of this room was a central space with a pool that gave access to the huge, apsidal hall on the south and to a highly decorated *exedra* on the west. This south section of the house is thought to have been arranged as a ceremonial suit, while the placement and decoration of the *exedra* apparently involved a pleasure aspect.

Four axes are identifiable in this unit (Fig. 5.16). The visual axis from the vestibule begins at the entrance and passing along the eastern portico of the *peristyle* terminates at the end of the portico, where an opening on the wall of the marble hall allows for a vista of this splendid room. Oblique views of the *peristyle* as well as of its surrounding spaces can be captured along this axis. The visual axis from the dining space runs parallel to the visual axis of the vestibule and extends into the marble hall through another opening. A wide angle vista of the *peristyle* could be captured while sitting or reclining in this space. The visual axis from the *exedra* runs perpendicular to these axes and terminates at the western wall of the marble hall. The shallow pool which is situated right in front of the *exedra* acted as a strong visual focus along this axis. The 55 m. long dynamic axis on the other hand, completes a full ambulatory around the *peristyle*. A rich visual show could be

[185] Krinzinger, Outschar, and Wiplinger in Scherrer (Ed.), 2000, p. 111.

experienced along this axis, which provided vistas of the surrounding spaces as well as of the large *peristyle* courtyard (approximately 100 m^2) from different angles.

5.3.7. The Dwelling Unit VII in Terrace House II

The Dwelling Unit VII (Pl. 7) was also a large house and covered the northwest part of the Terrace House II adjoining the Unit VI. A distinctive feature of Unit VII is that it was entered from its upper floor, from the stairs of Stiegengasse III, which led to a staircase providing access down to the *peristyle*. The *peristyle* was paved with marble and had a fountain at the center of the furthest north wall. Located centrally in the *peristyle,* a marble table in front of a low column created another visual focus. The eastern and western sides of the *peristyle* were flanked by rooms of refined and elaborate decoration. Of these rooms, the one on the northeastern corner of the house is noteworthy due to its elaborate decoration. This room could have functioned as an *oecus* and hence is suitable to be used for leisure-oriented activities. One other space exhibiting a similar character is a large *exedra* situated to the south of the *peristyle*, which was an attractive room with its marble paved floor and marble riveted walls.

Four axes were in operation in the Dwelling Unit VII (Fig. 5.17). The visual axis from the vestibule starts at the entrance of the house and, presenting vistas of the upper floor, goes towards the staircase where it turns to descend down the stairs. At this point a different visual experience than those in the other houses is presented to the viewer. A framed vista of the *peristyle* was captured from the upper level rather than from the same level of the *peristyle*, and with each step down, the vista widened and the angle of view changed. The visual axis from the *exedra* is parallel to this axis and

terminates at the furthest wall of the house focusing on the fountain. The marble table and the column are the visual foci in the center of the *peristyle*. In contrast to the wide-angle vista captured from the *exedra*, the vista from the *oecus* is through a narrow opening framed by the door. The visual axis from the *oecus* is perpendicular to the visual axis from the *exedra*. The dynamic axis on the other hand, is continuous only along the three porticos of the *peristyle;* the lack of a portico on the southern side prevents making a full cycle.

5.3.8. The Palace above the Theater

The Palace above the Theater, as mentioned before, is situated on a building terrace above the theater and was reached through the Baths Street situated opposite the Terrace Houses. This sumptuous house was entered on its southern side through a vestibule situated along the western façade of the house. Off the vestibule, on the right hand side, an apsidal reception hall was situated with its separate *vestibule* in front. This hall is a late Antique addition and will be disregarded in the analysis of the axis scheme. Further north, the *vestibule* opened onto the western portico of the central *peristyle*. The other spaces of the house gained access from the three porticos of the *peristyle*, except the western one, which was probably left only as an ambulatory passage to be able to extend into the view. Of these rooms two *exedrae* and an *oecus* are noteworthy. The *exedrae* were placed on the two opposite sides of the *peristyle*, one on the north and the other on the south and each with two columns and mosaic pavements in front faced each other. They are located slightly off centered with respect to the porticos, yet were symmetrical along the east-west axis of the *peristyle*. The *oecus*, on the other hand, was situated perpendicular to the *exedrae* and on the right hand side of the *peristyle*. Through its three openings, it had an ample view of the

peristyle and probably even the whole city all the way down the Mount Pion.

In this sumptuous residence four axes were in operation (Fig. 5.18). The visual axis from the vestibule, starting from the entrance, followed the western portico of the *peristyle* and culminated at the northern ambulatory wall. Vistas of the approximately 32x32 m. *peristyle* including the porticoes (the courtyard area without the porticoes is 21x21 m.) as well as of its surrounding spaces are comfortably captured along this axis. The visual axes from the two *exedrae* coincide and each, running parallel to the vestibule axis, extended into the opposite *exedra* which generates a focus and a terminus. Perpendicular to these is the visual axis from the *oecus*, which opens towards a vista. The dynamic axis in this house, on the other hand, is the longest in the sample: with an approximately 100 m. total length it not only offered vistas to the surrounding spaces but also was itself a monumental focus for anyone stepping into it.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Leisure is a historically traceable concept from the primitive times onwards. The concept underwent many changes and implied different associations to different people at different times and in different cultures. Its main definitive components however always included themes such as "freedom from work", "involving in an activity that is done for its own sake", and an "aspect of pleasure". The most recent and major change in the conception of leisure took place during the industrial revolution. Leisure, itself, was industrialized during this period and began to denote the time free from work, a quantitative period of time. This gave way to the development of the leisure industry and leisure consumption in both public and private contexts.

The Roman conception of leisure, on the other hand differed from our contemporary conception in several aspects. Leisure constituted an internal dynamic force for the Roman society that regulated the tensions within the society and actually served for the dissemination of the Imperial ideals especially through public spectacles and shows, which were housed in specially designed and monumental buildings and which created a distinctive Roman urban character. Scattered in various localities in the urban fabric, such buildings served to attract varying groups of masses for public consumption of leisure. Moving from one leisure spot to the other, the Roman citizens were involved in experiencing the urban fabric from the

point of view of entertainment, pleasure, and relaxation. Leisure in the private sphere on the other hand served for the interaction of a select group, the wealthy, and the influential both in between themselves and between their dependants, as well as for the display of power materialized with leisure-oriented spaces. In this setting, leisure was often consumed in spaces arranged and grouped at the entrance level, thus making this level the focus of private leisure. Moving from one leisure spot to the other in this level, the participants of leisure-oriented activities experienced the domestic setting also from the point of view of entertainment, pleasure, and relaxation.

Leisure activities in the Roman private sphere took "kinetic" or "static" forms such as banqueting, literary recitation, musical performance, and perambulation, all of which were supplemented by visual shows. This attitude gave way for the arrangement and placement of special spaces related primarily with leisure in reference to an axes-scheme.

Leisure oriented spaces can be exemplified in several types of extant houses from Campania and Ostia. *Domus* was the more widely applied house scheme in Campania. This type of single family house was generally organized around a central semi-open courtyard, called the *atrium*, and had a concern of symmetry along a central axis running along the *fauces-atrium-tablinum* sequence of the house. A *peristyle* was added later to this sequence and on the axis where possible. The leisure oriented spaces of the *domus* were the *triclinium* in addition to the *peristyle* with its surrounding spaces such as *oecus* and *exedra*. A different housing scheme, called the *insula*, is exemplified in Ostia along with the *domus*. A very common type of the Ostian *insula* was the *medianum* plan, which incorporated a wide and spacious hall, called the *medianum*, as its central space. The main leisure oriented spaces in a *medianum* type *insula* on the other hand, were found on both ends of the *medianum*.

The spatiality and location of the leisure-oriented spaces can be examined with reference to an axes-scheme. Two main axes were in operation in the layout of the ground floor where the leisure oriented spaces would be found. Accordingly, a "visual axis", that is, a visual extension was taken into consideration from spaces such as the *triclinium*, the *oecus*, and the *exedra*, which were associated with static forms of leisure such as dining, contemplating, and reading. The visual axes define the vista that a person involved in a static or a kinetic state of leisure could catch through the openings, such as doorways and windows of the leisure-oriented space. The "dynamic axis" on the other hand corresponds to the movement path that a person followed during a kinetic leisurely activity such as perambulation around a *peristyle* or walking under the shady porticos in a colonnaded court, not necessarily a *peristyle*. The dynamic axis as well offered an opportunity of visual extension to the surrounding spaces.

In this study the Roman domestic context in Campania and Ostia and the provincial domestic context in Ephesus have been examined in terms of a number of leisure spaces whose spatial arrangements, accessibility, and use have been discussed and compared from the perspective of a number of axes that operated either as "dynamic" or "visual". This comparison presents some similarities in terms of designing the private setting and its leisure-oriented spaces with respect to both static and dynamic perception, both of which aimed to add a pleasure aspect to the activity.

At first sight, the architectural layout of the Ephesian dwellings seem very different than those of the central Italian ones due to a number of facts such as the lack of the concern of symmetry, strict axial and sequential arrangement along a major axis like that of the *fauces–atrium–tablinum* axis, lack of distinctively Roman spaces such as *atria* and *tablina*, and more significantly lack of two courtyards placed along a linear disposition.

The houses in these two contexts however are similar in terms of generating axes of both visual and dynamic character. In Ephesus, as in Campania and Ostia, the house was a status symbol and the primary aim was to impress the visitors by using architecture and decoration. The fact that a special emphasis was given to the placement, adornment, and arrangement of the major reception and dining spaces is indicative of the role of pleasure and leisure in the Roman social and cultural milieu and thus also their primacy in promoting social status in the private setting. It is reasonable in this context to argue that similar social dynamics gave way and shaped the architectural layout and arrangement of the domestic architecture in both central Italy and Ephesus.

The resemblance of architectonics in both central Italy and Ephesus is clearly traceable in terms of the axes governing the spatial scheme of leisure-oriented spaces including the *peristyle*, *triclinium, oecus*, *exedra*, and *museion*. The "vista architecture" is employed also in the Ephesian houses but with some differences. In central Italy the linear arrangement of the domestic spaces of *fauces-atrium-tablinum-peristyle* on an axis, when compared with that in the Ephesus, resulted in a relatively longer visual extension that penetrated deep into the house and hence a framed vista of the ground floor is captured immediately after entering the house. The dynamic axes in the central Italian dwellings on the other hand, was in operation with respect to a concern of perambulation, which also provided visual extensions to other lavishly decorated spaces of the house as well as to the *peristyle* garden itself which was arranged with reference to nature. Even in the small Ostian *insulae* that lacked a *peristyle,* visual extensions were provided, both to the exterior through the windows in the *medianum* and also the spaces opening into the *medianum*, along the visual axis from the entrance.

In Ephesus on the other hand, a version of this axial pattern seems to emerge in which the spaces in the house were connected with much shorter visual axes as the house was only planned around one central *peristyle*. Accordingly, the leisure-oriented spaces were placed so that their visual axes generally intersected perpendicularly or extended into each other across the *peristyle*. A concern to provide a vista of the ground floor upon entrance, along a visual axis starting from the vestibule is observable; however, in most of the units in question this axis is not as long as it is in the Campanian scheme. Yet, it is much more direct and hence commanding as it instantly provides a full view of the representational ground floor in contrast to the framed view in the Campanian scheme. The dynamic axis on the other hand, lacks a full cycle especially in the smaller houses; yet, an effort to give the look of a complete ambulatory with at least three porticoes and to provide vistas into the surrounding spaces during movement are observable. This approach to the layout of the ground floor, which was treated as a representational area including a number of spacious rooms distinguished with their placement in direct connection to a colonnaded courtyard and to each other, and also their decoration, which together formed the prestigious part of the house, exemplified at Ephesus can be observable in other Roman provincial houses as well. But Ephesus is a potential case to illustrate the application and operation of this approach in the domestic context of an eastern provincial city that remained under the Greek influence despite its being a Roman provincial capital.

Ephesus, the capital city of the Roman province of Asia, was adorned with lavish houses, some of which are well preserved for a study of leisure in the context of Roman provincial domestic architecture. The Ephesian dwellings were planned around a *peristyle*; in some houses the *peristyles* were later transformed into courtyards with at least three porticoes. The concern for

symmetry in these houses was much less dominant when compared to the examples from central Italy, as they were built on terraces which posed some planning and expansion restrictions. Despite the relatively limited means of land-usage a strong emphasis on the inclusion and articulation of leisure-oriented spaces is visible. The *triclinium*, the *oecus*, the *exedra,* and the *museion* comprised the leisure spaces of the Ephesian houses, for which the *peristyle* functioned as a setting of visual pleasure. Among these leisure-oriented spaces, the *museion* was distinctive with its wall paintings depicting scenes from Greek literature, which also shows the influence of the Greek culture on the decorational preferences in the Ephesian houses and the house owners' pride and delight of this past. This space is identified in three houses, indicating that having a spacious ground floor room with this type of decoration was fashionable among the households inhabiting the Terrace Houses at least during the 3rd century AD. The same trend was fashionable among the Campanian households in the late 1st century AD as well[186].

In both Campanian and Ephesian domestic contexts the ground floor, though not perhaps fully or only, was reserved for *otium*. As the work and leisure were not sharply separated in the ancient Roman world, the leisure-oriented spaces could also be used for work-purposes and hence, these spaces and the activities they hosted also incorporated an aspect of *negotium*, but this was different then the formal *negotium* of the public sphere. Any matter of *negotium* that became part of an *otium* activity was handled or discussed in a pleasure giving atmosphere, thus emphasizing *otium* as the primary goal and motive of coming together.

[186] Clarke, 1991, p. 182.

The planning of the Roman houses is discussed in many ways. These studies demonstrate that the planning is based on certain architectural applications such as axis, symmetry, sequence, and alike. This study, in relation, aimed to make a thematic reading of the layout of the Roman house by using the concept of leisure. The reading was also structured with reference to an axes-scheme, which is discussed as the main planning principle of the ground floor of Roman houses. As such the study made use of the architectural disposition of the ground floors from the point of view of how certain spaces, identified as leisure-oriented spaces, are positioned in relation to each other. This gave an opportunity to develop a reading of the axes-scheme employed and discussed in the planning of Roman houses in Campania specifically from the perspective of leisure. Seen in this perspective, it is possible to elaborate the axes-scheme and come up with a more elaborate pattern. The Terrace Houses in Ephesus were chosen to illustrate this pattern in a provincial context thereby also demonstrating that the Roman approach to the design and use of private leisure spaces, observable since the early Imperial period endured with some modifications in the later years and also in the provinces of the Roman empire. As discussed, a reading of the leisure-oriented spaces in the Roman house with reference to an axial pattern illustrated how the Romans promoted a "vista architecture" based on visuality and viewing also in their private setting.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Figures

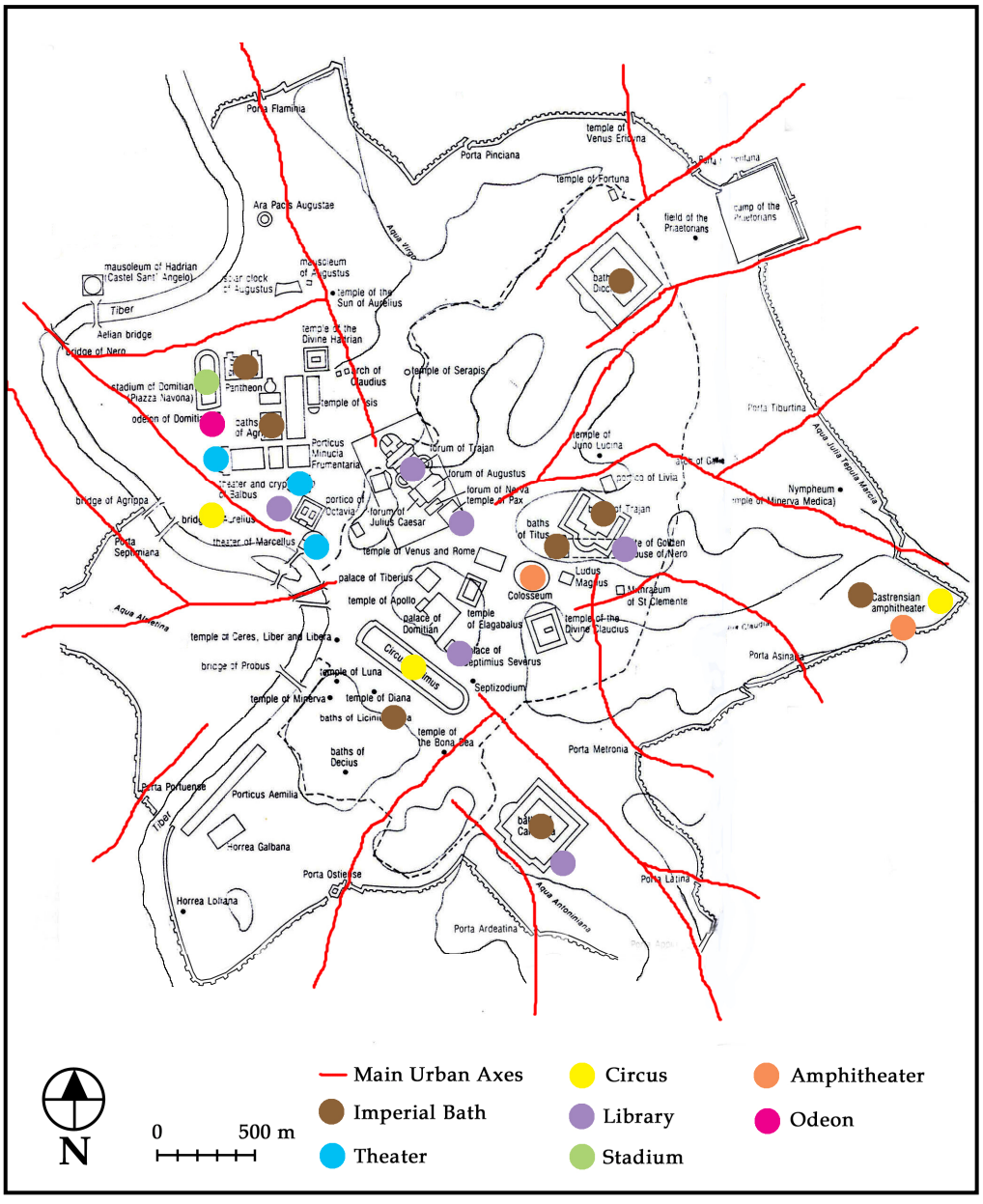


Fig. 3.1: Distribution of public leisure-oriented buildings at Rome. (adopted from Cornell & Matthews, 1982 and Nash, 1961)

