

THE EVOLUTION OF THE ATRIUM-HOUSE: A COSMOPOLITAN
DWELLING IN ROMAN GREECE

In archaeological research little attention was traditionally paid to domestic space in Greece and it is only in the last decade or so that important works by L. Nevett, B. Ault and N. Cahill (among others) have drawn our attention to the rich evidence of Greek housing in the pre-Roman period¹. For the Roman period, however, there is a serious lacuna in the publication record, since the study of domestic space in Roman Greece, until recently, has been overlooked primarily for ideological reasons. This is largely the outcome of a long tradition of privileging the archaeology of eras preceding foreign occupation in the Aegean, whether under Roman or Ottoman rule. This state of affairs stands in direct contrast, on the other hand, to the numerous studies conducted on the Roman household in Western Europe². However, there is a growing interest in the study of this period as reflected in the significant number of publications that have appeared in the last few decades on various subject matters and, in particular, housing as demonstrated by the two recent works of P. Bonini and the author³.

In light of these scholarly activities, I wish to contribute to our knowledge of the complex form and function of domestic space in Roman Greece by focusing on a particular type of house plan, the *atrium* house, which I believe was introduced during the Late Republic, and by discussing the sociopolitical and cultural aspects that account for its presence in the Aegean world. There may be some reservations among scholarly circles of applying the term *atrium/impluvium* to a category of Roman period houses in this region that preserve a rectangular court embellished with a central orthogonal basin⁴. However, the sudden appearance of this plan during the Roman period along with the presence of Roman building techniques and adornment⁵, in a region where local variants of the courtyard house, the peristyle house and the veranda house (of non-courtyard and courtyard type) prevail, requires an explanation⁶.

¹ L. NEVETT, *House and Society in the Ancient Greek World* (Cambridge 1999); N. CAHILL, *Household and City Organization at Olynthus* (New Haven 2002); B. A. AULT – L. C. NEVETT (eds.), *Ancient Greek Houses and Households. Chronological, Regional, and Social Diversity* (Philadelphia 2005).

² K. PAINTER (ed.), *Roman Villas in Italy*, British Museum Occasional Paper 24 (London 1980); J. PERCIVAL, *The Villa in Italy and the Provinces*, in: J. WACHER, *The Roman World* (London 1987) 527–551; WALLACE-HADRILL 1994; I. M. BARTON (ed.), *Roman Domestic Buildings* (Exeter 1996); LAURENCE – WALLACE-HADRILL 1997; P. M. ALLISON, *Pompeian Households. An Analysis of Material Culture* (Los Angeles 2004); MARZANO 2007.

³ The National Hellenic Research Foundation on Greek and Roman Antiquities <<http://www.eie.gr/editions/editions-iera-gr.html>> and the Greek Archaeological Service have published numerous books on various topics of Roman Greece, including onomastics (TATAKI 2006; RIZAKI et al. 2004) and religion (M. KANTIRÉA, *Les Dieux et les Dieux Augustes: le culte impérial en Grèce sous les Julio-claudiens et les Flaviens: études épigraphiques et archéologiques*, *Meletemata* 50 [Athens 2007]). Important publications have also appeared by the Hellenic Ministry of Culture Archaeological Receipt Funds: D. V. GRAMMENOS (ed.), *Roman Thessaloniki* (Thessaloniki 2003) for Roman Thessaloniki and M. PETROPOULOS, *Τα εργαστήρια των Ρωμαϊκών λυχνιαρίων της Πάτρας και το Λυχνομαντέο* (Athens 1999) for Patras; for a catalogue of Roman housing in Greece from the 1st to the 6th c. AD see BONINI 2006; for an overview of housing from the 1st c. BC to the Herulian invasion in the Roman province of Achaea see PAPAIOANNOU 2007; for dissertations on the topic see SAID 2002 and PAPAIOANNOU 2003.

⁴ BONINI 2006, 188–191 considers these house types as part of the Hellenistic tradition, but influenced by Roman elements of design.

⁵ PAPAIOANNOU 2007, 354–359; BONINI 2006, 160. 190. 191.

⁶ For some representative examples of courtyard and peristyle houses, see E. WALTER-KARYDI, *The Greek House. The Rise of Noble Houses in Late Classical Times* (Athens 1998): for veranda houses (without a courtyard) at Petres and in rural areas of northern Greece, and the Aegean islands see P. ADAM-VELENI, *Πέτρεις* 1995. *Η συνοικία της κρήνης*, *AERgoMak* 9, 1995, 15–23; P. ADAM-VELENI, *Πέτρεις Φλώρινας: Δώδεκα χρόνια ανασκαφής*, *AERgoMak* 10, 1996, 6–10. For a veranda house with courtyard at Vergina see E.-B. TSGARIDA, *Ελληνικό σπίτι στη Βεργίνα*, 1992, *AERgoMak* 6, 1992, 85–91; E.-B. TSGARIDA – N. HADAD, *Ανασκαφική έρευνα στη Βεργίνα* 1993. *Ελληνιστικό σπίτι με εξώστη*, *AERgoMak* 7, 1993, 69–89.

In order to present a comprehensive evaluation of these domestic remains and to place them within the broader context of housing in the Roman Empire, a brief summary of current scholarship concerning the form and function of the *atrium* house in the West is necessary. Over the past decades our perception of the *atrium* house, commonly viewed as a model for the ideal Italic/Roman *domus*, has come under scrutiny by a number of scholars, who have drawn our attention to the problems associated with the traditional view of the *atrium* house⁷. From an architectural perspective, the term ›*atrium* house‹ is taken to consist of a central elongated court with an *impluvium* in the middle, covered by a compluviate or testudinate roof, surrounded by a series of rooms with an axially arranged entrance corridor at one end (*fauces*) and a *tablinum* at the opposite end with symmetrically arranged wings on either side defined as *alae* (fig. 1). This distribution of space, formulated by combing the textual evidence with the extant archaeological record from Pompeii and Herculaneum, consequently became the hallmark of the traditional Roman/Italic *domus*⁸; a concept which persists even today in handbooks of Roman Art and Archaeology⁹, despite the absence of uniformity that exists among these Campanian examples and the problems associated with integrating text and material remains¹⁰. As a result, readers are left with a false impression of the type of house prevalent in Italy between the 3rd and 1st c. BC¹¹.

Despite the controversies concerning the textual record, the archaeological remains confirm the presence of a comparable house type – at times with a dominant cruciform shaped *atrium* – from as early as the 6th c. BC in Rome (fig. 2) and Roselle. Later parallels from the 5th c. BC were excavated in the Etruscan cities of Marzabotto and Regae¹², while variations of this plan spread throughout Italy in the 3rd c. BC¹³.

Likewise, recent stratigraphic studies including restoration/conservation work on houses at Pompeii and Herculaneum, excavations at Cosa, Fregellae, Velia, Paestum – to name but a few – and most importantly ›archival excavations‹, which involve the careful scrutiny of earlier published and unpublished works, have also challenged our common perception of the *atrium* house in Italy. These studies reveal new types (or previously unacknowledged types) of *atrium* houses, such as the un-roofed *atrium*, with or without an *impluvium*, a *pseudo-atrium/impluvium* and the square-shaped *atrium* and *impluvium*, either tetrastyle or plain.

Recent investigations, for example, in the House of the Vestals at Pompeii (fig. 3) corroborate the findings of Nappo's earlier study of the row houses at Pompeii and Wallace-Hadrill's re-evaluation of the *atrium* house, and confirm the presence of the ›open *atrium*‹¹⁴. Such a house type, maintains Wallace-Hadrill, is

⁷ ALLISON 2006, 346 f.; WALLACE-HADRILL 1997, 220; WALLACE-HADRILL 1994, 84; LEACH 1997, 50 f.; DICKMANN 1999, 37–39.

⁸ WALLACE-HADRILL 1997, 219; LEACH 1997, 50–52.

⁹ N. H. RAMAGE – A. RAMAGE, *Roman Art. Romulus to Constantine* (Upper Saddle River 2005) 63 figs. 2. 4; KLEINER 2007, 32 fig. 3.2; 3.5, identifies them as plans of ›...a typical Roman house (*domus Italica*)...‹ of the 3rd to 1st c. BC.

¹⁰ TAMM 1973, 53–60, observed a lack of uniformity in the plan of the Pompeian *atrium* house where certain elements were not always present such as entrance corridors (*vestibula*), *impluvia*, cisterns beneath *impluvia*, *alae* or rooms around all four sides of the *atrium*. In addition, there was a variety in the proportions of the *atria* and *impluvia* from elongated rectangular forms to square or almost square dimensions, while in the House of Pansa at Pompeii, the *impluvium* has a niche; LEACH 1997, 53–55 summarizes these problems concerning the terminology in the written record. Words for example such as *alae* and *fauces* are found only in Vitruvius, all other authors use *exedrae* and *vestibulum* (Cic. de orat. 1, 45, 200); while the *vestibula* at Pompeii cannot accommodate the large number of clients mentioned in the literature. An important recent work on Vitruvius is L. CALLEBAT, *Vitruve. De l'architecture. Livre VI* (Paris 2004) XXV–XLVII translation and detailed commentary of book VI. He presents a critical synthesis of the ›ideal Roman Republican home‹ as prescribed by Augustan political propaganda, which according to D. M. MILLETTE, *Vitruvius Book VI*, JRA 19, 2006, 461–464 esp. 464 ›...is not describing architecture as it is; he (Vitruvius) is depicting it as he thinks it should be‹.

¹¹ The most representative house-type of the Roman world is not the *atrium*, but the peristyle or courtyard house of which the *atrium* is a variant and whose size relied upon a number of key factors such as the owner's wealth and status, the urban or rural setting and the function of the dwelling; cf. BERGMANN 2007, 226. 229.

¹² WALLACE-HADRILL 1997; GROS 2006, 33–37 figs. 15–21; A. CARANDINI, *La fattoria e la villa dell'Auditorium nel quartiere Flaminio di Roma* (Rome 2006); for Roselle see E. NIELSEN, *An atrium-House of the 6th Cent. BC at Roselle*, JRA 10, 1997, 323–326.

¹³ BERGMANN 2007, 226; at the auditorium site in Rome, the *atrium* from a simple courtyard was transformed into a cruciform *atrium* in the 3rd c. BC, but the *impluvium* was added later, TERRENATO 2001, 10. 11.

¹⁴ For the House of the Vestals at Pompeii, JONES – ROBINSON 2004, 112 n.2; 123, observed that initially the open courtyard in the front was transformed into an *atrium* with the addition of a cistern which ›implies‹ that an *impluvium* was added and ›by inference a compluviate roof‹; for the Villa at Grottavossa see TERRENATO 2001, 12 fig. 11; WALLACE-HADRILL 1997 mentions numerous examples; In his stratigraphic examination of the Pompeian row houses (dating to the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 2nd c. BC) NAPPO 1997, 99–113 fig. 6. 11. 14. 17 reveals plans of open courtyard structures – not roofed as previously thought – with an *impluvium* added at a subsequent phase, i.e. House type 4 (1, 20, 4).

not a recent discovery, but one which was proposed by Maiuri years ago in his published stratigraphic studies and in unpublished lecture notes of the Casa del Chirurgo¹⁵. In fact, examples of open courtyards with *impluvia* possibly appear as early as the 5th c. BC at Marzabotto¹⁶, while later examples are found in the 3rd c. BC – House of the Skeleton from Cosa and in the Pompeian Row houses¹⁷. In the earlier publications however, both the Pompeian Row houses and the House of the Skeleton were believed to have been covered with a testudinate roof since the concept of an unroofed *atrium* was not acceptable. Wallace-Hadrill, in fact, comments on these conservative attitudes by observing that »so strong is this link between ›atrium‹ and roof that when houses have unroofed central courts they are not described by modern scholars as ›atria‹; indeed, the word is not generally applied except to houses with the characteristic ›compluvium/impluvium‹ pattern, though this has little warrant in Latin usage«¹⁸.

In addition to these open *atrium* house-types, the presence of what Jones and Robinson have termed a *pseudo-atrium/impluvium* is also of particular interest. In the more private quarters of the House of the Vestals at Pompeii, the courtyard section to the north was transformed into an *atrium* during the 1st c. AD¹⁹. The installation of a pool with a fountain in the court, later altered into a simple basin (*impluvium*), »...was designed just to give the impression of a traditional *atrium*...[and] to give contemporary visitors the illusion of the traditional architectural form. It played the same trick on modern archaeologists until the excavation evidence was revealed...«²⁰. This observation of an element previously unacknowledged in the archaeology of domestic space will serve as an important tool in our understanding of the *atrium* house in the provinces.

Not only is the notion of an unroofed *atrium* or *pseudo-atrium* novel, but also any deviation from what is taken to be its standard shape, an elongated rectangular form, was also questioned. A classic example is the plan of the House of the Skeleton at Cosa (fig. 4), which was considered atypical on account of its equal sided *atrium* (17.5 × 17.5m), the absence of axial planning between the *fauces-impluvium/atrium-tablinum*, and the off-centre position of the square *impluvium* within the court²¹.

Similar deviations from the standard, elongated form of the *atrium* plan are also documented at a number of South Italian (Elea-Velia, Paestum) and Sicilian sites, where in many of the pre-existing *insulae* of these former Greek colonies domestic remains were transformed into Roman *atrium* houses during the late Republic²². At Elea-Velia, the central courtyard of the Casa degli Affreschi became a tetrastyle *atrium* with an *impluvium* accompanied by a cistern beneath it for the collection of rainwater (fig. 5)²³. However, the disposition of rooms around the square *atrium/impluvium* clearly reflect the more centralized Hellenic plan of its predecessor, with the entrance vestibule off to one side (10) and the presence of a so-called *oecus* (3, 6), while the very large *impluvium* is not of canonical type and is positioned off-centre in relationship to the court. This transformation of the House of the Affreschi »from a Hellenistic dwelling in conception to a Roman house in articulation and decoration«²⁴ as expressed by Cicala, is also documented at other sites²⁵.

¹⁵ WALLACE-HADRILL 1997, 224–226.

¹⁶ WALLACE-HADRILL 1997, 233 f. There is a debate concerning the type of roofing system due to the presence of the inward sloping roof tiles which are suitable for both a compluviate but also for the corners of an inward sloping roof around an open court.

¹⁷ WALLACE-HADRILL 1997, 228 f. fig. 3. This is suggested by the evidence of the drip lines from the eaves of the roof surrounding the court with a central *impluvium*; BRUNO – SCOTT 1993, 139 fig. 3 avoid the use of the term ›open *atrium*‹; NAPPO 1997, 100–115.

¹⁸ WALLACE-HADRILL 1997, 220.

¹⁹ JONES – ROBINSON 2004, 116. 118. 121. In the AD 20s a pool and fountain were added in the centre of the court with a drain, while after 62 AD the fountain was removed and a brick wall constructed creating a simple *impluvium* (*pseudo-impluvium*) that lacked a cistern but had a drain for the removal of water.

²⁰ JONES–ROBINSON 2004, 124; one of the *atrium* courts in the house of Caecilius Iucundus at Pompeii also has an *impluvium* with no cistern beneath it, instead a drain directed water to the street. I thank A. Karivieri for pointing this out to me when I visited the site in 2005.

²¹ WALLACE-HADRILL 1997, 228.

²² HOLLEGAARD et al. 1995, 252.

²³ The Roman phase of the house dates from the beginning of the 2nd c. BC to the end of the 1st c. AD; for the date of these modifications and the reuse of earlier materials, including walls of rectangular limestone blocks, brick tiles, etc., see CICALA – FIAMMENGHI – VECCHIO 2003, 177. 178. 180–188. Earlier Greek houses date from the 1st half of the 5th to the end of the 3rd c. BC.

²⁴ CICALA – FIAMMENGHI – VECCHIO 2003, 102.

²⁵ CICALA – FIAMMENGHI – VECCHIO 2003, 179 fig. 4; 182 n. 22. This is the first Hellenistic-Roman habitation that has been investigated systematically in the last decades. Characteristic elements of the reorganization of space during the Roman period and fusion of

At Paestum, for example, there is a variety in the layout of the *atrium* house. Houses A and B (fig. 6) conform more to the elongated *atrium* house of Pompeian type with an emphasis placed on the disposition of rooms along a central axis; House A has an entrance/*fauces-impluvium*, while House B includes a *tablinum*, *alae* and peristyle. Houses C (fig. 7) and E (fig. 8), on the other hand, deviate from this formation as they combine more or less equal-sided tetrastyle *atria*, which are framed by rooms that reflect a more centralized Hellenic design²⁶, with the tripartite configuration of *tablinum* and side rooms, and additional courts that are not always axially aligned²⁷. House C, for example, has a simple *atrium* (2) that does not align with the main tetrastyle court, while House E has a second tetrastyle *atrium* positioned along the axis created by the *tablinum* (8) – tetrastyle *atrium* (2) – and *fauces* (1) in accordance with Roman axial planning²⁸.

Likewise, in Sicily during the Late Republic domestic remains from earlier pre-Roman settlements (Agrigentum, Lilybaeum and Tyndaris) were transformed into *atrium* houses with multiple courts, often accompanied by a second court of a peristyle type, or in some instances even a third courtyard, a practice common during the late Republic²⁹. In particular, the Casa del Atrio Tetrastilio from Agrigentum (fig. 9)³⁰, the Casa Capo Boeo at Lilybaeum (fig. 10) and the Casa di Leda at Solunto (fig. 11) can be grouped into the category of square (or almost square) type tetrastyle *atria* (or peristyle-*atrium* in the example from Solunto) framed by rooms clustered in a variety of configurations, including a tripartite cluster consisting of a *tablinum* and side rooms located opposite the entranceway (Fig 11, rooms 3. 5. 6)³¹. Moreover, there is an interest in Roman axial planning³², as documented by the *atrium*-double *tablinum*-peristyle arrangement found in the Casa del Atrio Tetrastilio (fig. 9) and the *vestibulum-atrium-tablinum* from the Casa di Leda at Solunto (fig. 11).

Turning to northern Italy, especially Northeastern Italy, where the *atrium* appears in the late Republican and early Imperial periods and continues in use during the Empire, the study of domestic remains is somewhat problematic given the fragmentary nature of these structures. Despite these limitations, however, evidence from Este 1 and Luni 2 (figs. 12. 13) reveals a variety in the *atrium* plan – with the placement of *atria* along a side axis, or the absence of *alae* – that does not conform to the standard Pompeian model³³. Analogous variations are also documented among the Republican villas in Central Italy, where an *atrium* and *impluvium* were often inserted at a later date, during the Imperial period, as for example in the Villa along

two cultures are especially evident in the dwellings from the Quartiere Meridionale and the Quartier del Vignale.

