

THE ROMAN DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE
OF
NORTHERN ITALY

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THE ROMAN DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE OF NORTHERN ITALY

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ABSTRACT

An examination of the archaeological evidence for the urban domus in Roman northern Italy reveals regional characteristics which distinguish it from the prevailing view of the Roman house. The north Italian house is examined in its various parts - entrance area, open areas (atria, courts, peristyles), reception rooms, service and heated areas. Although no single architectural type emerges, comparison with domestic architecture in Campania, at Ostia and other sites in central Italy allows a clearer view of architectural tendencies. The popularity of the atrium-tablinum house of Republican Campania has long been recognized, but new scholarship shows that a variety of interior arrangements co-existed with the dominant atrium house, and underlines the importance of porticoes, peristyles and courts. The peristyle-reception room dyad which replaces the atrium house is considered in its incipient form in Campania, and more fully developed at imperial Ostia.

This expanded view of the Roman domus proves useful in studying the often piecemeal evidence from northern Italy. In contrast to the dominance of the atrium at Pompeii, it is shown that the atrium house appears only infrequently in northern Italy, although examples do exist. Instead, it is

apparent that courts and peristyles are more common, and that the latter are especially prominent in northeastern Italy. To further contrast with trends in the rest of Italy, the atrium appears in northwestern Italy in the second century A.C., thereby contradicting the trend towards decline which can be traced in central and southern Italy in the first century A.C. The growing importance of reception rooms which is seen in the rest of peninsular Italy is also manifested in the north Italian domus, and is demonstrated by the appearance of colonnaded and apsidal reception rooms.

Archaeological evidence for the domus in the other western provinces demonstrates a similar use of the peristyle and portico, and shows that the north Italian house generally follows changes in the provinces more than those seen in the rest of peninsular Italy. The infrequent use of the atrium and the importance of the peristyle in the north in the early Imperial period at sites such as Aquileia, broaden the definition of the Roman house. Such evidence also recommends a reconsideration of the atrium house as the paradigm of the Roman domus, and demonstrates that in the Imperial period diversity and a lack of uniformity are the characteristics of the Roman domestic architecture in both Italy and the western provinces.

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INTRODUCTION

The subject of this thesis is the domestic architecture of northern Italy. This study attempts to identify and characterize the archaeological evidence for domestic architecture in this region, and to determine its place in the larger study of Roman domestic architecture by comparison with other evidence in the western Roman empire. The comparative evidence comes predominantly from peninsular Italy itself, mainly the Campanian towns of Pompeii and Herculaneum, and the port town of Ostia. When considered together with the northern Italian data a more complete picture of domestic architecture in the Italian peninsula emerges. No study has as yet focused on the domestic architecture of northern Italy as a whole, although G. Mansuelli includes it in his study of the urbanism and architecture of the area,¹ while other scholars have examined only the region of Emilia-Romagna.² In this thesis the area

¹G. Mansuelli, Urbanistica e architettura della Cisalpina romana (Collection Latomus vol. 3, Brussels 1971) 100-105, 171-184.

²Scagliarini Corlaità 1983; eadem, "Nuovi dati e nuove osservazioni sulle domus di Ravenna e della Romagna," CCAB 34 (1987) 375-393; M. Maioli, "Appunti sulla tipologia delle case di Ravenna in epoca imperiale," CCAB 33 (1986) 195-220.

as a whole will be considered, and all published examples of domus have been included and will be considered.

In the Republican era this area was known as Cisalpine Gaul, but under the emperor Augustus it was incorporated into Italy, and divided into regions 8 to 11. These are bordered by the Alps to the north, the Apennines and Macra and Conca rivers to the south, the Varus river west of Nice in modern France to the west, and the Arsia in the Histrian peninsula of the modern Republic of Croatia to the east.³ Because the publication of material is organized according to modern regional divisions in Italy, the towns of Sarsina and Luni are included here, although the former was technically part of sixth region of Umbria, while the latter was on the west bank of the Macra river, and was included in region 7 (Etruria). Since they fall outside modern Italy, the territory on the east and west which now lies in the Republic of Croatia and France is also excluded.⁴

As with every archaeological study, the nature of the thesis has been determined by the availability and quality of the evidence. The material in the Catalogue includes evidence which appears to constitute a domus, or, more often, part of a domus. Both the amount and quality of evidence varies within the region itself. The area which has been most

³G.E.F. Chilver, Cisalpine Gaul (Oxford 1941) 1.

⁴For a map of northern Italy with the sites included in the thesis, see fig. 1.

thoroughly studied is the modern Italian region of Emilia-Romagna; consequently, it represents a large part of the catalogue. The regions of Lombardy and the Veneto have also been the subject of study. The regions of Liguria, Valle d'Aosta and Piedmont, however, have received much less attention; this is seemingly the result of a lack of both evidence and resources, and these regions represent a minority in the catalogue. Several cities emerge with the best evidence; these include Brescia, Luni, Ravenna, Rimini and Verona. In these cities the quality of excavation and subsequent publication is generally high. Other sites, however, are less reliable. Both Aquileia and Velleia are towns of considerable archaeological interest; however, neither has been properly excavated or published, and their potentially valuable evidence too often yields only confusing results.

The data cover a wide chronological range. There is little archaeological evidence of any kind from the second century B.C., and it is only in the late Republican period that architectural evidence emerges. The first evidence of domestic architecture appears in the middle of the first century B.C., but a majority of house plans are ascribed to the Augustan period. Three other periods can be characterized as minor floruits, the Flavian, the late Roman and early Christian eras. The so-called 'palace of Theodoric' falls at the end of this range, as its final pavements are ascribed to

the sixth century A.C.

The thesis focuses on the domus, or the town house, to the exclusion of the other two main kinds of Roman residential architecture, the multi-family insula and the villa. Both types of structure are sufficiently different from the domus and provide enough extant data in central and southern Italy to warrant independent study, and are thus beyond the scope of this thesis. The study of villas in this area is still new; only a handful of villas have been found in the region and even fewer have been properly studied.⁵ The same is true of insulae, although one site in the town of Aosta may provide a unique example.⁶

Despite these limitations, the evidence does provide insight into the domestic architecture of the region, and is especially interesting when considered in the larger context. No single house type appears, but certain common features can be traced. It will be demonstrated that the atrium house which dominates at Pompeii is poorly represented in the

⁵The three best known villas in Cisalpine Gaul are at Sirmione and Desenzano on Lake Garda, and at Russi, 10 kilometres west of Ravenna. See G. Tosi, "Problemi tecnico-stilistici e cronologici della villa romana di Sirmione," Studi Miscellanei della Venezia (Venetia 3 Padua 1975) 75-101; E. Ghislanzoni, La villa romana in Desenzano (Milan 1962); G. Bermond Montanari, Russi. La villa romana. La città. (1975). For villas in Cisalpine Gaul generally, see Mansuelli 1971 op. cit. (n.1) 177-184. For villas in Liguria, see Archeologia in Liguria I - Scavi e scoperte 1967-1975 (Genoa 1976); for Emilia-Romagna, see M. Maioli, "Aggiornamento della situazione conoscitiva delle ville rustiche di epoca romana a Ravenna e in Romagna," CCAB 37 (1990) 249-279.

⁶See Chapter V 196-197.

northern Italian material. Although several atria have been found, they are clearly an uncommon element in the Cisalpine house. A degree of regional diversity emerges, for instance peristyles are a frequent feature in the northeast, while courts appear to be common features throughout the province, but especially in the Cispadane region. Somewhat perversely, and despite its general absence, the atrium does appear to have had a longer life in northwestern Italy than in central and southern Italy; the initial construction of four atria in this part of the province is dated to the second century A.C., a century after atria were being replaced by peristyles in Campania. In other respects this material follows developments in central and south Italian domestic architecture. Reception rooms, of generous size and endowed with high quality decoration, are well represented in the province, and reflect an emphasis on such rooms which is traceable in the rest of peninsular Italy, and in the western provinces.

CHAPTER I

The Romanization of Cisalpine Gaul

The period of pre-Roman contact in northern Italy is still unclear. Archaeological evidence indicates that in the Iron Age there were a number of cultures in different centres; however, determining their settlement patterns and interconnections is not always possible. The Villanovan culture was centred on the plain of Emilia, where it is found from the ninth to the sixth centuries B.C., when influence from the Etruscan hegemony in central Italy begins to appear.¹ Roughly contemporaneous is the Golasecca culture, which was scattered throughout Lombardy, but was centred around the northern lakes of Como and Maggiore.² The so-called 'Este culture' of the Veneti, spread along the northeastern Po plain, was strong and independent, maintaining its own language despite contact in the sixth to fourth centuries with the neighbouring cities of Spina and Adria, both of which had a highly Etruscan and Greek character.³

¹L. Barfield, Northern Italy before Rome (London 1971) 106-116.

²ibid. 127-136.

³ibid. 116-125.

The dominant culture in northern Italy in the early Republican period is that of the Celts, or Galli, as they were called by the Romans.⁴ Celtic culture as a distinct entity is found throughout western and central Europe in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. There is disagreement among Roman historical sources regarding the date of the Gallic entry into northern Italy. Polybius puts it at the beginning of the fourth century B.C., shortly before the attack of the Gauls on Rome in 386.⁵ Livy's account, however, which dates it to the reign of Tarquinius Superbus,⁶ is in fact closer to the archaeological record. The growing body of evidence indicates a Gallic presence in the region from at least the fifth century B.C., suggesting a gradual occupation rather than a sudden invasion.⁷

⁴Both Polybius and Livy equate the two terms. Linguists distinguish between the Celts of the first Iron Age and the Gauls of the second Iron Age by differences of dialect. Archaeologists make the same distinction, but use as their basis the earlier 'Celtic' Hallstatt culture and the later 'Gallic' La Tène culture; it is the latter culture which characterizes the migrating tribes in northern Italy in the fourth century B.C., with whom the Romans first had contact. For a fuller discussion of the terminology, see C. Peyre, La cisalpine gauloise du III au I siècle avant J.-C. (Paris 1979) 14.

⁵2.18.

⁶5.34.

⁷It is difficult to identify securely Celtic settlements in northern Italy because of the scanty nature of the archaeological evidence. It is difficult too to distinguish indigenous settlements, as the native cultures often quickly borrowed from the newcomers; this is further complicated by apparent differences in the level of cultural development within the Celtic diaspora. Among the best sources for this

The variety of tribes encountered by the Romans in the north in the fourth century B.C. is described by Polybius, Livy, Strabo and Pliny the Elder.⁸ North of the Po, the major tribes include: the Ligures along the north Tyrrhenian coast, the Insubres and Cenomani in the west and east plain of Lombardy, the Veneti northeast of the Po mouth; south of the Po, the Boii and Lingones in the Emilian plain and the Senones further south along the coast near modern Ancona.⁹ With the famous attack on Rome in 386 B.C. the Gauls made their first mark on Roman history, although they quickly retreated when the Veneti took advantage of their absence and invaded Gallic territory. The rest of the fourth and the beginning of the third century B.C. are marked by fighting between the Romans and Gauls, and by infighting among the various Gallic tribes.¹⁰

subject are: P. Santoro ed., I Galli e l'Italia (Rome 1978); La Romagna tra VI e IV sec. a. C. nel quadro della protostoria dell'Italia centrale (Atti del convegno Bologna 23-24 ottobre 1982, Imola 1985); D. Vitali ed., Celti ed etruschi nell'Italia centro-settentrionale dal V secolo a. C. alla romanizzazione (Atti del colloquio internazionale Bologna 12-14 aprile 1985, Imola 1987).

⁸Polybius 2.18-35, Livy 5.32f., Strabo 5.1-2, Pliny the Elder HN 3.15, 17-20.

⁹For minor tribes, and a more detailed history of each major tribe, see M. Zuffa, "Le culture dell'Italia settentrionale all'inizio della conquista romana," Arte e civiltà romana nell'Italia settentrionale dalla repubblica alla tetrarchia - Catalogo 20 settembre-22 novembre 1964 Bologna (Bologna 1965) 39-53; Peyre op. cit. 25-37.

¹⁰For an account of the conflict between the Romans and Gauls, see R. Chevallier, La romanisation de la celtique du Pô vol. 3 (Université de Tours - Centre de recherches A. Piganiol

The area played an important part in Republican military strategy. The first fixed Roman presence came in 268 with the creation of the Latin colony of Ariminum, which included the centuriation of surrounding territory, the settlement of 6,000 families, and the eventual (220) construction of the via Flaminia from Rome.¹¹ An alliance with the Veneti and Cenomani, and victories against the allied Boii and Insubres in 225 and 224 opened the northern Po plain to the Romans for the first time.¹² In response to Hannibal's movements in the north, Latin colonies were established at Cremona and Piacenza in 218, and Roman victories over the Insubres and Boii led to the subsequent founding of the Latin colony of Bononia in the centre of Boian land on the site of the Etruscan town of Felsina in 189.¹³ Mutina and Parma were the sites of other colonies in 183, but in these cases they had to be Roman colonies (rather than Latin) in order to attract settlers. The next two decades saw intense activity in the region, with the construction of the

1980).

¹¹For the colonization of Italy, see U. Ewins, "The Early Colonisation of Cisalpine Gaul," BSR 20 (1952) 54-71, and E.T. Salmon, Roman Colonization under the Republic (London 1969).

¹²For a more complete history, see A.J. Toynbee, Hannibal's Legacy (London 1965) 260-277, and Chevallier op. cit. 21-62.

¹³Toynbee op. cit. 252-273.

via Aemilia, the creation of Latin colonies at Brixellum¹⁴ and Aquileia (181), a massive programme of viri-tane land settlement to Romans (or Romanized peoples),¹⁵ and the organization of pre-existent native settlements into fora and conciliabula.¹⁶

The conquest of the Ligures in the northwest occupied the best part of the second century, although the most significant encounters occurred in the years 187-172 and included the deportation of thousands of Ligures and the subsequent land allotment to Romans.¹⁷ Roman colonies were also founded at Luna (177), and later, at Eporodia (100), and the via Postumia was built from Aquileia to Genoa (148).¹⁸ By the beginning of the first century B.C. northern Italy was subdued. The economy was largely agricultural, with small

¹⁴The date of its foundation is not clear (Chevallier op. cit. 57).

¹⁵G. Tibiletti, "La romanizzazione della valle Padana," Arte e civiltà romana nell'Italia settentrionale dalla repubblica alla tetrarchia - Catalogo 20 settembre - 22 novembre 1964 Bologna (Bologna 1965) 27-36.

¹⁶Forum Regium Lepidi (187? 175? B.C.), Forum Livii (188), Forum Licinii (168), Forum Popilii (132) (G. Luraschi, "Nuove riflessioni sugli aspetti giuridici della romanizzazione in Transpadana," II Convegno archeologico regionale [Atti 13-15 aprile 1984 Como, Como 1986] 44 n.5).

¹⁷For a complete account of this period, see Toynbee op. cit. 277-282.

¹⁸For a discussion of the road system in the north, see N. Alfieri, "Le vie di comunicazione dell'Italia settentrionale," Arte e civiltà romana nell'Italia settentrionale dalla repubblica alla tetrarchia - Catalogo 20 settembre - 22 novembre 1964 Bologna (Bologna 1965) 57-70.

indigenous towns allied with Rome and several increasingly prosperous Roman and Latin colonies.

During the Social war the cities of the north remained loyal to Rome; as a reward the Lex Julia of 90 B.C. granted full status to allied Italic cities, which included Aquileia, Cremona and Eporodia north of the Po, and to cities with Latin rights in the Cispadane region. The Lex Pompeia of 89 granted Latin rights to indigenous cities north of the Po and assigned to them small rural communities for administrative purposes by attributio; full rights were available to townsmen who served as magistrates.¹⁹ It is likely that Cisalpine Gaul became a province at this time, although universal citizenship was not granted until Julius Caesar did so in 49 B.C, and in 42 B.C. Octavian formally incorporated Gallia Cisalpina into Italy.²⁰

The spirit of Republicanism, however, lingered in the north, and Octavian's activity in the region was therefore not always beneficent. Cremona and Mantua in particular suffered land confiscations in the settlement of veterans of Philippi, which led to the displacement and discontent referred to by

¹⁹For a discussion of these laws, see G.E.F. Chilver, Cisalpine Gaul (Oxford 1941) 6-9; U. Ewins, "The Enfranchisement of Cisalpine Gaul," BSR 23 (1955) 73-98; A.N. Sherwin-White, The Roman Citizenship (Oxford 1973) 157-159.

²⁰The ancient sources are not explicit on this issue. Chilver argues that the region became a province under the Lex Pompeia of 89 B.C. (rather than under the Lex Rubria of 42 B.C.) but that citizenship was granted only sparingly at this time, indicating the different levels of development among the cities.

Vergil in the Eclogues.²¹ In this way Octavian punished the region for its sympathy to Republicanism, but by officially including it in Italy he was able to use it for his own propaganda purposes, presenting himself as the great unifier of peninsular Italy.²² He founded (and refounded) a number of colonies on land which he asserts was not confiscated but purchased,²³ and reorganized the Italian peninsula into eleven regiones, with 8 to 11 comprising the north. Region 8 was essentially the area north of Etruria and Umbria to the Po and to the Trebia river to the west; region 9 was coastal Liguria west to the Var river and north to the Po, and included the Alpes Cottiae and Maritimae. Region 10 occupied the territory north of the Po to the Alps, east into the Histrian peninsula to the Arsia river, and west to the Adda river, Lake Iseo, and the river Oglio. Region 11 was to the northwest, beyond the Po to the Alps.²⁴

The distinction made between the Cispadane and Transpadane communities in the laws of 90 and 89 indicates the difference in the degree of their Romanization. The practice

²¹Ec. 1; 9.27-29; Chilver op. cit. 9-15.