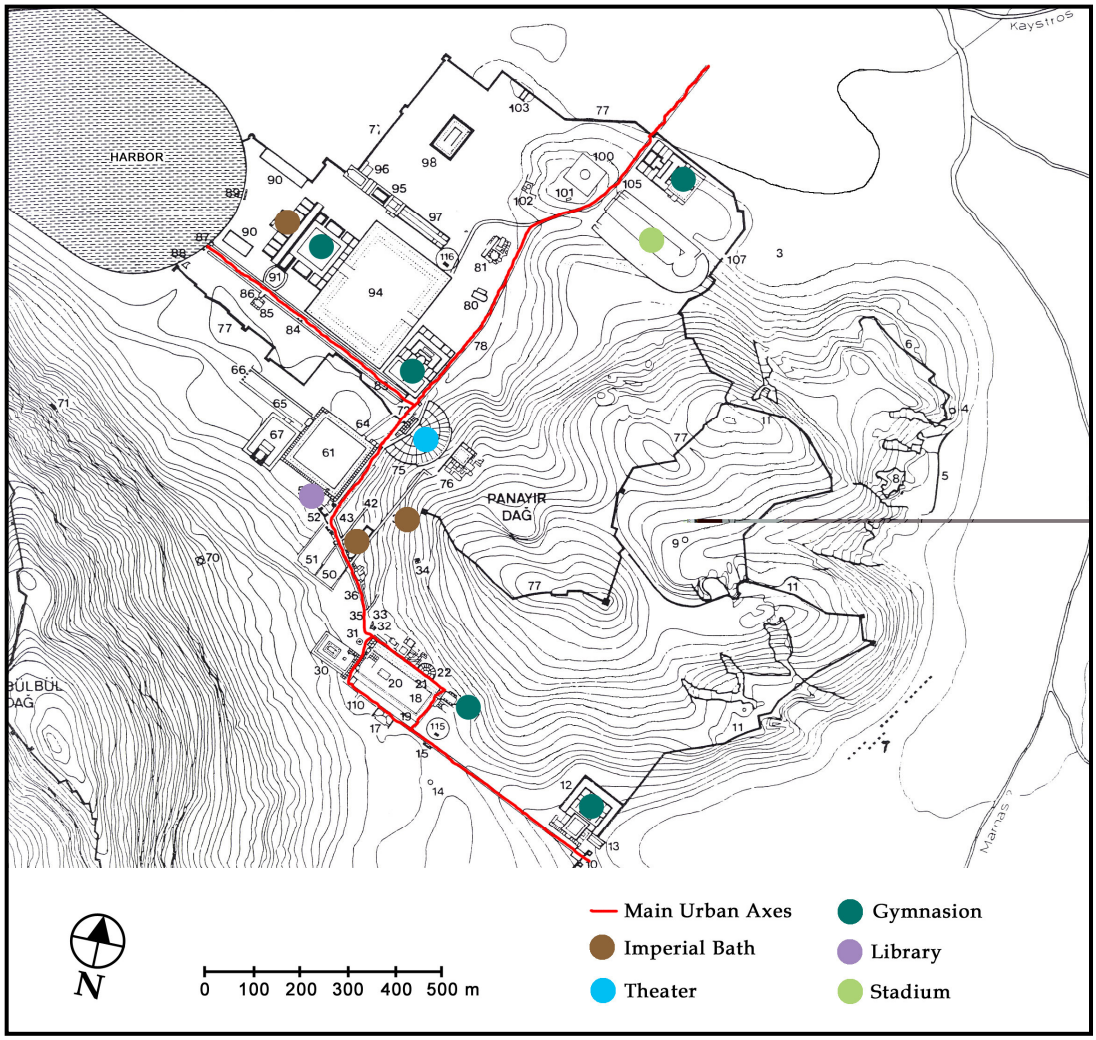


Fig. 3.2: Distribution of public leisure-oriented buildings at Ephesus. (adopted from Scherrer, 2001)

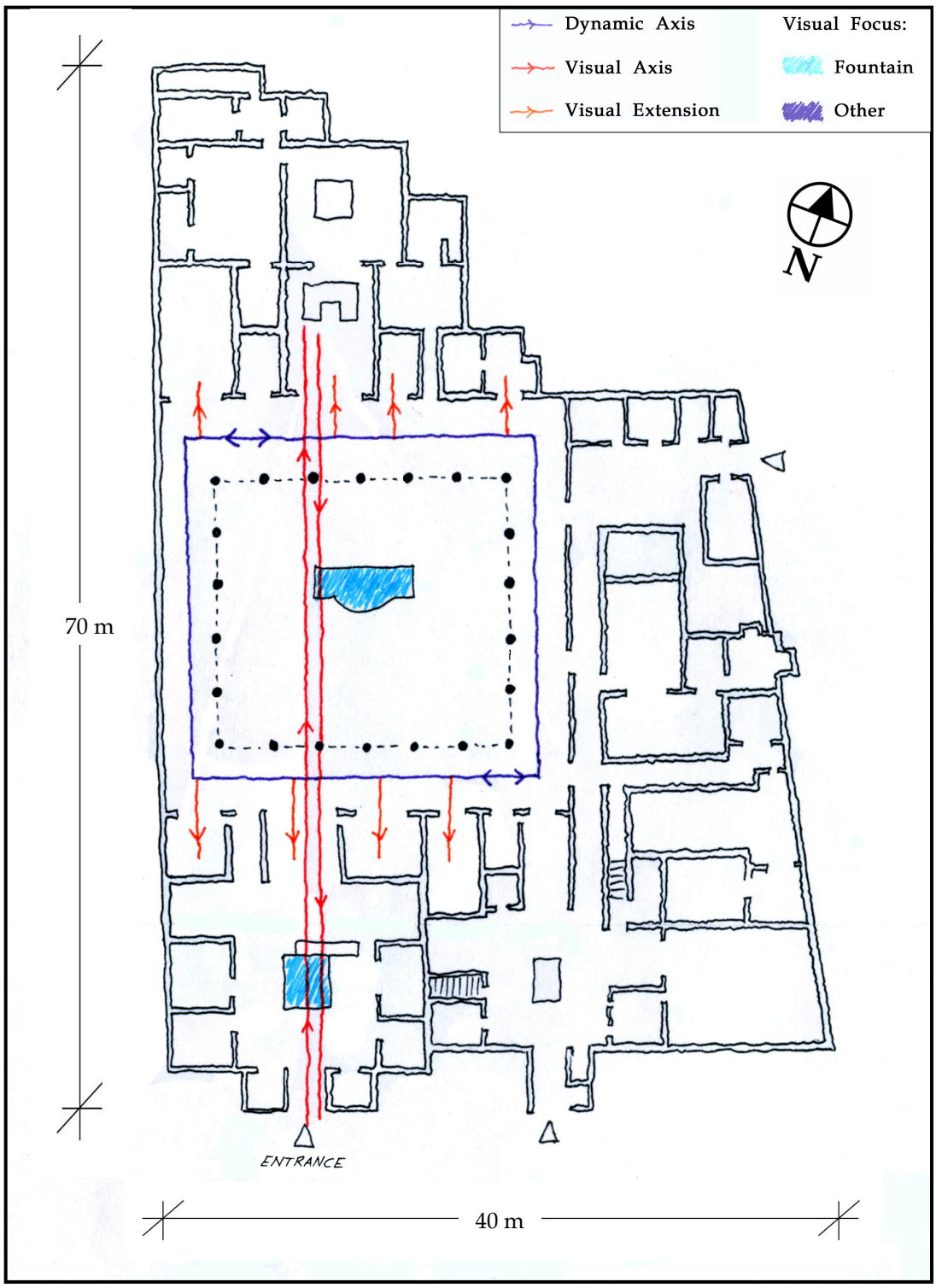


Fig. 4.1: The axes-scheme of the House of the Centenary, Pompeii.

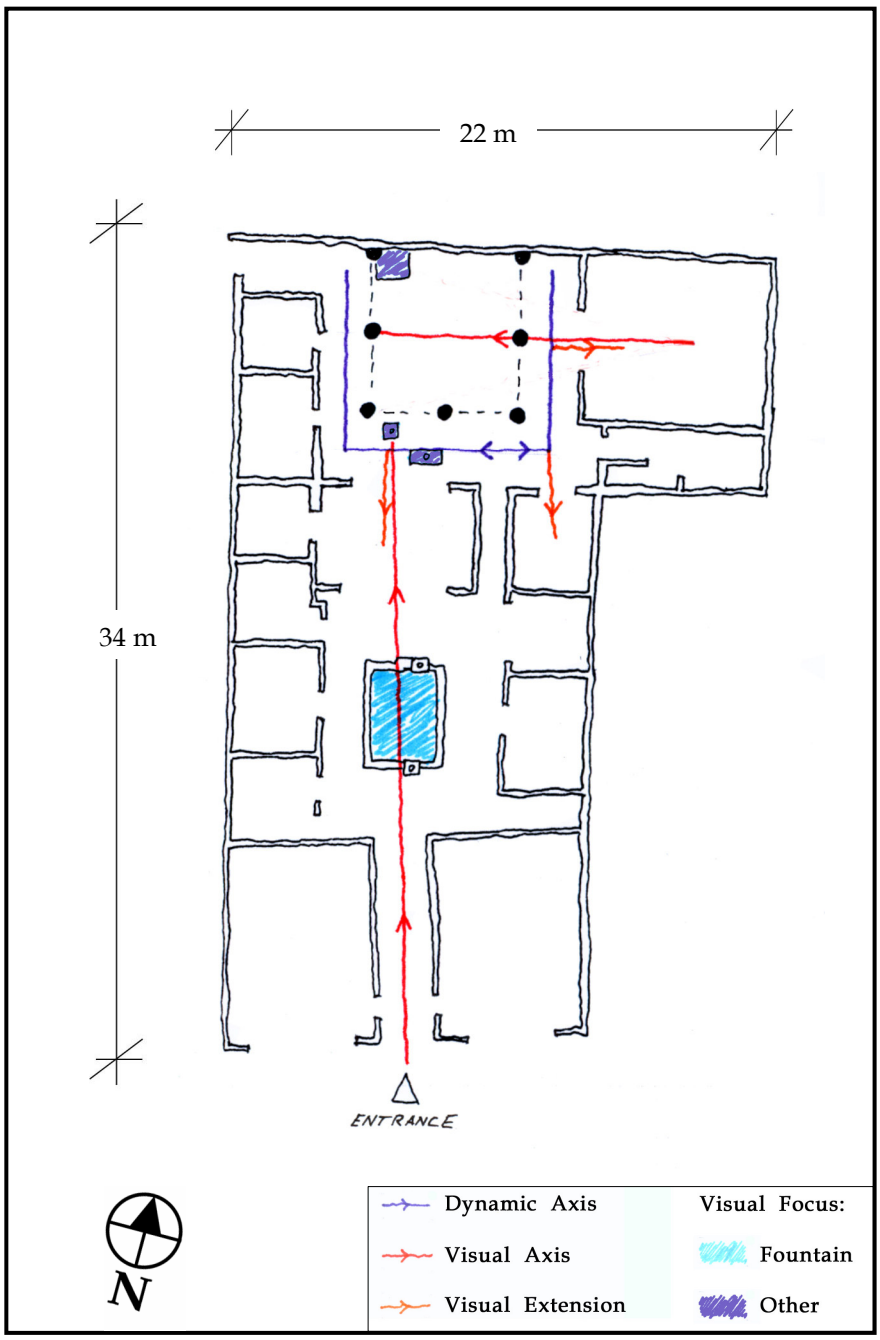


Fig. 4.2: The axes-scheme of the House of the Tragic Poet, Pompeii.

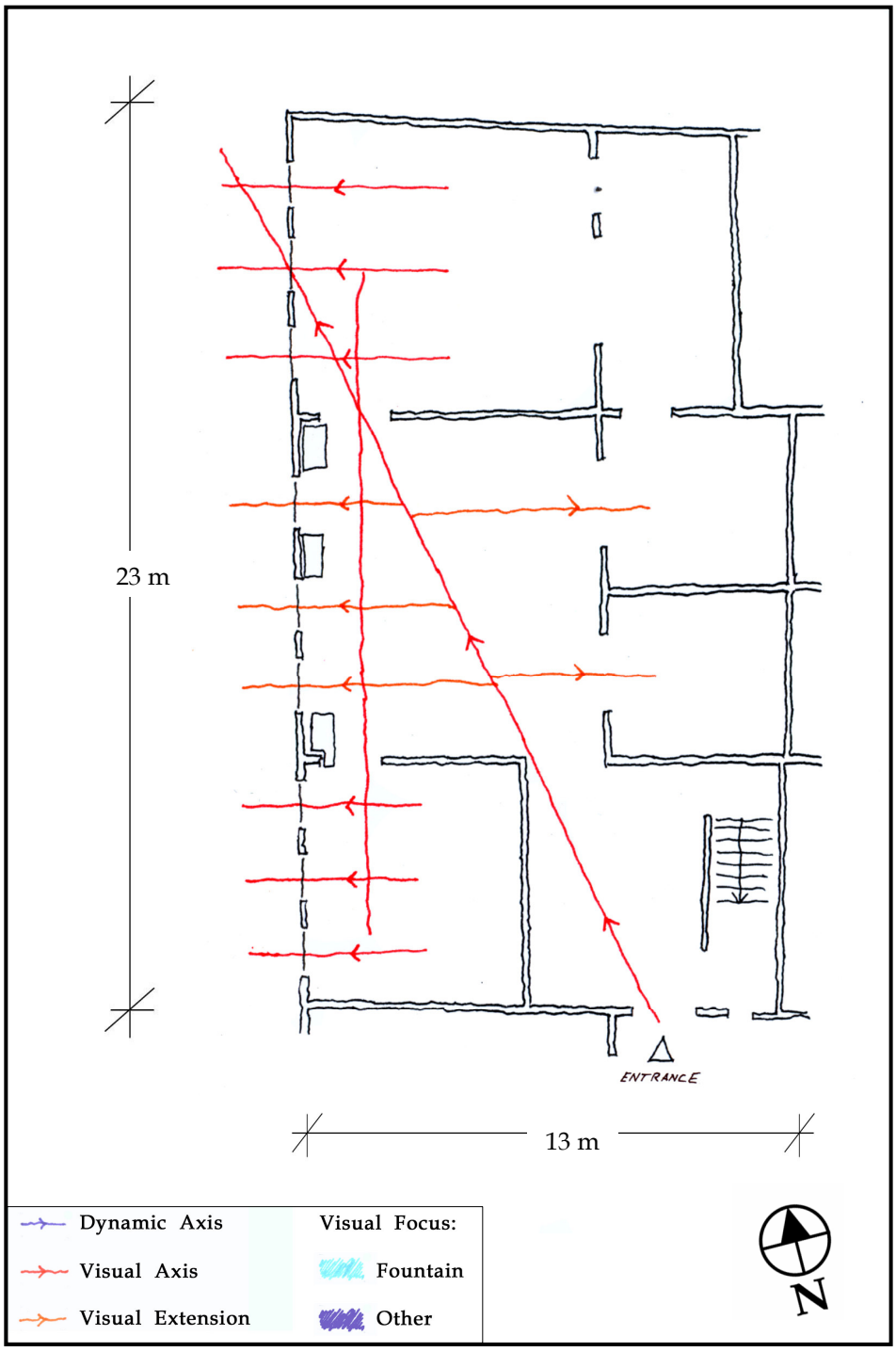


Fig. 4.3: Axes-scheme of the House of the Yellow Walls, Ostia.