²⁶ Cf. LEMAIRE – ROBERT – BRAGANTINI 2000, 159 f. figs. 3. 5. 10. The authors question whether House C should be acknowledged as an *atrium* (tetrastyle) house; these structures date to the Late Republican-Early Imperial period as suggested by wall construction and mosaic pavements, after LEMAIRE – ROBERT – BRAGANTINI 2000, 164. For a recent re-evaluation of remains at Paestum see I. BRAGANTINI – R. DE BONIS – A. LEMAIRE – R. ROBERT, *Les maisons romaines de l'ilot nord, Poseidonia-Paestum 5 = CEFR 42, 5* (Rome 2008).

²⁷ The tripartite arrangement of rooms off one side of the court is not exclusive to the *atrium* house, but is also found in the examples of peristyle houses at Pergamon, see U. WULF-RHEIDT, *The Hellenistic and Roman Houses of Pergamon*, in: H. KOESTER (ed.) *Pergamon, Citadel of the Gods* (Harrisburg 1998) 299–330 esp. 329 fig. 16, where the central room, a dining area, has a larger and more monumental entrance. In the case of the *atrium* house however, the central room is a *tablinum*.

²⁸ The *atrium/impluvium* court of the main entrance of House C aligns with the entrance and *tablinum* (1-2-5) but not with the large tetrastyle court (9) which lies adjacent to it.

²⁹ HOLLEGAARD et al. 1995, 252; Akragas/Agrigentum (Greek colony of the 6th c. BC) was conquered by the Romans in 210 BC. Remains in the so called Hellenistic-Romano section date to the 2nd c. BC, HOLLEGAARD et al. 1995, 217.

³⁰ The *atrium* measures 11.60 × 12.40 m, HOLLEGAARD et al. 1995, 220–222 fig. 6. The Casa della Gazella is a large Hellenistic house which was modified into two dwellings during Roman times (2nd c. BC). One of these has an almost square (11.50 × 13.50 m) peristyle *atrium* with 3 by 3 columns, a somewhat oddly positioned stepped entrance corridor at the northeast corner of the *atrium* and rooms towards the north, south and east sides, HOLLEGAARD et al. 1995, 223 f. Cf. also R. WILSON, *Sicily Under the Roman Empire: The Archaeology of a Roman Province 36 BC – AD 535* (Warminster 1990) 115 f. (for Agrigento), 120 f. (for Solunto), 123 f. (for Lilybaeum).

³¹ The *atrium* of the Casa di Leda measures (12.0 × 12.0 m). For Solunto see HOLLEGAARD et al. 1995, 238 f. fig. 13a. b; for Lilybaeum, HOLLEGAARD et al. 1995, 226 fig. 8. Within the *insula* Campione at Salunto there appear to be two additional tetrastyle *atria*.

³² HOLLEGAARD et al. 1995, 229. 254. The House in Via Sibilla/Via S. Lorenzo has a tetrastyle *atrium* and *impluvium* (3.4 × 3.4 m), while House B is an example of a peristyle transformed into an *atrium* with the addition of an *impluvium*.

³³ GEORGE 1997, 4. 5. Emphasis, however, is given to a central axis with the alignment of *fauces-atrium-tablinum*; a survey of the dates for the other *atria* include Ventimiglia, ca. 100 AD (there is no supportive evidence for this date though), Luni 2 (first phase late Republican and second phase 40 AD), Aosta and Brescia 8 (2nd c. AD).

the Via Gabina³⁴. In many instances the *atria* (tetrastyle or plain) and *impluvia* were square or squarish³⁵, or of irregular plan³⁶, at times surrounded by a random distribution of rooms with no formal entrance hall, *tablinum* and *alae*, or signs of axial planning (fig. 14)³⁷. In fact, the arrangement of rooms does not resemble that associated with the standard version of the Pompeian house. An even more intriguing case is the pillared *atrium* from a maritime villa at Circeo, Villetta, which had a rather ›odd *impluvium*‹ framed by a channel that directed water to a cistern below³⁸.

Likewise, beyond the Italian mainland, recent publications on domestic space from excavated sites in the western provinces of Gaul and Spain attest to the strong presence of the *atrium* house in these regions which developed primarily during the Augustan period³⁹. Arguably the examples from the West may not be as numerous as those found in Italy, but nonetheless comparable variations exist within these house-types that reflect the variety found in the *atrium* house in Italy.

In Gaul, this diversity is reflected in a number of examples which follow a more traditional Italic form with the presence of *atrium/tablinum/alae*, as identified in the house from Bibracte (ca. 30 BC)⁴⁰, while others reflect anachronistic tastes, in which only selective elements of the ›traditional‹ Italic plan were used. For example, at Conimbriga, the focal point of the dwelling is the irregular shaped tetrastyle *atrium*, with no *tablinum* or *alae*; it is surrounded by rooms which lack any formal Italic distribution and bears a strong resemblance to Greek courtyard houses (fig. 15)⁴¹. A second element is the *pseudo-impluvium*, added during the 1st c. AD in the house at Conimbriga and the House of Atys in Gaul (fig. 16), which served to collect and direct water via a drain to the street; while a third anachronistic element is the use of the *atrium* as a grand entrance vestibule/foyer as observed in the Maison au Dauphin from Vaison-la-Romaine (fig. 17)⁴². In this example, the *atrium* was accessed directly from the street and was surrounded by a limited number of rooms, which were primarily located opposite the entrance-way and connected the *atrium* with the rest of the household, an arrangement also found in the Casa del Atrio Tetrastilio in Sicily (fig. 9).

As documented in the examples from the Italian mainland, the *atrium* does not always have an elongated form and may be square or almost square as observed in the House of the Atrium and Peristyle from Cologne

³⁴ See MARZANO 2007, for a catalogue of villa sites with plans and a brief outline; for the villa along the Via Gabina see W. WIDRIG, Two Sites on the Ancient Via Gabina, in: PAINTER 1980, 119–140 esp. 123 f. figs. 3–5, MARZANO 2007, 642 f. fig. L373 and PAPAIOANNOU 2007, 354 where an error was made by including the villa at San Giovanni (A. M. SMALL, San Giovanni di Ruoti: Some problems in the interpretation of the structures, in: K. PAINTER [ed.], Roman Villas in Italy, British Museum Occasional Paper 24 [London 1980] 91–106 esp. 91. 100 fig. 3) into this category and identifying as an *impluvium* the orthogonal tank inserted into the centre of the villa's courtyard, which Small describes as tank of unknown function.

³⁵ Villa Mastrella at Anzio (2nd c. AD, but there are also pre-existing remains of the late Republican or Augustan [?] period), cf. MARZANO 2007, 268 fig. L14; Pian della Civita at Ardena, MARZANO 2007, 270 fig. L16; Casale Ghella, Suburbium (1st c. BC to Late Imperial period), MARZANO 2007, 476 fig. L202; Cecchignola, Suburbium (*atrium* 2nd/1st c. BC) MARZANO 2007, 484 fig. L207; Suburbium, Centocelle, Villa of the Piscina, MARZANO 2007, 488 fig. L210; Fosso S. Maura, Suburbium (2nd c. BC), MARZANO 2007, 502 fig. 217. Prima Porta: Valle Lunga, Suburbium (mid-1st c. BC, while columns of the *atrium* date to 1st/2nd c. AD), MARZANO 2007, 524 fig. L233. In all the above examples, the distribution of rooms does not follow the plan of a standard Pompeian house; for a square *impluvium* with four supports see Domus VI 7,20,21 at Pompeii, in DICKMANN 1999, 65 fig. 12.

³⁶ The villa at Fosso di Montegiardino, Suburbium (2nd c. AD), MARZANO 2007, 498 fig. L217.

³⁷ Villa Procoio Nuovo, Latium (fig. 14) (late 2nd /early 1st c. BC), Latium, MARZANO 2007, 438 fig. L172.

³⁸ MARZANO 2007, 350. 351 fig. L90b.

³⁹ ELLIS 2000, 28.

⁴⁰ C. GOUDINEAU – C. PEYRE, Bibracte et les Eduens. À la découverte du peuple galois (Paris 1993) 51–80. At Bibracte, a pan-Gallic centre, primarily courtyard houses (ca. 30 BC) were excavated; another example of this house type is the House of the Clos de Lambarde from Narbonne with the characteristic Republican axial arrangement of vestibule, *atrium-tablinum*-peristyle (but no *alae*), which VIPARD 2007, 245 f. fig. 8 dates to 20–30 AD while GROS 2006, 150 fig. 151 prefers the early years of Augustus' principate and assigns it to a well-to-do class, familiar with the ›canonical Pompeian domestic plan‹.

⁴¹ GROS 2006, 206 f. fig. 230. The rooms are of irregular shape on account of the shape of the *insula*; in the House of Atys (fig. 16) the tetrastyle *atrium/impluvium* was added in the second half of the 1st c. AD. Absent are the *alae*, while the reception room at the northern end with a bi-columnar façade has an irregular shape due to the shape of the plot and pre-existing structures, see C. GOUDINEAU, Les fouilles de la Maison du Dauphin à Vaison-la-Romaine, Gallia Suppl. 37 (Paris 1979); GROS 2006, 156 dates the initial phase to 40–30 BC. A. R. CONGRÈS, Gaul préromaine: recherché sur la métrologie et ses applications dans l'urbanisme et l'architecture, JRA 5, 1992, 39–55 esp. 39–46; GROS 2006, 146 f. fig. 148.

⁴² Also found in the Casa del Atrio Tetrastilio at Agrigentum (fig. 9); GROS 2006, 157 f. figs. 161. 162. The house was first built in the third quarter of 1st c. BC, but the *atrium* was added in the 1st c. AD. Limited space did not permit other elements of the *atrium* to be included. GROS interprets the *atrium* addition as an intentional archaism by the nouveaux riches.

(fig. 18)⁴³ and in the tetrastyle *atrium* from insula X at Ensérune (fig. 19)⁴⁴. Additional modifications also took place in the *tablinum* which traditionally has its narrow side open to the court and is located opposite the entrance. In the example from Cologne, however, the *tablinum* has three access points, while at Ensérune there is a single off-centre entrance⁴⁵. Moreover, in this latter example the almost square shape of the *domus* (rooms A) and the group of three large rooms north of the *atrium* bear a resemblance to the plan of the House of the Skeleton from Cosa (fig. 4).

Included in this brief survey of domestic units from Gaul is a group of houses that vary considerably from the examples of *atrium* house plans examined so far, but which nonetheless have been termed as *atrium* houses by some scholars, by virtue of the fact that they include certain elements of the atrium house. A classic example from this subcategory is the House of Sulla at Gaul of the mid-1st c. BC (fig. 20) that has a courtyard without an *impluvium* and in plan resembles House 6, 5, 5 from Pompeii. Its identification as an *atrium* house is based on the configuration of reception rooms (*tablinum* and side rooms) located at the narrow end of the court and can therefore be assigned to the category of open *atria* without an *impluvium*⁴⁶. Two other examples include the House (VI) of Antes at Glanum which Gros defines as »a peristyle *domus* with a central basin«⁴⁷, and the House of the Silver Bust from Vaison-la-Romaine of the first half of the 1st c. AD which boasts a grand *vestibulum* and a simple columned court with no side rooms or *alae*⁴⁸.

Comparable examples of *atrium* house plans that reflect the variety observed in the Western Mediterranean are also found in Spain (*Hispania Tarraconensis*). At Ampurias, *atrium* houses dating from the early 1st c. BC to the 3rd c. AD are found both in the early city and in Neapolis, the Roman section of the city, where on account of the pre-existing town plan no two ground plans of *atrium* houses are alike⁴⁹. House 1, Casa Villanueva (figs. 21a. b) for example preserves a more traditional elongated form but with missing elements such as *alae*, others have a more square shaped *atrium/impluvium* (House 2 at Ampurius, fig. 22) and three are tetrastyle *atria*⁵⁰. In addition to these variations the pseudo-*impluvium* (fig. 23) is also present⁵¹, while in other instances, despite the fact that the *impluvium* is absent altogether, the dwelling is identified as an *atrium* based on the presence of a cistern beneath the court or, as we have seen in the House of Sulla from Gaul (fig. 20), the configuration and presence of specific rooms, such as the *tablinum* or *ala*⁵². Other missing elements of the *atrium* may include *alae* and *fauces* as observed in the Casa Lladó at Baetulo of the 1st c. BC which is of the Tuscan type with the more familiar elongated form of the *atrium/impluvium* accompanied by

⁴³ Dated to the mid-1st c. BC, GROS 2006, 192 f. fig. 210; VIPARD 2007, 244 f. assigns it to the reign of Tiberius.

⁴⁴ The house dates to beginning of the 1st c. AD; cf. GROS 2006, 142 f. fig. 142. 143. There are two additional *atrium* houses from this *insula*.

⁴⁵ GROS 2006, 192 f. fig. 210; VIPARD 2007, 244 f.; in the House of Atys at Gaul (fig. 16) the room with the narrow end (and a second access point on the eastern wall) opening on to the south side of the tetrastyle *atrium* resembles a *tablinum* next to which lies the entrance vestibule, while at the opposite end of the court, where one would expect to find the *tablinum*, is a bi-columnar façade framing a series of odd shaped open spaces that connect the *atrium* with the peristyle court to the north. For the House of Atys cf. GROS 2006, 147 fig. 148.

⁴⁶ TAMM 1973, 59. 60; WALLACE-HADRILL 1997, 238; GROS 2006, 146 f. fig. 149. According to a mosaic inscription, the House of Sulla is identified as that of Cornelius Sulla, possibly the owner, and dates to the mid-1st c. BC.

⁴⁷ VIPARD 2007, 244, identifies it as an *atrium* peristyle house; GROS 2006, 146 fig. 147, suggests a Hellenistic influence on account of the wider northern stoa and *oecus*, or possibly an example of Vitruvius' »Rhodian peristyle«. It dates to the beginning of the 1st c. AD.

⁴⁸ ELLIS 2000, 29 defines it as a »putative atrium«; G. MCKAY, *Houses, Villas and Palaces in the Roman World* (London 1975) 162 f. and J. B. WARD-PERKINS, *Roman Imperial Architecture* (Middlesex 1970) 238 as a peristyle *atrium*; GROS 2006, 159 f. 165 fig. 167 as a peristyle with a grand *vestibulum* and a columned entranceway that resembles the one from the Imperial phase of the House of the Vestals at Pompeii.

⁴⁹ TANG 2005, 128 fig. 17. However, all four examples of *atrium* houses in the Roman section also differ in their spatial layout: AmpR1-R4, cf. TANG 2007, 114–116 figs. 12–14; for the relationship between the Greek and Roman town see X. AQUILUÉ – P. CASTANYER – M. SANTOS – J. TREMOLEDA, *The Greek City of Emporion and its Relationship to the Roman Republican City of Empúries*, in: ABAD CASAL – KEAY – RAMALLO ASENSIO 2006, 18–32.

⁵⁰ TANG 2005, 126–128 figs. 13. 17; KEAY 1988, 119. 131 f.; GROS 2006, 139 f. fig. 137. House 1 was initially built (ca. 50 BC) as a tetrastyle *atrium* but then transformed into a peristyle *atrium* in the mid-1st c. AD.

⁵¹ TANG 2005, 124 fig. 17.

⁵² TANG 2005, 130 fig. 20.

a well defined *tablinum*⁵³. However, of significance is the fact that there is no cistern beneath the *impluvium* (*pseudo-impluvium*), but only a system of drains for removing water⁵⁴. One final point often not taken into consideration, but which plays a vital role in domestic planning, is the landscape. Structures constructed on hill sides, such as the double-*atrium* Casa del Acueducto at Termes, are multileveled and conform to a sloping terrain that ultimately influence *atrium* plans and allow for the creation of unique spatial arrangements⁵⁵.

Across the Mediterranean on the North African shores common theory holds that the *atrium* house is absent on account of a long standing tradition of aristocratic preference for the peristyle plan⁵⁶. I believe, however, that a more convincing argument for the absence of this house type may be connected to environmental factors which played an important role in the choice and layout of domestic space. In warmer climates, more larger open spaces with porticoes, for example, provided both protection from the sun and at the same time allowed for better air circulation in comparison to the somewhat closed and stuffy *atrium* court with its small central roof opening. In fact, in order to avoid the summer heat, peristyles in Africa were also constructed in basements for summer use while the opposite occurred in the northern regions of Europe, where the open concept of a peristyle was not suitable for cooler climates⁵⁷.

However, upon closer observation, even the North African houses were influenced by the Roman *atrium* house. The spatial layout of houses at Volubilis, distinguished by the axial alignment of vestibule, peristyle court and *oecus/triclinium*, reflects the plans of Late Republican *atrium* houses, while according to Gros the *triclinium/oecus* can be seen as a vestige of the *tablinum* of the Roman *domus*⁵⁸. In fact, an even more convincing comparison is the distinct *atriolum* – a term used to define a rather small unit with a main room at one end of a court with a »mini water feature«, found in the Maison à l’Ouest du Palais du Gouverneur (fig. 25, rooms 19–29), which is reminiscent of the *atrium* plan⁵⁹.

From this brief survey of *atrium* house-types in the western provinces some important observations and questions can be raised. It is clear from the examples presented that the *atrium* house is an »evolving« house-type characterized by a variety in domestic design. Moreover, the equal-sided tetrastyle *atrium* known from the Republican period (Cosa) became popular during the 1st c. BC and especially during the Imperial period, while the appearance of the pseudo-*atrium/impluvium* reflects antiquarian trends. It is important, however, to note that these variations in domestic design were at times dictated by pre-existing house plans and the landscape. These examples confirm that the Pompeian *atrium* house, once viewed as an example of a typical Roman *domus*, was merely »...a peripheral development, just one regional variation amongst many«⁶⁰, while the construction of *atrium* houses and the incorporation of *atria*, or *atrium* elements, into house plans during the Imperial period in Italy (as seen in the many Campanian villas) and in the West challenge the validity of the once commonly accepted theory concerning the decline of the *atrium* house in the Imperial period⁶¹.