²²See E. T. Salmon, The Making of Roman Italy (Ithaca, New York 1982) 143-153.

²³See the Res Gestae 5.36, 16.28, and R. Chevallier, La romanisation de la celtique du Pô vol. 4 (Rome 1983) 122-128.

²⁴Chilver op. cit. 1. The date of this restructuring is not clear (Salmon 1982 op. cit. 153). The details of the subsequent reorganization into six regions are also uncertain (A.D.215?); see R. Thomsen The Italic Regions (Copenhagen 1947).

of granting full citizenship rights to men who served as magistrates acted as an incentive to urbanization and also served to integrate local elites into Roman society. In the Cispadane region the process of acculturation had been going on since the second century B.C. The Transpadane region, however, was more diverse. At the beginning of the first century B.C. the west remained the site of military activity and thus the pace of urbanization was slower; towns gradually appeared in the central Lombardy plain, although the area was still dominated by the Insubrian and Cenomanic cultures.

The major cities of Cisalpine Gaul were Patavium, Cremona, Verona, Aquileia, Ravenna, Atria, Bononia and Brixia.²⁵ Unfortunately, archaeological remains do not reflect the historical importance of several of these, notably Patavium, Cremona and Atria. Patavium (modern Padua) reached its zenith in the first century B.C., when it was among the most important cities in all Italy. However, other than part of its amphitheatre, comparatively little archaeological data remain.²⁶ Cremona, as one of the earliest colonies north of the Po, was one of the most flourishing cities in the north. However, its support of Vitellius in A.D.69 resulted in its destruction by Vespasian; although later rebuilt, it never regained its former prosperity, and there is scant

²⁵Chilver op. cit. 53-60.

²⁶By the end of the first century A.C., however, it seems to have become relatively insignificant (ibid. 54-55).

archaeological material left.²⁷ There is also little of Roman Atria (modern Adria) extant; however, it had been a flourishing Etruscan port with strong Greek influence in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., and its cemeteries indicate that an active urban settlement existed until the second century A.C., when its decline began.²⁸ Of the other important cities, Ravenna was of particular interest as a military site, because of the installation of the fleet there; Augustus built a canal which connected the town to the Po, and may have also built the lighthouse.²⁹ Aquileia was important because of the economic value of its trade with the east, and because of its proximity to Illyricum. There is evidence too that Augustus and the other Julio-Claudians had significant land holdings and special interest in the area.³⁰

It was in the northeast, in region 10, that Roman customs were most rapidly accepted. In this region Romanization was not imposed by military encounters and confiscations, but was achieved through gradual exposure. While maintaining a distinct culture and language, the Veneti had long been allies of Rome and had gradually embraced Roman customs. This apparently made the region more attractive to

²⁷ibid. 57-58; Cavalieri Manasse 260-261.

²⁸Mangani et al. 125-126.

²⁹ibid. 19.

³⁰ibid. 21-22.

immigrants who moved there from central Italy.³¹ The existence of five hundred equites from Patavium, which was a greater number than in any other city except Rome itself, attests to the success of Romanization. The tenth region also provided most of the initial senatorial representation from the north, in particular Verona.³²

Cisalpine Gaul was also home to many of the leading literary figures of the first century B.C. Certainly the most renowned north Italian author is Vergil, who was born in Mantua, but he is not alone. In addition to Catullus of Verona, other neoteric poets from the region include M. Furius Bibaculus (Cremona), C. Helvius Cinna (Brixia), and Caecilius (Comum); historians include Cornelius Nepos (Ostiglia) and Livy (Patavium), and in the next century there are the two Plinys (Comum).³³ The number of important literary figures and the significance of their contribution to Roman letters are indicative of the depth Roman culture had penetrated.

Terminology

A brief discussion of the terminology used in this

³¹P. A. Brunt, Italian Manpower 225 B.C. - A.D.14 (Oxford 1971) 190-198.

³²See Chilver op. cit. 86-95 and Chevallier op. cit. (n.23) vol. 4 219-229.

³³For other minor authors from the region, see Chevallier op. cit. vol. 4 317-338. For Lucretius as a native of this region, see L. Adams Holland, Lucretius and the Transpadanes (Princeton 1979).

thesis is required due to differences of usage among scholars of Roman domestic architecture. The standard terminology for the rooms in a Roman house evolved mainly through the study of the Campanian house and it is that archaeological context which gives the terms fauces, alae, atrium and tablinum their primary meaning. These terms have been taken from references in contemporary Roman literature and applied to the typical Pompeian scheme. They are identified primarily by their position in this plan, rather than by the material evidence which is used to indicate function in other rooms of the house, such as a hearth, for example, which may indicate a kitchen. Thus, the term tablinum, or office of the head of the household, is generally applied to any room which is located off the atrium and is axial to the entrance, even when it lacks substantial decoration.

However, when a house plan deviates from the Campanian model, terminology becomes more complicated. Position can no longer be the major criterion in determining room function. Nonetheless for such cases the terminology which is traditionally applied to the Campanian house has been borrowed and adapted. Thus, the word tablinum is often used loosely by scholars of any room which appears to have served as the main reception room, regardless of its position or the house type in which it occurs. It may be identified by size, a wide opening off an atrium, court or peristyle, or by high-quality decoration.

In contrast to the 'tablinum', position is a less useful criterion in the identification of triclinia and cubicula, since they have no canonical position in the early Campanian house. At Pompeii triclinia, or dining rooms, are commonly identified by a rather long, narrow shape which fits the proportions given by Vitruvius for this room type;³⁴ such rooms are often found adjacent to the tablinum. Triclinia can also sometimes be identified by a T-shaped pavement, which delineates the position of the lecti, although this is rare at Pompeii. In scholarly literature, however, the word is often used of rooms which, though lacking this characteristic pavement, are clearly important, with exceptional decoration (such as stucco or wall painting) or a prominent position off an atrium or peristyle.

There is a similar lack of clarity in the ancient sources regarding the terminology and limits in function of dining rooms. Triclinium is the word most narrowly used of dining rooms, but several other words occur in the ancient sources, among them cenatio, conclave and oecus.³⁵ Cenatio originally meant dining room, as the word implies; however, B. Tamm argues that in the first century A.C. the word came to be used of halls with elaborate architectural decoration which

³⁴De arch. 6.3.8.

³⁵B. Tamm, Auditorium and Palatium (Stockholm 1963) 193-196 provides a succinct discussion of these terms and their use in the Latin sources.

were used for other purposes as well as for dining.³⁶ Originally too the word cenaculum was used, but the popularity of dining rooms built in a second storey overlooking the atrium led to a more generalized application of the word to any rooms on the upper floor.³⁷ The meaning of conclavia is less clear; in Vitruvius' account they are discussed along with triclinia, but the word is also used of reception rooms with no more specific function.³⁸

The term oecus is used of prominent rooms, whose primary function as reception rooms is indicated by decoration or favourable position. However, although widespread in modern discussions, the word is rare in Latin texts. Vitruvius uses it on only two occasions, in discussing exotic room types, and in his treatment of the Greek house.³⁹ He describes four types of special rooms or oeci (Corinthian, tetrastyle, Egyptian and Cyzicene) which are not native to the Roman architectural tradition.⁴⁰ The description of these rooms directly follows a discussion of triclinia, but it is not clear to what extent Vitruvius considers these oeci variations of triclinia. He does refer to Cyzicene triclinia,

³⁶ibid. 195-196.

³⁷Varro L.L. 5.162. See G. Hermansen, "The Medianum and the Roman Apartment," Phoenix 24 (1970) 342-347, who argues that cenaculum became the common word for 'apartment'.

³⁸De arch. 6.3.8; Tamm op. cit. 193.

³⁹De arch. 6.3.8-10; 6.7.2.

⁴⁰"non italicae consuetudinis oeci" De arch. 6.3.10.

which may indicate that all four types of oeci were used for dining.⁴¹ The same passage includes a discussion of conclavia, exedrae and pinacothecae; they share certain structural features while differing in others. The common characteristic seems to be that all are rooms of importance within the house and deserving of venustas⁴² in their proportions.

The only other appearance of the word oecus in Latin occurs in Pliny the Elder's discussion of the asarotos oecos, the mosaic pavement of Sosus, an obvious transliteration of the Greek.⁴³ It is clear that the word was never adopted into general Latin usage. However, in scholarly literature on the subject the term oecus is often used interchangeably with triclinium. This has resulted in some confusion about the function, or at least the primary function, of these rooms. R. Rebuffat discusses the subject with particular reference to the North African context of his material. On the use of oecus of rooms with the characteristic triclinium pavement, he says

"...une concurrence s'établit entre les deux mots, et elle est la source d'une ambiguïté" ⁴⁴

and suggests the term "triclinium d'apparat" for rooms with

⁴¹De arch. 6.7.3.

⁴²De arch. 6.3.11.

⁴³HN 36.184.

⁴⁴Thamusida II (Rome 1970) 293-297.

such pavements. Rebuffat is right to champion the significance of the triclinium in its chief function as a dining room, especially in the imperial period. However, the ambiguity he speaks of cannot be attributed solely to the semantic inconsistency of scholars; it is illustrated in the variety of terms for reception rooms in the ancient sources and reflects a certain multiplicity of function in Roman reception rooms.

In his discussion Rebuffat goes on to explain his rejection of oecus and adoption of exedra, which he uses of small well-appointed rooms located off the peristyle in many North African domus.⁴⁵ These rooms are most often orthogonal to the large 'triclinium'. He identifies these rooms as reception rooms with uses similar to those of the Pompeian tablinum, which complement the functions of the triclinium. Ancient literary sources are not clear on the architectural character or function of exedrae. The word can refer to a nymphaeum or niche of indeterminate function.⁴⁶ In a sacred context exedrae can be locations for statues; in a public bath they are places for conversation, lectures or teaching. In the private house they are characterized by Vitruvius as open places, like peristyles and rooms primarily used in summer,

⁴⁵1970 op. cit. 299.

⁴⁶See F.W. Deichmann, "Exedra," Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum 6 (1966) cols. 1165-1174; S. Settis, "Esedro e ninfeo nella terminologia architettonica del mondo romano. Dall'età repubblicana alla tarda antichità," ANRW 1 4 661-745, especially 672-675.

and he indicates that they are of some size.⁴⁷ In the modern literature on Campania the term is often used of relatively small, shallow rooms with a wide opening off the atrium or peristyle, regardless of interior decoration. The combination of triclinium and exedra outlined by Rebuffat is frequent in the North African domus, but it is not common in the rest of the western empire, and hence is of limited utility.

It is quite common in Campania for a domus to have more than one triclinium, as well as several well-appointed rooms of a variety of sizes and shapes; however, it is impossible to assign a specific function to such rooms. Moreover, even when the pavement indicates that the primary function of a room was dining, it does not mean that this was its only function, nor, conversely, that rooms without such pavements were never used for dining. Dining couches could easily be moved from one room to another, as necessity dictated, and Vitruvius speaks of seasonal triclinia, positioned to accommodate differences in temperature.⁴⁸ Thus, it is likely that dining was not restricted to one room in a house of substantial size, but took place in a variety of rooms, and that it is not always possible to identify such locations from the archaeological evidence. It is also true that, in the ancient context, dining was not restricted to the activities of eating and drinking, but included readings,

⁴⁷De arch. 6.3.8; 7.3.4; 7.5.2; 7.9.2.

⁴⁸De arch. 6.4.

intellectual discussions, and a variety of entertainments. This further complicates the task of determining room function and of assigning labels to specific rooms.⁴⁹

The term cubiculum presents a similar problem. In the Campanian context, the word cubiculum is often used by modern authors of a specific room type: a small rectangular space with an unadorned rectangular area of pavement at one end, indicating the placement of a bed, and more elaborate decoration on the rest of the floor.⁵⁰ However, the literary evidence suggests that the functions of cubicula were not limited to sleeping, but rather that they were the location of a variety of activities, including the reception of guests.⁵¹ The dimensions of many Campanian examples identified as cubicula hardly recommend such a range of functions; they are simply too small. Moreover, the bipartite division of internal space which is characteristic of these 'cubicula' may reflect local custom, as it is not universally found outside

⁴⁹For example, Pliny the Younger (Ep. 8.21.2) mentions a triclinium which was used for a private reading. For the complex role of the banquet in classical society, see O. Murray ed., Symptica - A Symposium on the Symposium (Oxford 1990), and W.J. Slater ed., Dining in a Classical Context (Ann Arbor 1991).

⁵⁰See O. Elia, "I cubicoli nelle case di Pompei," Historia 6 (1932) 394-421. There are also rooms with two bed-niches. At Pompeii this division is also often matched in the wall painting. See A. Barbet, La peinture murale romaine (Paris 1985) 58-66.

⁵¹Tamm op. cit. (n.35) 113-119 discusses the range of activities which occurred in cubicula. For further references see A. Wallace-Hadrill, "The Social Structure of the Roman House," BSR 56 (1988) 59 n.44.

the region. It seems likely, then, that cubicula were not limited to the form seen in Campania, and that, as with dining rooms, other rooms of an uncertain architectural nature must have served as bedrooms and for these other purposes.⁵²

The variety of functions indicated by the use of these terms points to the difficulty in assigning specific and limited functions to rooms. This is of course exacerbated in cases where there is only scanty archaeological evidence. For reasons of simplicity and clarity, then, in this thesis the traditional terminology of the Roman house as first exemplified in the Pompeian house will be retained. Thus, tablinum will only be used of rooms which open off the atrium and occupy the traditional position opposite the entrance on the main axis. The terms triclinium and cubiculum will be strictly applied to rooms whose primary function, respectively dining and sleeping, was indicated by the characteristic pavements or other indisputable archaeological evidence. It must be stressed, however, that such rooms were probably used for other functions as well. Because of its varied meanings, the term exedra will not be used. The term 'oecus' will be avoided, except in quoting from the works of others. When significant decoration or a favourable position vis à vis an

⁵²The term zotheca generally refers to wall niches, but is used twice by Pliny the Younger of an alcove or recess in a room (Ep. 2.17.21; 5.6.38 [zothecula]). For further discussion of the terminology of the niche in Greek and Latin, see G. Hornbostel-Hüttner, Studien zur römischen Nischenarchitektur (Leiden 1979) 9-21; 22.

atrium or peristyle are the only criteria for identification, the term 'reception room' will be used. This will include rooms in a variety of shapes and sizes whose precise function is undetermined, but which have clearly received special attention.

For some scholars, there is also ambiguity regarding the identification of atria and peristyles. Both provide light and air to surrounding rooms, and in the case of impluviate and columnar atria they also share some structural elements. In addition, the atrium is generally characterized as the nucleus of the Roman house, and the peristyle of the Greek. The distinction between the two has been especially prominent in the study of Roman houses in the provinces, as scholars attempted to identify cultural influences in domestic architecture.⁵³ All these discussions reinforce the

⁵³The discussion of atria and peristyles has been largely the concern of French scholars, who have focused on columnar atria because of their structural similarity to peristyles. P. Grimal (R.E.A. 1948 394-397) first proposed a basic principle for the separation of columnar atria and peristyles according to the numerical ratio of uncovered to covered space, the former being greater in the Greek domestic peristyle than in the Roman atrium. The was taken up by R. Etienne in his study of the houses of Volubilis, in which he adopts and elaborates on Grimal's principle (Le Quartier Nord-Est de Volubilis [Paris 1960] 120-124). He also makes a functional distinction between the impluvia of Pompeian atria and basins in peristyles, in that the latter serve a purely decorative function while impluvia are important in domestic water collection. In his publication of the Maison du Dallage at Thamusida R. Rebuffat attempts to simplify the issue and reduces the identification of atria over peristyles to two criteria: a structural resemblance to a Vitruvian atrium, in position and in the role of water collection, or a clear evolution from the Vitruvian type (op. cit. [n.44] 286 n.1). C. Goudineau transfers the discussion to the houses of

dichotomy between the 'Greek' character of the peristyle and the 'Roman' character of the atrium. In Italy, however, by the first century B.C. this dichotomy proves false, as peristyles have clearly become a common element not only in the domus but indeed throughout Roman architecture. The definition of the Roman house can no longer be held within such narrow confines, and arguments of this sort are of limited utility for the Italian peninsula. Therefore, in this thesis atria will be identified according to the description in Vitruvius and the position they occupy in the Pompeian atrium house, and the presence of an impluvium.⁵⁴ The term 'peristyle' will be used of a court or garden surrounded by columns.

southern Gaul and makes a further distinction between paved peristyles and Pompeian viridaria (Les Fouilles de la Maison au Dauphin [Gallia supplement 37, Paris 1979 234-239]).

⁵⁴Vitruvius describes five types of atria, four which are open to the sky (Tuscan, Corinthian, tetrastyle, displuviate) and the testudinate atrium, which is roofed, and therefore provides more area for upper rooms (De arch. 6.3.1-4). Vitruvius uses cava aedium interchangeably with atrium.