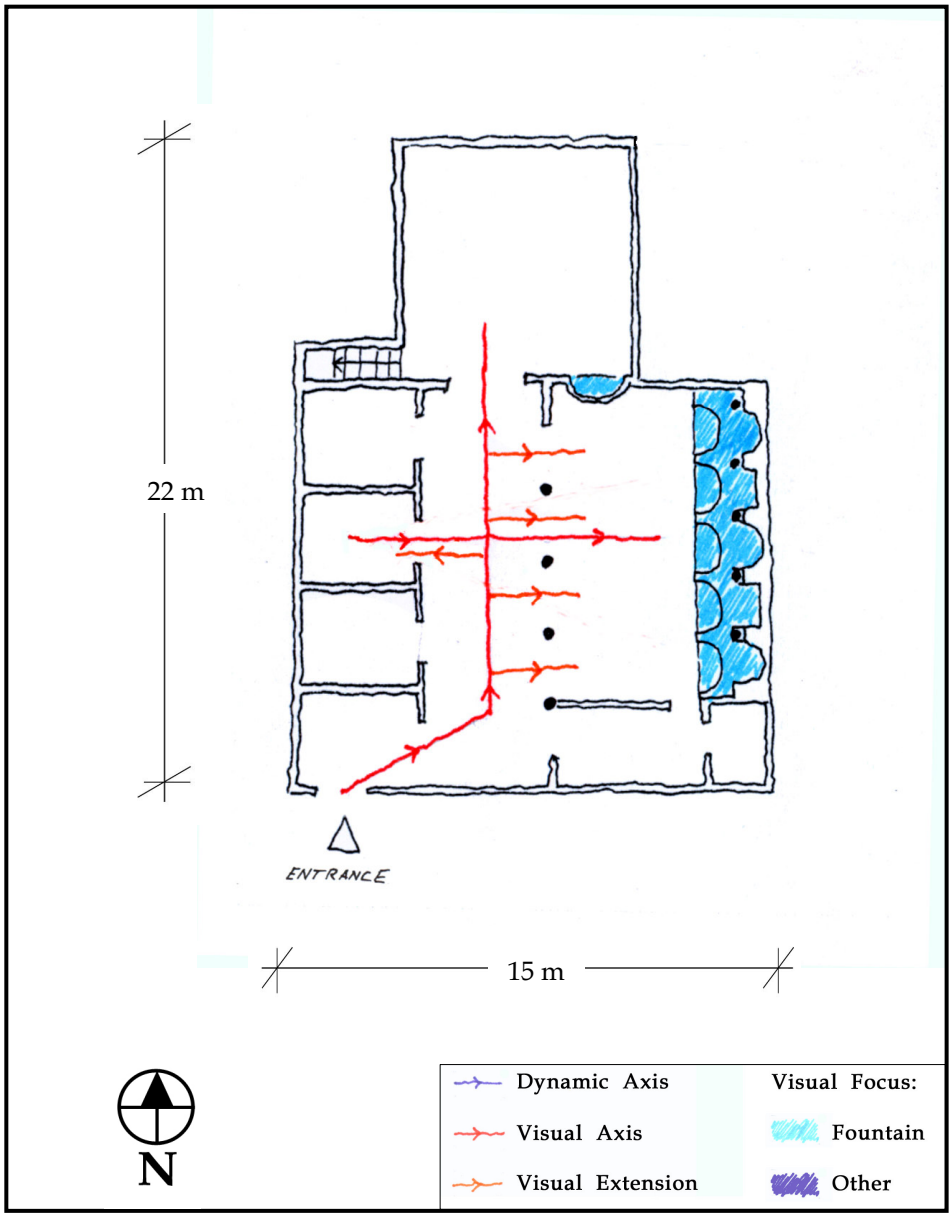


Fig. 4.4: The axes-scheme of the House of the Cupid and Psyche, Ostia.

Fig. 5.1: The aerial view of the Ephesian bay. (August, 2006)

Fig. 5.2: The general site plan of Ephesus.
(Scherrer, Taeuber, & Thür (Ed.s), 1999)

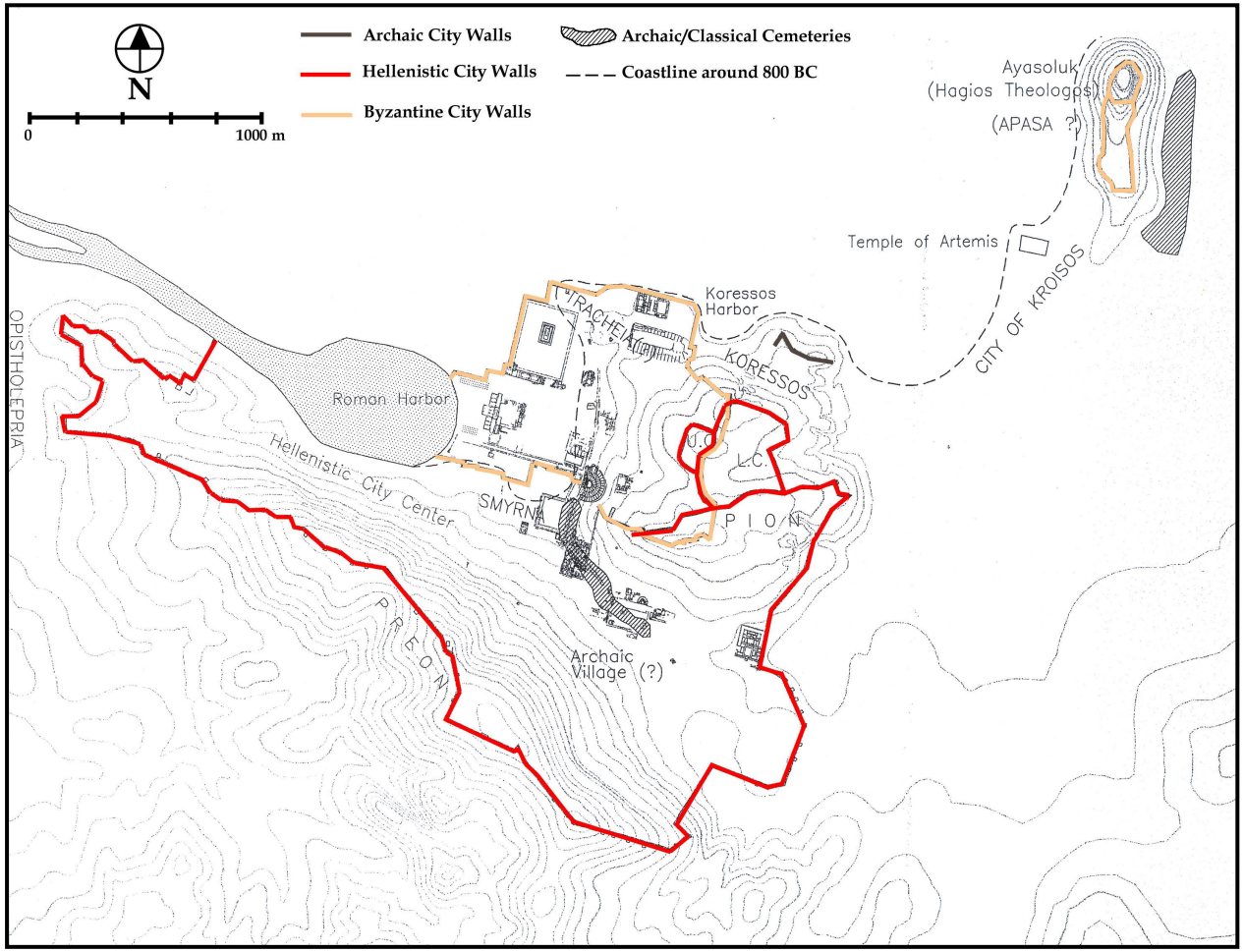


Fig. 5.3: The extension of Ephesus.
(Scherrer, 2001)

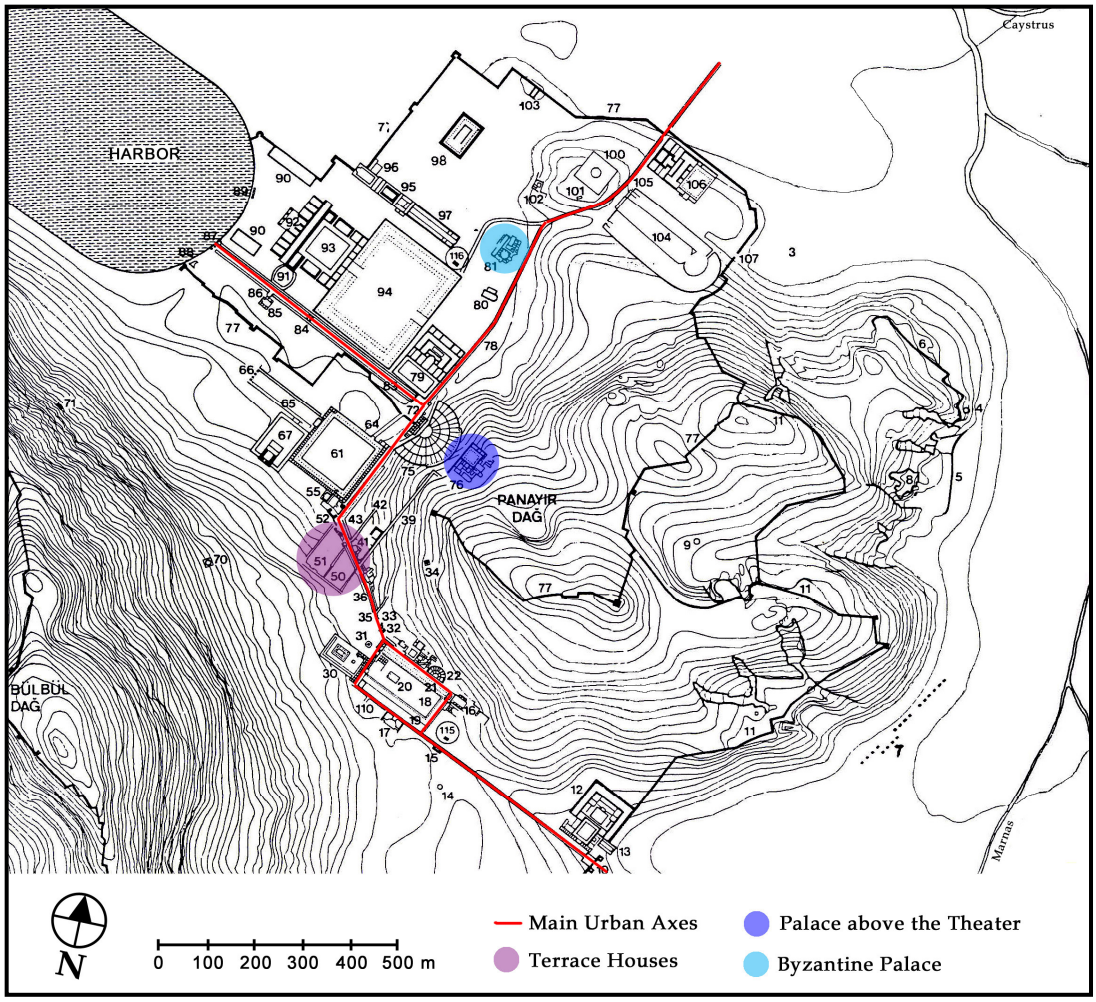


Fig. 5.4: The domestic context at Ephesus.
(adopted from Scherrer, 2001)

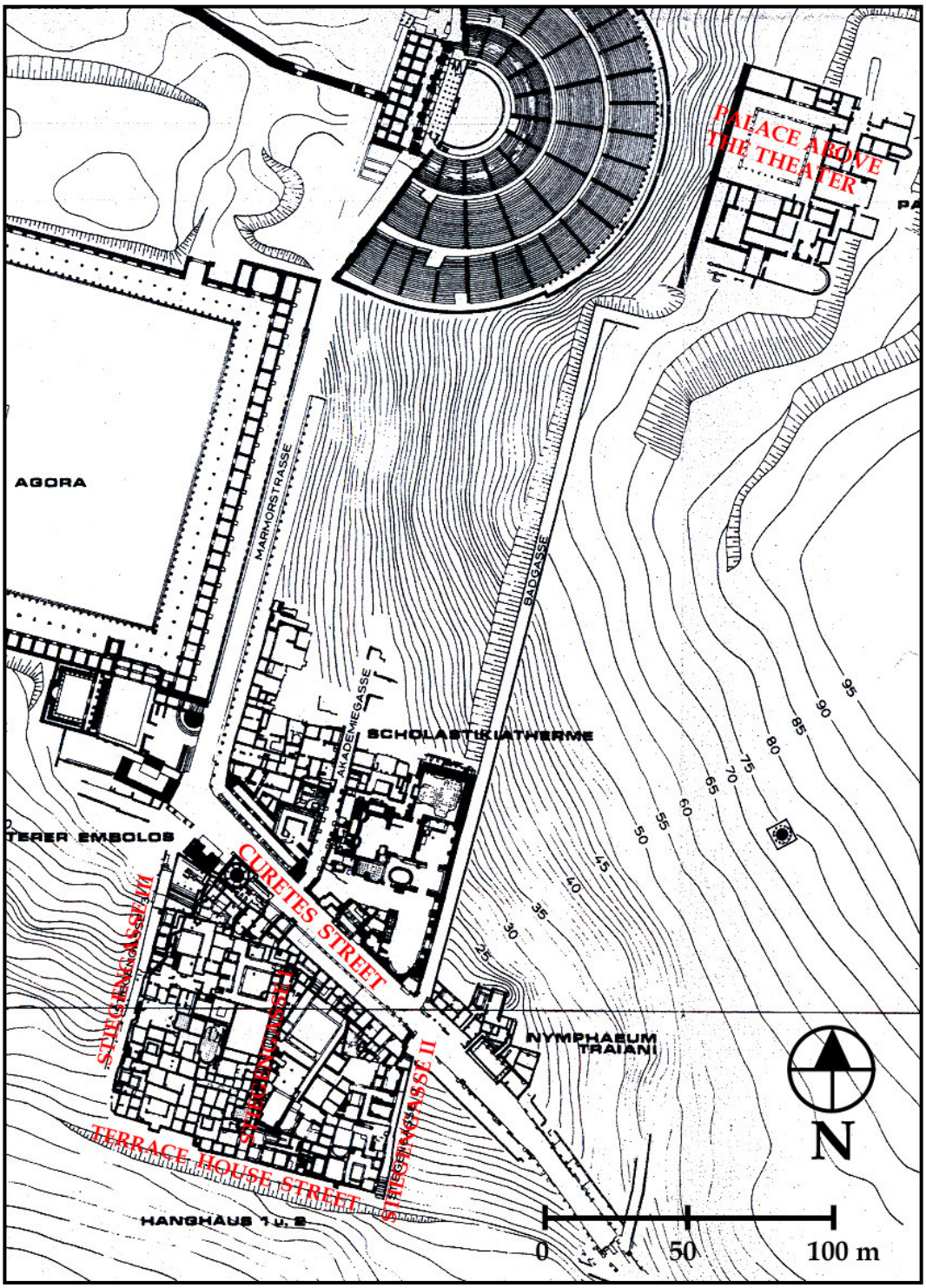


Fig. 5.5: The location of the Terrace Houses.
(Wiplinger & Wlach, 1996)