This variety, however, observed in the *atrium* house raises the following questions: Is the identification of an *atrium* house solely based on the presence of certain architectural elements (primarily a compluviate roof with *impluvium* and *tablinum*) as described by the literary sources, or can the term *atrium* be used to designate

⁵³ GUITART – PADROS – PUERTA 1991, 37 fig. 3; the Carvalheiras house (here fig. 24) of Flavian date, from Bracara, August in Northwest Iberia, features a clearly defined *tablinum* facing onto an otherwise atypical *atrium* with *impluvium* of secondary importance. It almost appears as a back door entrance to the house unlike the more grandeur appearance of the peristyle court with columned facade, MARTINS 2006, 218 f. fig. 16, 5. A similar position is seen in the *atriolum* from Volubilis in the Maison à l’Ouest du Palais du Gouverneur (here fig. 25).

⁵⁴ GUITART – PADROS – PUERTA 1991, 35–47 fig. 3, 4; KEAY 1988, 140; ELLIS 2000, 29. House 1 at Ampurias dates to the 1st c. AD. Only three sides of a court were excavated, revealing a large *impluvium* but no *tablinum* or *alae*; for an example of an *atrium testudinatum* see the House of the Dolphins (36 BC–58 AD) from Celsa cf. GROS 2006, 142 f. figs. 140, 141; KEAY 1988, 135.

⁵⁵ GEORGE 1995, 464.

⁵⁶ ELLIS 2000, 31, however, postulates that if such house plans were constructed, they were perhaps destroyed or replaced by later housing developments, leaving no trace; BERGMAN 2007, 228.

⁵⁷ HALES 2003, 167.

⁵⁸ GROS 2006, 168. For house plans at Volubis cf. GROS 2006, 167 fig. 172.

⁵⁹ HALES 2003, 200 figs. 86, 203; GROS 2006, 168, prefers the term *triclinium*; this *atriolum* may represent the type mentioned by Cicero (ad. Q. fr. 3, 1, 2, 1–3), who advises his brother Quintus not to include such an element in his villa if there was not a large *atrium*.

⁶⁰ D. PERRING, Concept, Design and Build: Romans beyond Pompeii, *Antiquity Journal* 2004, 204–209 esp. 206.

⁶¹ DWYER 1991, 25–39.

domestic space where certain Roman/Italic social and religious practices were conducted, despite the absence of one or more spatial elements associated with the »typical plan« of an *atrium* house? Furthermore, what social and ideological functions connected with the Roman *atrium* were adopted/and adapted by provincials and, moreover, to what degree were these functions modified by the Romans themselves living in the provinces? These questions deserve more attention than previously granted, particularly in light of the broad distribution and diversity of the *atrium* plan in the Mediterranean, and will therefore be addressed below.

Atrium in the Eastern Mediterranean

The above synopsis of elements that highlight the variety of the *atrium*-house plan in the West serves as an important tool in our study of this house-type in the Eastern Mediterranean. Whereas scholars do not hesitate to apply the term *atrium* to all variants of this Italic plan in the West, the same does not hold true for the Eastern Mediterranean. Here, the »romanticizing« notion of cultural influences following a consistent east–west route during the late Republic and early Empire, serves as a stumbling block in our understanding of house-types in the Aegean. Just as scholars were hesitant in the past to deviate from the traditional interpretation of the Vitruvian domestic model and to acknowledge the existence of an unroofed *atrium* with *impluvium* in Italy, or the presence of a *pseudo-atrium*, a similar attitude exists concerning the presence of the *atrium* house in Greece.

The detailed study (spatial layout, circulation patterns, function etc.) and codification of these domestic remains, however, is hindered by the fact that in many instances the information primarily comes from salvage excavation reports of partially excavated sites, for which complete house plans do not exist and, in most cases, no final publications have appeared. However, sufficient evidence does exist for a formative evaluation of the remains that parallel the developments of the *atrium* house in the Western Mediterranean.

Two of the earliest examples that warrant a more detailed investigation – first because they do not appear in any of the recent publications on housing in Roman Greece and second because of their early date – come from Northwestern Macedonia. The first is a villa complex located outside the city walls of ancient Mieza (near modern Beroia), of which substantial remains were excavated (fig. 26a)⁶². The discovery of a tetras-tyle *atrium* of elongated shape alongside a peristyle court, the presence of *opus signinum* floor pavements (figs. 27, 28) in the *atrium* and adjacent rooms, and *opus reticulatum*-type facings of interior walls suggest close ties with the western examples.⁶³ On the other hand, the atypical distribution of rooms around three sides of an elongated *atrium* and *impluvium* – an arrangement perhaps dictated by its Hellenistic predecessor – is also found in western examples, such as the Casa della Fullonica at Herculaneum (fig. 29)⁶⁴. The rather shallow *impluvium* (5.0 × 3.5 m) however, which is only a few centimeters deep, raises some questions concerning its identification, but western parallels of shallow *impluvia* have been identified at the site

⁶² The theatre was constructed during the early Roman period (G. KARADEDOS – K. THEOCHARIDOU – B. ALLAMANI – B. MISAELIDOU, *Αποκατάσταση του αρχαίου θεάτρου της Μιέζας*, *AERgoMak* 13, 1999, 521–534 esp. 527 f.); I would kindly like to thank the excavator of the site, archaeologist Victoria Allamani from the 16th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Thessaloniki, for taking time off her busy schedule to discuss various issues of this site and for allowing me to examine the field notes. According to Allamani, the villa is located outside the city walls and its Roman phase was constructed around the same time as the Roman theatre.

⁶³ ALLAMANI – MISAELIDOU 1992, 210. Excavators have suggested a »reticulate« facing of terracotta rhomboid plaques (0.8 × 0.5 cm) for the interior of the walls. These were found throughout the site in large numbers, but especially in the remodeled western section. According to Allamani, they were at first associated with floor pavements, but as excavations progressed, evidence suggested that they may have come from the interior wall surface; for parallels of the reticulate and key-meander pattern of the *opus signinum* floor pavements see, House of Sallust (pavement of triclinium 13) in DICKMANN 1999, 204 fig. 56 and also examples from Paestum in LEMAIRE et al. 2000, 163–168 figs. 9, 17, 16; for comparable examples of *opus signinum* floor pavements in the Mediterranean see V. VASSAL, *Les pavements d'opus signinum. Technique, décor, fonction architecturale*, *BARIntSer* 1472 (Oxford 2006) 135, 152 Mieza 2, who assigns the Mieza pavements to the 3rd–2nd c. BC. However, this date concerns the construction of the Hellenistic peristyle house and not the *atrium* and *opus signinum* floor pavements, which belong to the Roman phase, sometime after the Roman occupation of Macedonia.

⁶⁴ GROS 2006, 85 fig. 78.

of Fregellae⁶⁵. Furthermore, the *impluvium* at Mieza may belong to the category of pseudo-*impluvia*, with no underground cistern and perhaps serving as a basin for an ornamental fountain (fig. 26b)⁶⁶. A recently identified western parallel can be found in the House of the Vestals at Pompeii, where in the AD 20s ornamental fountains were added in both *atria*⁶⁷.

This *pseudo-atrium* from Mieza reflects the attempts of the owner to create a Romanized entrance court, i.e. a formal entrance way through which the more private area, the peristyle, was accessed. This arrangement was common in the western provinces and in Italy, with the House of the Vettii at Pompeii being a well-known and typical example of such a spatial formula, while literary references to this may be sought in Pliny's (epist. 2, 117) account of his villa at Laurentum, where the *atrium* was located at the entrance of the dwelling and functioned as a formal entrance court⁶⁸.

A final point of interest concerns the date of the dwelling itself, since it serves as an important chronological indicator for the introduction of the *atrium* house into Greece. If, as the excavators suggest, the original Hellenistic dwelling was destroyed sometime during the first part of the 2nd c. BC, followed by a brief abandonment and subsequent remodeling after the Roman occupation of Macedonia⁶⁹, then consequently the Mieza villa is the earliest excavated example of an *atrium* dwelling in the Aegean region and evidence for the use of Roman type construction techniques and adornment.

The second example of an early *atrium* house from Western Macedonia was excavated at Pontokomi, in the prefecture of Kozani (fig. 30)⁷⁰. It belongs to the category of centralized ›suarish‹ *atria/impluvia* (4.0 × 4.0 m), enveloped by rooms constructed over pre-existing Hellenistic remains. Since the plan is fragmentary, the size of the dwelling is unknown; however, the extant remains, the beautifully lined marble *impluvium*, the remains of a marble lintel block, and numerous wall painting fragments point to a dwelling of substantial size and opulence which may very well have had an additional court, perhaps of a peristyle type⁷¹. Such a system of multiple courts was common in large urban dwellings and villas throughout the Mediterranean.

⁶⁵ Houses at Fregellae, which date to the 3rd or even late 4th c. BC, have shallow *impluvia* positioned just a little below the *signinum* pavement of the court. WALLACE-HADRILL 1997, 237 points out that these rather shallow and less permanent *impluvia* were barely distinguishable and therefore, at times, were missed by early excavators.

⁶⁶ The remains of the fountain (the orthogonal marble base in the centre and the pipe) are not mentioned in the published reports, but are indicated on the plan. Remains of an exterior drain running at an angle are indicated in the NE corner of the *atrium*, which may have been connected to the *impluvium* (fig. 26b). Excavations beneath the *impluvium* were never conducted and therefore the various phases are unknown. A fountain was added at the beginning of the Roman period or at a later Roman phase. This information comes from a discussion with the excavator and my examination of the field reports; for the presence of *atria* with fountains at Patras and Corinth cf. PAPAIOANNOU 2007, 358.

⁶⁷ Cf. JONES – ROBINSON 2004, 117 for reference to a fountain added in the *impluvium* of the main *atrium* of the House of the Vestals at Pompeii in the AD 20s and also in the second *pseudo-atrium/impluvium*; for the transformation of *impluvia* at Pompeii into gardens with fountains see M. GEORGE, Elements of the peristyle in Campanian *atria*, JRA 11, 1998, 82–100 esp. 84. 89. 91. 92 figs. 4. 7–10 and at Patras cf. PAPAIOANNOU 2007, 358 f.

⁶⁸ PAPAIOANNOU 2007, 357.

⁶⁹ ALLAMANI – MISAELIDOU 1992, 211. A clear chronological sequence is difficult to determine given the disturbance of stratigraphic layers on account of modern intensive tree planting; pending of course the final publication of the pottery and small finds, Allamani suggests that rebuilding may have occurred in the latter 2nd c. BC, sometime after the Roman occupation of Macedonia, based on the following criteria: the presence of a small destruction layer of only 5–6 cm that covered the site; the types of Hellenistic fine wares (the abundance of coarse wares are of unknown date); the presence of only a few *terra sigillata* imports and some early Arretine ware; and the absence of coins from the 1st c. BC or AD; in fact, only one Roman coin – of Flamininus – was found.

⁷⁰ According to the field notes, the *atrium* at Pontokomi may have had four columns in the corners where smooth circular areas were observed on the surface of the marble *impluvium*; this may indicate the position of column bases.

⁷¹ Based on personal observations, the excavated remains cover a much larger area than indicated on the published plan, here fig. 30; According to Mendesidi, the ceramic evidence (Arretine and black glazed Hellenistic wares) points to a date around the latter 1st c. BC or even beginning of 1st c. AD for the Roman phase of the dwelling, initially built in the Hellenistic period, G. KARAMITROU-MENDESIDI, Νομός Κοζάνης. Ποντοκόμη, ADelt 37, 1982, Chron B 2, 297–298 esp. 298 pl. 204a; ZIOTA – KARAMITROU-MENDESIDI 1988, 29.

In addition to these early examples, remains of *atrium*-type houses from the Imperial period (1st–3rd c. AD)⁷² have also been excavated in other areas of Greece, including Asia Minor⁷³. Most of these house plans, however, are incomplete with some exceptions, such as the House at Eleusis and the Houses of Eutyche Zosa and Dionysos at Dion⁷⁴, while major sections of others have been systematically excavated⁷⁵. From this compendium of sites two common types of *atria* can be identified, the simple *atrium/impluvium* court (fig. 31) and *tetrastyle atrium* (or *pseudo/atrium* type) (fig. 32)⁷⁶ which were often accompanied by a second court either of a peristyle type⁷⁷, a peristyle garden⁷⁸, a tetrastyle *atrium*⁷⁹ or even a simple courtyard⁸⁰.

The *atria*, whether simple or tetrastyle⁸¹, tend to be equal-sided (or almost) with square *impluvia* and are surrounded by a series of rooms distributed around a central court, like a Greek courtyard house, as seen in the Anaploga Villa at Corinth (fig. 33), where the *triclinium* appears to be the most important room as suggested by its elaborate mosaic pavement⁸². This arrangement, however, differs from the more common western layout of *tablinum* with side rooms opening onto a court; a formula which is not altogether absent from Greece, as witnessed in the House of Antonius at Nikopolis (fig. 34) and in the House of Nero at Olympia (fig. 35). Furthermore, evidence for the more Italic-type of dwelling with an elongated *atrium/impluvium* and axial planning, can also be found. The tetrastyle *atrium/impluvium* at Mieza is our earliest example of such an *atrium* form followed by an early Augustan example from Philippi (fig. 36) which, although fragmentary, re-

⁷² The Herulian invasion of 267 AD is a cut-off point. I assign post-Herulian structures to the Late Roman period; for a chronological division of housing in the Roman period see, PAPAIOANNOU 2007, 351.

⁷³ According to BONINI 2006, 57 f. there are 23 documented tetrastyle *atria* dated from the 1st to the 3rd c. AD: from the 1st c.: Palace of Nero, Patras, Corinth; 2nd c.: Patras Corinth, Nicopolis and Dion; 3rd c.: Messene. For simple *atria* with *impluvium* there are eight documented examples between the 1st to 3rd c., from Patras, Corinth, Eleusis, and Sparta; more recently a tetrastyle *atrium* was excavated at Dion, the House of Athena, which contains a 4.5 × 4.5 m marble-lined *impluvium* with a lead pipe in the centre for a fountain installation, PANDERMALIS 2006, 569; for the tetrastyle *atrium* and peristyle in House 1 at Eleutherna see THEMELIS 1991–1993, 247 f.; THEMELIS 2002, 280–282 plan 3; THEMELIS 2003, 66–76 figs. 74–76. 78. 80. 81. For Asia Minor, Ephesos, cf. LANG-AUINGER 1996; LANG-AUINGER 2003.

⁷⁴ For Eleusis (Roman period) cf. KOUROUNIOTIS 1936, 34–40; for the House of Eutyche Zosa at Dion (late 2nd and early 3rd c.) there is no published plan (comments based on personal observations); D. PANDERMALIS, Dion (Athens 1997) 51–60; House of Dionysos at Dion of the 2nd half of the 2nd c., (PANDERMALIS 1996, 208–213; KARADEDOS 1988, 161–170).

⁷⁵ House 1 at Eleutherna, dwelling at Messene and the ›Palace of Nero‹ at Olympia (THEMELIS 1991–93; THEMELIS 2002; THEMELIS 2003; BONINI 2006).

⁷⁶ Examples of peristyle *atria* are fewer in number. For Sparta and Patras see PAPAIOANNOU 2007, 353. 357. According to BONINI 2006, 57 f. there are eight documented examples of simple *atria* dating from the 1st to 3rd c., at Patras, Corinth, Eleusis, and Sparta. For the Villa of Anaploga, Corinth cf. MILLER 1972, 335 fig. 2; for the house at Eleusis KOUROUNIOTIS 1936, 35 fig. 1. – For the house at Lykourgos Street (O. T. 37) in Sparta cf. S. RAFTOPOULOU, New finds from Sparta, in: W. G. CAVANAGH – S. E. C. WALKER (ed.), Sparta in Laconia: The Archaeology of a City and its Countryside, BSA Studies 4 (London 1998) 125–140 esp. 131 fig. 12, 10 and the house at the Salare-Kephalopoulou plot (bb 135) cf. T. SPYROPOULOS, Ανασκαφικές εργασίες. Σπάρτη, ADelt 35, 1980, Chron B 1 135–145 esp. 136 pl. 47β. – For equal-sided (or almost equal-sided) tetrastyle *atria* see: Roman Villa at Corinth, Cheliotomylos, 1st/2nd c. AD (T. L. SHEAR, The Roman Villa, Corinth 5 [Cambridge, MA 1930] 27 fig. 3); House at Germanou 80–82 (PAPAPOSTOULOU 1977, 72 fig. 3 pl. 55a); Terrace House 1, Ephesos (LANG-AUINGER 2003, 377 pl. 1).

⁷⁷ Terrace House 1 at Ephesos (LANG-AUINGER 2003, 377 pl. 1).

⁷⁸ PAPAIOANNOU 2007, 358 fig. 38, 6; see also the house at Patras, Psylalonia 15–16 (PAPAPOSTOULOU 1977, 84 fig. 12) and the Panayia Field Villa, Corinth (SANDERS 2005, 246 f. fig. 2).

⁷⁹ For the House at Psyla Alonia Square, Patras, see PETSAS 1971, 150–155 fig. 2. It has two tetrastyle *atria* with a deep *impluvium* and a room with an *impluvium* fountain. There is also evidence for at least a fourth courtyard, possibly a peristyle, in the southwest corner. The existence of a balustrade between the columns of one of the *atria*, the presence of steps in one of the basins and the sculptural fragments found within the basin could point to a decorative water basin or *nymphaeum*, similar to those commonly placed within the courtyards or rooms of the domestic assemblages of Northern Italy.

⁸⁰ The House at Korinthou, Miaoule and Tsamadou, Patras, has a ›closed *atrium*‹ and a courtyard, cf. DEKOULAKOU 973/1974, 389–391 fig. A.

⁸¹ BONINI 2006, 56 f., prefers to identify them as ›tetrastyle courts with basins‹ and not as tetrastyle *atria*, and views them as ›a reduced form of a peristyle‹, functioning more like a peristyle on account of their central position and circulation patterns. SAID 2002, 144 does not agree with the use of the term *atrium* and *impluvium* for the houses at Patras (PETSAS 1971, 151–155 and PAPAPOSTOULOU 1977, 8). Although they may resemble the tetrastyle *atrium* with *impluvium*, and a peristyle garden court with cistern; however, the types of rooms and their spatial arrangement differs from known western examples.

⁸² For the Anaploga Villa in Corinth cf. MILLER 1972, 335 fig. 2; cf. also the houses at Sisine 28 and Psylalonia in Patras (fig. 38) and Germanou 80–82 in Patras (fig. 42a. b). In House 1 from Eleutherna (here fig. 40), however, the rooms are clustered off to the west side of the *atrium* and primarily function as service and storage rooms; cf. THEMELIS 2003, 66–72 fig. 74.

veals a rather unique elongated court with the narrow ends of the *atrium* slightly curving inward, accompanied by a section of a fine marble-lined *impluvium* and a drain⁸³. Axial planning on the other hand, is clearly visible in the alignment of the *triclinium* and court at Sisine 28, Psylalonia, Patras (fig. 38) and Terrace House 1, Ephesos (fig. 39), while in the ›Palace of Nero‹ and the House of Antoninus (figs. 34, 35) the *tablinum*, court and entranceway align⁸⁴.