CHAPTER II

Survey of Domestic Architecture in Italy

In Iron Age sites in Etruria and Rome rectangular and circular houses are indicated by both structural remains and by hut urns of wattle and daub found in burials,¹ with wooden beams to support the roof; the more elaborate rectangular examples have gabled roofs and decorative acroteria. These models also bear traces of painted and incised wall decoration in geometric patterns.² Dated to the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., this material constitutes the oldest evidence of domestic architecture in the Italian peninsula. However, it is only suggestive of the character of actual houses.

The character of Etruscan houses is somewhat better understood. The earliest actual remains are those at the sites of Veii, Vetulonia, and San Giovenale.³ Dated to ca.

¹For the well-known Iron Age huts on the Palatine in Rome see E. Gjerstad, Early Rome II (Lund 1956) 282-286, III 1960 48-78; M. Pallottino, "Le origini di Roma," ANRW 1, 1 (Berlin 1972) 22-47, especially 25-29; E. De Albentis, La casa dei romani (Milan 1990) 13-20. For further examples see A. Boëthius, Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture (Harmondsworth 1978) 23-28.

²Boëthius ibid. 23, 26.

³For Veii see NSc 1922 379-404 fig. 2; for Vetulonia see NSc 1895 272-277 fig. 1; for San Giovenale see San Giovenale: Results of Excavations conducted by the Swedish Institute of

600 B.C., the plans of these houses are simple, consisting of one or two rooms, with entrances in the short sides. A. Boëthius compares these houses to the Greek megaron.⁴ On the north slope of the acropolis at San Giovenale there are terraced houses of a different plan, with entrances in their long sides off side streets. At Acquarossa near Viterbo were found houses with a variety of interior arrangement.⁵ The plans of houses found at Marzabotto, which are dated to the mid fifth century B.C., are somewhat difficult to read due to the poor state of preservation.⁶ They appear to have a long entrance corridor leading to a central space or court, with rooms off the sides and back; a well or some form of cistern was found in several of the courts, and tabernae are found both off the street and inside the house.

Rock-cut tombs at numerous sites such as Veii, Cerveteri and Tarquinia are thought to have been modelled on

Classical Studies at Rome and the Soprintendenza all' Antichità dell'Etruria meridionale I (Acta Rom. Suec. 26, 1, Lund and Stockholm 1969-1972) 299f.; also C. Nylander, "Cenni sull'architettura domestica a San Giovenale etrusco," San Giovenale - Materiali e Problemi (Acta Rom. Suec. series 4 41, Stockholm 1984) 65-72.

⁴Boëthius op. cit. 75, 77, 85. For the relationship between the early Greek house and the Etruscan house see H. Drerup, "Zum geometrischen Haus," MarbWPr 1963 1f.

⁵C. Östenberg, Case etrusche di Acquarossa (Rome 1975) passim, especially 41-43, 243.

⁶E. Brizio, "Relazione degli scavi eseguiti a Marzabotto presso Bologna," Mon. Ant. 1891 cols. 249-442; G. Mansuelli, "La casa etrusca di Marzabotto," RM 1963 44-62; A.G. McKay, Houses, Villas and Palaces in the Roman World (Ithaca 1975) 19-22; De Albentiis op. cit. 64-72.

Etruscan houses.⁷ The tombs vary from simple single rooms to multi-chambered plans with details such as beams, columns, coffered ceilings and furniture carved in stone, as well as painted wall decoration. In internal arrangement the more complex of these tombs bear similarities to the early phase of domestic architecture at Pompeii: a rectangular central area (atrium) has rooms opening off the sides (alae), with one main room off the short side opposite the entrance (tablinum). As F. Prayon points out, three basic elements of the Pompeian house are present in Etruscan tombs of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. - frontality, symmetry and axially. However, Prayon concludes that the archaeological evidence is too slight to prove a direct connection.⁸ House 4 1 2 at Marzabotto has been suggested as a possible forerunner of the early Italic house. The entrance corridor has been identified as equivalent to the fauces, two front rooms flanking it as tabernae, the court as a primitive atrium and the central room off it as an early tablinum. A degree of axially has also been detected in the arrangement.⁹ De Albentis acknowledges these similarities to the later Pompeian plan, but sees differences in the narrowness and length of the entrance corridor, and in the absence of impluvia and cisterns

⁷A. Akerström Studien über die Etruskischen Gräber (Lund 1934); F. Prayon, Frühetruskische Grab-und Hausarchitektur RM EH 22 1975; Boëthius op. cit. 80-94.

⁸Prayon op. cit. 116-148 and 148-174, especially 159-160.

⁹Mansuelli op. cit. (n.6) 56-60; McKay op. cit. 21.

in the court.¹⁰ Despite the parallels, the poor condition of the material at Marzabotto and the absence of a canonical plan do not permit a direct connection between Etruscan and later Roman domestic architecture.¹¹

In the period of the Roman Republic more elaborate Etruscan tombs continue the earlier tradition;¹² however, for this period the archaeological evidence from Pompeii and other sites provides the most significant information. The earliest houses in Pompeii are dated to the fourth century B.C., on the basis of their limestone construction.¹³ The best-known of these is the Casa del Chirurgo (6 1 10). Similar in plan but dated to the third century B.C. because of its construction in

¹⁰De Albentiis op. cit. 64-72.

¹¹Although Boëthius acknowledges the possible identification of alae and tablina in these houses (op. cit. 88), he sees the most obvious parallel in the Greek megaron (75).

¹²Among the most elaborate and best known of the late Etruscan tombs are the Tomb of the Alcove and the Tomb of the Reliefs at Cerveteri, and the Tomb of the Volumnii at Perugia.

¹³J. Overbeck, A. Mau, Pompeji in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümern und Kunstwerken (Leipzig 1884) 500-502; A. Mau, Pompeji in Leben und Kunst (Leipzig 1908) 36-38. L. Richardson, Pompeii: An Architectural History (Baltimore 1988 370) disputes the standard chronology, dismissing entirely the traditional 'Limestone period'. He argues that large houses such as the Casa del Chirurgo and Casa di Sallustius cannot be dated to so early a period as the fourth to third centuries B.C., but must have been built at the beginning of the second century B.C. (op. cit. 391-392).

tufa blocks is the Casa di Sallustius (6 2 4).¹⁴ Both consist of the same elements: fauces, central area surrounded by rooms on all sides, including alae, and tablinum on the main axis. In their earliest incarnation neither the Casa del Chirurgo nor the Casa di Sallustius had an impluvium; in the latter, water was furnished by a well located in one of the rooms.¹⁵ In the second century B.C. impluviate atria were built in both houses, and became a common feature in Pompeian houses.

The origin and evolution of the atrium is unclear. Vitruvius discusses five types of atria - Tuscanic, tetrastyle, Corinthian, displuviate and testudinate.¹⁶ It is clear by the term 'Tuscanic' that Vitruvius considered the atrium (or cava aedium) Etruscan in origin. Although there are no displuviate atria in Etruscan tombs or architectural remains, a model of a displuviate atrium was found at Chiusi and is dated to the fourth or third century B.C., and in the 'Tomba di Mercareccia' at Tarquinia, also of late Etruscan date, a displuviate atrium with impluvium is represented.¹⁷ Vitruvius gives no indication of the chronological development

¹⁴For the Casa del Chirurgo see A. Maiuri, NSc 1930 381-395; for the Casa di Sallustius see A. Laidlaw, J. Packer, "Excavations in the House of Sallust in Pompeii," AJA 75 (1971) 206-207.

¹⁵Maiuri ibid. 391; Laidlaw and Packer ibid. 207.

¹⁶De arch. 6.3.1.

¹⁷Boëthius op. cit. 90 figs. 88 and 89.

of the five atrium types, but attempts have been made to establish a logical framework.¹⁸ Both the displuviate and testudinate atrium house need space around them on both sides; without an open space to provide light and an impluvium to catch rainwater there must be other provision for lighting (windows are the most obvious solution) and a gabled roof for drainage. This is only possible where houses are detached from their neighbours. It has been suggested that in its earliest phase the Pompeian house had a testudinate atrium.¹⁹ This is not, however, in accord with the dense residential organization of Pompeii, where houses share common walls on narrow lots and have limited street frontage. In fact, with its narrow shape and impluviate atrium, the typical Pompeian atrium house seems predicated on dense urban conditions. It is possible, as Hoffmann points out, that early impluvia were of terracotta and left no traces.²⁰ Water collection was important in Samnite Pompeii; ground water is reached by wells only at a depth of thirty metres.²¹ In the second century impluvia led directly to cisterns and smaller houses had wells, providing the main source for water until the

¹⁸Richardson op. cit. 382-387; A. Hoffmann, "L'architettura," in F. Zevi ed., Pompei '79 (Naples 1984) 97-118.

¹⁹e.g. Richardson op. cit. 383-384.

²⁰Such impluvia were found at Sepino (Hoffmann op. cit. 107).

²¹A. and M. de Vos, Pompei Ercolano Stabia - Guide archeologiche Laterza (Bari 1988) 264.

construction of the Serino aqueduct under Augustus.²² The Casa di Iulius Polybius (9 13 1-3) is one of the largest and best decorated houses with a testudinate atrium which is wider than it is deep.²³ In this house the fauces lead to a testudinate atrium; behind a row of back rooms is another atrium with impluvium, which led to a cistern.

L. Richardson identifies the oldest domestic plan in use at Pompeii as very different from the better-known model.²⁴ Houses 6 11 12 and 13 are cited as examples which pre-date the well-appointed patrician domus, and while they also represent a different class of housing, they too are single-family dwellings. Narrow fauces lead to a central testudinate atrium which has rooms opening off the front and back. The rooms which flank the fauces are lit by windows on the street side and tend to be closed to the street front, rather than used as tabernae. There is no tablinum; at the back of the atrium a corridor separates two rooms and leads to a small court or hortus. Richardson states that a shift from this plan to the impluviate atrium-tablinum plan would include the opening of the roof and the addition of an impluvium, the

²²This too is not universal; in the Casa del Menandro, for example, the impluvium was a late addition to the atrium and was never equipped with a cistern. See R. Ling, "The Insula of the Menander at Pompeii: interim report," Ant.J. 63 (1984) 41.

²³A. de Franciscis, "La casa di C. Iulius Polybius," Rivista di Studi Pompeiani 2 (1988) 15-36.

²⁴Richardson op. cit. 383-385.

creation of a central axis with an accompanying reorganization of the interior to include side rooms, alae and tablinum. A potential example of this transitional arrangement is house 1 6 15, which exhibits the axial fauces-atrium arrangement (in this instance, a tetrastyle atrium) but has no side rooms and no tablinum.²⁵ How and when such a shift occurred is not clear; the use of this plan throughout the history of the city indicates that it was a viable alternative to the impluviate atrium.

A. Hoffmann has also examined a group of houses which differ from the standard model.²⁶ Located in Region 1, these houses were previously considered to have been built in the Sullan era; new research has shown, however, that they must be dated to at least the mid-second century B.C., if not earlier.²⁷ Built of Sarno limestone, houses 1 11 12-15, like 6 11 12-13 discussed by Richardson, have no impluviate atria or tablina. The fauces are flanked by two rooms which open off a testudinate atrium; two rooms off the back of the atrium are separated by a corridor which leads to an unroofed court which could have been used as a hortus. One (no. 13) has traces of a stairway. Although significant structural changes were made later, this arrangement seems to represent the

²⁵Richardson gives the following other examples: 1 9 8; 1 11 12, 13, and 14; 1 12 16; 1 14 3, and 6/7.

²⁶Hoffmann op. cit. 97-118.

²⁷ibid. 112f.

original plan. As well as lacking impluvia, the testudinate atria, as in 6 11 12-13, are wider than they are deep, and in this too they differ from the more common narrow Pompeian impluviate atria.

These houses illustrate a different architectural type and they also represent middle to lower class housing, an important area of domestic architecture whose study has until now been largely neglected in favour of the domus. Their development is still not fully understood, but they are coeval with the wealthier dwellings and occupy an important place in the domestic architecture of Pompeii. Such dwellings were the homes for most of the population and thus they outnumber the domus. How these houses functioned and what was their role in the evolution of both domus and insula requires further consideration.

Examination of another group of houses illustrates another solution to Pompeii's narrow lot size. E. Evans has made a study of Pompeian atrium houses which possess no side rooms.²⁸ Of two hundred houses examined (roughly half the total excavated) thirty nine had no side rooms, while seventeen had side rooms which were incomplete or irregular and which were clearly later additions. Most importantly, this group dates from all periods in Pompeian history, with a

²⁸E. Evans, "A group of atrium houses without side rooms in Pompeii," in H. McK. Blake, T.W. Potter, D.B. Whitehouse eds., Papers in Italian Archaeology I (BAR Supplementary Series 41 i Oxford 1978) 175f.

majority built in the Samnite period and few built in the Roman era. The domus degli Stallii Erotas (1 6 13) provides the most intact example. Dating from the same era as the Casa del Chirurgo, this house has side rooms which are of a different construction technique from the rest of the building and are irregular in plan.

Evans notes that the desire to have an attractive, well-proportioned atrium seems to have been a motivation in the development of this plan.²⁹ Lots which were particularly restricted in width did not allow for both side rooms and an atrium; the sacrifice of the former to create the latter led to atria which are either square or wider than they are deep. This left more room for the back and front row of rooms than would the more common rectangular shape of most Pompeian atria. Although this house type is often small, it is not exclusively a lower class dwelling. The Casa degli Amorini Dorati (6 16 7), famous for its Rhodian peristyle, has such an arrangement; three other examples have tetrastyle atria whose columns are purely decorative. However, the Casa di Paquius Proculus (1 7 1) originally had one range of side rooms which were later co-opted by its neighbour; the doors of these rooms were retained, to give the illusion of more space.³⁰ To compensate for having fewer interior rooms, these houses made more use of the front row of rooms, which in these examples

²⁹ibid. 177.

³⁰ibid. 178.

were less often used as tabernae. Three-quarters of them also had an upper storey, and several expanded into adjoining lots.

Of the five types of atria discussed by Vitruvius the Tuscanic is the most popular at Pompeii. As already mentioned the label 'Tuscanic' has contributed to the identification of the atrium as a native Italic, specifically Etruscan, invention.³¹ In a number of patrician houses there are two atria, one Tuscanic and the other tetrastyle (e.g. Casa del Fauno, [6 12 2], Casa di M. Obellius Firmus [9 14 14]; Casa del Labirinto [6 11 10]). While it was originally believed that these double-atrium houses developed through a process of expropriation, excavation has revealed that, in the case of the Casa del Fauno at least, both atria were part of the original construction phase.³² It is possible that these double atria reflect private and public functions.³³ The imposing Tuscanic type more commonly opens off the main street entrance, while the tetrastyle type tends to be smaller and more isolated from the public areas. The tetrastyle

³¹Varro (L.L. 5.161) attributes the atrium to the Etruscans, making an etymological connection between 'atrium' and the Etruscan town of Atria.

³²A. van Buren, "Newsletter from Rome," AJA 67 (1963) 402; V. Kockel, "Funde und Forschungen in den Vesuvstädten II," AA 1985 493-495; contra, see De Albentiis (op. cit. (n.1) 145) who alludes to recent work which supports the theory that the two atria originally belonged to separate houses, but gives no details or reference.

³³R. Ling, "Pompeii and Herculaneum: recent research and future prospects," in H. McK. Blake, T.W. Potter, D.B. Whitehouse eds., Papers in Italian Archaeology I (BAR Supplementary Series 41 i Oxford 1978) 161.

atrium too customarily supports an upper storey, which must have held private apartments.

The Corinthian atrium is less common at Pompeii, but four examples demonstrate a variety of arrangements, with columns ranging in number from 3x3 to 6x4 positioned around square and rectangular impluvia.³⁴ It is possible that the use of columns in tetrastyle and Corinthian atria anticipates the appearance of the peristyle in the Pompeian house. The most remarkable Corinthian atrium is that of the Casa dei Diadumeni (9 1 20), which is dated to the second half of the second century B.C.³⁵ This is the largest example, with sixteen columns around a large impluvium, and rooms are symmetrically organized around the atrium. This arrangement resembles a peristyle as much as an atrium and illustrates the duality in form and function of atrium and peristyle, in that both provide light and air to surrounding rooms.

The evolution of columnar atria is still to be studied; similarly, a precise chronology for the integration of the peristyle has not yet been established. It is usually assigned to some point in the second century B.C., which was the height of economic prosperity in Pompeii and consequently also the period of greatest building. The majority of peristyles at Pompeii are three-sided, with the fourth side

³⁴de Vos op. cit. (n.21) 186 6 5 4; 6 8 21; 6 9 5 and 6; at Herculaneum, the Casa dell'Atrio Corinzio 5 30.

³⁵de Vos op. cit. 100.

usually forming a parietal wall. As such, they exhibit a variety of shapes and sizes, and are built into the house plan in different ways. They tend to be added onto the back of the house, incorporated into the hortus. In the large domus the peristyle is four-sided, well-proportioned, square or rectangular in shape and reached via a corridor (andron) located at the side of the tablinum.

In the first century B.C. the house plan began to be dominated by the peristyle. The atrium lost its role as the nucleus of the house, as reception rooms like the tablinum and triclinium became oriented instead to the peristyle. The construction of the Serino aqueduct secured the city's water supply and led to the incorporation of pools and fountains into the peristyle garden. Highly decorated nymphaea, statuary, plants and shrubs created a decorative programme which was exploited by the architectural arrangement. Reception rooms and exotic oeci inspired by Hellenistic models were positioned to overlook the garden vista.