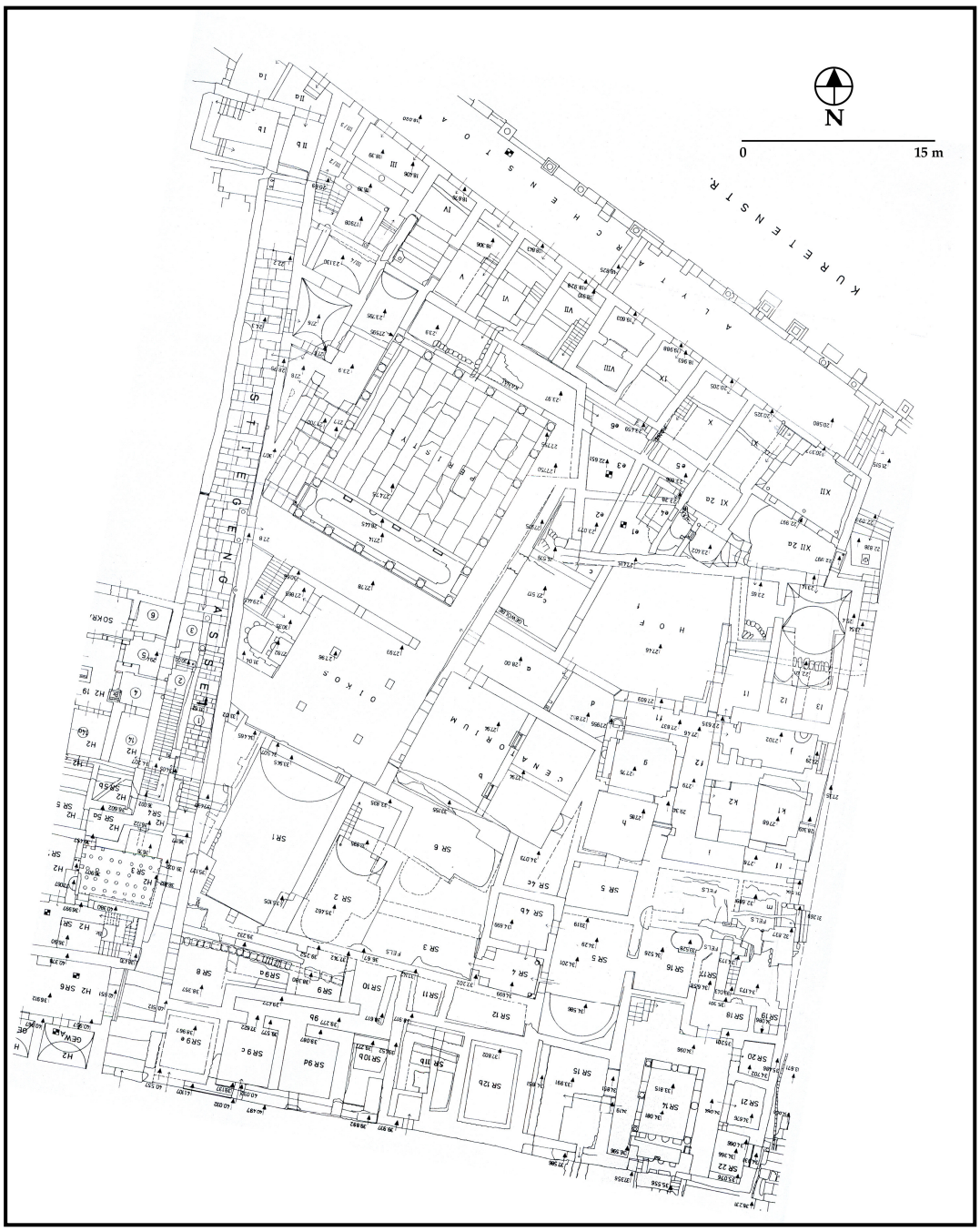


Fig. 5.6: The plan of the Terrace House I at Ephesus.
(Lang-Auinger, 1996)

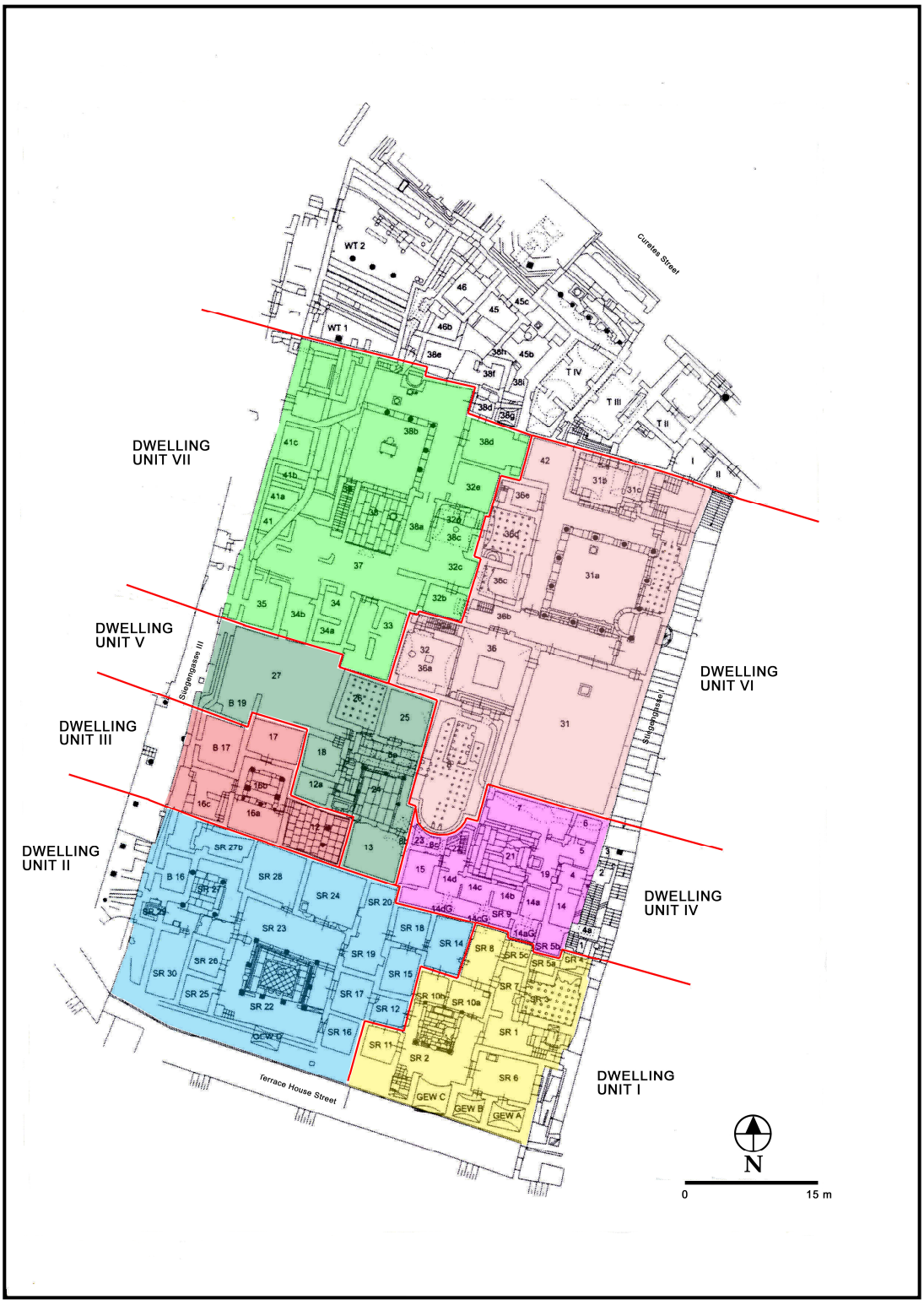


Fig. 5.7: The plan of the Terrace House II at Ephesus.
(adopted from Thür, Beitr, & Jilek, 2005)

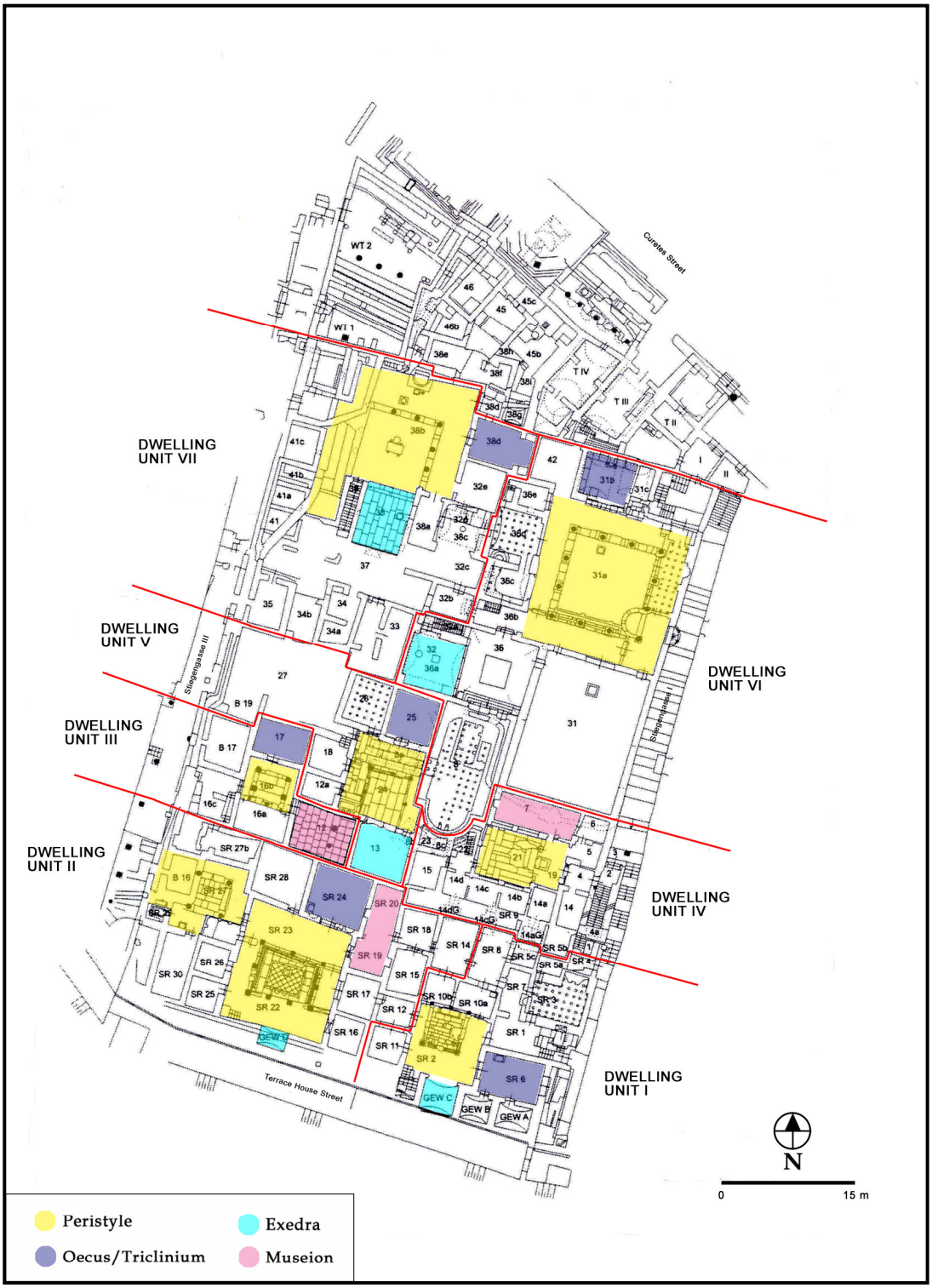


Fig. 5.8: Leisure-oriented spaces in the Terrace House II. (adopted from Thür, Beitr, & Jilek, 2005)

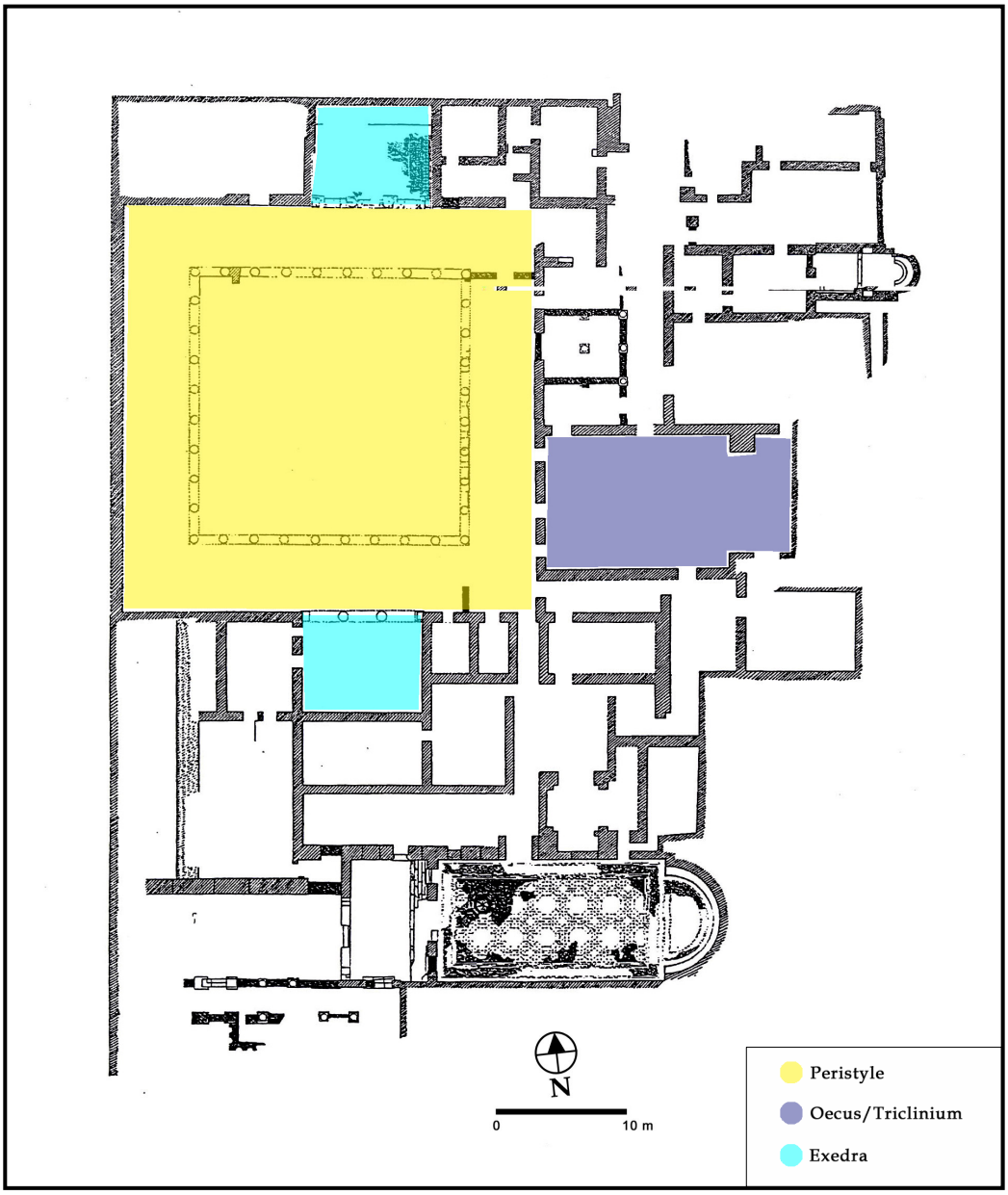


Fig. 5.9: Leisure-oriented spaces in the Palace above the Theater. (adopted from Thür, 2002)