This variety found in the plan of the *atrium* in Greece (of square, elongated, or irregular forms) may be due to topographical reasons and to the presence of earlier Hellenistic remains (Patras, Corinth, Philippi, Dion), as witnessed in the colonial foundations in the West, at Paestum and Velia, where earlier Greek dwellings influenced the plans of later Roman structures. Parallels on the other hand for the adaptation of the dwelling to a sloping terrain, documented in the West in the double-*atrium* Casa del Acueducto at Termes, may be observed in Terrace House 1 at Ephesos (fig. 39)⁸⁵.

Variety is also found among the *impluvia* which differed in size and depth, as did those in the West, and primarily functioned as water collecting basins from which a drain directed water to the street (fig. 33)⁸⁶: Consequently these basins, most of which lacked underground cisterns – with exception of the House of Dionysos at Dion⁸⁷ – can be categorized as ›pseudo-*impluvia*‹ like the example identified in the House of the Vestals at Pompeii; where, in fact, in some examples a fountain was installed during one or more of the occupation phases of the dwelling (House of Athena at Dion, and the houses at Eleusis and Mieza [figs. 26a, 31])⁸⁸. Recently, however, examples of *impluvia* connected to cisterns have been excavated in the House of Athena at Dion and in House 1 at Eleutherna (fig. 40): in the former example the cistern is located along the north side of the *impluvium* while in the latter, just south of the *atrium*. Although these cisterns are not found beneath the *impluvium*, as commonly seen in Italy, such an arrangement is not unknown in the West, since in the Casa di Leda at Solunto the cistern was located beneath the southern *stoa* of the *atrium* (fig. 11)⁸⁹.

Other features in these urban dwellings that reflect common trends in domestic design throughout the Mediterranean include the incorporation of a monumental columnar façade, fountains, baths, garden peristyles and multiple courts⁹⁰. A more complex form of the multiple court dwelling is the House of Antonius at Nikopolis (fig. 34) and the House of Dionysos at Dion (fig. 32) which feature an elaborate system and variety of atria/courtyards (*atrium/impluvium*, tetrastyle *atrium*, peristyles) accompanied by other elements of a substantial Roman urban dwelling that are symbolic of wealth and prestige (*luxuria*): bathing complex, dining areas, library, cult area, storage facilities, rental shops, gardens, and a ›private museum‹ as suggested by the wealth of sculptural adornment⁹¹.

⁸³ COLLART 1937, pl. 44; 52, 2; For *atria* with a more elongated form of the court see Patras, Psylalonia 15–16 (PAPAPOSTOULOU 1977, 84 fig. 11), the Villa of Pano Magoula (fig. 37) where an *atrium/impluvium* was added in the 3rd c. AD (PALLAS 1955, 201–221 figs. 1–8 pls. 70–73).

⁸⁴ For Patras cf. PAPAPOSTOULOU 1977, 81 fig. 10. The example from Patras, however, presents an odd feature; there is an *impluvium* in the centre of the *triclinium* that was later covered over. Was the *triclinium* originally an *atrium* with an *impluvium* in the centre, or was it initially built as a room with a fountain that was later transformed into a dining area? For Ephesos cf. LANG-AUINGER 2003, 377 pl. 1.

⁸⁵ For the house at Termes cf. GEORGE 1995.

⁸⁶ For a system of drains associated with the *impluvium* cf. also Psylalonia 15–16 (PAPAPOSTOULOU 1977, 84 fig. 12) and Boukaoure 90–92 (PAPAPOSTOULOU 1977, 70 fig. 32); House of Athena, Dion, 2nd c. AD (PANDERMALIS 2006, 569).

⁸⁷ However, it should be noted that in most of the Greek examples excavations beneath the *impluvia* have not been conducted. Therefore, according to reports and plans, where visible, drains apparently directed water away from *impluvia*. For the cistern beneath the tetrastyle *atrium* in the house of Dionysos at Dion cf. KARADEDOS 1988, 163–165 fig. 2; 167 fig. 2; 170 fig. 1; a large rectangular cistern was also discovered beneath the central area of a portico court from Pontokomi, Kozane, but whether this belongs to a house or not is not mentioned in the report. A date for these remains is not indicated by the excavator, however, floor pavements made of terracotta roof tiles placed horizontally point to the Roman period; cf. G. KARAMITROU-MENDESIDI, Νομός Κοζάνης. Ποντοκόμη, ADelt 54, 1999, B 2 634–637 esp. 634–636 fig. 55.

⁸⁸ Cf. above, note 6; for parallels cf. PANDERMALIS 2006, 569.

⁸⁹ Exceptions include: a cistern (4.5 × 0.5 × 1.10 m deep) from the House of Athena at Dion, located just outside the north side of the *impluvium*, beneath the starting point of the northern drain, into which water was carried; cf. PANDERMALIS 2006, 569. For a cistern (2.40 × 0.50 m) from House 1 at Eleutherna (here fig. 40), located in an alcove just south of the *atrium* cf. THEMELIS 2003, 67 f. fig. 74, 4.

⁹⁰ For references to garden peristyles and garden atria cf. PAPAIOANNOU 2007.

⁹¹ For the House of Dionysos at Dion cf. PANDERMALIS 1996, 211 and KARADEDOS 1988, 163, 167, 170 figs. 2, 9; for the 2nd c. AD Villa of Antonius at Nikopolis (second phase mid-3rd or 4th c. see ZACHOS – KYRKOU 1999, 508–511 fig. 11). The House of

Other points of interest are the location and therefore function of the *atrium* – as a vestibule or a main reception/courtyard area – within the dwelling, which is difficult to determine, given the fragmentary nature of the plans. In cases where substantial remains have survived, the *atrium* may appear as the main reception area, the focal point of the residence, centrally positioned much like a Greek courtyard with rooms opening onto the court (Eleusis, fig. 31; Anaploga Villa, Corinth, fig. 33)⁹². In other instances the *atrium* may be located at the entrance of the household and therefore takes on the function of a grand entrance vestibule as observed at a number of sites, including Mieza (figs. 26a. b) and the ›Palace of Nero‹ at Olympia (fig. 35)⁹³. This feature is clearly a western element of design found in numerous examples both in Italy and in the western provinces; in particular, the Maison au Dauphin from Vaison-la-Romaine and the Maison à Atrium and Peristyle de Cologne (figs. 17. 18) provide striking parallels for the ›Palace of Nero‹ at Olympia (fig. 35).

In addition to this more ›Hellenized‹ version of the *atrium* plan, there are elements of design that clearly reflect Roman architectural practices which emphasize monumentality and axiality. The addition of a bi-columnar porch, for example, to the tetrastyle *atrium* of House B at Niketa 26–30, Patras (fig. 41), served to monumentalize the entrance⁹⁴; this is an arrangement which closely parallels the main entrances into the House of the Vestals at Pompeii (fig. 3) and the San Rocco Villa at Francolise⁹⁵. Axial planning on the other hand is present in a number of examples whereby in some a strict alignment exists between the *triclinium* and *atrium/impluvium* (Sisine 28 and Psylalonia, Patras, fig. 38), while in others the main reception rooms, identified by wide entrance-ways, which face onto the court, do not always align with the *impluvium* (Germanou 80–82, figs. 42a. b, and Lontou 101–102, Patras, fig. 43)⁹⁶. At Nikopolis and Olympia, however, more elaborate arrangements prevail (figs. 34. 35). In the former example the entrance corridor (*vestibulum/fauces*), the courtyard with *impluvium*/pool and the central northern room (*tablinum*) follow a strict north-south alignment with a symmetrical arrangement of rooms within the central core of the dwelling. In fact, the tripartite arrangement of reception rooms at the opposite end of the entrance vestibule in both dwellings, resembles patterns identified in examples from the West⁹⁷. Given the strong western influences both in design and adornment of the House of Antonius at Nikopolis, the court with the scalloped ornamental pool may be assigned to the category of the open *atrium* court with an ornamental *impluvium* (*pseudo-impluvium*)⁹⁸.

Among the examples mentioned thus far, three *atrium* house plans of the Imperial period, the tetrastyle *atrium* domus of Ephesos (fig. 39) of the 2nd c., the *atrium* house of Eleusis (fig. 31) and the House of Eleutherna (fig. 40) deserve a little more attention since they represent complete (or almost complete) house plans that stem from two different traditions. The plan from Ephesos reflects the preference for and attempts to incorporate Roman monumental and axial planning where permitted by the trapezoidal shape of the housing

Athena at Dion also appears to have multiple courts; cf. PANDERMALIS 2006, 569; for the Villa of Herodes Atticus at Eva (Loukou) in Arcadia cf. D. BLACKMAN, *Arkadia. Archaeology in Greece 1996/1997*, ARepLond 1997, 29–36 esp. 30 f. The villa includes a nymphaeon, an exedra and a channel that surrounded the ›atrium‹ in imitation of the canopus at Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli; for sculptural adornment see also House 1 Eleutherna, THEMELIS 2003, 73 f.

⁹² For examples see the House of Eleusis (KOUROUNIOTIS 1936, 35 fig. 1), the Anaploga villa in Corinth, phase II, 1st c. AD (MILLER 1972, 335 fig. 2), the House of Eutyche Zosa in Dion (personal observation), in Patras the House at Lontou 101–102 (PETRITAKI 1985, 110 fig. 1 pl. 37β) and the tetrastyle *atrium/impluvium* house at Germanou 80–82 (PAPAPOSTOULOU 1977, 72 fig. 3).

⁹³ Also House 1 at Eleutherna, Pano Magoula, Corinth and perhaps House B at Niketa 26–30 Patras. The *atrium* from Korinthou Miaoule and Tsamdou, Patras, seems to have functioned more as a private room since according to the excavation reports it may have been roofed; cf. DEKOULAKOU 1973/1974, 389–391 fig. A.

⁹⁴ DEKOULAKOU 1975, 110 fig. 6.

⁹⁵ For the House of the Vestals at Pompeii see JONES – ROBINSON 2004, 117 fig. 11; for the San Rocco Villa at Francolise, early 1st c. AD see WARD-PERKINS 1979, 196 fig. 118. The tetrastyle *atrium* house from Conimbriga has a portico instead; cf. GROS 2006, 207 fig. 230 as does the ›Palace of Nero‹ at Olympia but on a much larger scale.

⁹⁶ In the House of Athena, Dion the room (3.0 × 3.3 m) opening off to the east side of the *atrium* which aligns with the *impluvium* and has an opening of 2.5 m is defined by the excavator, PANDERMALIS 2006, 569, as a *tablinum*. These rooms, however, were most often completely open to one side, but exceptions do exist: see for example the House of the *Atrium* and Peristyle at Cologne (fig. 18).

⁹⁷ Cf. BERGMANN 2007. The scallop design of the ornamental basin, less than a foot deep (personal observation), is similar to the one found in the fish tank of the Villa of Diomedes at Pompeii; cf. RICHARDSON 1988, 349 fig. 52; for the Villa at Luni, phase II, GEORGE 1997, 102 fig. 37b.

⁹⁸ The House of Pansa at Pompeii has an *impluvium* with an apsidal niche at one end, cf. above, note 10, and also DICKMANN 1999.

block, alignment of pre-existing structure, and landscape (terracing). On account of these restrictions the peristyle is not positioned along the same northeast–southwest axis as the *triclinium* (SR 1) and tetrastyle *atrium*⁹⁹, an alignment observed in the House of Antonius at Nikopolis (fig. 34) and in the ›House of Nero‹ at Olympia (fig. 35). In contrast to this type of domestic plan, the house at Eleusis (26.50 × 13.50 m) belongs to a group of square-shaped *atria* (6.40 m) which are centrally positioned and surrounded by rooms laid out more in line with Greek domestic design¹⁰⁰. In both examples, however, the *atria* appear to be detached from public view, hidden within the core of the house and accessed, at Eleusis via rooms (N–Ξ) which provided a passageway into the *atrium*, while at Ephesos from the southern portico of the peristyle. In the latter example, however, the large peristyle court served as the grand reception area and therefore was the more public area of the house with the *atrium* perhaps reserved for more intimate, private functions¹⁰¹. In contrast, to these more private *atria*, the *atrium* from House 1 at Eleutherna (fig. 40), like those at Nikopolis and Olympia, is accessed directly from the street via a small vestibule/*fauces* and is thus more open to public view, while also serving as a buffer zone for the more private quarters of the peristyle at the back; such a spatial layout reflects circulation patterns common in the West (figs. 3. 16–18. 46)¹⁰².

In order to complete this overview of *atrium*-type houses in the east, it is important to include a few examples from the late Roman period that point to the continuity of this house-type – as observed in the West – in the Eastern Mediterranean at sites such as Patras, Corinth, Messene, Philippi and Asia Minor¹⁰³. From Philippi, the late Roman examples of the 4th c. and later, attest to the persistence of the tetrastyle *atrium* as identified in a house from *insula* 4 (fig. 44). The vestibule-*atrium*-peristyle arrangement in this example is accompanied by a garden at the back, which is reminiscent of late Republican – early Imperial examples, despite the absence of axial alignment¹⁰⁴, while the *atrium* functions as a forecourt to the peristyle, the main reception area of the house. An *atrium* with *impluvium* along with two additional courtyards is also attested in a large *villa urbana* at Messene of the 3rd–4th c.¹⁰⁵, while in Asia Minor examples are found at Aphrodisias, in the North Temenos House and in the ›Atrium House‹ where fountain installations were later added, along with a low, brick built wall, creating a deep pool, the ›*impluvium*‹¹⁰⁶.

⁹⁹ The Roman *domus* was constructed between the end of the 1st c. AD and the beginning of the 2nd c., while the *atrium* was added in the 2nd half of the 2nd c., LANG-AUINGER 1996, 118 f.

¹⁰⁰ KOUROUNIOTIS 1936, 34–40 figs. 1. 2 plan 1. According to the plan, there appears to have been some type of fixture in the center of the *impluvium* to which Kourouniotis does not make a reference, perhaps part of a fountain? This is a very brief report, but with numerous photos of the mosaic pavements and remains. References, therefore, to small finds (pottery, coins etc.), which are important in dating the structure and identifying the various phases as well as the functions of the rooms are absent.

¹⁰¹ According to HALES 2003, 226 f. this house reflects a ›Romanized‹ plan since rooms do not follow the layout and types of rooms associated with a Roman *atrium*. It is merely »a fantasy of what an atrium might be, just as the planted peristyle represented a Roman take on the Greek colonnaded court«, and that the function of this *atrium* differed from its Roman counterparts; however, the author does not indicate why the function would have differed and what other types of functions would have taken place. Moreover, the spatial arrangement of rooms does differ from western examples, but even in the West no two *atrium* houses are alike, while the *triclinium*, a traditional Roman room, is found in the Roman *domus* from Ephesos.

¹⁰² THEMELIS 2003, 75 points out that »the plan and articulation of space« in House 1 at Eleutherna shows patterns known from Pompeii, the Omega house in Athens and the ›Palace of Nero‹ at Olympia.

¹⁰³ At Corinth the Panayia Field Villa was constructed ca. 260 and destroyed ca. 360; cf. G. D. R. SANDERS, A Late Roman Bath at Corinth. Excavations in the Panayia Field, 1995–1996, *Hesperia* 68, 1999, 441–480 esp. 443 f. fig. 2; SANDERS 2005, 246 f. fig. 2; for references to late Roman villas in Greece cf. BONINI 2006; PAPAIOANNOU 2007, 361.

¹⁰⁴ GOUNARIS – VELENIS 1996, 719–731 figs. 4. 5; the small trapezoidal shaped tetrastyle *atrium* was dictated by the shape of the *insula* and diagonal road; cf. GOUNARIS — VELENIS 1996, 728 f. fig. 4.

¹⁰⁵ For a *villa urbana*, with *fauces*, *vestibulum*, *atrium/impluvium* and *tablinum* in Messene cf. THEMELIS 1999, 100; P. G. THEMELIS, Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης, *Prakt* 156, 2001, 63–96 esp. 83 fig. 5; BONINI 2006, 410 f.

¹⁰⁶ D. PARRISH, Introduction: The Urban Plan and Its Constituent Elements, in: D. PARRISH (ed.), *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor*. New Studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge and Xanthos, *JRA Suppl.* 45 (Portsmouth, Rhode Island 2001) 8–42 esp. 29 fig. 5, 3 no. 1; for the Late Roman *atrium* unit with *tablinum* in Patras cf. PAPAPOSTOULOU 1977, 73 fig. 3; for the post Herulian *atrium* house in Corinth (Pano Magoula) cf. PALLAS 1955, 201–216 fig. 1, 3; for a 3rd to 4th c. *atrium* house in Messene, that survived into the 4th c., cf. THEMELIS 1999, 53–66 fig. 49; PAPAIOANNOU 2007, 361, n. 20; BONINI 2006, 410 f. According to the plan the *atrium/impluvium* of the Panayia Field villa has a slightly elongated form, with the evidence of a pipe beneath the multi-colored marble of the *impluvium* which may indicate a water installation (personal observation).

This brief diachronic assessment of the evolution of the *atrium* house plan in the Mediterranean basin from the late Republic to late Imperial times reveals a surprising commonality in various elements of domestic design and in the survival of the *atrium* into Late Antiquity. First, the popularity of the more or less equal-sided tetrastyle *atrium*, the introduction of pseudo-*atrium/impluvium*, the presence of multiple courts – in particular the grouping of *atrium* and peristyle court – and the location of the *atrium* (as a central court or as the grand foyer of the residence) are common elements found throughout the Mediterranean. Second, despite these commonalities, spatial organization of the *atrium* dwelling does vary from one region to another. *Atrium* houses in the East, as far as one can conclude from the extant remains, reflect a more ›centralised‹ character with a main room (a *triclinium*) opening onto the court which may or may not align with the *atrium*; exceptions are of course the examples at Nikopolis, Olympia and Eleutherna. Whereas in the West, the Roman concept of axial planning and often the presence of a *tablinum*, or at times one or more elements associated with the typical plan of the *atrium* house (*vestibulum/fauces*, *alae* etc.) are evidently more common, but not the rule. Third, it is clear that the *atrium* house, as observed in the West, does not fall out of fashion during the Imperial period, but continues to play an important role in formulating the domestic interiors of the elite or well-to-do well into late antiquity, albeit transformed to meet the needs of an evolving cosmopolitan society.