Two of the most representative examples of this new type of Pompeian house are the Casa dei Vettii (6 15 1-2) and the Casa degli Amorini Dorati (6 16 7).³⁶ In both cases the

³⁶For the Casa dei Vettii see A. Mau, RM 11 (1896) 3-97; A. Sogliano, MonAnt 8 (1898) cols. 233-416; K. Schefold, "Zur Chronologie der Dekorationen im Haus der Vettier," RM 64 (1957) 149-153; W. Peters, "La composizione delle pareti dipinte nella Casa dei Vettii a Pompei," Meded 39 (1977) 95-128. For the Casa degli Amorini Dorati see A. Sogliano, NSc 1906 374-383; 1907 549-593; 1908 26-43; see also the forthcoming volume in the DAI series Häuser in Pompeji by F. Seiler.

atrium core still exists, but the peristyle has replaced it as the focus of the house. In the Casa degli Amorini Dorati the tablinum has a clearly subordinate role, while in the Casa dei Vettii there is no tablinum. In both of these houses the atrium is little more than an anteroom for the peristyle and its surrounding rooms. Among these it is common that at least one large well-decorated reception room opens off the colonnaded court. This unit of peristyle-reception room effectively replaces the atrium-tablinum both as the functional nucleus of the house and as its showpiece for guests.³⁷

The source of inspiration for the inclusion of the peristyle into Roman domestic architecture has been much debated. Initially, it was viewed as a borrowing from the Greek peristyle house type, especially as exemplified on the island of Delos.³⁸ However, the existence of a single Greek house type is itself disputed, as the evidence is characterized by regional diversity.³⁹ It has also been

³⁷E. Dwyer argues against this view of decline and for the constancy of the atrium house at Pompeii; his focus, however, is on the shift from atrium house to apartment block rather than on changes within the atrium house itself. See "The Pompeian Atrium House in Theory and in Practice," in E. Gazda ed., Roman Art in the Private Sphere (Ann Arbor 1991) 25-48.

³⁸L. Crema, L'architettura romana (Enciclopedia Classica 3 vol. 12, 1, Turin 1959) 113-115.

³⁹C. Goudineau, Les Fouilles de la Maison au Dauphin (Gallia supplement 37, Paris 1979) 234 n.193 concisely summarizes the problem.

suggested that public gardens with porticoes and nymphaea which appeared in Republican Rome provided a model, integrated as they often were into private aristocratic houses.⁴⁰ More recently, the influence of the Roman villa has been identified in the Pompeian house, not only in the lavish peristyle gardens but also in the wall painting and in decorative techniques such as painted faux marbre.⁴¹ The addition of rooms with interior columns, the oeci Corinthii and Aegyptii of Vitruvius,⁴² are further evidence of the influence of Hellenistic architecture at Pompeii.⁴³

Similarly, the function of the peristyle in the Roman domestic context is still under discussion. The public character of the atrium is unassailable; its direct access off the fauces and central position as well as its imposing, often monumentalizing decoration, are suited to public reception. The position of the peristyle at the back of the house led to its identification as the private area, where household

⁴⁰P. Grimal, Les jardins romains (Paris 1969) passim, especially 216; B. Tamm, Auditorium and Palatium (Stockholm 1963) 122-126.

⁴¹P. Zanker, "Die Villa als Vorbild des späten pompejanischen Wohngeschmacks," JdI 94 (1979) 460-523.

⁴²De arch. 6.3.8-10.

⁴³There are two Corinthian oeci at Pompeii, in the Casa del Labirinto (6 11 10) and in the Casa di Meleagro (6 9 2), and one tetrastyle oecus (Casa delle Nozze d'argento, 5 2 i), which seems a variation on the same theme. There is also an oecus Aegyptius at Herculaneum (Casa dell'Atrio a mosaico 4 1-2). See A. Maiuri, "Gli 'oeci' Vitruviani in Palladio e nella casa pompeiana ed ercolanese," Palladio 2 (1952) 1-8.

activities were carried out away from the eyes of outsiders. However, in Vitruvius both the atrium and peristyle are included in the public area of the house, "quibus etiam invocati suo iure de populo possunt venire".⁴⁴ In her discussion of the domus Tamm emphasizes the public character of the peristyle, drawing comparisons with the luxurious models in Rome.⁴⁵ Y. Thébert, in discussing the public versus private nature of the North African domus, says of Pompeii:

"Although the atrium of the Pompeian house was well suited to receive clients, it was not useful for receiving distinguished visitors, who would have been entertained in one of the dining rooms or salons off the peristyle. It is therefore wrong to draw a sharp contrast between the atrium and the peristyle of the Pompeian house on the grounds that the former belonged to the 'public' portion of the house and the latter to the 'private' portion."⁴⁶

It appears that access to areas of the domus was determined by degrees of status, a scale of gradation perhaps too subtle to ascertain.⁴⁷

The shift in focus from the atrium to the peristyle can be seen in a number of houses, including the Casa degli

⁴⁴De arch. 6.5.1.

⁴⁵Tamm op. cit. 125 n.56.

⁴⁶Y. Thébert, "Private Life and Domestic Architecture in Roman Africa," in P. Veyne ed., A History of Private Life (Cambridge, Mass. 1987) 358.

⁴⁷For a discussion of the question of private versus public use of space in the Roman house, see A. Wallace-Hadrill, "The Social Structure of the Roman House," BSR 56 (1988) 58-77.

Amorini Dorati (6 16 7) and the Casa dei Vettii (6 15 1), discussed above, and the Casa del Menandro (1 10 4). In these houses the peristyle is clearly the core of the house. Despite the grandeur of the Menander atrium, for example, the eye is drawn beyond it to the vista of the peristyle garden. The peristyle house itself, with rooms organized around a central peristyle and no atrium at all, is little represented at Pompeii. House 9 5 18-21 is one of the few examples which have been studied.⁴⁸ Behind the fauces at the southern entrance is a porticoed garden with rooms off two sides; from the northwest entrance a corridor gives access to a row of service rooms. There is no atrium, nor tablinum, nor the customary axiality. As in so many Pompeian houses structural phases are difficult to ascertain. The oldest walls are dated to 150 B.C.; however, the proximity of the house to the forum suggests that it probably had an earlier phase, as does the tufa basin in the peristyle. A later phase, perhaps in the mid to late first century B.C., saw the construction of the peristyle itself.⁴⁹ If the plan is to be identified as unitary in conception,⁵⁰ it must be read as an experiment in

⁴⁸F. Zevi, "La Casa Reg. IX 5 18-21 a Pompei e le sue pitture," Studi Miscellanei 5 (Rome 1964).

⁴⁹Zevi (ibid. 14) states that he does not accept the suggestion of other scholars that the peristyle is a reworking of an earlier atrium, but he provides no justification or discussion of opposing arguments.

⁵⁰Zevi (ibid. 14) does not furnish a thorough argument for this view, but says only that despite its irregularities the plan seems unitary.

adapting a new architectural form to Pompeii's particular urban organization. Another example of a peristyle house at Pompeii is 6 5 14.⁵¹ This plan has the same L-shape as 9 5 18-21, with entrances off the south and northwest. Narrow fauces open onto a three-sided portico which has its major wing off the north side. Packer identifies the room to the east (no. 5) as a tablinum and to the north (no. 9) as a triclinium; a service area (nos. 10-12) was kept somewhat separated from the peristyle. An upper storey probably imitated the plan of the first floor. Although other examples of peristyle houses exist,⁵² it is apparent that at Pompeii a local preference for the atrium, coupled perhaps with the realities of existing structures, prevented the peristyle house from taking root outside the context of the atrium house plan.

The site of Herculaneum is much smaller than Pompeii, measuring five hectares to Pompeii's forty.⁵³ It has also received much less scholarly attention and hence there have

⁵¹See J. Packer, "Middle and Lower Class Housing in Pompeii and Herculaneum: A Preliminary Survey," in B. Andreae and Helmut Kyrieleis eds., Neue Forschungen in Pompeii (Recklinghausen 1975) 136, who makes no attempt to date the structure.

⁵²Possible candidates include 1 12 6, 1 17 4, 6 2 25, 6 5 10, 7 12 28, 9 8 c, 9 9 c; no proper study has been done.

⁵³de Vos op. cit. (n.21) 260.

been few detailed considerations of its structural history.⁵⁴ In general the houses here present the same preference in their initial plan for the atrium core as at Pompeii; however, the impluviate atrium, which dominates the Pompeian examples, is less widespread at Herculaneum. This may be partially attributed to practical reasons: ground water, reached only at a depth of some thirty metres at Pompeii, is available at eight to ten metres at Herculaneum. Thus, there was less dependence on impluviate atria and underlying cisterns for water storage, and a greater readiness to transform the traditional plan. Within its small sample Herculaneum offers a wider range of architectural variation than does Pompeii. There are fewer houses with a peristyle grafted onto the back; the Casa del Tramezzo di Legno (3 11) and the Casa del Bicentenario (5 15-16) are the only examples which approach this typical Pompeian plan, although even in these houses the use of the space around the portico diverges from the Pompeian model. More often at Herculaneum, the peristyle is allowed to create the focus of the house, as in the Casa dell'Atrio a mosaico (4 1-2) and the Casa dei Cervi (4 21), foreshadowing a common feature in imperial domestic architecture. As at Pompeii house lots are narrow, creating a degree of axiality

⁵⁴For Herculaneum, see A. Maiuri, Ercolano. I nuovi scavi (1927-1958) (Rome 1958); the only structural study of buildings at Herculaneum is T. Ganschow, Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte in Herculaneum (Bonn 1989), which focuses on seven buildings in an effort to establish a local chronology. See also C. Parslow, "Herculaneum: a new bibliography and recent work," JRA 3 (1990) 248-252.

in the interior arrangement of the house itself. However, there seems to be more freedom in changing dividing walls and thereby transforming lot shape. Similarly, there is greater variety in the internal organization of rooms; the rigid symmetry of side rooms, alae and tablina of Pompeii is missing. Other forms are also represented here, such as multiple family dwellings in the Casa a Graticcio (3 13-15) and the Casa della Stoffa (4 19-20). It is not clear whether this greater architectural variety reflects an esoteric taste unique to Herculaneum or whether this variety was the norm and it is Pompeii which had an inherent conservatism. More fundamental work on the houses at Herculaneum is needed to establish, as much as is possible, its local structural chronology and therefore the nature of its architectural development.

Upper storeys were common to houses at both Campanian sites. As Varro explains, they came to be called cenacula because originally dining rooms which opened off colonnaded balustrades were built above the atrium.⁵⁵ At Pompeii they seem to have developed first over the tablinum, particularly in tetrastyle atria, where they overlooked the impluvium and took advantage of the exposure to light and air furnished by the compluviate roof.⁵⁶ The best extant example of this

⁵⁵"Posteaquam in superiore parte cenitare coeperunt, superioris domus universa coenacula dicta." (L.L. 5.162)

⁵⁶Richardson op. cit. (n.13) 385, 395-396.

arrangement is illustrated by the Casa del Cenaculo (5 2 h), but it was likely common to many Pompeian houses. Upper storeys built on the street side of the atrium are also in evidence, and staircases in the peristyle section of numerous houses indicate that they also had upper levels.⁵⁷ The date of the addition of upper storeys is unclear; in the Casa del Menandro, however, the upper storey is dated to the mid first century A.C., later than generally believed for Pompeian houses.⁵⁸ Second storeys, however, seem to have been more common and to have appeared earlier at Herculaneum, where lots were smaller and there were more irregular divisions within insulae.⁵⁹ In the Imperial period commercial operations encroached on the ground floor space in both cities, but especially at Herculaneum. Because so little structural evidence is extant it is difficult in most cases to tell whether upper storeys belonged to the main floor domus, to be occupied by the family itself or by slaves, or if they were separate apartments, but various arrangements were possible. In the Casa del Bicentenario at Herculaneum, for example, the upper rooms over the portico appear to have constituted a separate poor man's apartment, while the rooms over the street side of the atrium belonged to the wealthier occupants of the

⁵⁷ibid. 123-124, 395-396.

⁵⁸Ling op. cit. (n.22) 53-55.

⁵⁹Maiuri 1958 op. cit. (n.54) 61-62.

domus.⁶⁰

Other significant archaeological evidence of the Roman house comes from the town of Cosa, a Roman colony northwest of Rome founded in 273 B.C.⁶¹ The first houses were built near the end of the third century B.C. As at Pompeii, here too house lots are narrow. In their initial phase they all have essentially the same plan. An entrance corridor flanked by two rooms leads to a shallow central court which extends across the width of the house. Two rooms are off the back of this court, the larger one an extension of it, the smaller set off by dividing walls. Behind these two rooms is another shallow area, which is divided into two rooms in two of the houses⁶² and left undivided in the others. A rectangular puteus or cesspool was built into the floor of this area, identified as a kitchen/latrine. At the back of the house steps led down to a hortus. A cistern was built beneath the central court; this was connected by channels both to the urban drainage system and to pipes set vertically into doorways at both the front and back of the house, collecting rainwater as it fell down the sloping roof. Both cistern and cesspool were cut into the ground before construction of the

⁶⁰ibid. 62, 223-224, 234-239, fig. 184.

⁶¹F. Brown, "Cosa I, History and Topography," MAAR 20 (1951) 5-113; idem, BdA 52 (1967) 37-41; idem, Cosa: The Making of a Roman Town Michigan 1980; V. Bruno, "A Town House at Cosa," Archaeology 1970 232-241. A volume on the houses at Cosa, by V. Bruno and R. Scott, is to appear shortly.

⁶²Brown 1980 op. cit. fig. 81 Houses V/VI - D/E.

houses was begun. Brown emphasizes the difference between these courts and the Pompeian impluviate atrium. In this phase at Cosa there were no impluvia; in the central court rainwater was channelled from the eaves into catch basins and then drained into the cistern.⁶³ Although Brown takes pains to make distinctions between these houses and those at Pompeii or, for that matter, those of the Hellenistic peristyle type, he acknowledges that the large room off the court resembles the Pompeian tablinum, and on the plans the entrance corridors are labelled as 'fauces'.⁶⁴ In general these early Cosan houses share some features of both the Pompeian houses cited by Richardson (6 11, 12-13) and Mansuelli's house 4 1 2 at Marzabotto; all share a narrow entrance corridor, a central court (which is open at Cosa) and some rooms off the back and/or sides. While they lack the rigid axuality of the Pompeian plan, a similarly narrow lot division creates a general axis which is somewhat offset by the laterally placed court.

Another house type, called 'garden houses' by Brown,⁶⁵ presents a different arrangement. Dated to the second century B.C., these were built at the rear of two houses, in the area occupied by the hortus, probably in response to population growth. In the two examples provided

⁶³ibid. 65.

⁶⁴ibid. 66, fig. 81, 83, 85-87.

⁶⁵ibid. 66 fig. 85.

by Brown an entrance corridor leads to a central court, as in the other houses, but the entrance is off to one side and the major room (labelled 'tablinum') lies to the side of the entrance corridor and opens off the court. In this way it is given a southern exposure, as in the other houses. The kitchen/latrine unit is also located at the back, with a stairway to the front house, suggesting that the occupants were part of an extended family.

In the first century B.C. the houses were enlarged in different ways; some extended into the hortus,⁶⁶ while another was joined with the next house. This enlarged house was organized quite differently, with one large room ('tablinum') which opens off the court, which was divided in half, and another large room designated by Brown as 'oecus'. A service area with kitchen and latrine opens off the other half of the court, and a stable and storage area occupy much of the area of the expropriated house. A coin hoard found in the house can be dated to 110-71 B.C.

Impluvia also appear at Cosa in this period.⁶⁷ In the Casa dello Scheletro there is a square central court with an impluvium in mortar which drains to a cistern beneath. There are large rooms labelled by Brown exedrae ('aestiva' and 'hiberna'), which are completely open to the court but are not

⁶⁶ibid. 66-67 fig. 86 Houses V/VI - D/E.

⁶⁷See ibid. 68-69 fig. 89, 90; Bruno op. cit. (n.61) 239-240.

shallow, as are most rooms called exedrae.⁶⁸ There are two other rooms, one called an oecus and a second labelled a triclinium, which opens off a garden through a three columned portico.⁶⁹ First style wall painting and opus signinum pavements indicate a level of sophistication. As both Bruno and Brown point out, while there are similarities to the Pompeian house there are also significant differences. The impluvium is not axial to either the entrance corridor or the 'exedra aestiva' which opens off the opposite side of the court and thus has the position of the traditional Pompeian tablinum. Nor is it centred in the court itself. There are also side rooms in this house, unlike others at Cosa; however, the house was originally square in shape and thus there is space for side rooms off the court. Moreover, these side rooms lack the symmetry of Pompeian side rooms.

The houses at Cosa demonstrate that the axuality and symmetry of many Pompeian houses were not considered essential features of domestic architecture in other cities, and that the Pompeian 'type', insofar as it exists, should not be taken as a model for Roman houses everywhere. Moreover, what is especially interesting about the Cosan houses is the existence of atria publica off the east and west sides of the Forum. In

⁶⁸Brown (1980 op. cit. 68) characterizes them as "reception rooms". For uses of the term, see Chapter I 20-21.