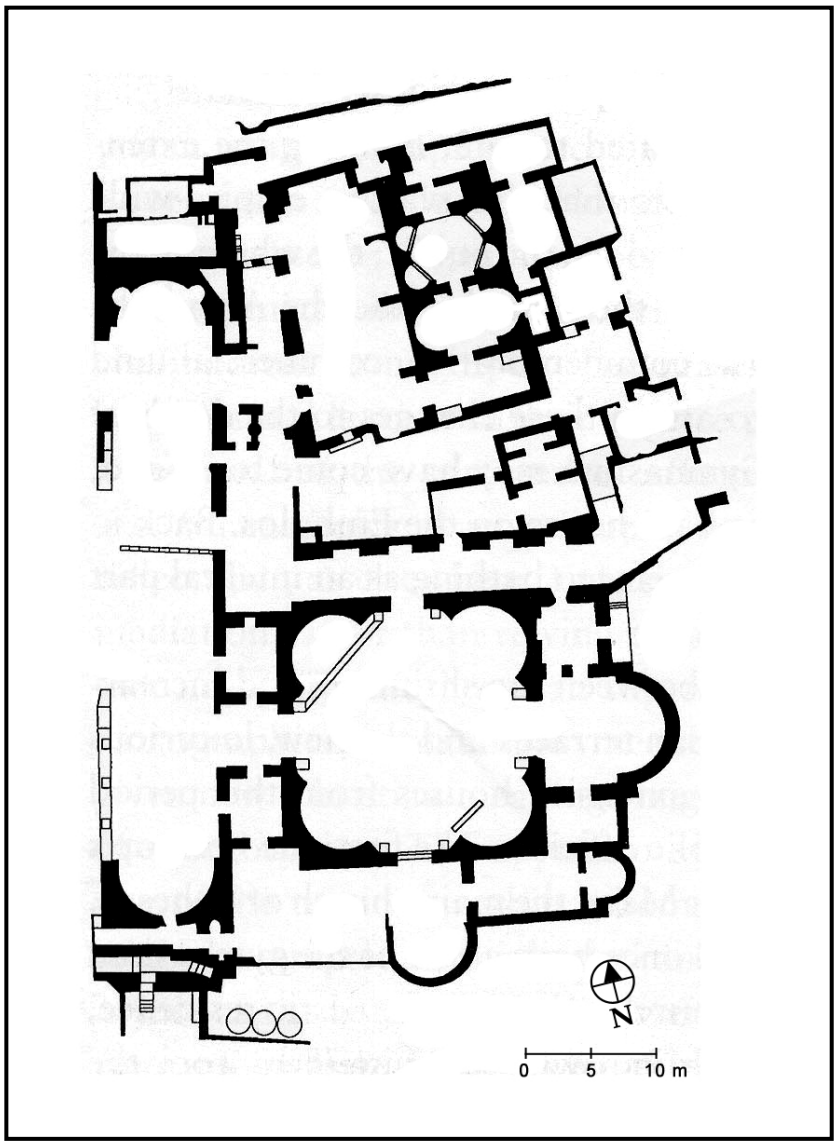
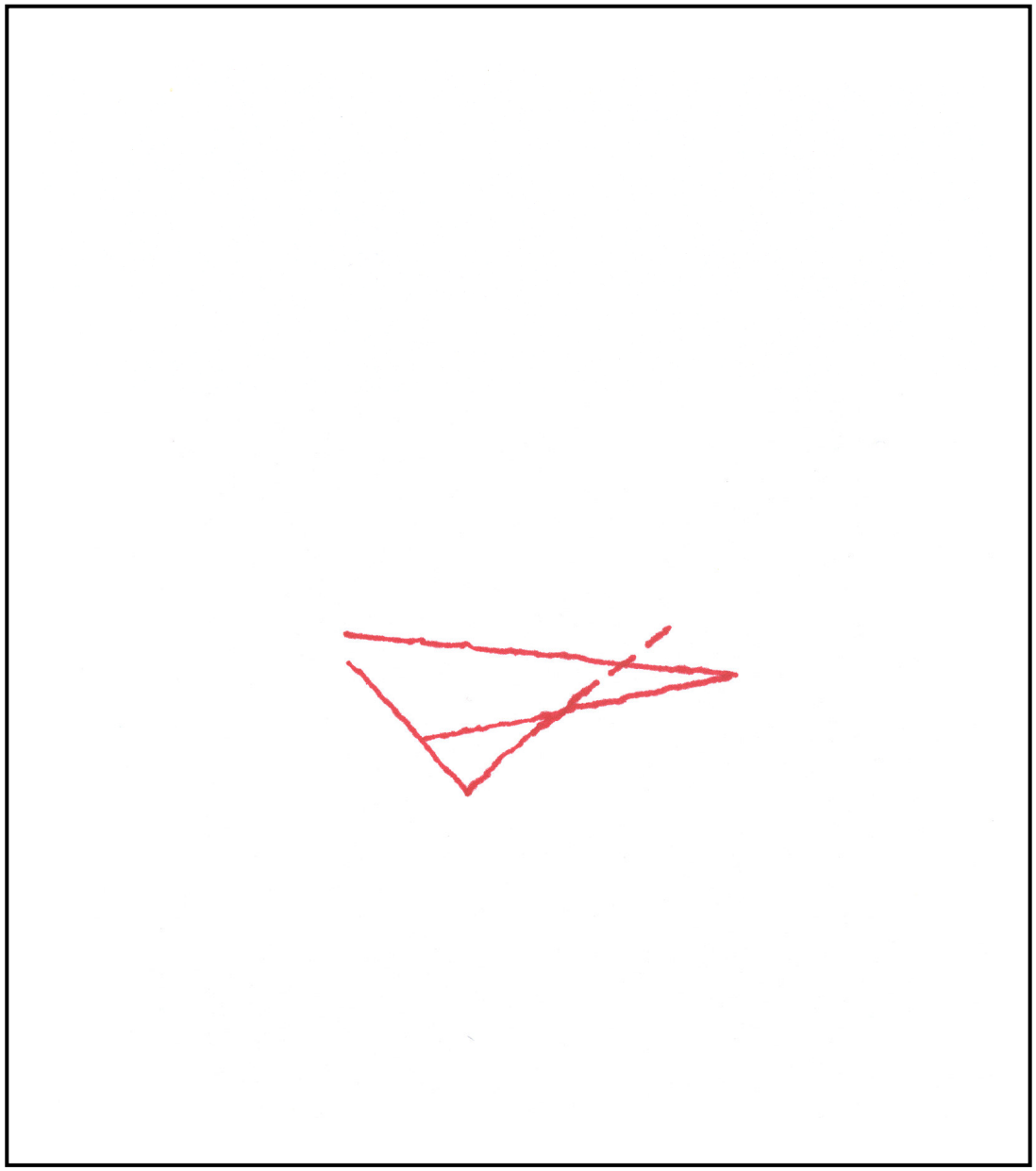


Fig. 5.10: The plan of the Byzantine palace.
(Hales, 2003)



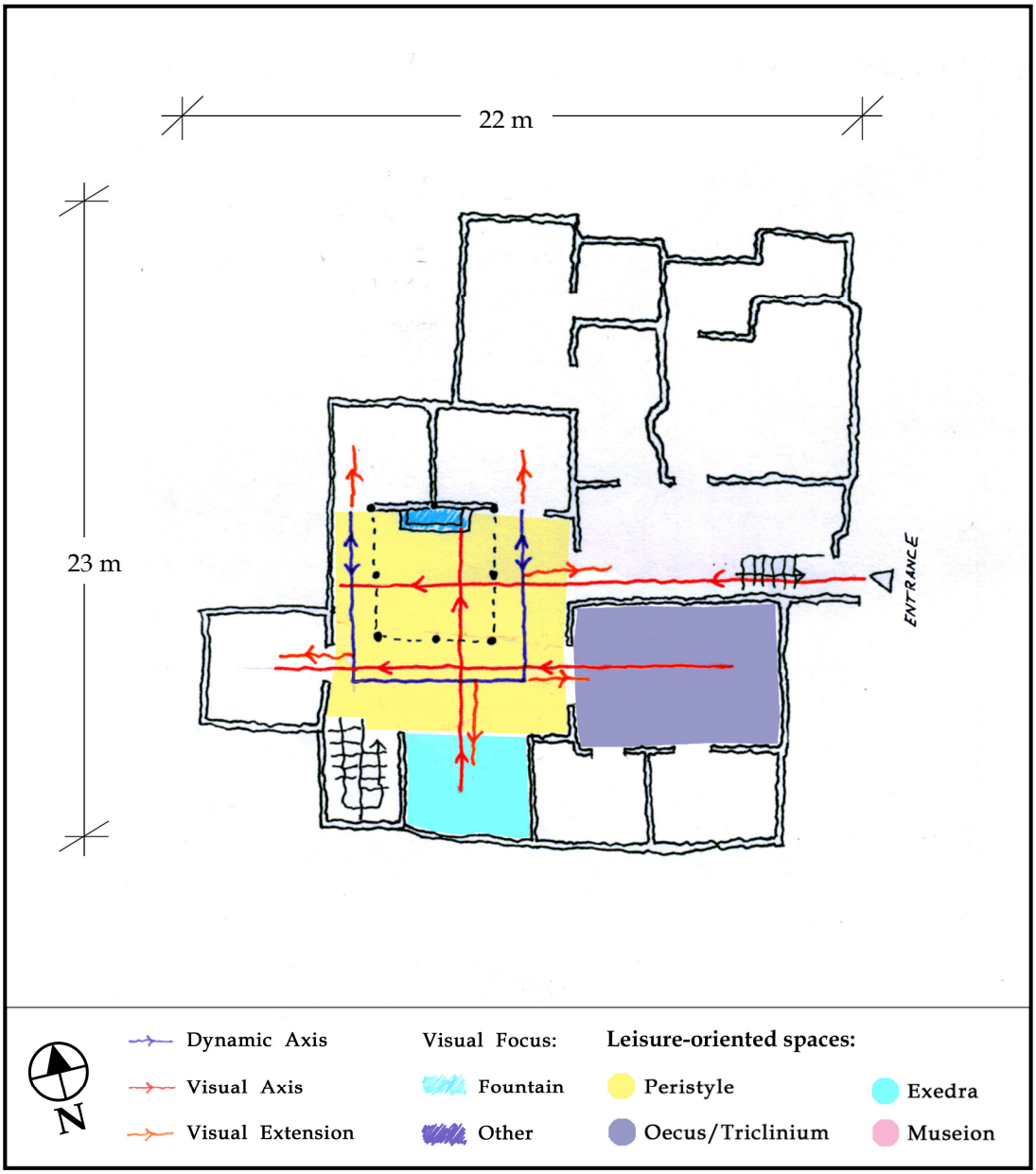
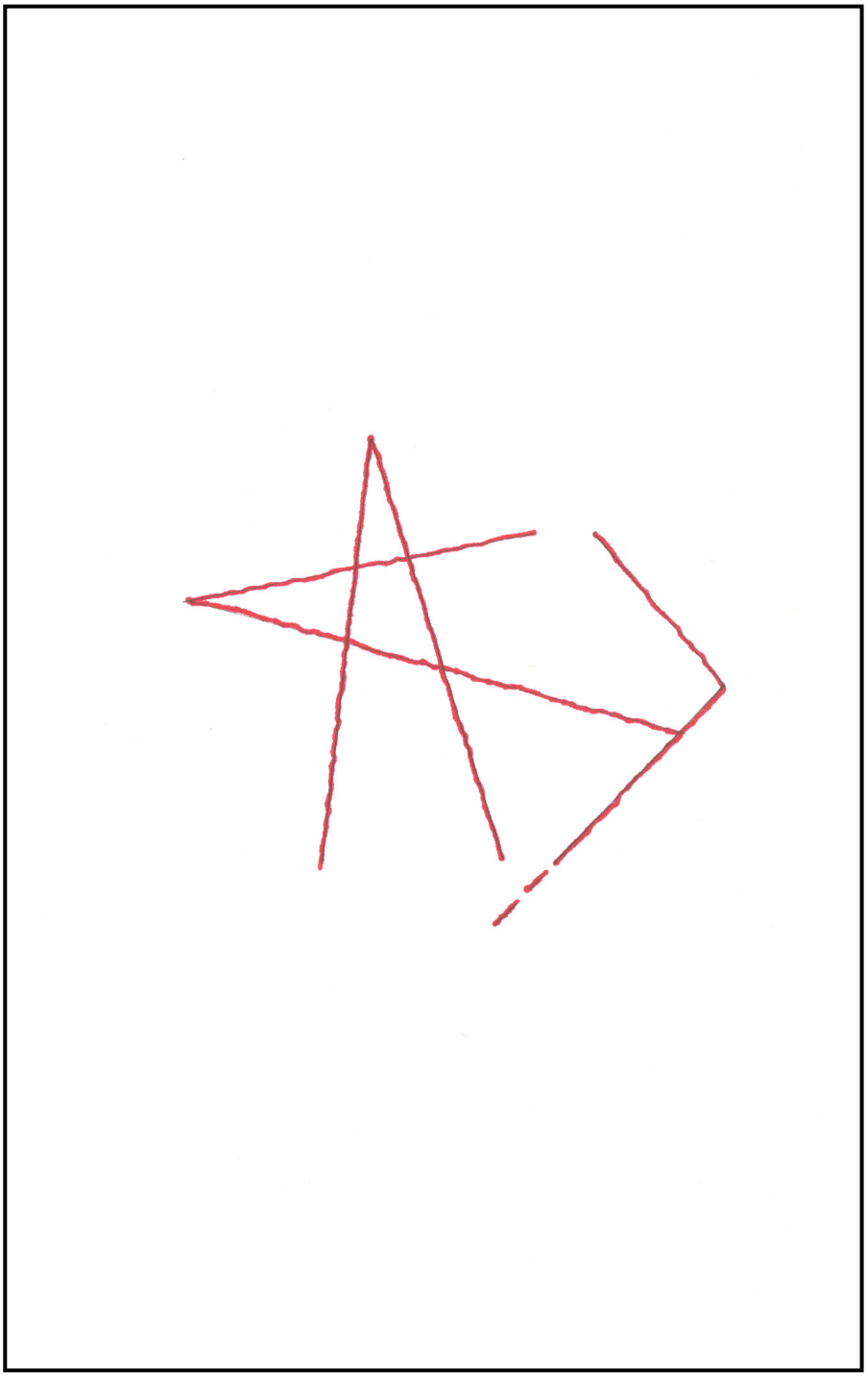


Fig. 5.11.a: The axes-scheme of the Dwelling Unit I in Terrace House II.
Fig. 5.11.b: The angle of vision from the leisure-oriented spaces of the Dwelling Unit I in Terrace House II *(transparent)*.



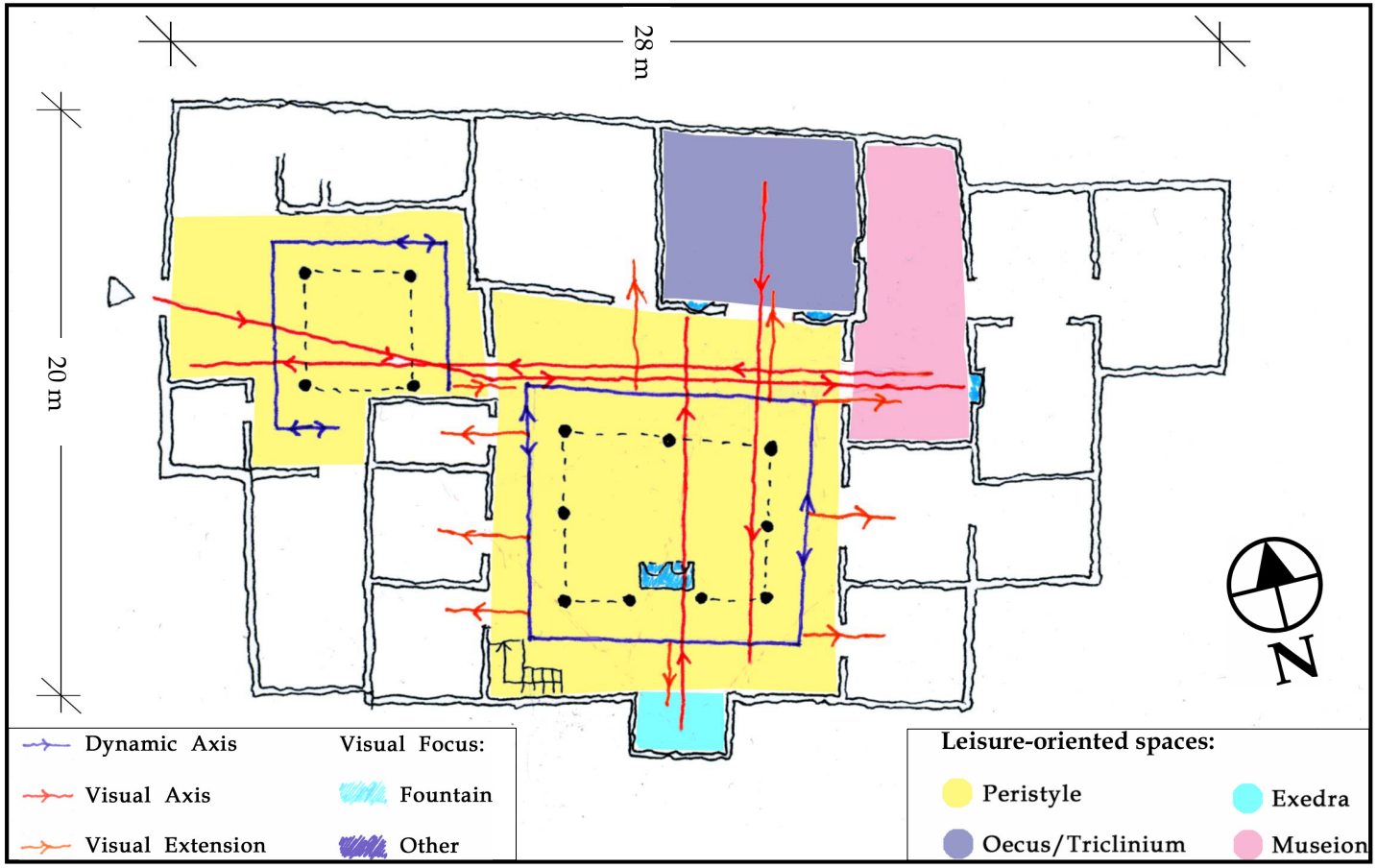
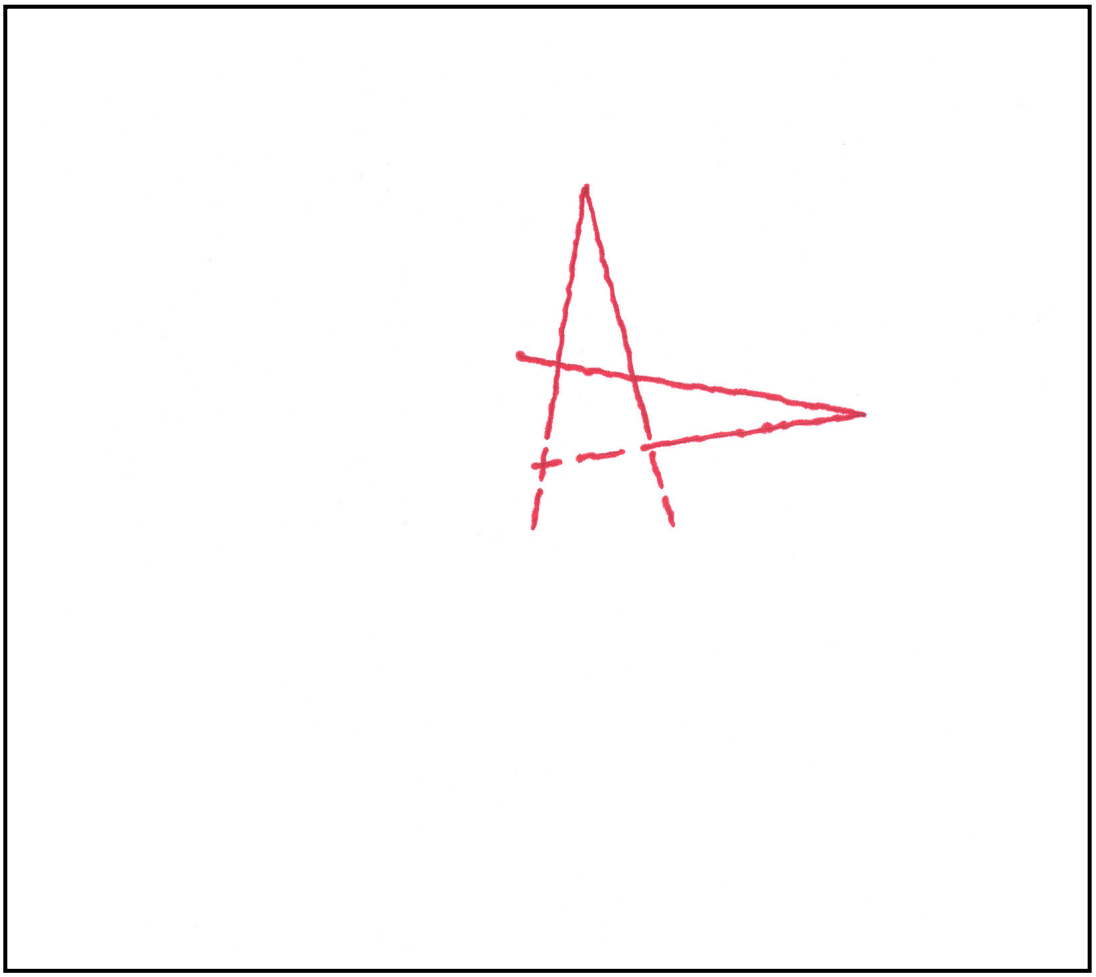