Identity and Function in the West

This synoptic overview of *atrium* house plans in the Mediterranean basin raises two important questions that need to be addressed: Who constructed these houses of Italic plan outside the Italian mainland and why? In the West the introduction of this house-type can be attributed to a large number of Italians and Roman citizens who settled in this region – veterans, colonists, government officials and administrators – but also to locals¹⁰⁷. Caesar, for example, gave land to veterans in southern Gaul and settled citizens from Rome primarily along the coast of Gaul, Spain and Africa, as did Octavian in Sicily and Africa after the battle of Actium¹⁰⁸; while in Spain, *coloniae* were founded along the coast and in the Ebro and Duero valleys throughout the 1st c. AD¹⁰⁹. Consequently, the appearance of several large *atrium* houses in the veteran colony of Augusta Emerita, founded by Publius Carisius (25 BC) in northern Spain, do not come as a surprise since all the inhabitants were Romans¹¹⁰. At Eleia-Velia, on the other hand, the presence of Romans of political importance is documented from the 2nd c. BC onwards, but a significant increase in numbers does not occur until the end of the Republic and the first decades of the Empire¹¹¹; whereas in Sicily Italian veterans from Antony's legions may have settled around 30 BC¹¹².

Secondly, the local elite class also played an important role in the acculturation of this house-type. Names of local leading families such as the Pompeii, who were once clients of the general Pompey, and the Messii, as well as the titles of aedilships and priesthoods associated with the *cursus honorum* of Roman citizens once held by local aristocrats are well attested in the epigraphic evidence from Gaul¹¹³. In fact, by the 1st c. AD local citizens from Vaison-la-Romaine were members of the senate and held consulships in Rome¹¹⁴. However, it appears that the *atrium* house did not only serve as a cultural marker for a select privileged class.

¹⁰⁷ GROS 2006, 150–55; VIPARD 2007, 245.

¹⁰⁸ And also later between 16 and 14 BC in the provinces; cf. KEPPIE 2000, 82 f.

¹⁰⁹ C. ABAD – S. KEAY – S. RAMALLO ASENSIO, Introduction, in: ABAD CASAL – KEAY – RAMALLO ASENSIO 2006, 9–17 esp. 15.

¹¹⁰ KEAY 1988, 131–136; HALES 2003, 172.

¹¹¹ CICALA – FIAMMENGHI – VECCHIO 2003, 185 note 34; L. CICALA, Lo Spazio Domestico in Velia, in: Atti del 45th Convegno di Studi Sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto – Marina di Ascea, 21–25 settembre 2005 (Taranto 2006) 207–268. Elia, although conquered by the Romans in 290 BC did not become a *municipium civium Romanorum* until 89 BC. It was subsequently assigned to the Romilia tribe and sent a *sacerdos* to the cult of Ceres in Rome. During the early Imperial period it was a popular resort area.

¹¹² KEPPIE 2000, 89.

¹¹³ HALES 2003, 176; GROS 2006, 146. The Maison dite des Messii at Vaison-la-Romaine was named after the Messii family and the House of Sulla at Gaul after Cornelius Sulla, whose name is recorded in the mosaic inscription from the house and who may have been the owner; also at the Casa de Likine (Iberia) the name of a ›partially Romanized‹ local elite, that of Licinius(?) is inscribed in an *opus signinum* floor pavement: »Likine(te) [Licinius?] of Usecerde [Osicerda] made this«; GEORGE 1995, 462.

¹¹⁴ HALES 2003, 173. – Vaison-la-Romaine during the Gallic Wars became a *civitas foederata*, independent with Latin rights.

Gros, for example, associates the tetrastyle *atrium* of Flavian date from Conimbriga, a celtic *oppidum* which became a *municipium* under Vespasian, with a »lower middle class – petit bourgeois«¹¹⁵, while the House of the Dolphins at Celsa (Colonia Victrix Iulia Lepida-Celsa), a rather humble *atrium testudinatum*, may once have belonged to a local who adopted certain elements of Roman lifestyle or simply to a colonist family¹¹⁶. In fact, all testudinate *atrium* houses at Celsa (6 in total) are rather modest structures, each with a different configuration of rooms that appears to combine indigenous domestic elements with imported Roman ones, creating therefore a unique domestic environment that expresses both personal and local identities, and serves as a cultural marker of the less privileged classes not quite Roman and not quite indigenous¹¹⁷. These houses therefore are a by-product of what might be termed as »creolization«, – a trendy anthropological term used to document social changes among the lower classes, achieved through personal contacts with a foreign culture rather than through the »eyes of the elite«¹¹⁸. One could also use the more controversial term »Romanization« whereby the Roman type dwelling, or elements thereof, were not enforced by the Roman conquerors or local aristocracies, but selectively chosen through personal observation by non-elite groups to meet their local and individual needs. Consequently, variations in the *atrium* plan clearly reflect the social and cultural ideologies of each class.

In areas where Romans meet with former Greek cultures such as in the city of Velia, there is an interesting amalgamation of Greek and Italian cultures, where on the one hand local identity was preserved, as suggested by the use of the Greek language in honorary inscriptions from the early Imperial period, while on the other hand Roman elements of material culture were introduced¹¹⁹. Therefore, the emergence of *atrium* houses from the forms of earlier Greek structures is symbolic of this »cultural fusion«, whereby the Italic house type, among other things, was adopted and adapted to meet the needs of new arrivals, local aristocracies and those of more modest means. What were these »needs« and ultimately what function did the *atrium* serve outside the Italian mainland, are questions that will be addressed below.

Function

As exemplified by the literary sources, the aristocratic (senatorial elite) houses of Republican and Imperial Rome traditionally served both a public and private function and were therefore designed to display one's public status, or *existimatio*¹²⁰. Consequently, the *vestibulum* and *atrium*, where according to the ancient authors clients gathered for the salutation, became a virtual museum for the public display of ancestral busts and achievements, adorned with the *ornamenta* and *dona* of political and military accomplishments of the owner and ancestors, awards of distinction (*cornea*, *vexilla*, *hastae purae*), patronage tablets, honorary gifts and statues sent by former clients, employers and cities¹²¹.

Such a function required significant space, and indeed excavations in Rome over the past decades have brought to light remains of large aristocratic *domus*, with cruciform atria, which according to estimations were capable of accommodating up to 500 people. In fact, the *tetrastyle atrium* of the house of Aemilius Scaurus covered an area of 430 sq. m and could hold more than 2000 people¹²². Comparable examples have

¹¹⁵ Gros 2006, 206. 207 fig. 230.

¹¹⁶ For a local owner see GROS 2006, 142 f. figs. 140. 141; for a colonist family cf. KEAY 1988, 135.

¹¹⁷ GEORGE 1995, 463.

¹¹⁸ For an informative overview on the demise of the concept of Romanisation and references to creolisation cf. P. VAN DOMMELEN – N. TERRENATO, Introduction. Local Cultures and Expanding Roman Republic, JRA Suppl. 63 (Portsmouth, Rhode Island 2007) 9–12.

¹¹⁹ CICALA – FIAMMENGHI – VECCHIO 2003, 185.

¹²⁰ WISEMAN 1987, 393. This explains why Cicero went to all the trouble and spent lavishly to reconstruct his demolished house on the Palatine hill, Cic. ad Q. fr. 2, 5, 1.

¹²¹ ECK 1997, 167. 184 f.; WISEMAN 1987, 395–397; Mart. 5, 20; 12, 2, 9–10, mentions the *domus potentes* with their *imagines superbae* as well as their *atria alta*; ECK 1997, 167.

¹²² G. P. R. MÉTRAUX, Ancient Housing: Oikos and Domus in Greece and Rome, Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 58, 1999, 392–405 esp. 395. – For the house of Aemilius Scaurus cf. F. COARELLI, La casa dell'aristocrazia romana secondo Vitruvio, in: H. GEERTMAN – J. J. DE JONG (eds.), Munus non ingratum. Proceedings of the International Symposium on Vitruvius' De Architectura and Hellenistic and Republican Architecture, Leiden January 20th–23th 1987, BABesch Suppl. 2 (Leiden 1989) 178–187. – For archaic

also been found in Gaul where according to Vipard's estimations some of the *atrium* houses, like their Roman counterparts, could accommodate up to 500 people within the large entrance vestibules¹²³. In Spain, according to textual evidence, the political function and size of the *atrium* continued to play an important role for those active in public life, as expressed by the poet Martial (12, 68, 1–2) who advises a client seeking legal aid to cultivate *atria ambitiosa* in order to impress and gain public support. Therefore, even in the provinces crowded *atria* continued to convey this symbolism of a »politically active urban life«¹²⁴.

As this evidence suggests, the *atrium* as a place for expressing patron-client bonds and political authority is not confined only to Rome or the Republican period, but became part of an empire-wide cultural κοινή of the upper class, both in the municipal centers of Italy and in the provinces during the Imperial period. Therefore, through cultural/political interaction between Rome and the provincial elite – many of whom ended up as members of the Roman senate and equestrian orders – various elements of the Republican aristocratic *domus* were adopted and tailored to meet local political needs.

In addition to the traditional, political function of *atria* – which had long ago ceased to be exclusive for the senatorial elite with the rise of a wealthy non aristocratic class during the late Republic and early Empire – they also acquired a broader symbolism during the early Imperial period, as suggested by the literary sources¹²⁵. Consequently, for the nouveaux riches the *atrium* became a forum for the display of one's personal wealth, status and prestige; a reflection of one's noble character, a symbol of hospitality, a means through which to achieve success and social status or to fake success and last, but not least, for many a symbol of an unattainable dream¹²⁶! Therefore, the large *atrium* houses of Pompeii and Herculaneum such as the House of the Vettii, which probably belonged to an affluent wine merchant from the freedman class – as did many of the large Pompeian dwellings – reflect this new social order¹²⁷.

Beyond the Italian mainland, however, insight into the social complexity of the *atrium* house and its function is explored by Hales and Vipard, who focus primarily on the residences of the elite/or well-to-do, where the *atrium* is seen a symbol of *Romanitas*, prestige and antiquity, an »ancient icon of the past«. According to Hales the domestic environment fulfilled both a practical and an ideological role, thus serving not only as a venue for daily domestic activities/interaction and public obligations, but also as a vehicle of personal expression of one's social status and ultimately *Romanitas*—a term which Hales argues, takes on a different meaning not only from city to city within the Italian mainland, but also from province to province¹²⁸. The *atrium* house, therefore, as a symbol of »*Romanitas*« meant something different to someone from Gaul, Sicily or the Italian mainland; in fact, even within a particular provincial city, *Romanitas* should be interpreted on a personal level, since domestic plans are a physical manifestation of one's identity¹²⁹.

Likewise Vipard, in his study of the *atrium* houses in Gaul during the Imperial period, concludes that this house-type served as a symbol of prestige associated with the Roman conquerors and was therefore imitated widely by the local elite, who perhaps did not quite fully understand its true function, as an expression of *Romanitas* and an »icon of the ancient *atrium*«¹³⁰. Because of this symbolism, great care was taken in preserving the *atrium* plan into the 2nd c. as indicated by its survival in the House at Narbonnaise du Clos de

aristocratic houses along the north slope of the Palatine (late 6th to the 2nd c. BC) cf. A. CARANDINI, *Domus aristocratiche sopra le mura ed il pomerio del Palatino*, in: M. CRISTOFANI (ed.), *La grande Roma dei Tarquini* (Rome 1990) 97–99.

¹²³ VIPARD 2007, 247. Among them the Maisons à Atrium de la Cathédrale à Cologne, des Dieux Océan à Vienne or the Nones de Mars à Limoges.

¹²⁴ LEACH 1997, 58.

¹²⁵ Mart. 1, 70; 3, 38, 12–13; 9, 100, 1–2; Iuv. 8, 19–20.

¹²⁶ LEACH 1997, 58.

¹²⁷ The house belonged to A. Vettius Restitutus and A. Vettius Conviva, who, according to RICHARDSON 1988, 324 may have been freedmen since they had the same *praenomen* and one at least was an *augustalis*; however, it is important to emphasize the fact, as DWYER, 1991, 25–32 points out, that in the provincial towns of Pompeii and Herculaneum the traditional Republican functions of the *domus* were retained up to 79 AD, as implied by the majority of house plans, finds and decorations.

¹²⁸ HALES 2003 uses the English version »Romanness«.

¹²⁹ According to HALES 2003, 204 »...individual house plans represent many ways of reacting to and constructing an identity within Roman society«.

¹³⁰ GROS 2006, 150–155; VIPARD 2007, 245.

la Lombarde and in the House of the Atrium at Romain-en-Gal, despite the modifications and alterations to these houses during the last quarter of the 2nd c.¹³¹

Not only were *atria* carefully maintained, but *atria* or elements thereof, were often introduced in the later building phases as a ›voluntary archaism‹, in order to preserve the image of the ancient *atrium*. Consequently, elements of Italic domestic plans were introduced in the Hellenic peristyle houses of the Maison au Dauphin at Vaison-la-Romaine (fig. 17) and the Maison des Antes at Glanum. In particular, a *tablinum* and a grand tetrastyle *atrium* with *impluvium* (pseudo-*atrium*), which served as a monumental vestibule, was added in the former, while an *impluvium* and *lararium* in the latter¹³². In other examples *atrium* elements such as a central basin and columns incorporated into the entrance of the Maison aux Pierres Dorées (ca. 15–20 AD), and the Maison du Vestibule a Colonnes (ca. 50–60 AD) at Saint-Romain-en-Gaul, sufficed to preserve this antiquarian image¹³³.

Alongside these ideological functions, the *atrium* also served practical purposes such as an entrance vestibule or as an appropriate reception room for clients, an ostentatious display area, and in the larger homes as a buffer zone between the outside world and the inner core of the house¹³⁴. In the following Sicilian examples, the tetrastyle *atrium* from the Casa del Atrio Tetrastilio (fig. 9) appears to have functioned as a grand entrance vestibule to the house, directly accessible from the street, whereas in the examples from Lilybaeum (Casa Capo Boeo, fig. 10)¹³⁵ and Soluntum (Casa di Leda, fig. 11) the *atrium* was the focal point of the dwelling and thus the main reception area¹³⁶.

Yet Vipard argues that the traditional service functions associated with the *atrium* –which he defines as ›mundane functions‹ – such as domestic activities, storage facilities and a water management system are absent from the large dwellings in Gaul¹³⁷. While this may have been the case for a number of up-scale residences with numerous courts where the *atrium* may have been reserved as a ›grand foyer‹, in the more modest dwellings of Gaul, and elsewhere, where the *atrium* was the only court, functions must have varied. Consequently the *atrium* served not only as the main reception area of the household, but also as a centre for daily activities (i.e. the House of Sulla at Glanum and the ›humble‹ atrium *testudinatum* House of the Dolphins at Celsa) and on more practical terms, as part of a water management system, where in the Casa di Leda at Soluntum (fig. 11), for example, the *impluvium* served to collect water and direct it via a drain to a cistern at the south side¹³⁸.

Among the various domestic activities recorded by the literary sources and confirmed by the archaeological record, as taking place in the *atrium*, is weaving. It is mentioned by Livy (1, 57) who exemplifies Lucretia's virtues as she sat weaving *in medio aedium*, and is corroborated by the presence of a high concentration of loom weights within the *atria* of the Pompeian households. Archaeological evidence also points to the use of this area as storage space and other daily household activities¹³⁹. In fact, in the Villa Procoio Nuovo in Latium the *atrium* was associated with areas where various utilitarian activities were conducted, as suggested by the bathing facilities, wine vats (for wine making) and storage areas surrounding the court¹⁴⁰.

¹³¹ VIPARD 2007, 245 f.

¹³² HALES 2003, 172–176 figs. 67–69. These peristyle houses were constructed during the Republican period: The Maison au Dauphin ca. 40 BC and the Maison des Antes during Massiliote rule. Italic elements were added in the Maison au Dauphin around the end of the 2nd or beginning of the 3rd c. AD. For a plan of the first phase of the Maison des Antes cf. GROS 2006, 146 fig. 147.

¹³³ VIPARD 2007, 247. In 160–180 AD the columns were removed from the Maison des Dieux Océan and a circular basin was added in imitation (remembrance) of the *atrium* and *impluvium* (fig. 46).

¹³⁴ VIPARD 2007, 246.

¹³⁵ HOLLEGAARD et al. 1995, 226–228 fig. 8. Initially this section along with a peristyle court formed part of a single dwelling.

¹³⁶ HOLLEGAARD et al. 1995, 236. 240 figs. 12. 13a. Soluntum, a Punic site, became a *civitas decumana* (a town of the 2nd and early 1st c. BC) where earlier Punic *insulae* and division of space perhaps dictated plan and layout of Roman period dwellings, i.e. the Casa di Leda, figs. 12. 13a, with a square peristyle *atrium* (12 × 12 m) and 4 × 4 walled columns.

¹³⁷ Water from the *impluvia* instead was directed out to the street via a drain and the *atrium* was reduced to a light well.

¹³⁸ HOLLEGAARD et al. 1995, 240 fig. 13b.

¹³⁹ ALLISON 2006, 346 f.; LEACH 1997, 57; for its use as a playground cf. Lucretius (4, 400–404) and Vergil (Aen. 7, 377–389).

¹⁴⁰ MARZANO 2007, 439.

As demonstrated in this survey, numerous examples of *atria* have been preserved and maintained in the villas of the Imperial period and into the late Imperial period¹⁴¹, although with a somewhat modified form and function, serving as a vestibule and/or reception area while individual elements (*impluvia*, columns) were used to provide an antiquarian image to entrances vestibules. Furthermore, they served as symbols of luxury, status and *Romanitas*, and reflect antiquarian interests associated with »traditional Roman values«, thus providing the provincial elite with a connection to the new world order. Provincial domestic architecture, consequently, functioned as a nucleus, where, according to Hales, »the idea of Rome can be reinvented«¹⁴² and reinterpreted to meet local needs, and at the same time become part of a cultural κοινή among the elite in the Roman world.

Identity and Function in the East

Turning to the Eastern Mediterranean, a similar development can be traced that can account for the presence of the *atrium* house in this region. Literary and epigraphic evidence attest to the presence of Italians and Romans in Greece as early as the 3rd c. BC, whose numbers increased significantly during the late Republic¹⁴³. Among them are members of the elite or »literary class« from the equestrian and senatorial orders (including Roman officials/administrators), the so-called Ῥωμαῖοι who resided here and on a temporary and later permanent basis, including *negotiatores*, representatives of tax-farming companies, traders, bankers,¹⁴⁴ and later veterans and colonists.