⁶⁹There is no explanation given for the use of these terms here; presumably the triclinium is so identified by its favoured position off the hortus.

appearance these structures closely resemble the 'Italic' core, with an entrance corridor, flanking tabernae, central impluviate atrium and surrounding rooms. Dated to the second century B.C., these buildings served commercial and artigianal functions.⁷⁰ That this architectural type was known at Cosa but does not appear in its residential architecture is significant.

Evidence from other sites in central Italy indicates that impluviate atria appeared earlier than those at Cosa.⁷¹ At Alba Fucens the domus in via del Miliario is an impluviate atrium house with the standard Pompeian fauces - alae - tablinum arrangement with peristyle at the rear, dated to the second half of the second century B.C.⁷² This is a large atrium, measuring 10.30x17m., and had an opus signinum

⁷⁰Brown 1980 op. cit. 33-36. A volume by R. Scott dealing with the Forum at Cosa and its surrounding buildings is forthcoming. For atria publica, see E. Welin, "Studien zur Topographie des Forum Romanum," Acta Rom Suec. series 8, 6 (1963) 179-219.

⁷¹The houses of Sicily are firmly in the Hellenistic Greek tradition; for a discussion of their architecture see B. Tsakirgis, The Domestic Architecture of Morgantina in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods (Diss. Princeton Univ. 1984). On Sardinia several atrium houses are extant, four of them tetrastyle; their initial phase is dated by their pavements to the first century A.C. (G. Pesce, Nora - Guida agli Scavi [Cagliari 1972] 67-76; idem, "Case romane in Campo Viale," Studi Sardi 21 [1964-1965] 329; S. Angiolillo, Mosaici Antichi in Italia - Sardinia [Rome 1981] passim.)

⁷²J. Mertens, Alba Fucens - Rapports et Etudes I (Brussels - Rome 1969) 82; J.C. Balty, "Une grande maison urbaine d'Alba Fucens: contribution à l'étude de l'architecture domestique en Italie central," ActaArchLov 25 (1986) 19-37. For phase I, see Balty, fig.2.

pavement. In the course of the first century B.C. the impluvium was filled in and a new bichrome tessellated pavement was laid.⁷³ Also in this period the house was enlarged significantly as the peristyle was extended on the cross axis and rooms were built off two sides.

At Bolsena another similarly organized domus is also dated to the period 150-100 B.C..⁷⁴ The Tuscanic atrium is 8.23x11.30m., with an impluvium (2x2m.) which drained into a cistern. In the first half of the first century B.C. a small atrium (4.70x5m.) with an impluvium, called an 'atriolum' by the excavators, was built off the triclinium; in the Augustan era the 'atriolum' was converted to a second triclinium, and a nymphaeum was built off the back, partially in view of the first triclinium.⁷⁵

Remains of other domus in central Italy are scattered and fragmentary. A two-atrium house with peristyle from Vulci

⁷³Balty ibid. 23. The second atrium pavement was of black tessellatum with parallel rows of oblique white tesserae.

⁷⁴A. Balland, A. Barbet, P. Gros, G. Hallier, Fouilles de l'Ecole Française de Rome à Bolsena (Poggio Moscini) II - Les Architectures (1962-1967) (Rome 1971) 177-200.

⁷⁵There are no indications of couches in either 'triclinium'. No reason is given for the use of the term in the case of the first 'triclinium'; the second room is called a triclinium by the excavators because of the room's size and its proximity to service rooms, to court II, and to the so-called 'oecus tricliniaire', which has a wide opening off the 'triclinium' (ibid. 191, 196).

is dated to the end of the second century B.C.,⁷⁶ and impluviate atria found at Priverno in Lazio, and at Alife, are both dated to the late Republic.⁷⁷ An atrium at Spoleto, dated to the first century A.C., is surrounded by rooms on three sides and a peristyle, which opens not off the rear of the tablinum, but off the side rooms; the entrance and flanking rooms, if they once existed, are not extant.⁷⁸

Evidence of domestic peristyles has also been located in central Italy, at Ancona⁷⁹, Gubbio⁸⁰, and at Ascoli

⁷⁶De Albentiis (op. cit. n.1) 136-138. The author also refers to atrium houses at two other sites: one house from the beginning of the second century B.C. at Civit  di Tricarico, and in the same century at Fregellae are elegant atrium houses which have impluvia without cisterns. No details or references are provided for either (ibid. 142; 138-139).

⁷⁷For Priverno, see R. Righi, "Nuove ricerche e rinvenimenti nel Lazio costiero meridionale," Archeologia Laziale 6 (1984) 178-187; for Alife, NSc 1928 238-239. A column base found at one corner of the impluvium indicates that this was a tetrastyle or Corinthian atrium. The size of this impluvium (5.29x3.97m.) and the diameter of the column base (0.93m.) indicate a building of unusual size; it may in fact belong to a public rather than a private building.

⁷⁸L. DiMarco, Spoletium. Topografia e urbanistica (Spoleto 1975) 51-53, fig.12. An inscription (CIL XI 2, 4778) has led to the identification of the owner as Vespasia Polla, mother of the emperor Vespasian (Arch.Ep.Mitt. 1892 33-37).

⁷⁹Via Orsini: G. Annibaldi, Atti del XI congresso di storia dell'architettura Marche, 6-13, sett. 1959 (Rome 1965) 80.

⁸⁰Via Matteotti: M. Gaggiotti, D. Manconi, L. Mercado, M. Verzar, Umbria Marche - Guide archeologiche Laterza (Bari 1980) 178-179; via S. Biagio - E. Stefani, NSc 1942 367-368.

Piceno⁸¹. All are dated to the first century A.C., but it is impossible to ascertain whether these peristyles were part of an atrium plan or if they formed the nucleus of the house.⁸²

The other important site in Italy for domestic architecture is the port town of Ostia. It provides the most complete body of evidence for domestic architecture in the imperial period in the Italian peninsula, and it includes both single family dwellings (domus) as exemplified by the bulk of Campanian evidence, as well as multi-family residences (insulae), which are a product of imperial urban growth only poorly represented in Campania. The other significant aspect of the Ostian material is its role as Rome writ small. While there are numerous references to both wealthy domus and multi-family dwellings at Rome,⁸³ only a fraction of this can be seen in the archaeological evidence.⁸⁴

⁸¹Two peristyles under the Palazzo Giustizia: U. Laffi, M. Montagna Pasquinucci, Asculum I (Pisa 1975) 65-71; Gaggiotti et al. op. cit. 294.

⁸²De Albentiis (op. cit. [n.1] 138) mentions a peristyle house from Grumentum in Lucania in his discussion of domestic architecture in the second century B.C., but gives no details or bibliographic reference.

⁸³For literary references to private houses at Rome see Tamm op. cit. (n.40) 29-43; McKay op. cit. (n.6) 67-68; Wallace-Hadrill op. cit. (n.47) 44-47; De Albentiis op. cit. (n.1) 113-128, 182-193. For references to multi-family dwellings see J. Packer, The Insulae of Imperial Ostia (MAAR 31, 1971) 43-44; McKay op. cit. 83-88.

⁸⁴Private domus found at Rome include the Casa dei Grifi (G. Rizzo, Le Pitture della 'Casa dei Grifi' con note topografiche di A. Bartoli [Rome 1936]), Casa di Augusto (G. Carettoni, Das Haus des Augustus auf dem Palatin [Mainz 1983]); traces of the domus of M. Aemilius Scaurus have been

Although best known for its variety of Imperial insulae, the earliest extant houses at Ostia are atrium houses.⁸⁵ The domus di Giove Fulminatore (4 4 3), which is dated to the middle of the second century B.C., has the elements of the Pompeian atrium type - fauces, tabernae, impluviate atrium, tablinum - and maintained this basic plan throughout its history, with the addition of a rear peristyle in the Augustan period.⁸⁶ There are traces of earlier peristyles built on to Ostian houses from the second century B.C.,⁸⁷ but the peristyle house comes to replace the atrium

found on the Palatine (De Albentis op. cit. [n.1] 188-189). For the remains of other domus at Rome see F. Coarelli, Roma - Guide archeologiche Laterza (Bari 1981) 386, with bibliography. Three domus are indicated on the Forma Urbis; they have the basic elements of the Pompeian (tabernae, atrium, peristyle) but their date and location in the city cannot be ascertained. (See G. Carettoni, A.M. Colini, L. Cozza, G. Gatti, La pianta marmorea di Roma antica [Rome 1960] fr. 543.) Traces of insulae have been found in Rome, most notably near S. Maria in Aracoeli (via Giulio Romano); see J. Packer, BullCom. 81 (1968-69) 127-148.

⁸⁵G. Calza, Scavi di Ostia I, Topografia generale (Rome 1953) 233 dates a domus under a later structure in 4 5 7 to the first half of the second century B.C. For Ostian insulae, see J. Packer, "Housing and Population in Imperial Ostia and Rome," JRS 57 (1967) 80-89; idem, 1971 op. cit. [n.83]; F. Pasini, Ostia Antica. Insule e classi sociali, I e II secolo dell'Impero (Rome 1978).

⁸⁶Calza op. cit. 107. Calza (233) lists four other houses from the second half of the second century B.C.: the domus built into the Caseggiato del Mitreo delle pareti dipinte 3 1 6, and three domus under the Caseggiato a Pianta basilicale 1 9 1; for the latter, see also De Albentis op. cit. [n.1] 131-133.

⁸⁷J. Boersma, Amoenissima Civitas - Block V vii at Ostia: Description and Analysis of its Visible Remains (Assen 1985) provides a list of Ostian domus with peristyles (469 n.18).

house in the first century A.C.⁸⁸ The domus Fulminata (3 7 3) is the earliest extant example at Ostia.⁸⁹ Dated to A.D.65-75, the house has a peristyle at its centre which contained a garden, basin, and biclinium. Of the same date is the domus di Apuleio (2 8 5), which has a colonnaded court (2x4) which seems to demonstrate the shift from Corinthian atrium to a peristyle.

Although the insula came to dominate Ostian domestic architecture, there are a number of Ostian domus which are dated to the imperial period.⁹⁰ These houses share a number of features, including an entrance vestibule, a central court which is often arcaded rather than colonnaded,⁹¹ and is often equipped with nymphaea and basins, and a major reception room; marble revetment is the preferred form of decoration. The house is often arranged with a degree of axiality, with the

⁸⁸For more examples and a brief survey see Boersma ibid. 192-195.

⁸⁹Calza op. cit. 121.

⁹⁰G. Becatti, "Case Ostiensi del Tardo Impero," BdA 34 (1948) 102-128, 197-224 provides the only detailed examination of Ostian domus. The domus he examines are: the domus del Tempio Rotondo (1 9 2), the domus dei Gorgoni (1 13 6), the domus delle Colonne (4 3 1) and the domus dei Pesci (4 3 3). All alphabetic designations of rooms are taken from Becatti's plans. For the domus di Amore e Psiche see J. Packer, "The Domus of Cupid and Psyche at Ancient Ostia," AJA 71 (1967) 123-131. See also G. Hermansen, Ostia, Aspects of Roman City Life (Edmonton 1981) 17-53.

⁹¹Boersma op. cit. dates the colonnade in the domus di Fortuna Annonaria to the late Flavian period but points out that most other colonnades were replaced by arcaded courts (156); in the fourth century colonnades enjoyed a minor renaissance (198).

court and reception room providing the focus. They are generally less symmetrical than Campanian houses and more irregular in plan, reflecting more rebuilding and perhaps frequent changes in occupants.

Of these houses, the domus di Fortuna Annonaria (5 2 8) has been studied in greatest detail. It is dated in its earliest phase to the late Flavian period, when it had a central court which was colonnaded on three sides, and a garden.⁹² A complete plan of the house can only be reconstructed for the Antonine period.⁹³ A vestibule leads to a three-sided colonnaded court, with rooms off it, including one small room to the east which was heated. Several tabernae are located off the street side. An upper storey was built over all rooms and a separate apartment reached from a stairway off the street occupied the east side of this floor. The house underwent minor repairs in the third century A.C.; major renovations a century later included the addition of a simple two-columned porch to the entrance and, along the same axis, a single niche nymphaeum in the back wall of the court with a rectangular basin in front. The most significant addition was a well-decorated apsidal reception room.⁹⁴ A large room (7.06x10.23m.) off the west side of the

⁹²Boersma op. cit. 47-58; 138-160; 198-199.

⁹³ibid. fig. 154.

⁹⁴Room C on Becatti's plan. Becatti op. cit. 122-124; Boersma op. cit. 421-422.

peristyle was rebuilt and endowed with a tripartite arcaded entrance created by two columns. A nymphaeum with four alternately curvilinear and rectilinear niches was built into the south wall, and an apse with a small niche was put into the west wall; a small step separates the apse from the rest of the room. A small entrance in the side of the apse gave access to a latrine located under stairs and to the oddly-shaped area carved out by the construction of the apse. At the same time the floor was laid in opus sectile and the walls faced with marble veneer. The area occupied by the apse was originally two rooms in the initial phase of the house; the apse, nymphaeum and marble decoration date from the first quarter of the fourth century A.C.⁹⁵

Large, well-decorated reception rooms like this one are characteristic of Ostian houses in the imperial period.⁹⁶ A number of architectural and decorative features are common to these rooms. Tripartite entrances created by columns open off arcaded courts or, more rarely, peristyles; such entrances

⁹⁵Boersma op. cit. 199.

⁹⁶The reception rooms so identified in the domus discussed by Becatti include: room D in the domus del Tempio Rotondo (1 11 2), room I in the domus delle Gorgoni (1 13 6), room C in the domus di Amore e Psiche (1 14), room L in the domus sul Decumano (3 2 3), rooms B and D in the domus del Ninfeo (3 6 1), room I in the domus dei Dioscuri (3 9 1), room I in the domus delle Colonne (4 3 1), room N in the domus dei Pesci (4 3 3), room B in the domus in the via della Caupona (4 3 4), the east room in the domus del Protiro (5 2 5), room C in the domus della Fortuna Annonaria (5 2 8), room C in the domus del Pozzo (5 3 3), room C in the domus in the via degli Augustali (5 10 1). For the domus del Protiro, see room 13 on the plans in Boersma op. cit. figs. 86-89.

occur even in more modest houses without courts.⁹⁷ In addition to the nymphaeum in the domus della Fortuna Annonaria, there are nymphaea and pools strategically placed in full view of the reception room in several other houses.⁹⁸ In the domus di Amore e Psiche statue niches decorate the walls of the reception room, which here, as in four other cases, is at a slightly higher level and is approached by one or two steps.⁹⁹ Like the domus di Fortuna Annonaria, house 4 4 7 also has an apsidal hall, whose construction is dated to the fourth century A.C.¹⁰⁰ Of the thirteen examples discussed by Becatti, ten are paved in opus sectile, and three have tessellated pavements.¹⁰¹ Only one of these, the domus delle Colonne, has space reserved for dining couches on its pavement, but, although it is impossible to demonstrate that the other rooms of this type were used exclusively for dining,

⁹⁷E.g. room C in the domus del Pozzo (5 3 3) and room C in the domus in the via degli Augustali (Becatti op. cit. 124-126). In the domus in the via della Caupona the reception room (B) has a wide entrance off corridor A rather than a tripartite entrance (Becatti op. cit. fig. 20).

⁹⁸In the domus sul Decumano, the domus del Ninfeo and the domus del Protiro a nymphaeum is placed in full view of the main reception room; in the domus del Tempio Rotondo, domus delle Gorgoni, domus delle Colonne, and domus dei Pesci a basin in the court serves the same purpose.

⁹⁹The other examples include the domus del Tempio Rotondo, the domus sul Decumano, the domus in the via della Caupona and the domus del Pozzo.

¹⁰⁰Boersma op. cit. 193.

¹⁰¹The three rooms with tessellatum are in the domus delle Gorgoni, the domus dei Dioscuri and the domus dei Pesci.

it is likely that this was one of their primary functions. In three cases another room may have served as a vestibule for the main reception room; for example, in the domus del Tempio Rotondo room E has a bench and is easily accessible to reception room D.¹⁰²

Many houses at Ostia have smaller rooms which may be identified as secondary reception rooms. In the domus di Fortuna Annonaria room E has a wide entrance off the peristyle opposite apsidal room C; it has an opus sectile floor, marble wall revetment, and a small bench in the south corner.¹⁰³ In the domus del Ninfeo two rooms (B, D) have the characteristics of reception rooms; in addition, H must have had the same function. It is semi-circular, raised slightly above the level of corridor E, and is open to the nymphaeum in A, although they are not perfectly aligned. It is paved in opus sectile and has traces of a marble socle and wall painting.¹⁰⁴ In the domus delle Colonne room E opens off the peristyle through a tripartite entrance which has a small step; the walls were stuccoed but no mention is made of its floor pavement.¹⁰⁵ Room H in the domus dei Pesci also has a

¹⁰²Becatti suggests that rooms B in the domus del Pozzo and the domus in the via degli Augustali were a kind of vestibule to the main reception room (Becatti op. cit. 125, 126).

¹⁰³Boersma op. cit. 414-415.

¹⁰⁴Becatti op. cit. 111.