Fig. 5.12.a: The axes-scheme of the Dwelling Unit II in Terrace House II.
Fig. 5.12.b: The angle of vision from the leisure-oriented spaces of the Dwelling Unit II in Terrace House II *(transparent)*.



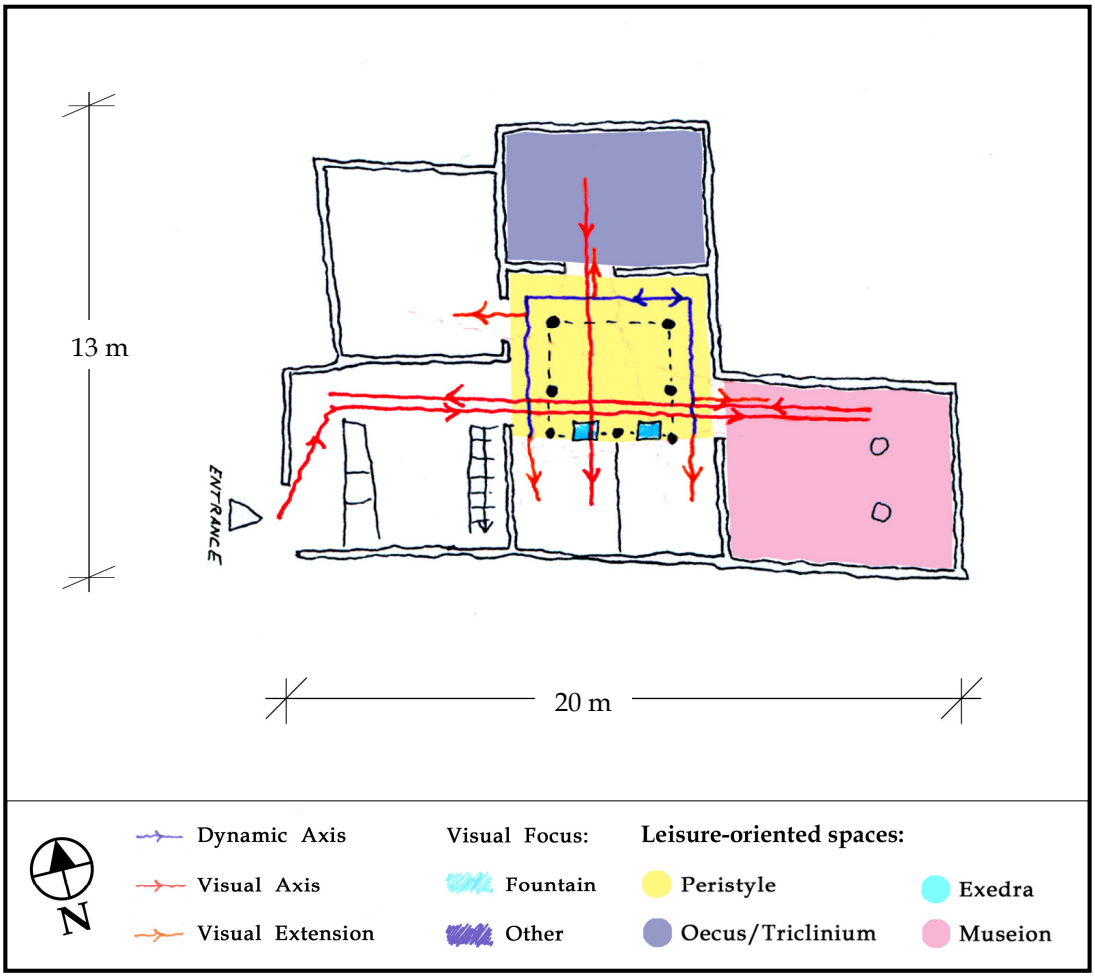
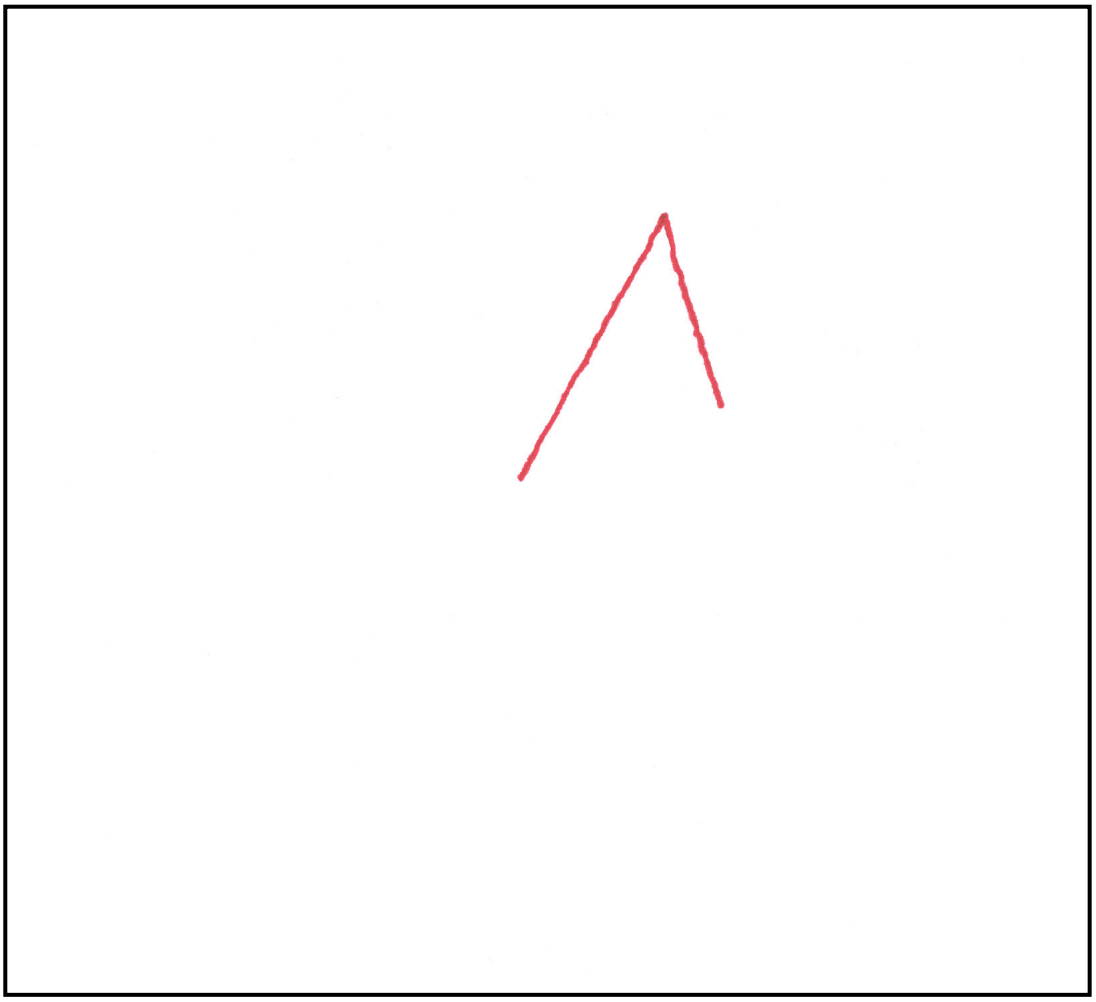


Fig. 5.13.a: The axes-scheme of the Dwelling Unit III in Terrace House II.
Fig. 5.13.b: The angle of vision from the leisure-oriented spaces of the Dwelling Unit III in Terrace House II *(transparent)*.



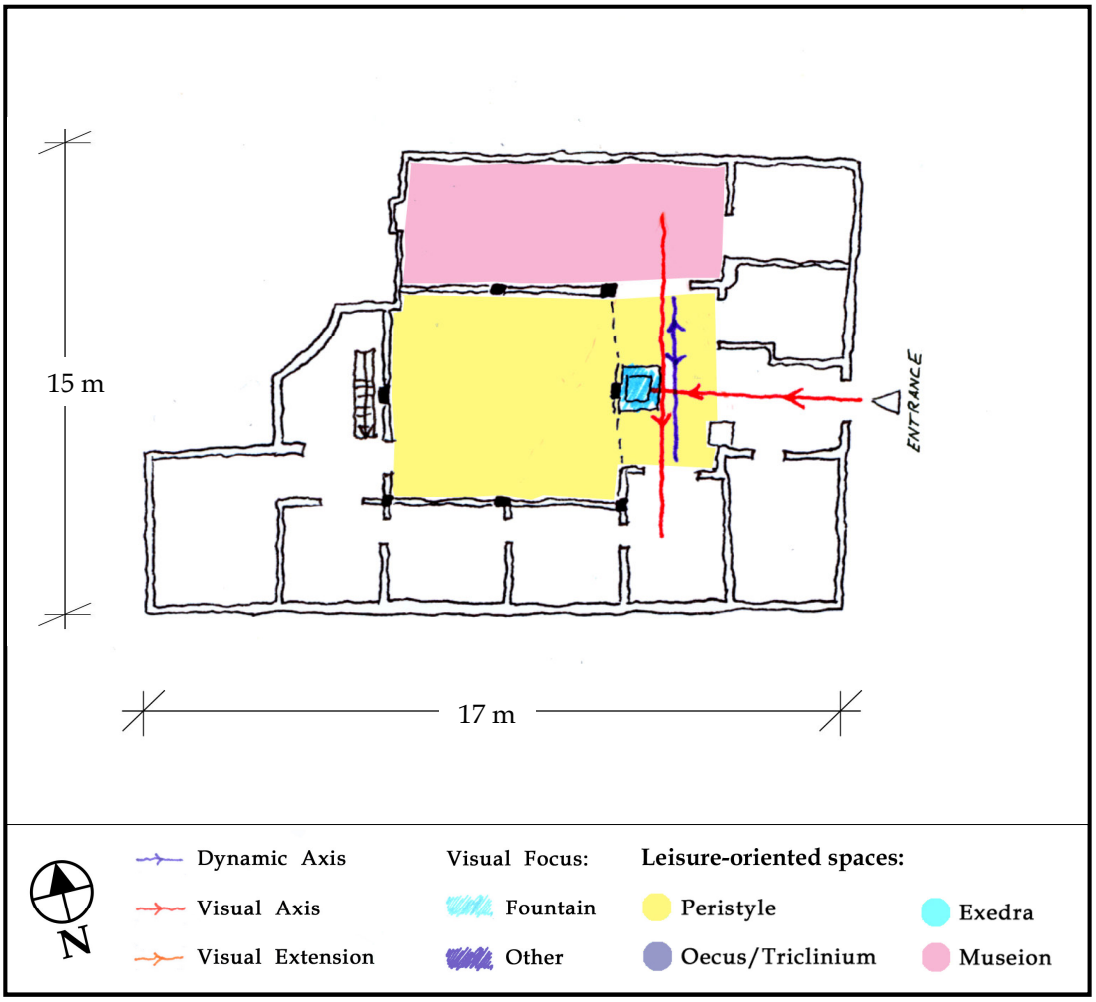
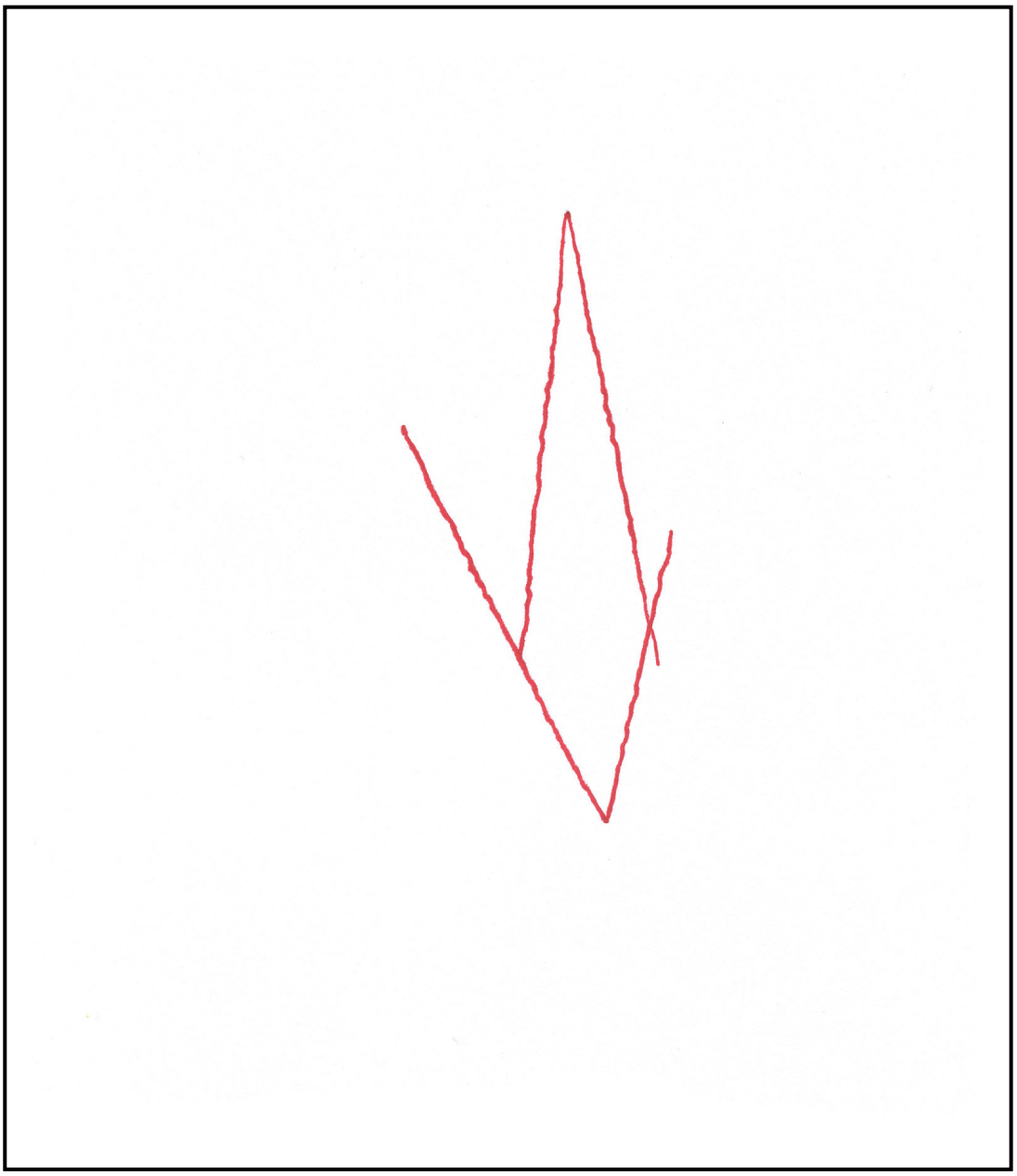


Fig. 5.14.a: The axes-scheme of the Dwelling Unit IV in Terrace House II.
Fig. 5.14.b: The angle of vision from the leisure-oriented spaces of the Dwelling Unit IV in Terrace House II *(transparent)*.