During the Republic the Roman aristocracy, who often visited Greece on an educational tour, resided there on a temporary basis and may have just rented or purchased existing accommodations, while it is logical to assume that those who had the right to own land perhaps constructed their own¹⁴⁵. Such is the case of Mummius who, in 52 BC had chosen to live in exile in Athens, had purchased the house and garden of Epikouros and planned to demolish the structure and replace it, but with what type of house one can only speculate¹⁴⁶. With the creation of the Roman Provinces of Macedonia and Achaëa, Roman officials and administrators, whose names are recorded on coins and inscriptions, resided in the East and many of them served as patrons for Greek cities and individuals¹⁴⁷. The large early Roman dwelling at Mieza, where one finds strong Roman influences in construction techniques and mosaic floor pavements could very well have served as a residence for such an administrator¹⁴⁸.

In addition to this privileged class, there was also a significant number of Italian *negotiatores* who settled on a temporary or even permanent basis throughout the region. They appear as early as the 2nd c. BC in Chalkidike (Pol. 2, 8, 1; Caes. civ. 3, 102; Cic. Pis. 40, 96), actively exploiting natural resources, primarily timber and minerals (gold and silver), while others, who had the right to own land, formed a permanent community at Beroia known as the *conventus civium Romanorum*¹⁴⁹. Therefore, the *atrium* house at Pontokome – an area not far from Edessa and especially Beroia¹⁵⁰ – where evidence for the manufacture of glass and iron is well attested

¹⁴¹ These provincial examples and those from Italy indicate that the *atrium* house did not fall out of fashion as once postulated, DWYER 1991, 25–39.

¹⁴² HALES 2003, 180.

¹⁴³ There is a large influx of Romans and Italians into Asia after C. Gracchus's reorganization of the provinces revenues in 133 BC, EILERS 2002, 130. 140 note 163.

¹⁴⁴ ERRINGTON 1988, 140–143. The terms Roman and Italian are distinct. Prior to 89 BC all those on the Italian mainland who were not Roman citizens were identified as Italians. After 89 BC all Italians were Roman citizens.

¹⁴⁵ By the early Roman period Athens was a peaceful city with multiple centers of learning and a retreat for the private pursuit of philosophy as revealed in Horace's following account: »A man of ability who has chosen peaceful Athens for his abode and devoted seven years to study and has grown old amidst books and the serious study of philosophy generally turns out more taciturn than a statue and makes the people's sides shake with laughter« (Hor. epist. 2, 2, 81–86).

¹⁴⁶ Cic. fam. 13, 1; ERRINGTON 1988, 141 f.

¹⁴⁷ For a catalogue of Roman officials that served and were honoured as patrons in the Greek East cf. EILERS 2002, 109–194. 196–268; for Macedonia cf. A. B. TATAKI, The Nomina of Macedonia, in: RIZAKIS 1996, 105–128 esp. 107; TATAKI 2006, 48.

¹⁴⁸ WOOLFE 2004, 124 f.

¹⁴⁹ L. D. LOUKOPOULOU, The Fortunes of the Roman Conventus of Chalcidice, in: RIZAKIS 1996, 143–148. The *conventus civium Romanorum* is also attested by the mid 1st cent. BC in Akanthos, Idomenai, Styberra, Edessa and Thessalonike.

¹⁵⁰ For ἐνγχεκτημένοι cf. A. B. TATAKI, Ancient Beroia: Prosopography and Society, Meletemata 8 (Athens 1988) 438 f. Beroia attracted numerous Italian businessmen, merchants, landowners, and Italians/Romans of various trades. – Both Pontokome and Mieza

by the discovery of numerous fragments of glass vessels, glass and iron slag and a kiln, could once have been the dwelling of a Roman tradesman trying to meet the demands of the local market for Roman glass¹⁵¹.

This western presence in the Eastern Mediterranean was further enhanced by the establishment of Roman colonies in the 2nd half of the 1st c. BC: at Kassandreia in 43 BC, at Dion in 42 BC, at Philippi in 42 BC, at Pella in 30 BC, at Corinth in 44 BC and 70 AD and at Patras in 16–14 BC. As a result, the number of Italian residents increased with the arrival of numerous veterans and colonists¹⁵². Patras, for example, received a substantial number of veterans¹⁵³, while the Roman colony of Corinth, established by Caesar, was primarily settled by veterans, freedmen, and *negotiatores*¹⁵⁴. In both these major cities the *atrium*-type house is well attested, especially at Patras¹⁵⁵.

The names of some of these individuals are known to us through the study of Roman onomastics (from inscriptions on altars, sarcophagi and stelae) which provides valuable information on ancient demography and new insights into Greco-Roman society: In particular, »...questions such as the social (i.e. freedman, Roman citizen) and geographical origins (i.e. Latium, Campania) of those named can be deduced; one is also able to distinguish between Romans or Italics living in the East and their Hellenized descendants; or between provincial Greeks with Roman citizenship; and also Orientals who bore a Latin name in lieu of a Greek or local one«¹⁵⁶.

Consequently, for the study of housing and specifically for the introduction of the *atrium* house into Greece this is vital information. First, because it confirms the arrival of such a large and diverse body of foreigners, some of whom would ultimately reproduce in their new homeland their customary domestic surroundings, or at least elements thereof. Second, it identifies as the place of origin of these newcomers the Adriatic region, especially Latium and Campania¹⁵⁷, where the *atrium* house is traditionally well attested. And third, it documents important Roman family names and names of individuals who served as administrators in the Greek East, an elite class with which the *atrium* house is associated¹⁵⁸:

However, as documented in the West, this Italian house-type, which had ceased to be the hallmark of the Romans, was adopted and transformed to meet the needs of a new provincial social order. Conversely, a similar

are close to arterial routes that conjoined with the *via Egnatia*, the main military way, which connected the Adriatic with the Byzantium, where one would expect businessmen and traders to settle. At ancient Mieza construction techniques and adornment (reticulate walls and *opus signinum* pavements) suggest that western craftsmen were brought in, whose presence is documented at Beroia, one of the cities that attracted Romans of various trades, S. DUŠANIĆ, Military Diplomata for the Auxiliary Soldiers from the Hellenophone Provinces: The Problem of the Recipients' Roman Name-Formulae, in: RIZAKIS 1996, 31–42 esp. 39.

¹⁵¹ For evidence of glass and iron production cf. ZIOTA – KARAMITROU-MENDESIDI 1988, 29.

¹⁵² KEPPIE 2000, 82. 93. According to Cass. Dio 51, 4, 6 Octavian, in order to accommodate his veterans in Italy after Actium, uprooted and sent, in some instances, communities from Italy that once supported Antony to Dyrrhachion, Philippi, Kassandreia, Dion and elsewhere; KEPPIE 2000, 86. Caesar established a colony at Dyme, a neighbouring town of Patras; cf. F. PAPAIOGLOU, Les villes de Macédoine à l'époque romaine (Paris 1988) 1356. – Kassandreia, Dion, Philippi and Dyrrhachion had *ius Italicum*. The large number of Italians/Romans that settled in the East due to colonization and the establishment of large groups of Italians is reflected in the significant rise of Roman *cognomina* (15%) between the 2nd to the 1st c. BC in Macedonia. Whereas a 36% increase observed in the 1st c. AD and a 60% in the 2nd, is possibly connected with the granting of citizenship to locals.

¹⁵³ PETSAS 1971, 113 f. points out that according to inscriptional evidence, veterans from both the Legio XII Fulminata (CIL III, 504, 507–509) and the Legio X Equestris settled in Patras. RIZAKIS 1989, 182. – A. RIZAKIS, Η ρωμαϊκή πολιτική στην Πελοπόννησο και η Αχαΐκη συμπολιτεία, in: Πρακτικά του Γ' διεθνούς συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών σπουδών, Καλαμάτα, 8–15 Σεπτεμβρίου 1985 (Athens 1987/1988) 17–36 esp. 30–34; cf. M. PETROPOULOS, Τα εργαστήρια των Ρωμαϊκών λυχναρίων της Πάτρας και το Λυχνομαντείο (Athens 1999) esp. 44; for a brief overview of Roman presence at Athens, Sparta, Corinth and Patras cf. PAPAIOANNOU 2007, 360; for a detailed discussion on the inscriptional evidence for veterans from Patras cf. KEPPIE 2000, 83–85.

¹⁵⁴ A local Hellenic element also resided at Corinth. SPAWFORTH 1996, 169–175; ROMANO 2000, 101–103.

¹⁵⁵ BONINI 2006, for a catalogue of sites from Patras; PAPAIOANNOU 2007, 356–358. 360 f.

¹⁵⁶ H. SOLIN, Ancient Onomastics: Perspectives and Problems, in: RIZAKIS 1996, 1–10 esp. 8.

¹⁵⁷ SALOMIES 1996, 123 f. note 81. For example the name Ocratius attested at Beroia (1st c. BC/1st c. AD) appears twice in inscriptions from Lucreia. Place of origin is often indicated in veteran inscriptions, as seen in examples from Philippi: a certain *Volcasius* from Pisa and a *Iulius* from Naples.

¹⁵⁸ O. SALOMIES, Contacts between Italy, Macedonia and Asia Minor During the Principate, in: RIZAKIS 1996, 111–127 esp. 118 f. The nomen *Agel(l)eius/Agilleius*, for example, appears during the early Roman period in Macedonia, Ephesos, Rome, Lavinium (belonging to an local individual of importance CIL XIV 2089), and in the western provinces. In Philippi a dedicatory inscription records the *cursus honorum* of the Roman officer Octavius Secundus (2nd c. AD); cf. D. LAZARIDIS, Φιλίππου – Ρωμαϊκή Αποικία (Athens 1973) 5; the Vibullii family from Corinth, according to SPAWFORTH 1996, 171 may be linked to Vibullius Rufus, a member of a well known military family of the mid-1st c. BC.

pattern of acculturation of the *atrium* house can also be documented in the Eastern Mediterranean, where it served not only the needs of those who immigrated to the Aegean region, but was also adopted by local aristocracies and well-to-do citizens, who chose to embrace this new cultural manifestation of *Romanitas*.

There is strong evidence to suggest that the Greeks and Italians/Romans living in Greece did not isolate themselves from one another. This is clearly evident in Macedonia where newcomers, who brought with them their culture, language, traditions and religious practices¹⁵⁹, slowly penetrated into Greek social and political life through participation and membership in religious festivals and cults, games, the institution of the *ephebes*, education, and by acquiring local citizenship status, particularly during the Republic¹⁶⁰. This cultural integration, on the one hand, may be viewed as a Hellenization of Italians/Romans or Ρωμαῖοι as they were called in Greece (to the point where Cicero proclaims that they ran the risk of losing their Roman rites), but on the other hand, it is clear that the Greeks did not remain indifferent and unaffected by these events. Not only did Italians integrate themselves into Greek political and social life by adopting local names etc. but in exchange Greeks adopted Roman names. In fact, it had become fashionable by local wealthy Greek families to give their children Roman names, as in the case of a certain Marcus, son of Ploutarchos, a πρῶτανις in Athens around 60 BC¹⁶¹. Such a practice is significant, since to some degree the adoption of a Roman name by a non-Roman, according to Rizakis, »expresses and projects...*Romanitas*«¹⁶².

On a more public level this cultural exchange is evident in the institution of political recognition, whereby, during the Republic, Roman dedicatory formulae were influenced by Greek practices; whereas, during the late Republic and Empire the opposite occurred. It is therefore during this period that Greek dedicatory inscriptions were modified to meet the needs of a new ruling class by incorporating, among other things, Roman methods of recording names and titles of individuals¹⁶³.

Moreover, the Roman system of patronage appeared early in the East and was readily adopted and fully understood by cities and individuals. Patron-client bonds, for example, developed from an early period between a number of Greek cities (and individuals) and Roman officials, generals and senators¹⁶⁴. In fact, the elite of Sparta developed close patron-client bonds with Rome through strong cultural, political and social ties¹⁶⁵, which resulted in the liberal distribution of prestigious Roman citizenship rites by Augustus to powerful elite families of Sparta¹⁶⁶. Consequently, the local aristocracy, like Roman citizens throughout the Empire, pursued senatorial and equestrian careers¹⁶⁷. Along with these political interactions, the *atrium* house once a symbol of the Roman aristocracy, was perhaps adopted by the Spartan elite as a symbol of prestige and as an expression of their *Romanitas*¹⁶⁸.

According to Eilers these political patron-client ties are significant in other respects, for they confirm not only the introduction of a Roman social institution into the Greek East but also the »influx of Roman

¹⁵⁹ C. TSOCHOS, Η ρωμαϊκή θρησκεία στη Μακεδονία, AERgoMak 15, 2001, 47–54 esp. 47–49.

¹⁶⁰ ERRINGTON 1988, 146–149. 154; BYRNE 2003, 11.

¹⁶¹ ERRINGTON 1988, 145 f.; BYRNE 2003, 5. 11; WOOLF 1994, 136 note 4. Moreover, there is a borrowing of Latin words and »widespread knowledge of Latin«.

¹⁶² RIZAKIS – ZOUMBAKI – KANTIREA 2004, 29.

¹⁶³ J. M. HØJTE, Cultural Interchange? The Case of Honorary Statues in Greece, in: E. N. OSTENFELD (ed.), Greek Romans and Roman Greeks. Studies in Cultural Interaction (Aarhus 2002) 55–63. For dedicatory inscriptions the Greek language was retained, but the dative was used instead, while υἱός (*filius*) was added and the patronymic followed *nomen* not *praenomen*. They also followed Roman preferences in the distribution pattern of statues.

¹⁶⁴ EILERS 2002, 109 f. 137.

¹⁶⁵ According to Suetonius (Tib. 6), the Claudii and the Aurelian clan, for example, claimed their descent from Sparta; cf. also Ov. epist. (her.) 15, 196; I. G. ΤΑΪΦΑΚΟΣ, Ρωμαϊκή πολιτική εν Λακωνία: Έρευνα επί των πολιτικών σχέσεων Ρώμης και Σπάρτης (Athens 1974) 42–44; CARTLEDGE – SPAWFORTH 1989, 94 postulate that the patron/client ties with the Claudii may have originated with Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos. 185 BC) in the early 2nd c. BC. The earliest documented evidence comes from ca. 100 BC, according to Suet. Tib. 6.

¹⁶⁶ A. J. S. SPAWFORTH, Spartan Cults under the Roman Empire. Some Notes, in: Φιλολακων. Lakonian Studies in Honour of Hector Catling (London 1992) 227–238 esp. 236. Particularly to those who belonged to the priesthood of the Imperial cult, where 7 of the 13 officials belonged to the Claudii, Pomponii and Aelii families.

¹⁶⁷ RIZAKIS – ZOUMBAKI – KANTIREA 2004, 27. There are two known Roman senators from Sparta, C. Iulius Eurycles Herculanus and later Ti. Claudius Brasidas: three from the Ti. Claudii Saethidae from Messene, of which one became a consul, while T. Claudius Crispianus from the same family reached equestrian status.

¹⁶⁸ PAPAIOANNOU 2007, 360.

culture«¹⁶⁹ which significantly influenced, as we have seen, numerous aspects of civic and religious life. The Romanization of the cult of Artemis at Ephesos, for example¹⁷⁰, and in general civic life in the East, parallels the developments in the West with the establishment of *civitas* constitutions. In both ends of the Mediterranean the Romans were in effect formulating a ›Romanizing‹ policy tailored to meet the needs of local cultures. Consequently, ›*iura* and *leges*, in the East as in the West, were a means of cultivating civilization, and of imposing *mores* throughout the world«¹⁷¹. Within this context, the *atrium* house unintentionally perhaps – since it may not have been part of official Roman provincial policy – becomes a vehicle for expressing colonial power and expansion.

Function in the East

The function of the *atrium* house in the East is a little more difficult to determine given the absence of literary sources on this matter and the fragmentary nature of most of the remains, a problem compounded in many instances by the absence of detailed publications. However, there is some evidence, primarily textual, that allows for an evaluation of the function of the *atrium* that parallels, in some instances, trends seen in the Western Mediterranean.

The Greeks of the 1st c. BC were indeed familiar with the Roman *salutatio* and the location within which patron-client bonds took place, as revealed in a Greek inscription set up by the citizens of Abdera in which a reference is made to the ›patrons of the city‹ and the word ἄρτιον is used to define the venue of these political activities¹⁷². In the homes of many governors, Roman magistrates and even senators, patron-client bonds were established with local and city representatives who, threatened by greedy *publicani* (tax collectors), turned to these officials for assistance. In Asia Minor for example, where the problem was quite serious, an embassy was sent from Priene to C. Iulius Caesar (ca. 92), governor of Asia, to address this issue¹⁷³.

On a more local level, George suggests that similar public functions, as those conducted in the West between Roman provincial administrators and local representatives of the ruling class with the local population, were probably carried out within the homes of provincial officials. Although there is little evidence for the *salutatio* itself, something comparable must have been practiced¹⁷⁴. An appropriate setting for such activities is the two-storey Roman *domus* at Ephesos in Terrace House 1, whose size, spatial layout and opulence reflect the owners' wealth and social status¹⁷⁵. On the Greek mainland, comparable public functions may very well have been conducted in the opulent *villae urbanae* at Messene, Nikopolis, and in the *atrium*-type houses at Sparta with their elaborate mosaic pavements which perhaps belonged to local elites, some of whom are known from the textual sources to have followed senatorial and equestrian careers¹⁷⁶.

Furthermore, elements of prestige and social standing which are associated with the *atrium* house during the Imperial period in the West can also be identified in the Eastern Mediterranean. Structures such as the *domus* at Ephesos, the villa at Mieza, the House at Eleusis or the Roman Villa at Corinth, belonged to an elite class that did not hesitate to display its wealth. For non-Roman aristocrats these houses became items of ›cultural fashion‹, a way of ›keeping up with the Jones‹ or, a form of ›pier competition‹¹⁷⁷.

¹⁶⁹ EILERS 2002, 138. 143.

¹⁷⁰ WOOLF 1994, 124.

¹⁷¹ WOOLF 1994, 125.

¹⁷² Syll. 3, 656; EILERS 2002, 114–119. – This inscription was discovered at Teos, but it is a copy of the original set up by the *demos* and *boule* of Abdera. For a detailed discussion and bibliography of this inscription cf. L. LOUKOPOULOU – A. ZOURNATZI – M. G. PARISAKI – S. PSOMA, *Επιγραφές της Θράκης του Αιγαίου* (Athens 2005) 191–197.