¹⁰⁵Becatti op. cit. 115.

sectile pavement and a wide entrance off the portico.¹⁰⁶

Whether these features are enough to indicate that these rooms were secondary reception rooms is not clear. In the latter two, for example, the sectile pavements of these rooms indicate their importance over other rooms in the house which lack such fine floors.¹⁰⁷ Three rooms (D, E, F) with fine pavements (two in tessellatum, one in sectile) in the domus di Amore e Psiche overlook the nymphaeum, but are not clearly distinct from one another in function; in terms of decoration and advantageous position, any of the three could have been used for reception.

Some of these rooms have internal heating systems, a luxury with which only one of the large reception rooms (I in the domus delle Colonne) is equipped. They can be characterized as well-appointed rooms, with marble wall facing and decorated pavements. They also tend to be located near the main reception room of the house.¹⁰⁸ Room M in the domus

¹⁰⁶Becatti op. cit. 118.

¹⁰⁷Boersma offers no clear explanation of the function of room E in the domus di Fortuna Annonaria, calling it simply a "living room" whose function is "domestic" (op. cit. 415). It is curious that Boersma identifies apsidal room C in the same house as a "hall" whose function is "domestic", but reception room 13 in the domus del Protiro as a "hall" whose function is "representational" (op. cit. 422, 338); he gives no explanation for these distinctions.

¹⁰⁸Heated rooms near the main reception room include: M, N, O in the domus del Tempio Rotondo (1 2 2), N in the domus delle Gorgoni (1 13 6), G in the domus del Decumano (3 2 3), G, H, I, M in the domus delle Colonne (4 3 1). Heated rooms at some distance from the main reception room include: C in the domus dei Pesci (4 3 3) and H in the domus di Fortuna

dei Dioscuri¹⁰⁹ is the only one for which a possible function can be suggested. Its alcove points to its use as a cubiculum in the Pompeian manner, and both room M and the adjacent room L may follow in the tradition of cubicula with multiple functions placed near reception rooms or triclinia.¹¹⁰ These heated rooms may have been cubicula used for the reception of guests when a more intimate setting was called for.¹¹¹ It is also interesting to note that several of the finest late Roman houses at Ostia, such as the domus di Amore e Psiche (1 14 5) and the domus del Ninfeo (3 6 1), do not have heated rooms; while heated rooms were clearly desirable, they were not considered essential in the same way that the main reception rooms were.¹¹²

Almost all of these houses include some commercial space and one or more residential units separate from the domus, which dominates the ground floor. Becatti identifies only two upper apartments which belonged to the main floor domus. In the domus di Amore e Psiche a staircase behind the

Annonaria (5 2 8). See Becatti op. cit. passim.

¹⁰⁹Becatti op. cit. 113-114.

¹¹⁰The fact that L is not heated probably reflects the advantageous position of M rather than a distinction in function between the two rooms.

¹¹¹For cubicula and their functions, see Chapter I 22.

¹¹²Ostian domus without heated rooms include the domus del Protiro, the domus in the via della Caupona, the domus del Pozzo, and the domus in the via degli Augustali. Packer (1971 op. cit. [n.83]) does not discuss heating in his study of Ostian insulae.

row of rooms A-F-E-D led to an upper floor above these rooms which probably overlooked the nymphaeum in the east wall of room I.¹¹³ In the domus dei Dioscuri, however, a staircase between rooms T and S likely led to a more utilitarian set of rooms.¹¹⁴ In the other houses stairs led to upper storeys which extend over part of the ground floor and appear to have been independent of it. In the domus del Tempio Rotondo, for example, stairs led to a separate apartment house of three or four storeys which was built on top of the front (or south) wing; the domus behind had only one storey.¹¹⁵ In the domus del Protiro there were three different apartments on the second floor, one which belonged to the main domus, another which was partially independent, and a third which was entirely separate.¹¹⁶

Summary

In its current state, the evidence of domestic architecture in central and southern Italy supports the traditional view of the popularity of the impluviate atrium

¹¹³Becatti op. cit. 106.

¹¹⁴Becatti op. cit. 114. Becatti (105) suggests that the stairs off room Q in the domus delle Gorgoni led to an apartment for family dependents; however, he himself acknowledges the independence of Q and P, and it appears likely that the upper rooms were separate as well.

¹¹⁵Packer 1971 op. cit. [n.83] 156-157.

¹¹⁶Boersma op. cit. 93.

house in the Republican period, especially at Pompeii.¹¹⁷ However, it is clear that this popularity waned in the early imperial era, as the impluviate atrium was replaced by the peristyle as the nucleus of the house. In addition, recent scholarship has demonstrated that alternative interior arrangements to the impluviate atrium with fauces and tablinum existed; these include testudinate atria and atria without side rooms. Moreover, scholars are increasingly looking beyond the wealthy domus to examine the housing of the poor and lower classes, and to consider how various architectural elements appear in a simpler context.

Other evidence has expanded the traditional view of the Roman house, and indicates that there was a greater diversity than previously thought. The town of Cosa, for example, offers the interesting case of commercial 'atria publica' off the forum, while the houses themselves do not have such atria until a century later. Such evidence, though exceptional, raises interesting questions about the impluviate atrium as an integral element in the Roman house, and challenges conventional perceptions.

Long neglected in favour of its larger neighbour, Herculaneum too offers great potential for further study. Its domestic architecture presents a greater variation in internal organization than at Pompeii, and is less dependent

¹¹⁷For a survey of Pompeian scholarship, see V. Kockel op. cit. (n.32); for domestic architecture in particular see ibid. 547-548.

on the impluviate atrium. This suggests that the especial popularity of the impluviate atrium may have been a particularly Pompeian characteristic, and thus that the traditional emphasis on this house type has been somewhat overstated. At this site the presence of multi-family housing and the frequent use of open courts in various arrangements demonstrate a flexibility in domestic architecture which scholars are only now beginning to appreciate.

While the increased role of the peristyle can be traced at Pompeii and Herculaneum, it is most clearly demonstrated in Italy by the houses of Ostia, where peristyles and arcaded courts play the dominant role in imperial domus. Here too, however, even superficial study of house plans indicates that the central peristyle plan has variations, and that particular elements such as reception rooms and nymphaea are common in different arrangements, and are not restricted to a single plan. These houses represent the best preserved examples of the domestic architecture of the imperial era in Italy, and as such their significance has thus far been underestimated. Further study of this evidence will also illuminate the Campanian material, and, more importantly, clarify the relationship between the two.

CHAPTER III

The North Italian Domus and its Constituent Parts

The evidence for the north Italian domus is of generally poor quality for a number of reasons. Firstly, with a few exceptions, the major towns of the Roman era were continuously occupied into the modern era, or were re-occupied in the medieval period. As a result a great deal of material was damaged or lost, especially in the area of domestic architecture, which is often deemed to be of less importance than monumental public architecture. The use of wood in house construction exacerbates this, as it rarely survives.

Another factor is the quality of excavation and publication. Much of the material was excavated in the first half of this century, and even in the last century, and so is often lacking in precision and detail. Chief among data of this kind are the remains from the town of Aquileia. It was excavated mainly in the 1930s and 1950s, and attention was centred almost exclusively on the pavements found; pavements were generally published outside their structural context. The result is often confusing, and only qualified conclusions can be drawn about the architecture. A house at Este is one of the few reasonably complete domus; however, its publication

dates from the 1930s and leaves many unanswered questions.¹ At Velleia too the domestic architecture has been inadequately studied, and it is in part inaccurate.²

Pavements have played a dominant role in the study of these houses. Unfortunately, too often houses were deemed of interest by excavators only because of their pavements, and were published with that emphasis, with no attention to walls or stratigraphy. Only infrequently are other data such as coins or brick stamps found; the majority are dated by their pavements on stylistic grounds. Thus, in most cases it is difficult to delineate clearly an internal structural history. However, in the absence of other criteria pavements provide invaluable evidence for dating, and form the most common chronological basis for these houses.

Fortunately, excavations carried out in the last three decades are generally of high quality, and have produced reliable data. The catalogue presented here includes sites from all of northern Italy, arranged in alphabetical order with identified domus listed numerically.³ Several sites are particularly useful. The towns of the modern Italian region

¹Este 1 (fig. 30). Donderer's examination of the pavements in this house (Donderer 136-146) is of considerable help, but the fact that the house itself was buried after the excavation in 1938 is a clear limitation to conclusions about the evidence.

²See below 73.

³For a map of northern Italy with the sites included in the catalogue, see fig. 1.

of Emilia-Romagna have been the focus of much scholarly attention. Ravenna and Rimini are the most important cities in this region, and the careful publications of remains of houses at Ravenna 1 (figs. 41a-c) and at Rimini 1 and 3 (figs. 46, 48a-b) present useful evidence which is exploited as fully as possible, despite its partial character. In the Veneto excavations in the cities of Verona and Este have resulted in thorough publications of the houses at Verona 1 (fig. 52) and Este 2 (fig. 31), both of which appear to be almost complete. In Lombardy the town of Brescia has proven the most fertile ground for archaeological study. The large structures of Brescia 1 and 2 (figs. 18, 19a-b), and nearby Brescia 3 (fig. 20) have been studied for their structural and decorative features, and in Liguria the detailed publication of the domus degli Affreschi (Luni 2, figs. 37a-c) is also of value, because of the attention paid to establishing a reliable stratigraphic sequence.

This material also includes a wide chronological range. House plans first appear in the first century B.C., with a majority dating their initial construction phase to the Augustan era. Ravenna, Rimini and Brescia in particular offer evidence which covers various periods; material at Brescia ranges from the Augustan era through to the second century A.C., while at Ravenna and Rimini evidence begins in the Augustan period and extends down to the fourth century A.C., with the 'palace of Theodoric' at Ravenna (Ravenna 5, fig. 45)

reaching the sixth century A.C. There is great value in such chronological diversity. Evidence from Campania, as has been shown, covers the Republican to Flavian periods, while at Ostia the domus is best documented in the third and fourth centuries A.C. The material presented here, therefore, has a broader chronological range.

Only eleven domus are substantially extant, and none can be called complete with absolute certainty.⁴ Therefore, it is impossible to establish any architectural types. It is possible, however, to outline characteristics, and to compare these with material from central and southern Italy. To facilitate a clear understanding of such disparate material, this chapter will consider the north Italian domus by examining separately its constituent parts - entrance area, open areas (atria, peristyles, courts), reception rooms, cubicula, kitchen and service areas, and baths and heated areas. Reference is made throughout to the catalogue and, unless otherwise indicated, examples are listed alphabetically.

Entrance Area

Very few of the domus found thus far in northern Italy

⁴These eleven comprise: Aosta 1 (figs. 4a-b), Aquileia 2 (fig. 10), Brescia 1-2 (figs. 18, 19a-b), Brescia 3 (fig. 20), Este 1 (fig. 30), Este 2 no. v (fig. 31), Luni 2 (figs. 37a-c), Oderzo 1 (fig. 38), Rimini 1 no. i (fig. 46), Trento (fig. 52), Verona 1 (fig. 57). Luni 2 and Este 1 are the most complete examples.

have complete or even partial entrance areas. The few that do tend to have a rectangular, relatively shallow area which opens off the street, flanked by two rooms.⁵ At Ventimiglia 1 (fig. 55) the flanking rooms were strictly used as tabernae, as they open off the street and there is no apparent access to the rest of the house.⁶ At Aquileia 5 (Fig. 13) two rooms flank a long entrance corridor; both are paved in terra cotta, one with a hearth and double latrine. There is no apparent connection between these rooms and the entrance corridor and their connection to the nearby cardo is not clear. At both Este 1 and Aosta 1 no. i and Luni 2, Phase I (fig. 37a) one of the flanking rooms opened off the entrance corridor, and may have also had a commercial function or, as Callegari suggests for Este 1, may have been used by a ianitor.⁷ Only in Aosta 1 no. 1 does one of the flanking rooms open toward the interior of the house.

In two of the examples (Este 1, fig. 30; Velleia no.

⁵Aosta 1 no. i, figs. 4a-b; Aquileia 3, fig. 11; Este 1, fig. 30; Libarna, fig. 35; Luni 2, figs. 37a-c; Velleia no. i, fig. 54; Ventimiglia 1, fig. 55.

⁶This would appear to be the case in the houses at Velleia (fig. 54), although the information is not very reliable. In Aquileia 3 (fig. 11), too, the plan indicates two large rooms beside the entrance but it is not clear whether they opened off the street or had access to the house. At Sarsina 1 no. i (fig. 51) in front of room A, there are three narrow areas, only partially extant, which may be another example of fauces flanked by tabernae, since they do not seem to have access to the rest of the house.

⁷A. Callegari, NSc 1941 47. In the other flanking room in Luni 2, Phase I, there are doors to both the street and the inner court, but the original disposition is not clear.

i, fig. 54) there are antae at the street entrance. The entrance areas themselves have no single shape. Aquileia 5 (fig. 13) has a narrow entrance corridor, resembling the most typical fauces at Pompeii,⁸ while the other examples are broader than they are deep. At Sarsina 1 no. i (fig. 51) and Ventimiglia 1 (fig. 55) a threshold block separates the vestibule from the interior of the house, while at Velleia no. i there are steps between the vestibule and central area. At Este 1 (fig. 30) the vestibule is divided into two areas. The first (1) with a beaten earth floor leads off the street and to the side room; a threshold block separates it from a second area which has a simple mosaic pavement. Here there is no stone threshold to the atrium (4), but rather a decorative mosaic panel indicates the shift from one area to the other. The entrance area in Ravenna 3 (fig. 43) is entirely different, if the identification of A as the entrance is correct.⁹ A red marble threshold leads to a room with a beaten earth floor and a column base marks the entrance to adjoining room F. In insula 59 at Aosta 6 (fig. 8) the entrance areas are different again, one rectangular and of some size, the other shallow and smaller. But here there is no traditional Pompeian plan; in both cases the interior is

⁸Aquileia 3 has the same shape on the plan but there is no detailed information on the excavation. The entrance at Sarsina 1 no. i is also narrow, but incomplete.

⁹The precise connection between the house and the street is not clear, nor is it clear whether this is a house or a bath building. See below "Heated Rooms and Baths" 147-148.

organized around a central court.

With such scanty information it is difficult to characterize these entrances in any particular way, except to note that there are no significant differences from entrances in Campania, nor does any regional feature emerge. Similarly, no chronological development can be traced.

Atria

Of the five types of atria described by Vitruvius,¹⁰ four can be identified by the presence of an impluvium, a basin for water collection; evidence of columns is obviously required for tetrastyle and Corinthian atria. When only a partial plan is extant, it is virtually impossible to identify a testudinate atrium, since it is essentially a roofed space with rooms around it. There is scanty evidence for the atrium in the houses of northern Italy. Only one intact example remains, the impluviate Tuscan atrium at Este 1 (fig. 30). Traces of impluvia have been found at Claterna 3 (no plan), Aosta 1, no. ii (figs. 4a-b), Brescia 8 (no plan), Libarna (fig. 35), Luni 2 (B, G, figs. 37a-b), Vado Ligure (fig. 53) and Ventimiglia (fig. 55).¹¹

¹⁰De arch. 6.3.1,2. See Chapter II 30-31.

¹¹M. Maioli mentions an atrium at Rimini 4 (fig. 49) but gives no details. An impluvium is also reported at Brescia, equipped with a well and surrounded by several small rooms with opus signinum and tessellated pavements dated to the last half of the first century E.C.; however, no detailed data or plan are available (via Gambara 6 - see M. Mirabella Roberti, Storia di Brescia [1963] 280). An atrium with impluvium is

At Velleia (fig. 54) Barocelli identified the central area of house no. i as an atrium, based on the traces of an impluvium which he saw and which was recorded from the original excavations in the eighteenth century. He makes no mention of the columns which can be seen there today, apparently in situ on a stylobate with drainage channel; there are no traces of the impluvium. Barocelli's identification has been accepted by scholars and is often cited as one of the rare examples of the typical atrium house in the north, with no mention made of the current state of the evidence.¹² This part of the site has fallen into neglect, unlike the forum and area north of it, which suffered the opposite fate of heavy restoration. Due to these discrepancies it is impossible to accept at face value Barocelli's identification.¹³ A. Frova

also mentioned at Verona (Salita Fontana di Ferro - see L. Franzoni, Edizione archeologica della carta d'Italia al 100.000. Foglio 49. Verona [Florence 1975] n.7). Finocchi reconstructs an atrium in the first phase of Aosta 1 no. i (figs. 4a-b), because of the drain which runs from the centre of court D; however, no traces of an impluvium were found (S. Finocchi, "Resti di abitazioni urbane ad Aosta," RStLig 1958 153). The identification of an atrium at Velleia no. i (fig. 54) is discussed below; so too the so-called 'Corinthian atrium' at Aquileia 3 (fig. 11) and Luni I (fig. 36). S. Stucchi's suggestion that at Cividale del Friuli an area of terra cotta pavement with a slight central depression could be an atrium is pure speculation (Forum Iulii - Cividale del Friuli - Italia romana, Municipi e colonie, XI [Rome 1951] 66); Donderer mentions two pavements from this house, but passes no judgement on room function (Donderer 120-121).

¹²e.g. Mangani et al. 113, Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 314.