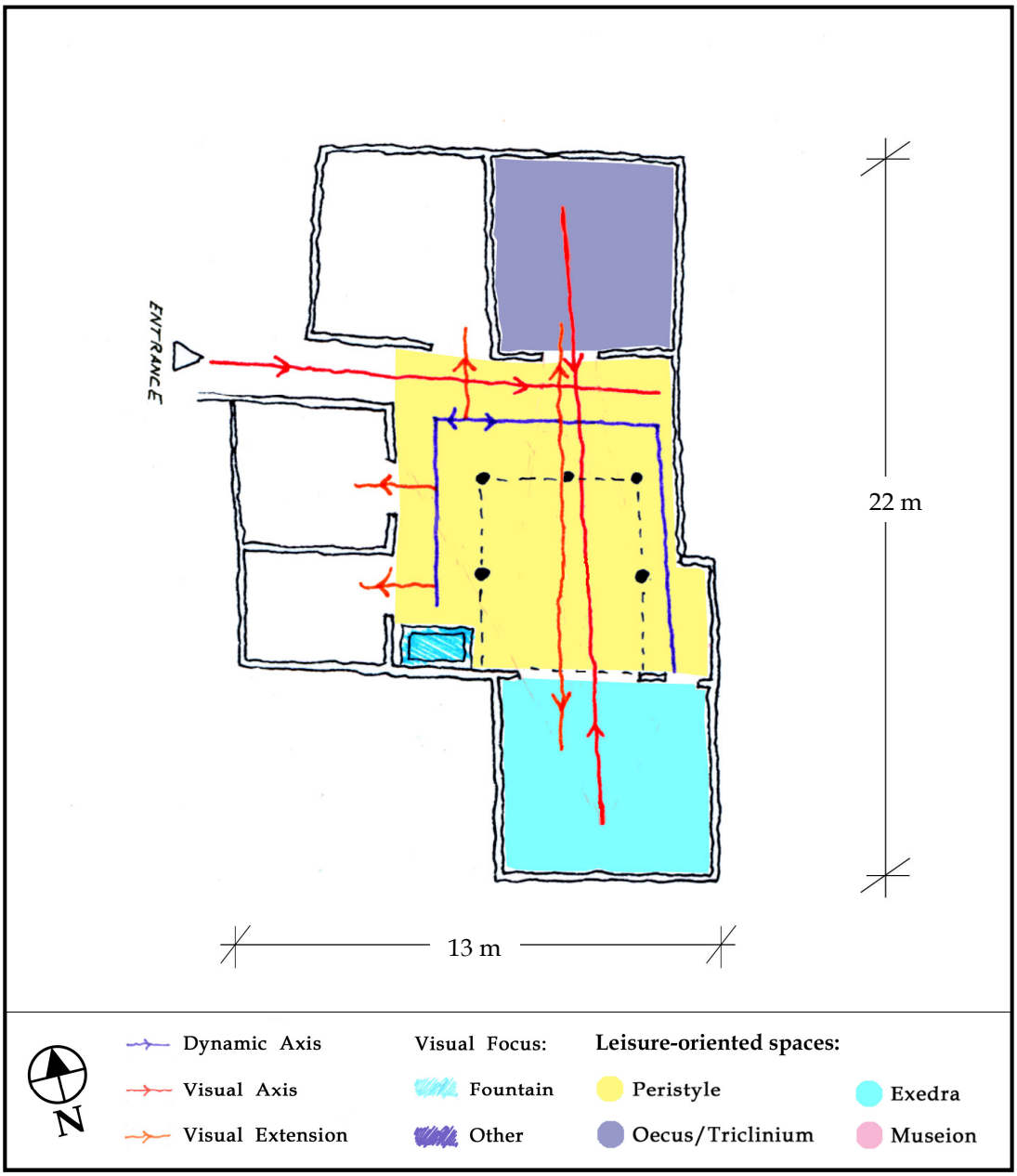
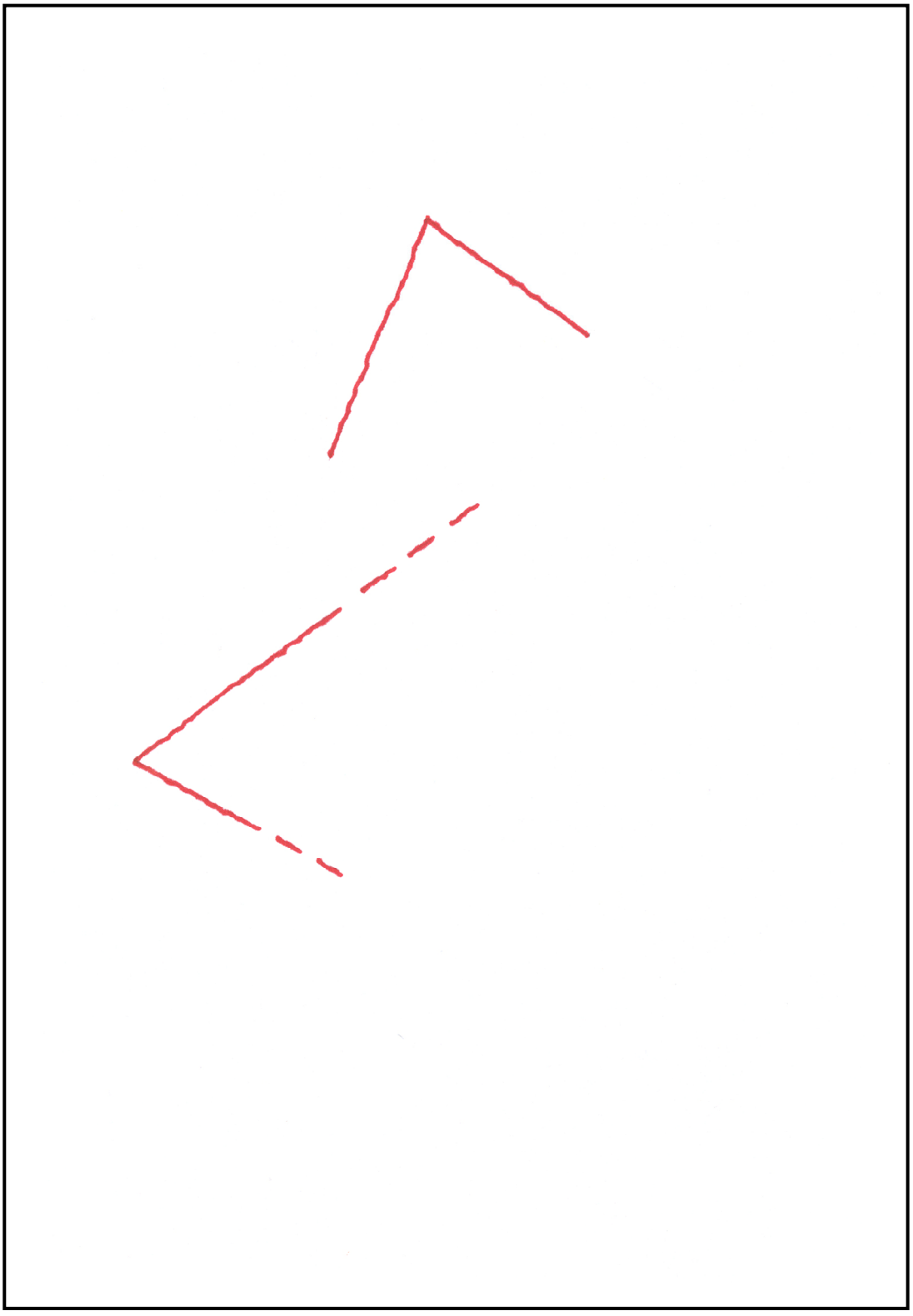


Fig. 5.15.a: The axes-scheme of the Dwelling Unit V in Terrace House II.
Fig. 5.15.b: The angle of vision from the leisure-oriented spaces of the Dwelling Unit V in Terrace House II *(transparent)*.



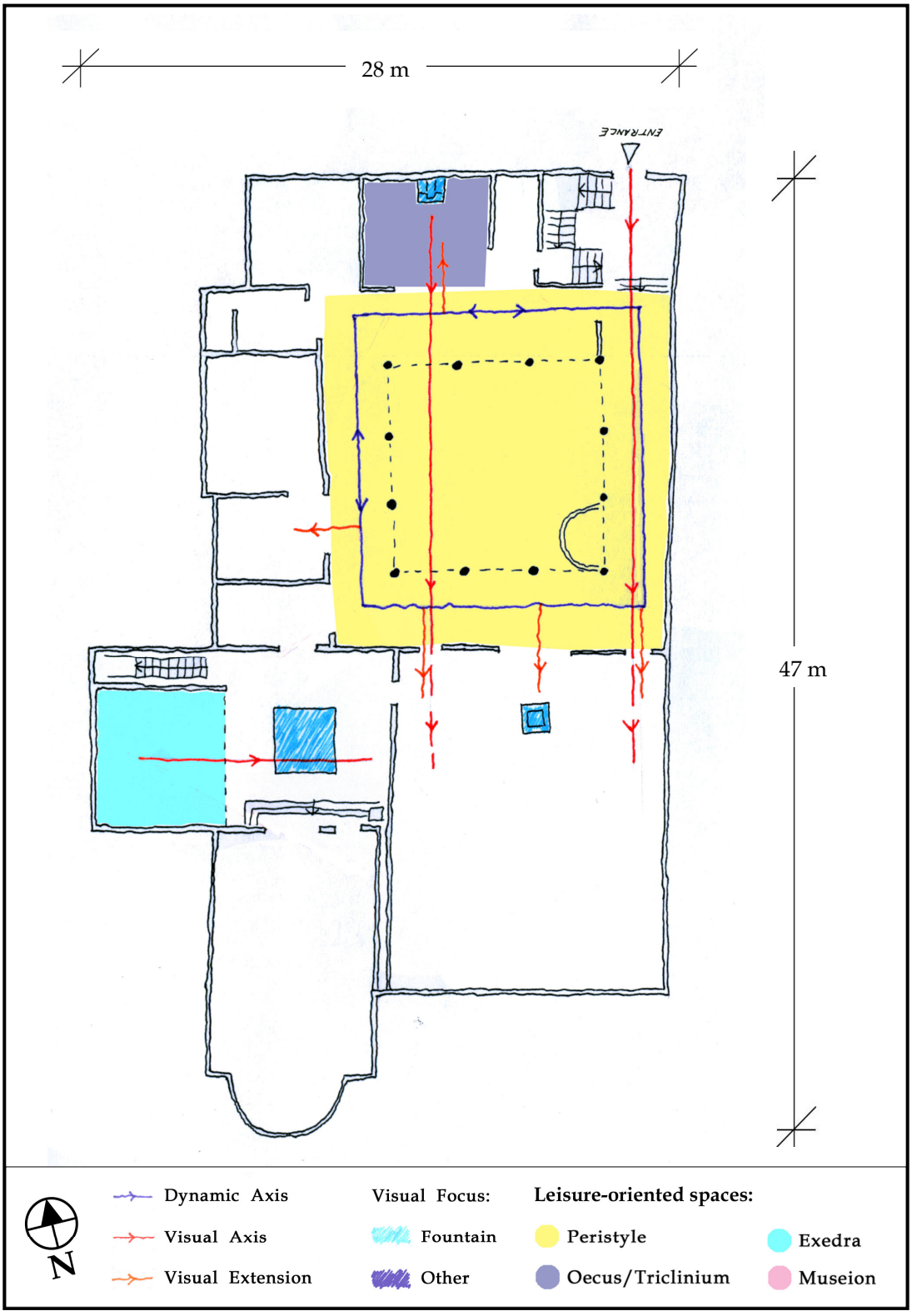
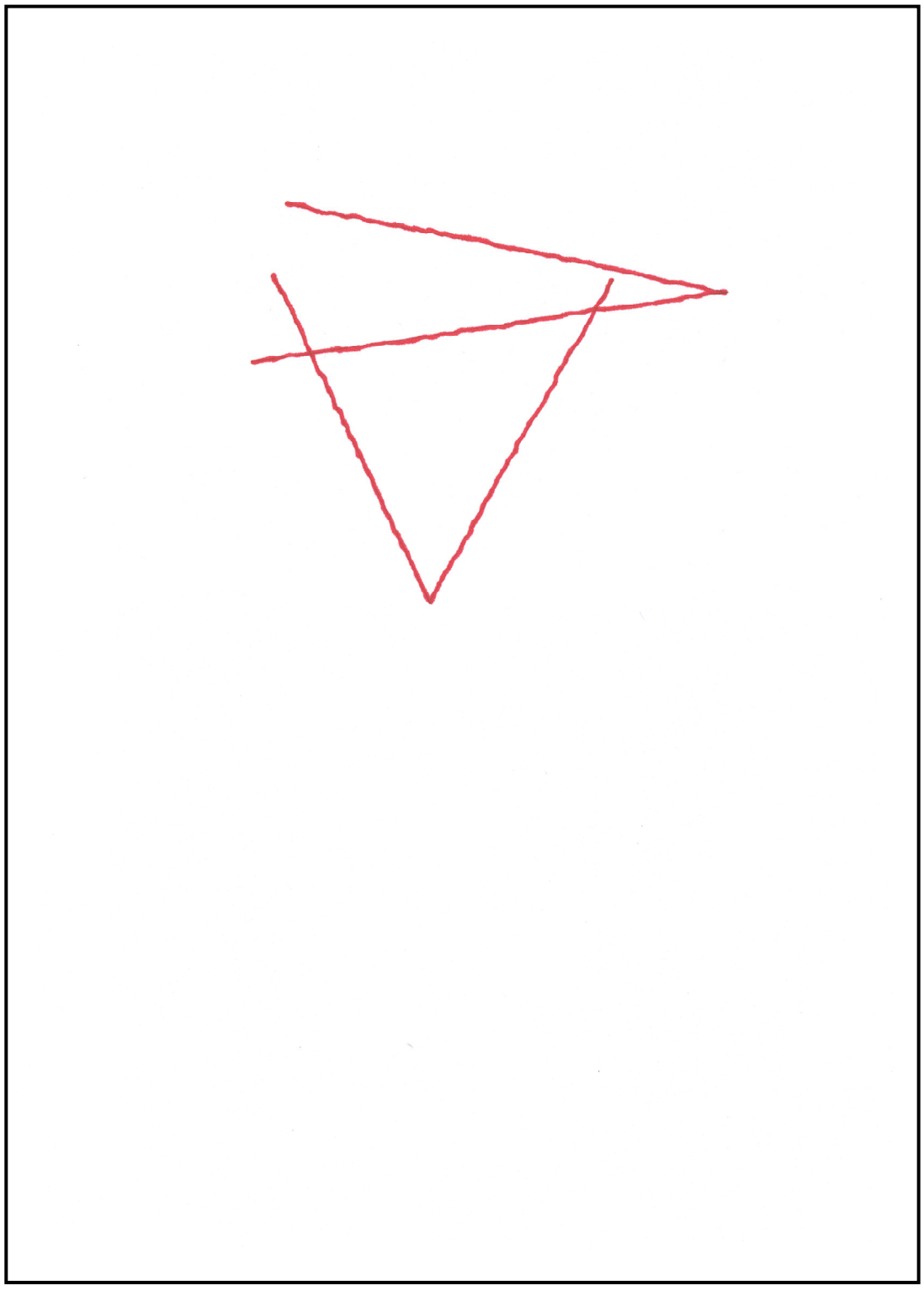


Fig. 5.16.a: The axes-scheme of the Dwelling Unit VI in Terrace House II.
Fig. 5.16.b: The angle of vision from the leisure-oriented spaces of the Dwelling Unit VI in Terrace House II *(transparent)*.