¹⁷³ EILERS 2002, 142.

¹⁷⁴ M. GEORGE, Domestic Architecture and Household Relations: Pompeii and Roman Ephesos, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 27/1, 2004, 7–25 esp. 19.

¹⁷⁵ LANG-AUINGER 1996. The house was adorned throughout with polychrome geometric mosaic pavements, wall paintings and marble revetted walls.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. EILERS 2002, 109 f. 137.

¹⁷⁷ Analogous arguments are presented by TERRENATO 2001, 28 for the widespread appearance of villas in Italy during the 1st c. BC.

But in addition to these materialistic connotations of wealth and prestige (as argued by Vipard for the houses at Gaul) there is an ideological force prevalent, identified as *Romanitas*. As Hales argues, this complex term is expressed through the plans and adornment of elite dwellings throughout the Roman world and, as we have seen, can be interpreted in different ways by different cultures to express different identities. For the Spartan aristocracy, *Romanitas* is expressed through their choice of domestic plan and adornment (i.e. mosaic pavements) that parallels developments in the West, on account of their close political and social ties with the Rome and Roman aristocratic circles. On the other hand, for colonists and veterans residing in the cities of Philippi, Patras and Corinth, *Romanitas* may be interpreted as a form of cultural identity, a memory of one's origins or heritage. Under such circumstances, the *atrium* house ultimately becomes a cultural marker which sets apart Romans from the Italian mainland, or of Roman descent, and ›Romanizing‹ provincials from locals.

These observations ultimately raise the following question: Can the owners of *atrium* houses in colonial foundations be identified as Romans or of Roman descent? The answer is complex since occupation of a dwelling can extend over a long period of time and undergo multiple modifications or transformations (as observed in the recent re-examination of the House of the Vestals at Pompeii) and therefore have multiple owners. If the first occupant was a Roman this may not have been the case generations later, while on the other hand, one would require a building inscription of some type in order to identify the original owner, similar to the mosaic inscriptions from the House of Sulla at Gaul, the Casa de Likine at La Caridad (Iberia) and the House of Eutyche Zosa at Dion¹⁷⁸. Moreover, local well-to-do families perhaps adopted this house-type as part of a fashion trend, as may have been the case with the simple testudinate *atrium* houses at Conimbriga (fig. 15)¹⁷⁹. Consequently, while many of the early/first *atria* houses at Philippi and Patras could be linked to residents (or their descendants) from Italy, in subsequent periods this perhaps was not the case (i.e. Corinth, Pano Magoula and the Roman Villa at Corinth).

Beyond these social and ideological functions other more ›mundane‹ or practical functions that parallel the developments in the West can also be identified through the archaeological record. The *atrium* in House I at Eleutherna (fig. 40), for example, functioned as part of a water management system with access to a cistern along the north side and storage facilities¹⁸⁰. Moreover, both in this example and in the House at Mieza, the *atrium* also functioned as a main reception area, while at the same time serving as a buffer zone between the outside world and the more private inner quarters of the peristyle. The elaborate Roman *opus signinum* floor pavements from Mieza (figs. 27, 28), the fragments of decorative wall paintings from Eleutherna and the peristyle courts reflect the plans and adornment of the large Italian *domus* where the *atria* served, among other practical purposes, as areas of interaction between clients and patron. Although on a more modest scale, these Greek examples also provide a forum for similar activities between local clients and a wealthy foreign or local patron who even before the time of the Roman author Martial (12, 68, 1–2) was cultivating ›*atria ambitiosa*‹¹⁸¹.

In the colonial foundations established during the 1st c. BC the *atrium* house may also have served as a vehicle for displaying recent financial success and receiving clientele associated with various business ventures, as observed for the houses at Pompeii and Herculaneum¹⁸². Veterans in the East, for example, whatever their status in Italy, turned to other sources of income with great success, as documented in the case of the Vibullii family (originally connected to Caesar's veteran colonists from Corinth), who became successful businessmen due to their interest in fish-farming at Lake Hylice in Boeotia¹⁸³.

¹⁷⁸ For the mosaic pavement of Eutyche Zosa cf. D. PANDERMALIS, Η ανασκαφή του Δίου και η χαλκινή διάπλαση, AERgoMak 7, 1993, 193–199 esp. 197.

¹⁷⁹ HALES 2003.

¹⁸⁰ THEMELIS 2003, 66–77 figs. 74–76. In room 9 bases for cupboards or closets were found along with cooking pots, whereas remaining service quarters (6–10) along the east side of the house appear not to be connected to the atrium. The *atrium* of the Villa Procoio Nuovo in Latium is surrounded by rooms associated with various domestic, but also agricultural activities, i. e. wine making, cf. above note 35.

¹⁸¹ For House 1 at Eleutherna the size (second storey), decoration, construction techniques (finely cut masonry and elaborate drainage system) and wealth of household objects including sculptural fragments and gold rings have lead THEMELIS 2003, 74 to suggest an owner of substantial wealth and possibly political power.

¹⁸² The House of the Vettii belonged to a successful wine-merchant of the freedman class, DWYER 1991, 25–32.

¹⁸³ SPAWFORTH 1996, 171 notes 17, 18; MARZANO 2007, 35 indicates that according to the literary and archaeological data from Italy, where villas were constructed with fishponds, fish farming was a widespread lucrative business by the 1st c. BC.

Conclusion

From this brief survey of the *atrium* in the Mediterranean basin, it is clear that there is no ›archetypal‹ *atrium* house plan. Second, the origins of the Roman *atrium* house which can be traced back to the Roman aristocracy of the Republic, were adopted by wealthy non-elite circles and gradually spread throughout the Mediterranean during the Imperial period in a variety of forms, and consequently functions, depending upon the socio-economic and cultural background of the owner. Each *atrium* house therefore reveals a unique identity, a concept summarized by Hales in the following excerpt:

»The houses of the Roman empire shed more light on the acculturation of the provinces than any text has managed to convey. They demonstrate that it is impossible to trace an archetypal Roman house, an archetypal Roman identity. Instead, the empire was multilocal – an infinite combination of negotiation between local and Roman. (...) Even in Greece proud local identities were brought into the wider arena of the empire (...)«¹⁸⁴.

Therefore, the popular square-shaped tetrastyle court with square basin found in the Aegean can be identified as a tetrastyle *atrium* with *impluvium* (pseudo-*impluvium*) of the type seen in the West, but accompanied by a configuration of rooms that is not commonly associated with western examples. In fact, various social-political and cultural developments taking place in the Eastern Mediterranean during Roman occupation strongly support the interpretation of these tetrastyle courts as *atrium* houses. In particular, identity and function were themes examined in this paper that revealed the significant role that houses played in expressing primarily personal identity, but also indirectly the political objectives of dominant powers. In other words, to use Duncan's phraseology, the house, »not only embodies personal meanings but also expresses and maintains the ideology of prevailing social orders«¹⁸⁵.

Consequently, for the prevailing social order the *atrium* house perhaps served as an expression of colonial expansion and power that may very well have existed in the policy making minds of Roman officials/administrators. However, on a personal level the function of the *atrium* house takes on numerous dimensions, depending on the origins and social status of the individual. Accordingly, the *atrium* house may have served as an expression of cultural identity for Italian colonists in their new homeland; of *Romanitas* for locals and foreigners; of social rank or status; of the Greek psyche of the well-to-do who were eager to adopt new concepts of design (and not just stylish Roman names) representative of luxury and wealth in order to impress; of Greek patron-client bonds between individuals and cities; and, last, of an empire-wide trend among the elite in creating ostentatious dwellings as part of a common cultural κοινή in the Mediterranean.

Through the peaceful cultural amalgamation of Ῥωμαῖοι and locals, the Romans achieved their political objectives much as they had in the West, but through a different process. The presence of the *atrium* house in Greece may therefore be viewed not only as a symbol of Roman dominance, but also as a symbol of the ongoing social changes in this region, adopted and modified to meet the needs of a new cosmopolitan society. The Greeks may have conquered their savage conquerors culturally according to Horace, but in turn they did not remain impervious to socio-political and cultural changes that took place in the Mediterranean basin during the Imperial period.

¹⁸⁴ HALES 2003, 246.

¹⁸⁵ J. S. DUNCAN, Introduction, in: J. S. DUNCAN (ed.), *Housing and Identity: Crosscultural Perspectives* (London 1981) 1.

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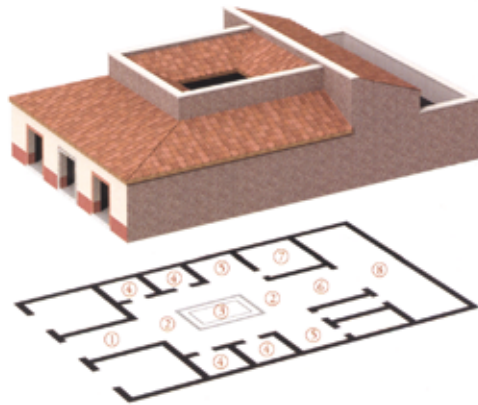


Fig. 1: Restored view and plan of a typical Roman house (domus italica) of the 3rd c. BC (J. Burge). 1) fauces 2) atrium 3) impluvium 4) cubiculum 5) ala 6) tablinum 7) triclinium 8) hortus