¹³It is possible that it is a Corinthian atrium of odd proportions, although this does not explain the stylobate and drainage channel.

reconstructs the initial phase at Luni 1 (fig. 36) as a Corinthian atrium, based on the marble base of a well still in situ, which he interprets as part of an impluvium.¹⁴ However, the dimensions he gives for the atrium (9.50x7.50m.) seem to apply only to the area defined by the rows of columns, which would constitute an unroofed area of unusually large proportions for an atrium. Although the original disposition of the house is unclear, this "atrium" is better identified as a peristyle. Similarly, M. Mirabella Roberti and L. Bertacchi identify the colonnaded area in Aquileia 3 (fig. 11) as an atrium.¹⁵ Its large size and the proportion of open to covered space, however, are more suited to a peristyle than an atrium.¹⁶

The atria of northern Italy seem to share the characteristics of those of Campania. The impluvium at Claterna 3 (no plan) was constructed of tufa and marble, with a moulded cornice. At Brescia 8 (no plan) and Luni 2 (G, fig. 37b) there were also marble impluvia, while the impluvium of

¹⁴A. Frova, Luni - Guida archeologica (Sarzana 1989) 98.

¹⁵M. Mirabella Roberti, "Edilizia privata in Aquileia," AAAd 29 (1987) 359; L. Bertacchi, Da Aquileia a Venezia (Bologna 1980) 187.

¹⁶The colonnaded area appears on the plan in Mirabella Roberti and in H. Kähler, Die spätantiken Bauten unter dem Dom von Aquileia (1957), but is not discussed in detail by any source. The following measurements are approximate, calculated using the scale on the plan. The entire central area measures ca. 14x15.90m., with the open inner court ca. 10.60x8.80m.; the central basin is ca. 4.70x3.10m., and the porticoes are ca. 2.66m. wide.

phase I at Luni 2 (fig. 37a) was of the same mortar as the pavement, moulded and sunken to form the basin.¹⁷ Evidence of drainage was found in the impluvia at Claterna 3 (no plan), Brescia 8 (no plan), Este 1 (fig. 30) and Aosta 1 no. ii (figs. 4a-b); a well was built into the impluvium at Vado Ligure (fig. 53).¹⁸ The atria at Luni 2 (B, G, figs. 37a-b) had signinum and mortar pavements decorated with polychrome crustae, while there were bichrome tessellata at Aosta and Este, the latter with a meander border outlining the missing impluvium. A more elaborate marine mosaic decorated the atrium at Brescia.¹⁹ Fragments of painted wall plaster were also found at Brescia and at Luni 2 (G). There is one possible example of a tetrastyle atrium, at Claterna 2 (no plan), although the only proof is four column bases which form a square, with no trace of an impluvium. The wide

¹⁷Most Campanian impluvia are made of marble or tufa, although these may have had terra cotta predecessors (see Chapter II n.20). The impluvium in the Casa dello Scheletro at Cosa was made in a similar fashion to that of Luni 2 Phase I (V. Bruno, "A Town House at Cosa," Archaeology 1970 239).

¹⁸At Pompeii and Herculaneum impluvia drain off either into the urban drainage system or into large underground cisterns, which are accessible by wellheads located in the impluvium itself or, often, beside it on the tablinum side. See L. Richardson, Pompeii: An Architectural History (Baltimore 1988) 53-54.

¹⁹In Campania most atria have a mortar pavement, plain or embellished with tesserae or crustae. A notable exception to this is the bichrome tessellated mosaic of the large Tuscanic atrium in the Casa di Paquius Proculus (171) at Pompeii, and the atrium of the Casa dell' Atrio a mosaico at Herculaneum (41-2).

intercolumniation of 5.50m. is exceptional for a private house; most tetrastyle atria at Pompeii have intercolumniations of 2-3m. However, the tetrastyle atrium in the Casa del Fauno (6 12 2) has an intercolumniation of ca.4.5m. (on its widest side) and that of Obellius Firmus (9 14 4) between 4.5-5.5m. The Claterna example indicates a house of no small dimensions; however, nothing else is known about it.

The atria are dated by different means and with varying degrees of reliability. Several are dated on stylistic grounds using mosaic pavements, others with stratigraphic evidence, and some use both kinds of data. At Claterna 3 (no plan) traces of an impluvium are undated, and at Claterna 2 (no plan) a possible tetrastyle atrium can only be dated by mosaic pavements in surrounding rooms, which are dated to both the last quarter of the first century B.C. and the first half of the first century A.C. At Este 1 (fig. 30) the pavement around the impluvium is also dated to the Augustan era;²⁰ so too at Vado Ligure (fig. 53), where stratigraphic grounds are used. Walls of the second to first centuries B.C. with a different orientation were found under the house, and the wall technique of the domus itself resembles other structural remains at Vado Ligure which are

²⁰One pavement in the house (room 19) is dated to the late republic, but it seems likely that the plan of this section of the house, including the atrium, is Augustan. See Dondorfer 136.

dated to the Augustan period on ceramic evidence.²¹ The two atria at Luni 2 (figs. 37a-b) are dated by the detailed stratigraphic sequence provided by ceramic evidence. Atrium B at Luni 2 belongs to the first phase of the structure (fig.37a), which is dated to the late Republic; the second atrium G is part of the second phase which is dated to ca. A.D.40 (fig. 37b). In the third phase (50-70 A.C., fig. 37c) atrium G was destroyed by the construction of a public piazza, and atrium B and some of its surrounding rooms were divided up and a cistern and kiln built to serve some industrial function. Both stratigraphic evidence and a mosaic pavement provide the basis for dating traces of an impluvium at Aosta 1 no. ii to ca. 150-200A.C. So too at Brescia 8 (no plan), where both stratigraphic and stylistic evidence recommend a date of ca. A.D.150. Here there are two levels beneath the atrium, a late republican pavement level, which was abandoned, and a subsequent level of reoccupation in the first century A.C.; a stratum of mud distinguishes the two phases. The marine mosaic around the impluvium is dated to the mid second century A.C. and was laid simultaneously with the impluvium's construction. When it was found a slab covered the basin, indicating that it was no longer in use, but a date for this is unascertainable. The remains of an atrium found at Ventimiglia 1 (fig. 55) are dated on the basis of an approximate stratigraphic sequence. There are republican

²¹N. Lamboglia, RII 9 (1954) 42, 46.

walls beneath the house which were destroyed in the Augustan era, and the excavator proposes that the house was initially built at the beginning of the second century A.C., but provides no explanation for choosing that specific date. Remains of the atrium at Ventimiglia 2 (no plan) are dated to the end of the second century A.C. because of a stratigraphic correlation with a public drain which was built at this time. No date is proposed for the atria reported at Libarna (fig. 35).

The use of atria in the late Republican and Augustan eras in this region is consistent with examples found in central Italy,²² although the popularity of the atrium had begun to decline markedly in Campania in the first century B.C. The date of the atrium at Ventimiglia 1 (fig. 55) must be regarded with some suspicion; no detailed evidence is provided to support the date of ca. A.D.100, and it could fall earlier in the first century A.C. However, the dates of the second atrium at Luni 2 (ca. A.D.40, fig. 37b), and the second century dates of the atria at Aosta 1 no. ii (figs.4a-b), Brescia 8 (no plan) and Ventimiglia 2 (no plan) are more reliable, and point to a lingering popularity of the atrium in northern Italy, particularly in the northwest.

Porticoes and Peristyles

There are numerous examples of porticoes and

²²See Chapter II 51-53.

peristyles in the houses of northern Italy. They are readily identifiable by the presence of columns or pilasters. Essentially complete examples of peristyles include Aquileia 2 and 3 (figs. 10, 11), Brescia 1 (fig. 18), Luni 2 (figs. 37a-c) and Rimini 1 no. i (fig. 46); partial peristyles were found at Albenga (fig. 2), Aosta 2 (fig. 5), Aquileia 4 and 5 (figs. 12, 13), Brescia 1, 5 and 6 (figs. 18, 22, 23), Claterna 3 (no plan), Este 1 (fig. 30), Oderzo 1 (fig. 38), Ravenna 5 (fig. 45), Vado Ligure (fig. 53) and Verona 1 and 2 (figs. 57, 58). Many traces of columns or pilasters in a domestic context are attributed to porticoes or peristyles. Examples in the catalogue include a court in House A at Aosta 6 (fig. 8), which according to the plan had a portico, a row of four column or pillar bases which appear on the plan of Aquileia 1 (fig. 9), three square bases which are recorded in court A at Oderzo 2 (fig. 39a), and at Bergamo (fig. 14), where a column was found in a court paved with opus signinum.²³ Alternatively, a portico may be convincingly

²³Other reports from the region of columns which are possibly from houses include a row of bases found in Via S. Maria Fulcorina in Milan (M. Mirabella Roberti, Milano Romano [Milan 1984] 90); column bases were found in a domestic context in via Cavestro and Borgo B. Longhi at Parma (M. Marini Calvani, "Parma nell'antichità," Parma, la città storica [Parma 1978] 50-51; 42); at Ravenna, via Romea Vecchia, modest houses with courts are recorded, one pilaster base suggesting a portico (M. Maioli Porto 60); at Reggio Emilia a pilaster base was found with walls and plaster floors of a domestic character (L. Malnati, "Breve Nota sullo scavo di una domus romana a Reggio Emilia (Campagna 1981)," Miscellanea di Studi Archeologici e di Antichità I [Modena 1983] 39-41); also at Rimini a possible domus with a colonnaded peristyle with drainage channel and a basin in the

identified by its pavement, even without columns, as at Altino (fig. 3), where an L-shaped bichrome tessellated pavement with a width of 2.20-2.74m. in its two arms is congruent with the dimensions of other porticoes. The identification is confirmed by a paved area representing an open court located between the two portico arms. Similarly, at Brescia 4 (fig. 21), a bichrome tessellated floor 3m. wide is recognized as the ambulacrum of a peristyle, although no columns were found.²⁴ Peristyles are more securely represented in the archaeological record of the region than are other parts of the domus, though they too are rarely complete.²⁵

centre (vie IV Novembre, Castelfidardo - M. Zuffa, Storia di Rimini dal 1860 ai nostri giorni III [Rimini 1978] 229); at Verona, via Adua, disparate remains of a probable house include two pilaster bases, and a second, larger portico (G. Fogolari, Tre Interventi nei centri storici di Verona e Vicenza [Verona 1980] 135-136); at Bologna a number of pavements separated by a corridor were found and, in spring 1990, a portico of a peristyle (see S. Gelichi, J. Ortalli, "Lo scavo nell'area cortilizia delle Scuole Medie Giunizelli in via S. Isaia," in S. Gelichi, R. Merlo eds., Archeologia Medievale a Bologna - Gli Scavi nel Convento di San Domenico - Catalogo, Bologna Museo civico archeologico 4 aprile - 31 maggio 1987 [Bologna 1987] 51-57); information and a photo regarding the peristyle was provided, and gratefully received, by Jacopo Ortalli in May 1990).

²⁴A masonry base in the corner of this portico is identified as the base for a lararium. At Aosta 1 no.i (figs. 4a-b) a two-sided portico is identified by an L-shaped base, which is interpreted as a stylobate, although no markings or architectonic elements were found in direct proximity to it. There is also a drain which runs from the centre of the area to the urban drainage system. The identification is acceptable, if for no other reason than as a 'faute de mieux'.

²⁵A number of peristyles are recorded without details; others are hypothesized on the basis of plans, apparently without physical evidence. These include Albenga, where a

As with entrance areas and identified atria, it seems that the peristyles of the region do not differ significantly in form from others in the empire. There may be porticoes on two, three or four sides, according to constraints of space or whether, as at Brescia 1 (fig. 18) and Verona 1 (fig. 57), a nymphaeum or some other structure occupies one of the sides of the rectangle. The porticoes range in width from 1.50m. to 4.80m. They are paved in mosaic, opus signinum and opus spicatum, with a variety of decorative patterns. Many have evidence of drainage²⁶ and two have wells.²⁷

The peristyles are mostly dated either by their portico pavements or by pavements in surrounding rooms. The utilitarian character of these pavements presents special barriers to obtaining a precise chronology, since they underwent fewer stylistic changes than more elaborate floors. It is also true that such pavements alone do not provide firm

'peristyle of a house' is marked on a city plan (Cavaliere Manasse et al. 194); similarly, a nineteenth century sketch from Cividale del Friuli shows a possible peristyle (Stucchi op. cit. [n.11] 70). At Rimini a complex structure as yet largely unpublished, with pavements and basins, has a central court which M. Maioli asserts was probably porticoed in the second century A.C. (under Palazzo Gioia: "L'edilizia privata tardoantica in Romagna: appunti sulla pavimentazione musiva," CCAB 34 [1987] 216-221). At Vicenza parts of a house were found with an open area which is described as probably porticoed, although no details are provided (M. Rigoni, "Vicenza," Il Ven. 124).

²⁶E.g. Oderzo 1 (fig. 38), Vado Ligure (fig. 53).

²⁷Luni 2 (figs. 37a-c); Aquileia 1 and 3 (figs. 9, 11), although the latter example seems to be a somewhat later addition, perhaps early Christian.

dates of initial construction, since they may have replaced simple beaten earth or mortar floors which are more difficult to distinguish in the archaeological record. Furthermore, pavements from surrounding rooms are not necessarily contemporaneous and, when a full stratigraphic record is absent, must be viewed as only general chronological indicators.

A number of peristyles are ascribed to the late Republic - early Augustan period; these include Aquileia 3 (fig. 11) and Luni 1 (fig. 36), which are dated by pavements, and Oderzo 1 and 2 (figs. 38, 39a-b), which are dated at the excavators' suggestion based on a series of pavements and relative stratigraphy. The domus at Vado Ligure (fig. 53), also Augustan, is dated on stratigraphic grounds using wall construction techniques.²⁸ Rimini 1 no. i (fig. 46), is added to this list if it is assumed that the peristyle was part of the original phase, as are the pavements in rooms Q, R and T which open off it; the signinum pavements in these rooms are dated to the late republic on stylistic grounds.²⁹ A clear stratigraphy based on both ceramic evidence and pavements gives a late republican date to the peristyle at

²⁸See above 76.

²⁹A coin dated ca. 268-187B.C. beneath the pavement in room I and ceramic evidence ranging from the fifth to second centuries B.C. in the fill beneath room G give a rough terminus post quem for the initial construction of the house. Renovations to the peristyle are ascribed to the Antonine period based on coin evidence, thus providing a terminus ante quem.

Luni 2 (fig. 37a).

Most peristyles appear to have been built in the first century A.C. The portico at Brescia 5 (fig. 22) is dated by its pavement to the first half of the century, while the portico pavement at Brescia 4 (fig. 21) is dated to ca. 70-100 A.C. The portico pavement at Brescia 1 (fig. 18) is also dated to this period; however, a date of ca. 50-1 B.C. is given to a pavement in room I, which is identified by Stella as part of the original construction phase along with the peristyle. The peristyle might have been extant but unpaved in this earlier period.³⁰ Similarly, while the portico pavement itself at Albenga (fig. 2) is dated to ca. 50-100 A.C., a pavement in room A which opens off it is dated to the first half of the same century, and this date might have included the peristyle as well. Those peristyles dated, on the basis of pavements, to the latter half of the first century A.C. include Aquileia 1 and 2 (figs. 9, 10), Ravenna 5 (Phase I; fig. 45) and Verona 2 (fig. 58). This date is also given to the portico pavement as well as the suite of rooms which open off it at Este 1 (fig. 30), and Donderer suggests that the construction of this entire wing of the house was contemporaneous, and subsequent to the Augustan atrium core.³¹ At Aquileia 4 (fig. 12) Donderer dates the

³⁰C. Stella, La domus del Ninfeo sotto S. Salvatore di Brescia (Modena 1988) 39.

³¹Donderer 136.

nucleus of the house to the late republican period, while the portico pavements are ascribed to a Flavian renovation.³²

Several other peristyles are ascribed to the second century A.C. These include Altino (fig. 3) and Brescia 6 (fig. 23), which are both dated by pavements, and Aosta 1 no. i (figs. 4a-b), which is dated to this century by ceramic and coin evidence found in the walls. At Aquileia 5 (fig. 13) pavements are dated to the third century A.C., but there is no indication given of the original date of construction of the house or its peristyle. In several cases peristyles or porticoes were added to existing courts in the second century or later. At Sarsina 2 (no plan) a Republican court was subsequently partially porticoed; the excavators suggest no date for this renovation, although it may have been done at the same time as the polychrome Dionysus mosaic, which is dated to the end of the second century A.C.³³ The excavators of Verona 1 (fig. 57) propose a similar evolution, placing the addition of the peristyle to a paved court in the second phase of the house, which runs from the first century to the second century A.C.³⁴ A similar transition is suggested for Aosta 1 no. i (court D, figs. 4a-b), but in this case the proposed change is from an atrium to a two-sided portico, although the

³²Donderer 20-21.

³³G. Gentili, AttiBol n.s. 20 (1969) [1970] 13.