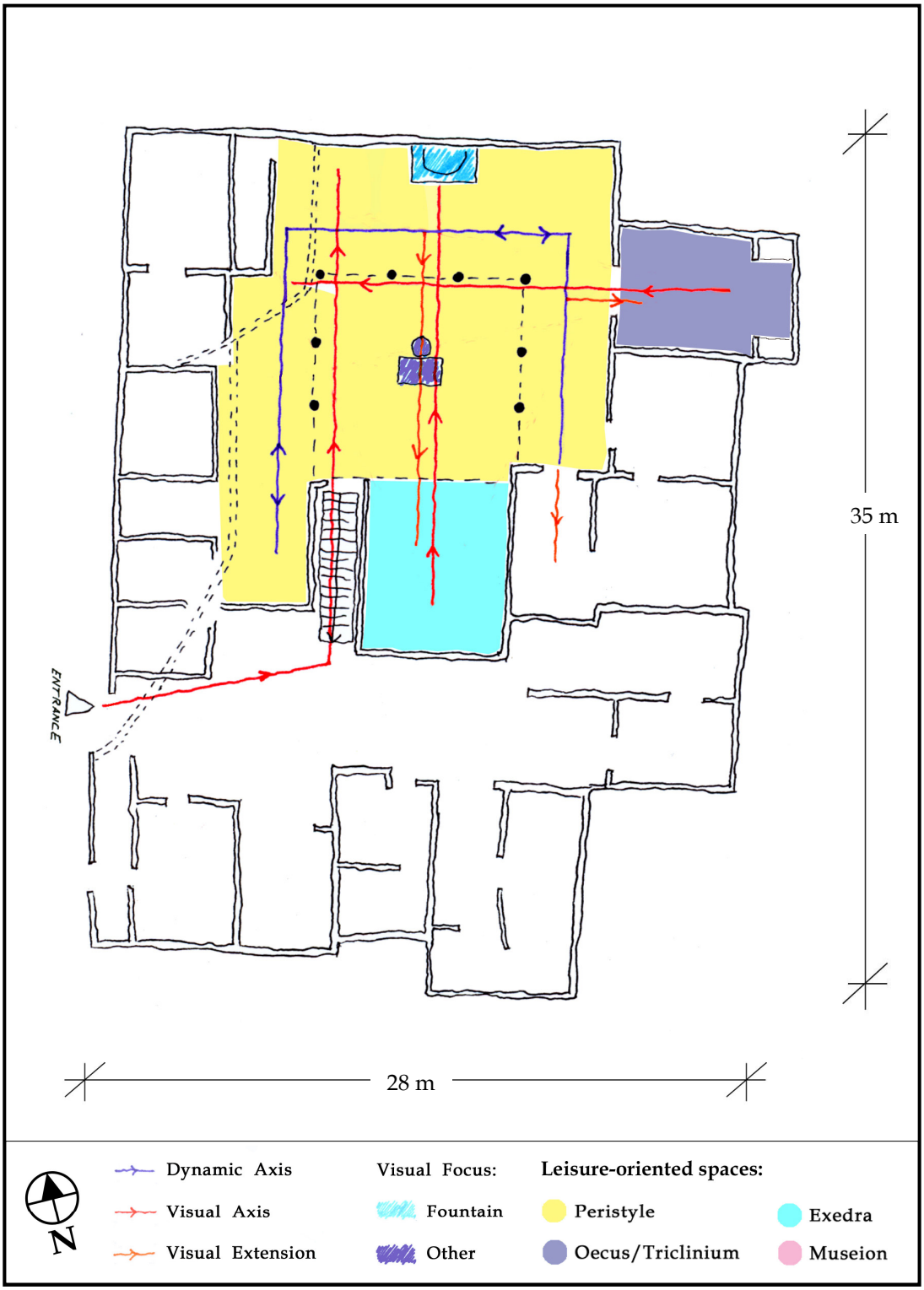
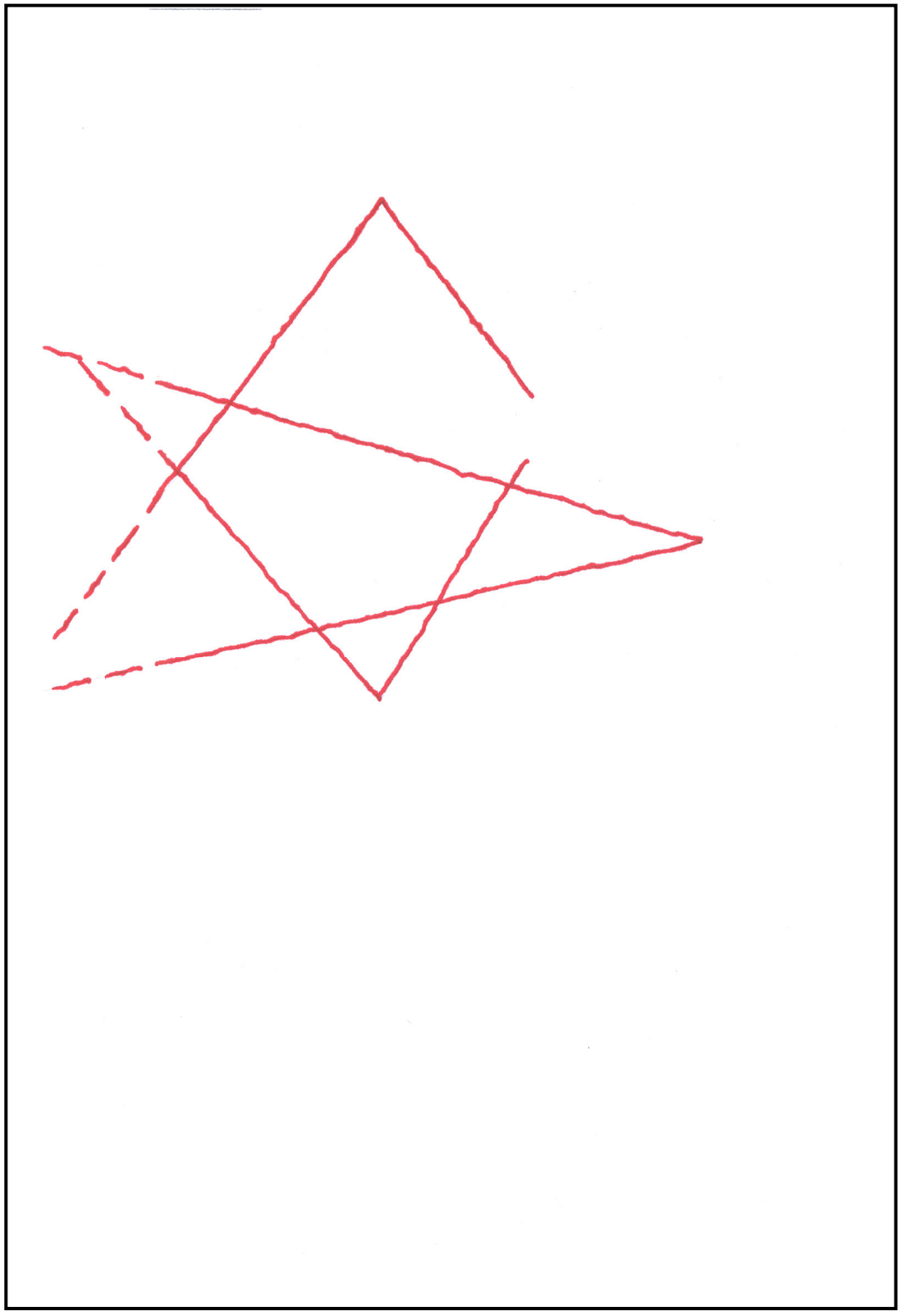


Fig. 5.17.a: The axes-scheme of the Dwelling Unit VII in Terrace House II.
Fig. 5.17.b: The angle of vision from the leisure-oriented spaces of the Dwelling Unit VII in Terrace House II *(transparent)*.



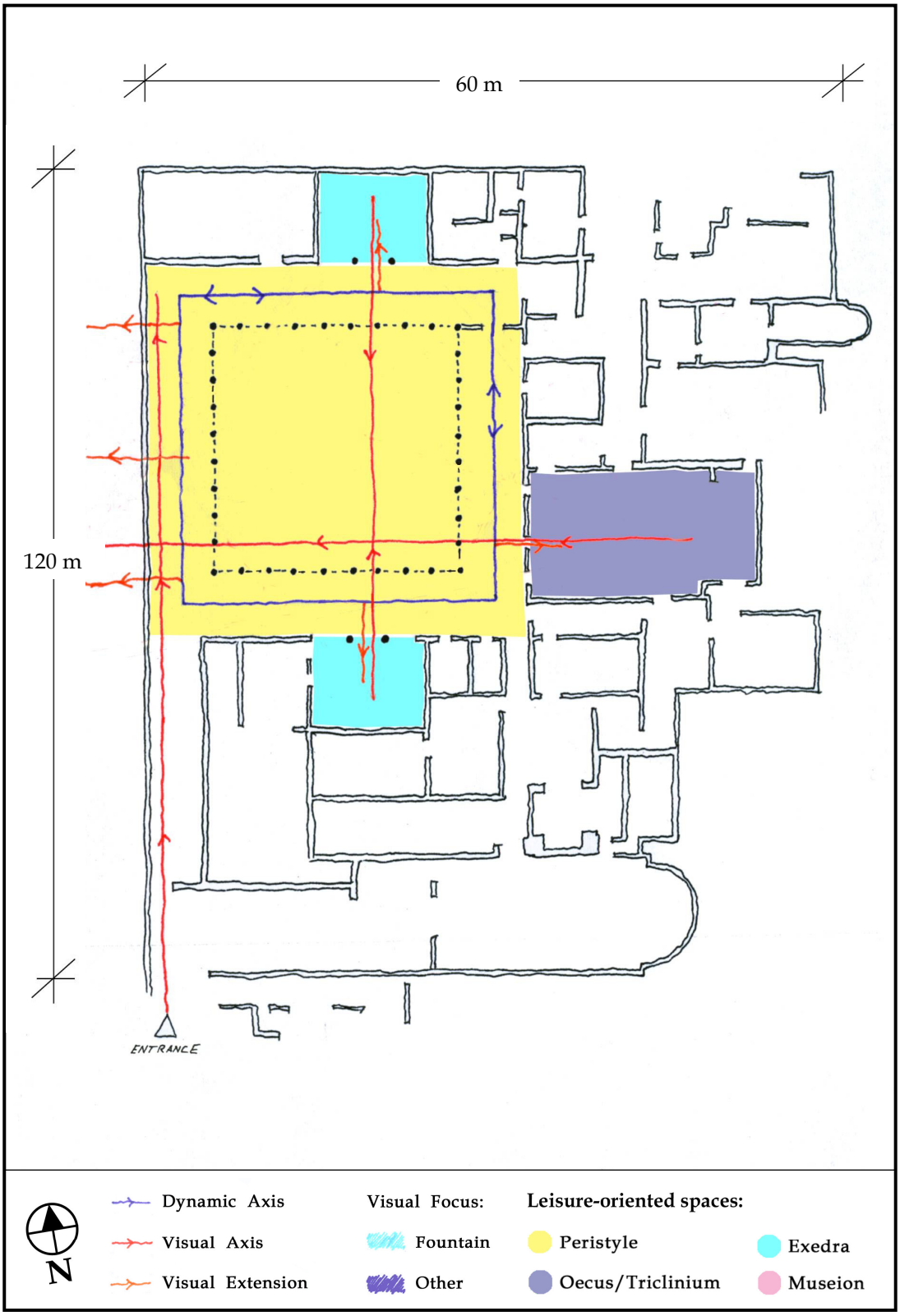


Fig. 5.18.a: The axes-scheme of the Palace above the Theater.
Fig. 5.18.b: The angle of vision from the leisure-oriented spaces of the Palace above the Theater *(transparent)*.

Appendix B: Plates

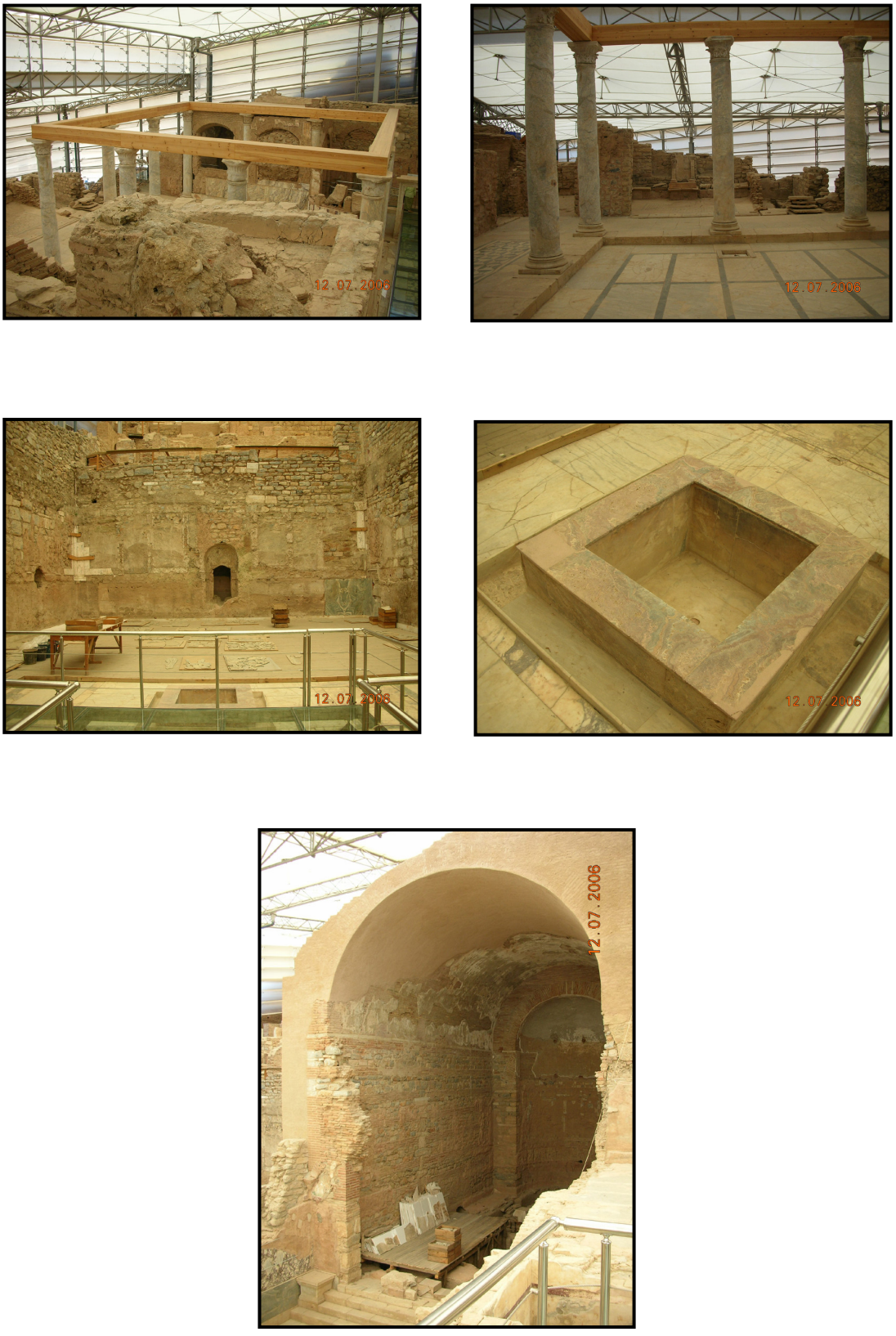
Pl. 1: The Dwelling Unit I in Terrace House II.

Pl. 2: The Dwelling Unit II in Terrace House II.

Pl. 3: The Dwelling Unit III in Terrace House II.

Pl. 4: The Dwelling Unit IV in Terrace House II.

Pl. 5: The Dwelling Unit V in Terrace House II.



Pl. 6: The Dwelling Unit VI in Terrace House II.

Pl. 7: The Dwelling Unit VII in Terrace House II.