Fig. 2: Plan of domus 6, Rome



Fig. 3: Plan of the House of the Vestals, Pompeii, early 1st c. AD

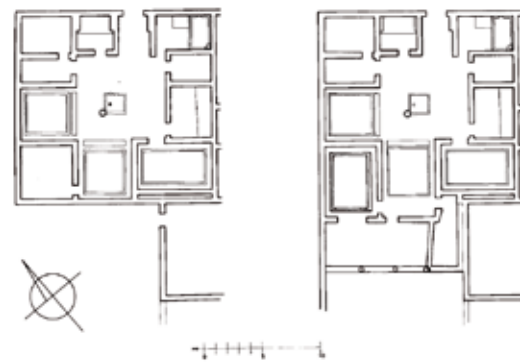


Fig. 4: Plan of the House of the Skeleton, Cosa



Fig. 5: Plan of the Casa degli Affreschi, Velia



Fig. 6: Plan of Case A and B, Paestum

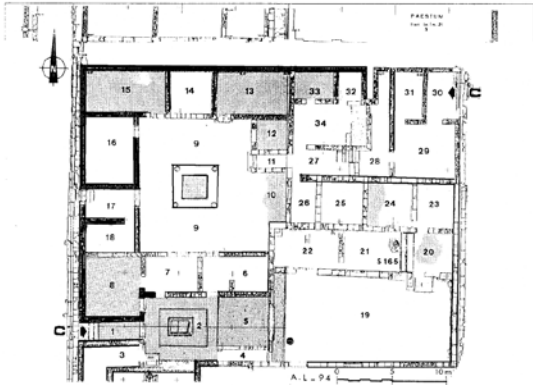


Fig. 7: Plan of Casa C, Paestum

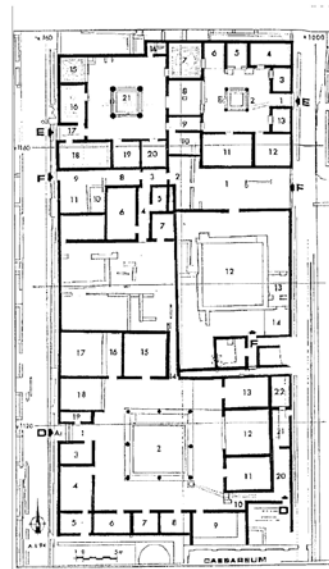


Fig. 8: Plan of Case D, E and F, Paestum



Fig. 9: Plan of the Casa del Atrio Tetrastilio/Casa del Peristilio, Agrigentum

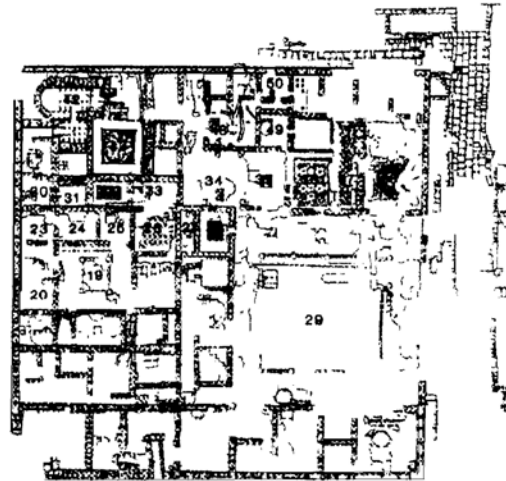


Fig. 10: Plan of Cap Boeo Insula, Marsala

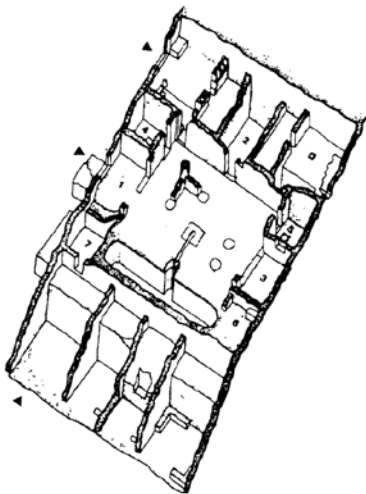


Fig. 11: Isometric plan of the Casa di Leda, Solunto

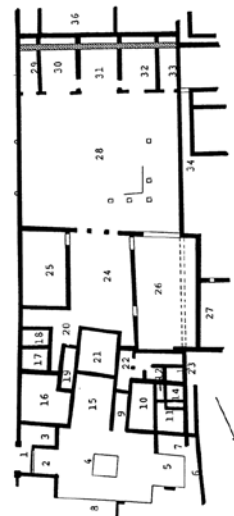


Fig. 12: Plan of Villa 1, Este

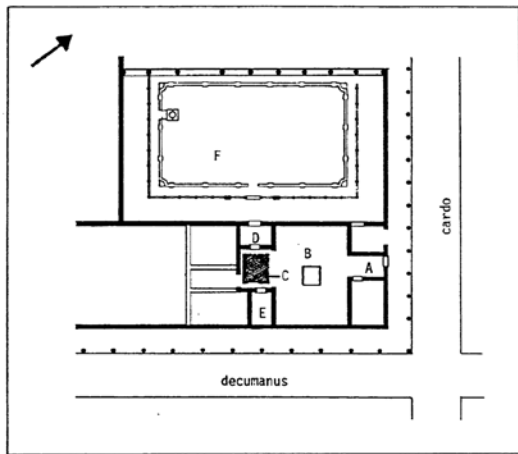


Fig. 13: Plan of Villa 2, Luni – Phase I

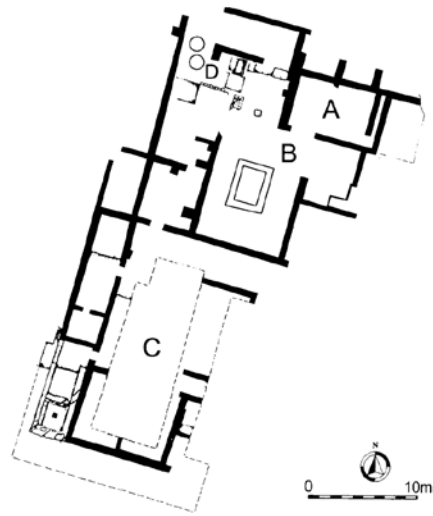


Fig. 14: Plan of Procoio Nuovo, Latium

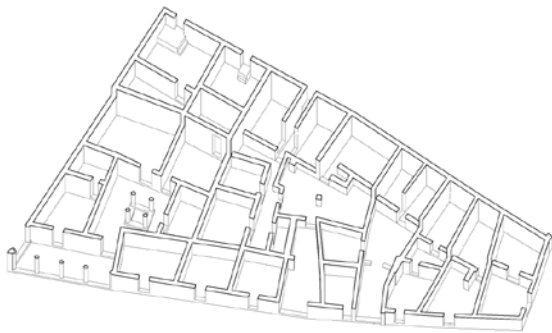


Fig. 15: Axonometric view of the insula du vase phallique, Conimbriga – Phase 4

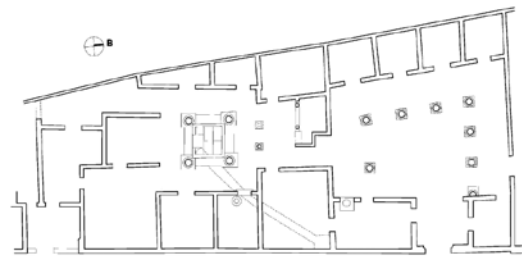


Fig. 16: Plan of the House of Atys, Glanum

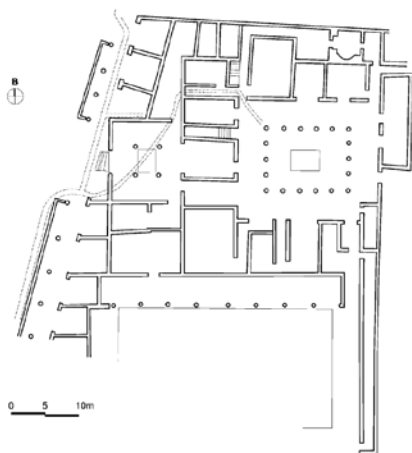


Fig. 17: Plan of the Maison au Dauphin, Vaison-la-Romaine – Phase 3

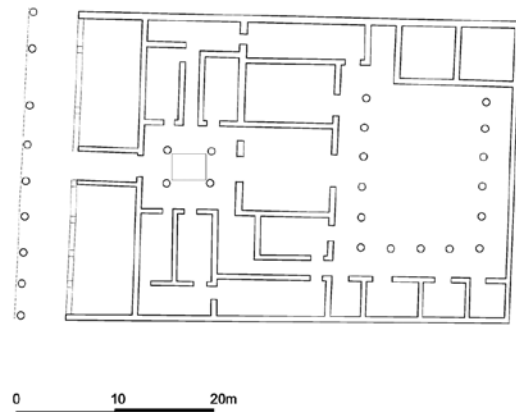


Fig. 18: Plan of the Maison à atrium et péristyle de Cologne

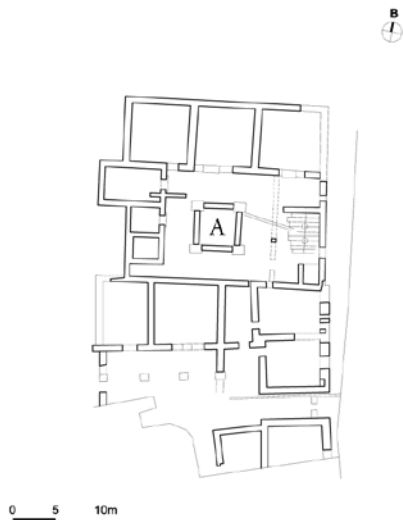


Fig. 19: Plan of insula X, Ensérune

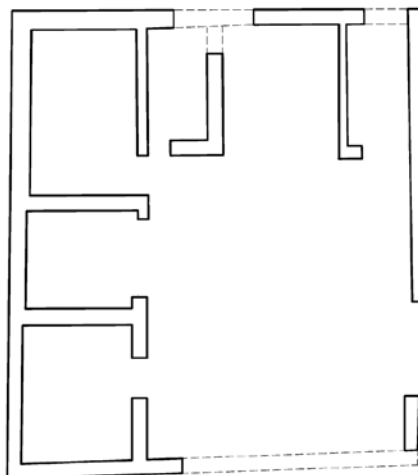


Fig. 20: Plan of the House of Sulla, Glanum

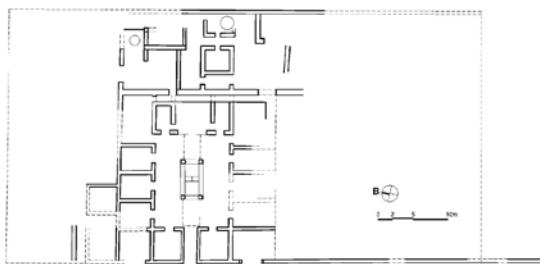


Fig. 21a: Plan of House 1, Ampurias - Phase 1

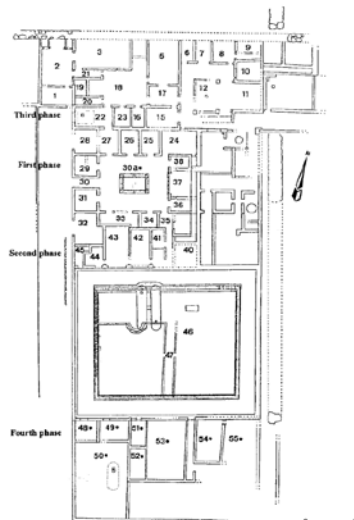


Fig. 21b: Plan of House 1 Ampurias, multiple phases

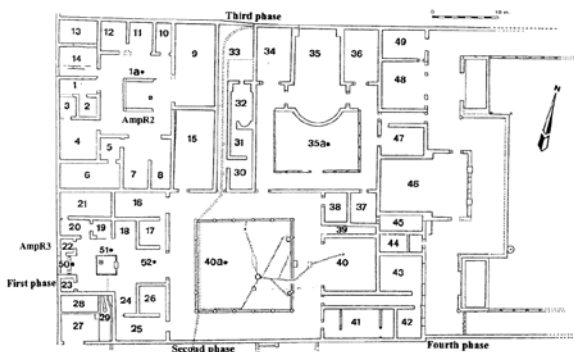


Fig. 22: Plan of Houses 2 and 3, Ampurias, Roman City



Fig. 23: Plans of atrium houses at Neapolis, Ampurias

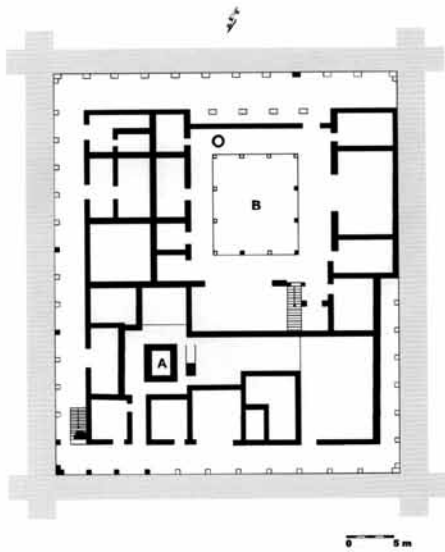


Fig. 24: Plan of the Carvalheiras house, Bracara Augusta – Phase I

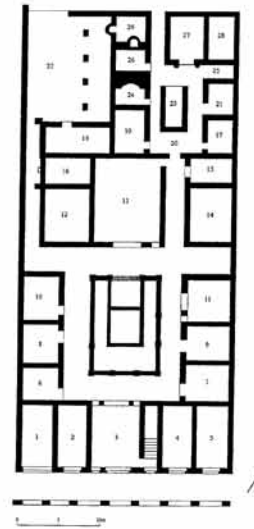


Fig. 25: Maison à l'Ouest du Palais du Gouverneur, Volubilis

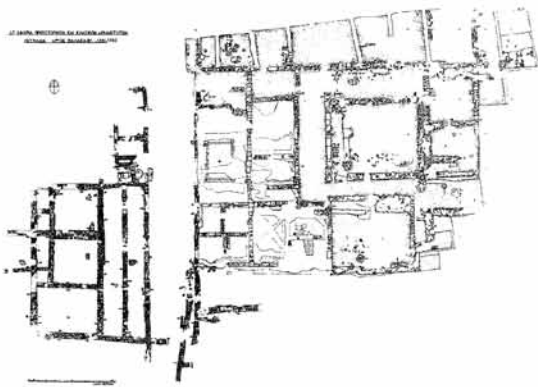


Fig. 26a: Plan of the house from the Βλαβάνη field, ancient Mieza, Beroia



Fig. 26b: Detail of the house plan from the Βλαβάνη field, Mieza

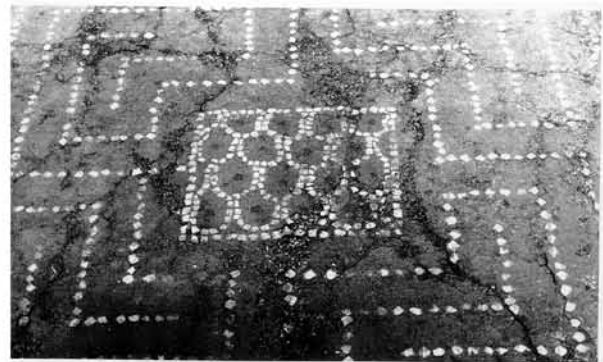


Fig. 27. 28: opus signinum pavement, from house at the Βλαβάνη field, ancient Mieza, Beroia

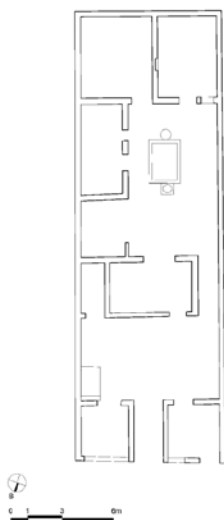


Fig. 29: Plan of the Casa della Fullonica, Herculaneum

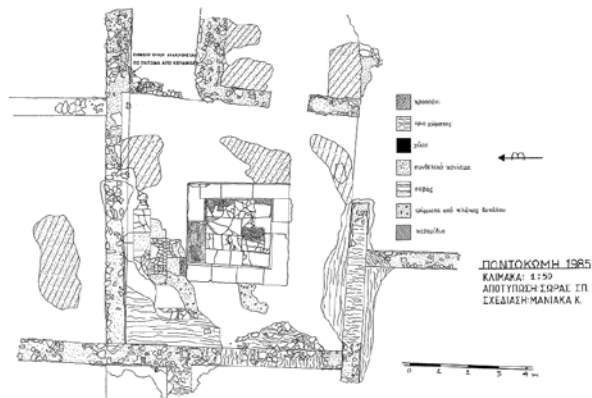


Fig. 30: Plan of the atrium house, Pontokomi, Kozani

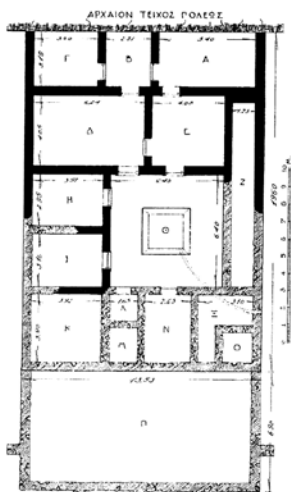


Fig. 31: Plan of House (L30), Eleusis

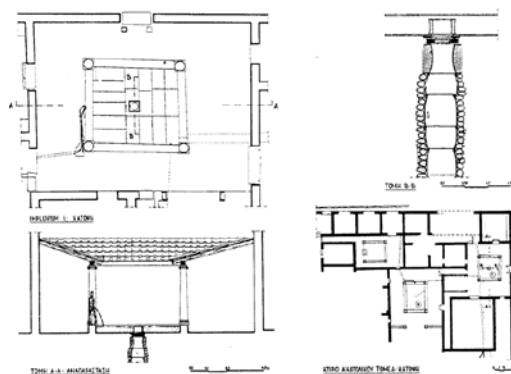


Fig. 32: Plan of tetrastyle atrium (and cistern) House of Dionysos, Dion

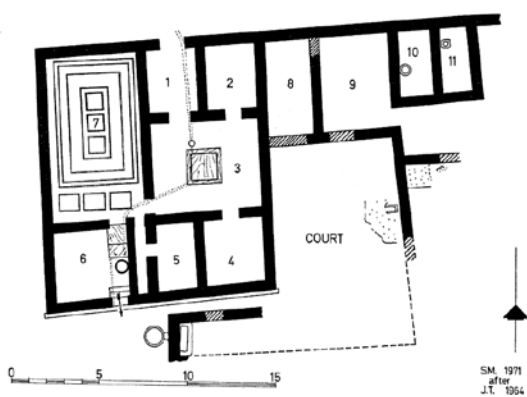


Fig. 33: Plan of the Anaploga Villa, Corinth – Phase II

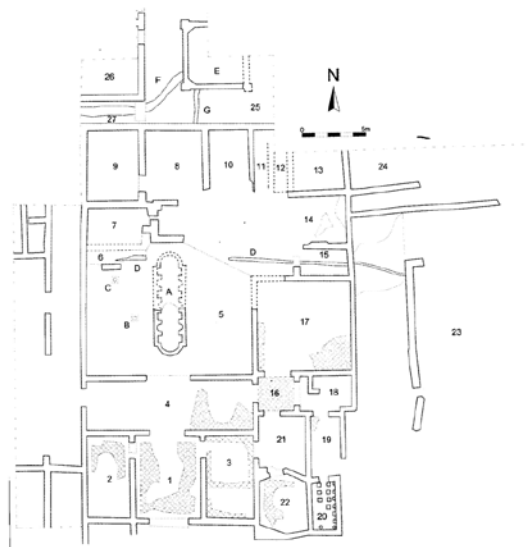


Fig. 34: Plan of House of Antonius, Nikopolis

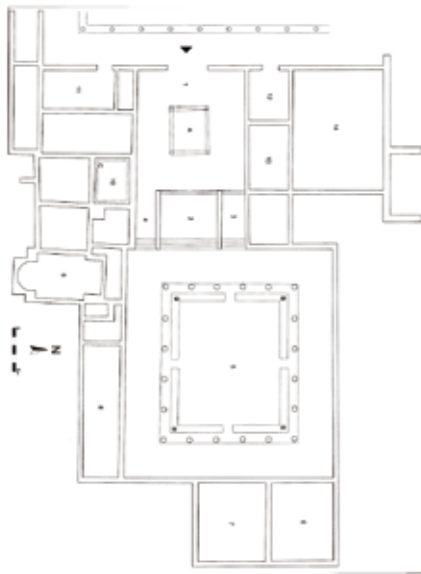


Fig. 35: Plan of the 'Palace of Nero', Olympia

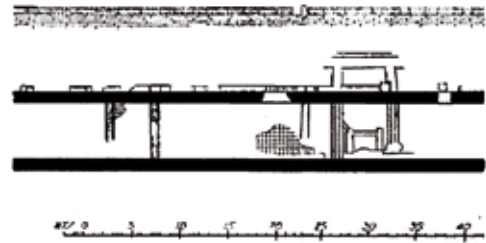


Fig. 36: Plan of atrium beneath the forum, Philippi

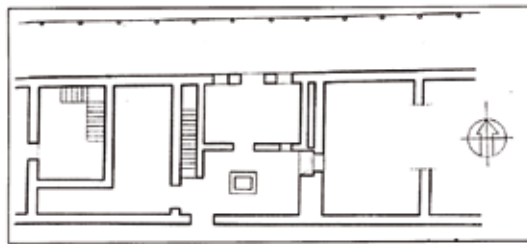


Fig. 37: Plan of the Pano Magoula House, Corinth

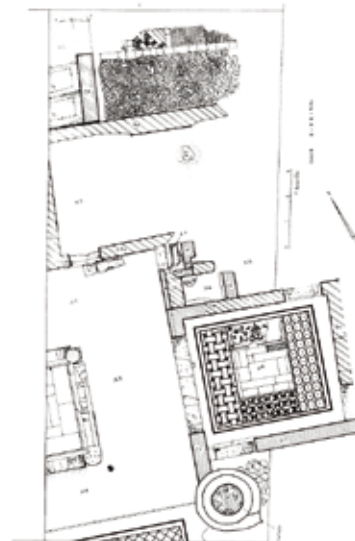


Fig. 38: Plan of the tetrastyle (?) atrium at Sisine 28 and Psylalonia, Patras

YAMAC EV 1
TERRACE HOUSE 1
HANGHAUS 1



Fig. 39: Plan of Terrace House 1, Ephesos



Fig. 40: Plan of House 1, Eleutherna



Fig. 41: Plans of atrium House B and A at Niketa 26-30, Patras

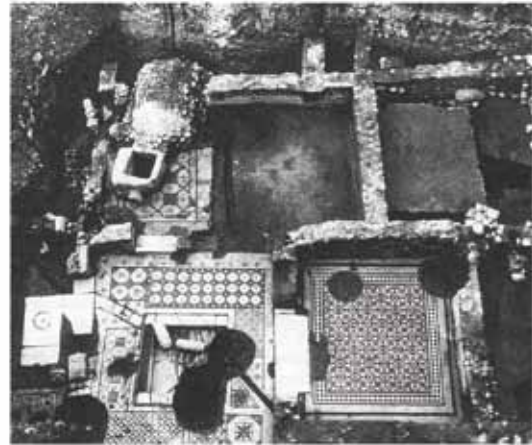


Fig. 42a: Aerial view: remains of tetrastyle atrium at Germanou 80-82, Patras

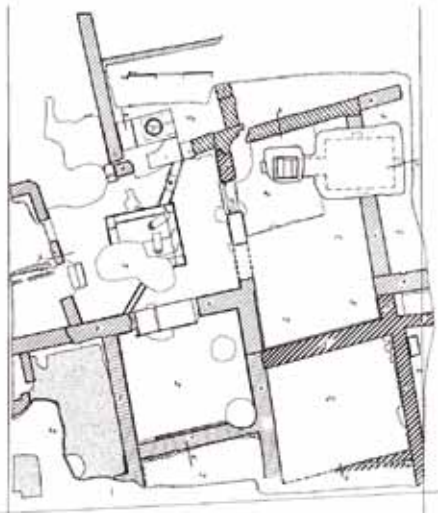


Fig. 42b: Plan of tetrastyle atrium at Germanou 80-82, Patras

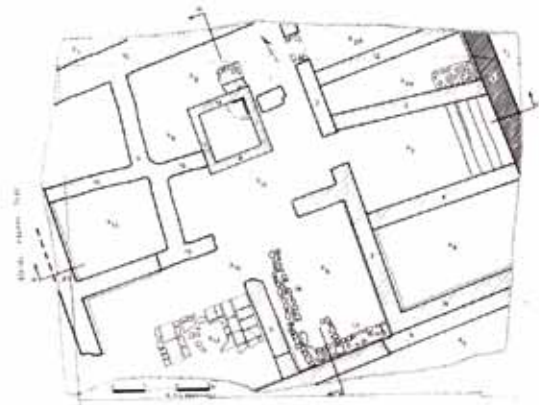


Fig. 43: Plan of atrium house at Lontou 101-102, Patras

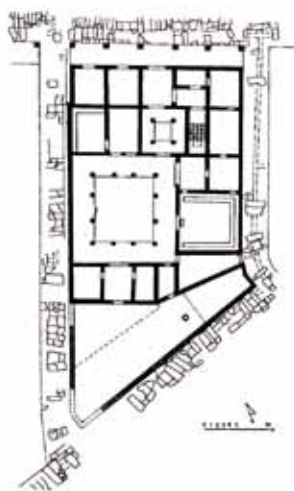


Fig. 44: Plan of the tetrastyle atrium and peristyle house, Philippi

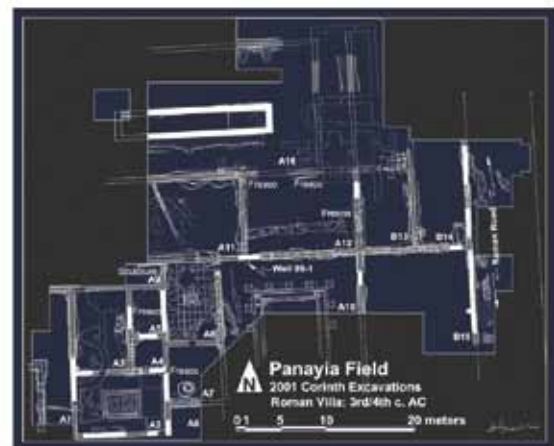


Fig. 45: Plan of the Panayia Field Villa, Corinth

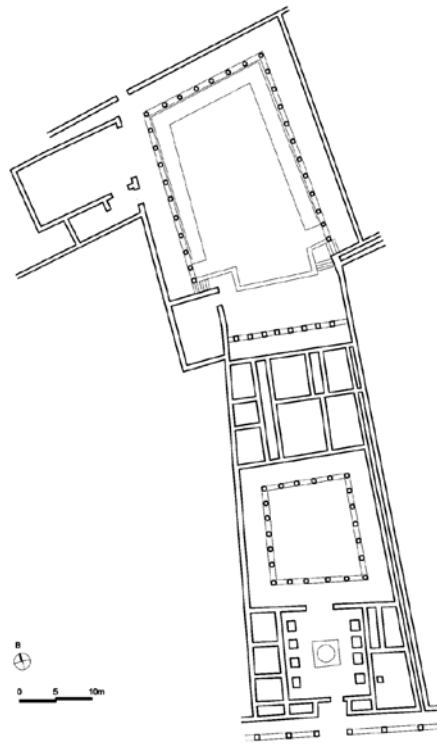


Fig. 46: Plan of the Maison des Dieux Océan, Saint-Romain-en-Gal