³⁴G. Cavalieri Manasse, "La casa romana di piazza Nogara a Verona," ArchVen 8 (1985) 247-250.

only evidence for the atrium is a drain; it could have been a court in the first phase.³⁵

There is other evidence for renovations in peristyles. The peristyle at Este 1 (fig. 30) was an addition to the house, dated to the Flavian period, but the original disposition of the area is not clear. It may have been a hortus, in the Pompeian tradition, or have had some other character. A number of peristyles underwent changes in nature and function. At Este 1, at some point after the Flavian period, the peristyle was extended, which entailed cutting across the pavements in rooms 29 to 32. At Rimini 1 no. i (fig. 46), at some point in the second century A.C., Riccioni proposes that the porticoes of the peristyle were closed up and divided into rooms for a bath; the basin, she suggests, became a plunge pool.³⁶ In several instances porticoes were closed off and carved up into rooms. At Aosta 2 (fig. 5) the peristyle was walled up during the second century A.C., and divided into rooms at a later date. At Albenga (fig. 2), in the second or third century, the portico of the peristyle was closed off and made an interior corridor, closing off the north row of rooms from the peristyle entirely. Donderer records that at Aquileia 4 (fig. 12) the portico was partially closed up and divided up into two rooms, probably in the late

³⁵An inverse development could be envisioned for Oderzo 2, where the pilaster bases in court A in phase I (fig. 39a) are gone in phase II (fig. 39b).

³⁶For a discussion of this suggestion, see below 146.

Empire,³⁷ and a similar fate is suggested for both peristyles by the preliminary evidence from Brescia 2 (figs. 19a-b).

Courts

There is substantial evidence for courts in the North Italian domus. Courts are open spaces and are defined most clearly by the presence of the rooms which surround them; this is difficult with the partial evidence from the region. Otherwise, the two criteria which are used to identify courts are utilitarian pavements, which can withstand exposure to the elements, and provision for the collection or drainage of water. There are a number of examples, partially intact and with one or more of the aforementioned criteria, which can be identified as probable courts. This list includes Aosta 1 no. i (H, fig. 4a), Este 2 no. v (O, fig. 31), Oderzo 1 (24, fig. 38) and Oderzo 2 (L), Ravenna 1 (1), Ravenna 2 (2), and Rimini 3 (figs. 48a-b).³⁸

At Sarsina 1 no. i (fig. 51) an unusually large well (dia. 1.60m., with a parapet 1.40m. high) is located in the centre of room A. Scagliarini Corlaità points out that the remnants of the rooms which precede it resemble the

³⁷Donderer 227.

³⁸Domus no. ii at Aquileia 1 (fig. 9) appears to have a central court; however, there is no other published information regarding the house. D at Brescia 1 (fig. 18) has a floor of paving stones, which may indicate that it was open; however, there is no evidence of drainage, and it is rather small (3.30x3.80m.).

traditional Campanian fauces - tabernae arrangement; she suggests that the area is open and that the well imitates the function of an impluvium, which seems a reasonable conclusion.³⁹ The pavement in room C of this house is dated to the Augustan period. At Este 1 (fig. 30) 24 is identified as a court, presumably on the basis of its beaten earth floor; there is nothing else to recommend this identification, such as drainage. The lack of adequate information regarding many of the other rooms in the house complicates its interpretation. It is not clear, for example, how 24 communicated with the anterior part of the house, since no threshold blocks are indicated. Similarly the absence of a pavement does not necessarily indicate an open court.⁴⁰ Nor does its size necessitate such an interpretation, as neighbouring room 26 is somewhat larger. This identification, then, must be considered speculative.

At Trento (fig. 52) areas F, R2 and Q are identified as courts belonging to one house. The first two have hexagonal brick pavements, while Q has a beaten earth floor; there are drains in F and Q, but not R2. The identification of the central area F as a court raises several questions. Of

³⁹Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 316. The date for this house is uncertain; Scagliarini Corlaità ascribes construction of the apse in brick to a second phase ca. 100-50 B.C., but this is unusually early for the use of brick.

⁴⁰The complete absence of information about the pavements, or any other aspects of rooms 7-14, 16-18, 20, 22 and 23 must reflect the poor condition of the evidence or unsophisticated excavation.

the surrounding rooms, only R2 opens off it, although this access was subsequently closed up.⁴¹ Drains C1 and C2 in F are connected to the heating system in the west sector, but there is no other evidence that the area was an integral part of the house. Rather, it could be an open area which separated two houses, providing light and air via windows to both and forming part of the drainage system. It should be noted that both G and R2 seem oriented toward court Q to the west rather than F to the east, and that there is no apparent access between F and the rooms in the east sector. Aside from the drainage system area F seems somewhat isolated from both the east and west sectors. Until further exploration to the north or south is carried out, the identification of the east and west sectors as a part of one unit, and the role of F between them must remain open.

An interesting example is provided by Bologna 1 (fig. 15). Room 14 has a terra cotta pavement, which could be characterized as utilitarian in nature; it also has, however, a decorative scheme formed by concentric lines of marble inlay. The brick pavement and the wide entrance to room 3 led its excavator Negrioli to identify it as a court. However, Scagliarini sees its width of only 5.90m. as an impediment to this, as well as the identification of the northwest wall of room 3 as a perimeter wall, pointing out the unlikelihood that

⁴¹On the plan it appears as though the east wall closed up the access. This is not clarified in the text.

an open court would be so close.⁴² Rooms 1, 3, and the bath suite 8-13 may appear to be grouped around a central area, which might be identified in area 6, with its opus signinum floor; however, the partial nature of the plan, as well as the lack of threshold blocks in the northwest walls of rooms 8, 9 and 10 argue against this. Neither of Scagliarini's points rule out the court label given to room 14 by Negrioli; the width of 5.90m. is not great but is acceptable in a court, and its length is unknown. Furthermore, the presence of the perimeter wall is not necessarily problematic; an absence of data about the west and southwest areas, the location of the entrance, and the nature of the area indicated by the northwest wall of 14 and the piece of wall perpendicular to it (extending from the southwest wall of room 3) prevent firm conclusions. Nor is its pavement so fine as to rule out the court identification. The wide entrance to room 3 could recommend it as a court, allowing maximum exposure to light and air; this is congruent with the identification of room 3 as a triclinium aestivum.⁴³ However, the wide entrance could have led to an antechamber of some kind; the simple decoration of its terra cotta floor would fit this hypothesis, as it has

⁴²D. Scagliarini, "L'insediamento residenziale nel suburbio di Bologna romana," AttiBol n.s. 20 (1969) [1970] 157.

⁴³Negrioli's identification of room 1 as a triclinium hibernum is also predicated on this interpretation, although Scagliarini does not think it necessary, stating that winter triclinia are closed off in a general way, not just from an open court (ibid. 157).

a degree of embellishment but cannot compete with either of the more elaborate pavements of room 3. Because of the state of the evidence the identification of room 14 must remain open.

Ravenna 1 (figs. 41a-c) offers another interesting example, built as it is against the city wall. Area 1 is identified as an open court; in Phase I (fig. 41a), which is ascribed to the Hadrianic period by the mosaic in room 3, there was a well and a rectangular brick pavement. This was replaced by a hexagonal brick pavement in the second phase (fig. 41b), which is dated to the end of the second century A.C. The dimensions of area 1 are not known; there is a painted wall some 11 metres to the north but it is not clear whether or not the court extended this far. Room 2, 3.60m. wide, originally had an opus signinum pavement, which was replaced, as in 1, by a hexagonal pavement in Phase II; a drain was installed. In this phase or in phase III (fig. 41c) a nymphaeum was built in the west side, the drain emptied into court 1 and a second brick pavement was laid. Here too it is not clear whether 2 is in fact a closed or open area through all three phases. The biggest problem is the poor condition of its east wall. If the traces indicated on the plan do indeed reflect the real boundary of the room, the addition of a nymphaeum to such a relatively small space seems odd. The disposition of the area to the east and its relationship to 2 remains unclear. Furthermore, cold weather is clearly of

concern in this house, as demonstrated by the provisions for heating in both rooms 3 and 4. This might explain the small size of 2, were it a court; the functions of a court would be served but on a scale suited to the local climate. It would provide air, perhaps access to other rooms, and light, a factor of some importance considering the limitations imposed by the domus' location against the city wall. This suggestion, while entirely speculative, is nevertheless a plausible interpretation.

A similar problem exists in P at Brescia 3 (fig. 20). The area is not large (5.30x6.90m.) and has a nymphaeum in the back wall. The floor is paved and covered with mortar, and along both sides of the room are channels, which were probably for drainage. It is unclear whether or not this area was roofed. Panazza does not specifically state his view, but from his identification of other areas (S, T, C, D) as belonging to horti, and his use of the word "ambiente" for it, it appears that he assumes that it was roofed.⁴⁴ Mirabella Roberti and Tamassia and Roffia, however, state specifically that it was unroofed.⁴⁵ Mirabella Roberti points to the wide

⁴⁴G. Panazza, "La domus nella ortaglia del monastero di S. Giulia a Brescia," Archeologia e storia a Milano e in Lombardia orientale (Atti del convegno (villa monastero di Varenna) 5-6 giugno 1971/10-11 giugno 1972 Como) 112.

⁴⁵M. Mirabella Roberti, "Gli ultimi dieci anni di scavi a Brescia," Atti del convegno internazionale per il XIX centenario della dedicazione del Capitolium (Brescia 1975) 13; A.M. Tamassia, E. Roffia, San Salvatore di Brescia - Materiali per un museo I (Brescia 1978) 26.

opening off room M and compares it to other rooms which open off porticoes and peristyles. The oddities of room placement and the various levels in this structure do not help in answering this question. There are numerous examples of niche-nymphaea at Pompeii, but they are usually located in gardens or peristyles, rather than this relatively contained space. The wide opening does not lend support for either argument, as it simply permits a full view of the nymphaeum to room M. It should be noted that the doorways to rooms V and R are not especially wide.⁴⁶ In either case the arrangement of rooms is unusual; both room-nymphaea and open-air nymphaea are generally located with access to one or more rooms or areas of the house. Room R, which has an elaborate mosaic and wall painting, is beside room P, but only room M is positioned to take full advantage of it. Until clearer information about the nature of area S to the north, and about the rest of the structure is obtained, the question of its roofing must remain open.

There are numerous fragments of utilitarian pavements, which are sometimes used to identify courts, despite the absence of drainage. The most common utilitarian floors include beaten pavements, those of mortar ('cocciopesto' in Italian), opus signinum, and pavements in brick, which can be cut to a variety of shapes, with hexagonal the most popular

⁴⁶The paving stones indicated on the plan (fig. 20) are not mentioned in any publication nor do they appear on Panazza's plan.

shape in northern Italy. These pavements are used not only in courts, but in a variety of service areas, such as kitchens, latrines, animal quarters, baths and areas with an industrial function. Therefore, caution must be exercised when traces of such pavements are found, deprived of their larger context and without provision for water.⁴⁷

There are also utilitarian pavements with wells for water collection.⁴⁸ The wells are usually of brick and occur

⁴⁷This includes pavements fragments from Altino (fig. 3 H), Bologna 3 room 4 (no plan), Claterna 2 (no plan), Concordia 1 room 9 (fig. 26), Imola 2 room F (fig. 34), Ravenna 3 room I (fig. 43), Ravenna 4 room 4 (fig. 44b); in opus signinum Faenza 1 room I (fig. 32), in opus spicatum Claterna 2 and 3 (no plans), Imola 2 room E (fig. 34), Verona 4 ('spinatum'[sic]; no plan of this phase). Utilitarian pavements which have been used to identify courts include Verona 3 F (fig. 59), which is identified as a court purely on the basis of a (decorated) opus signinum pavement, and Concordia 1 and 3 (figs. 26, 28), and Oderzo 1 13 (fig. 38), which are so identified by their terra cotta pavements. Other identified courts mentioned in the catalogue: at Claterna 1 (no plan), Rimini 5 (fig. 50) and Verona 4 (ca. first C. A.C., fig. 60; no details are given for either). At Altino (fig. 3) a court is mentioned in a house whose plan is unpublished (M. Tombolani, "Altino," Il Ven. 332); at Ravenna a partially extant house of five rooms around a 'probable' court is reported under a later ceramic kiln (see podere Chiavichetta Porto 74-78, M.G. Maioli, "Appunti sulla tipologia delle case di Ravenna in epoca imperiale," CCAB 33 1986 219); at Verona there is a house with rooms organized around a court (via Forti - see G. Cavalieri Manasse, "Verona," Il Ven. 44); at Vicenza traces of a house with a court are identified on the basis of a beaten pavement (M.G. Maioli, "Il duomo di Vicenza: risultati dei saggi di scavo nella cripta," AquilNost 48 [1977] 209-236).

⁴⁸e.g. Este 2 nos. i and ii (fig. 31), Oderzo 2 L (fig. 39b). There is a brick well at Concordia 3 (fig. 28), but no further details are available as to its pavement (P. Croce da Villa ["Concordia," Il Ven. 410] identifies the area as a court). At Sarsina 2 (no plan) a well in a court is reported. The unusual holes in the tessellated pavement at Ravenna 3 F (fig. 43) are difficult to explain; for the possible

in all types of functional pavements. The presence of a well adds weight to the identification of these areas as possible courts; however, this too cannot be certain, since wells are also found inside rooms.⁴⁹ Drains are another logical element in both open courts and other kinds of service areas, thus making identification difficult.⁵⁰

Basins and Nymphaea

Nymphaea and decorative basins occur in both courts and peristyles.⁵¹ At Aosta 1 no.i (figs. 4a-b) marble slabs set in an L shape in the floor of court H may have formed the outline of a basin, but there is no other evidence. More enigmatic is basin K at Rimini 2 (fig.47). It takes the shape of a semicircle and lies at some distance from the pavements; its relationship to them, if any, is unclear. A small rectangular basin (ca. 2.50x1.80m.) with a hexagonal pavement and plastered sides lies above an area of hexagonal pavement at Faenza 2 (fig. 33). Scagliarini Corlaità suggests that this may have been a decorative basin in an outdoor court,

identification of this complex as a public bath see below 147-148. Scagliarini Corlaità interprets several examples of wells in simply decorated pavements at Bologna and Reggio Emilia (Regium Lepidi) as part of an open area (Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 315-316, fig. 36).

⁴⁹This occurs often in Pompeii, especially in kitchens.

⁵⁰At Verona, vicolo Monachine, via Adua, a fragment of an opus sectile pavement is ascribed to a court because of the presence of a drain (Fogolari op. cit. [n.23] 135).

⁵¹For basins with an industrial function, see below 140.

placed in view of the mosaic in room A, which lies at the same level as the hexagonal pavement; she offers no explanation for the difference in levels.⁵² There are scant chronological data for this house. A pavement in A is dated to the second century A.C., and lies at 2.50m. below street level, while the basin is at 2.20m.; the difference in levels may indicate a terminus post quem for the basin, but there are a number of stratigraphic discrepancies at this site which are inadequately discussed in the publication. A clearer example is offered by the court in the domus beneath the Palazzo Diotallevi at Rimini 3. In its second phase (fig. 48b), which Maioli dates by its pavements to the first half of the second century A.C.,⁵³ a rectangular basin (S, ca. 4.70x2.80m.) was built in the court, with semicircular niches in the short sides, which may have supported statues. Two reception rooms (N and F) were also built in the court at approximately the same time; both opened off the court with wide entrances so that the basin would have been visible.⁵⁴

⁵²Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 318 n.70.

⁵³M.G. Maioli, "La casa romana di Palazzo Diotallevi a Rimini (FO): fasi di costruzione e pavimenti musivi," AttMosAnt 461-474.

⁵⁴Several other basins were found, but not included in the catalogue. The house under Palazzo Gioia has at least one apsidal basin dated to the second century A.D. (FA 11 1958 no. 4630, Maioli 1987 op. cit. [n.25] 216-221). Also found at Rimini, under the Mercato, was an extensive structure of sixteen rooms, as yet unpublished, which is described in several different ways: as a court with rectangular basin with an apse in one side, and as a peristyle with a central basin; two other basins at different levels were found nearby

There are also peristyles with decorative basins or nymphaea. At Rimini 1 (fig. 46) the rectangular basin K occupies most of the interior area of the peristyle. A Julio-Claudian brick stamp found in the fill provides a terminus post quem for the basin. It is also deep; at 1.25m. it compares with the pool in the Casa del Citarista (1 4 25) at Pompeii, which is 1.4m. deep.⁵⁵ Another simple rectangular basin is found in the centre of the peristyle at Aquileia 3 (fig. 11).⁵⁶ Nymphaea are also found in the peristyles of northern Italy. At Aosta 2 (fig. 5) a curvilinear niche set in the back wall of a peristyle may have had a fountain; traces of a drain were found extending from the niche along the length of the insula. If this was indeed a nymphaeum, it may be classified as a simple version of the facade nymphaeum,

(FA 19 1966 no.4392; G. Riccioni, BdA 1967 245; eadem, "Mosaici pavimentali di Rimini del I e II secolo d.C. con motivi figurati [scavi 1956-1965]," AttiMosAnt 22-26). Lastly from Rimini an apsidal basin with painted plaster and marble crustae was found in via Minghetti (FA 10 1955 no.4294).

⁵⁵W. Jashemski, The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villas destroyed by Vesuvius (New York 1979) 34. Other deep pools at Pompeii include the one in the peristyle of the casa di Pansa (6 6 1), which is 2m. deep and of the casa di Meleagro (6 9 2), which is 1.77m. deep. Small recesses in the walls of this basin are thought to be repositories for fish eggs.

⁵⁶Under the duomo at Vicenza a small basin (1.20x2.50m.) was later incorporated into a larger basin which had a fragment of a tube from a fountain (Maioli 1977 op. cit. [n.47] 214).

with a single articulation of the wall space.⁵⁷ It is dated to the first century A.C. In the peristyle of the so-called 'palace of Theodoric' at Ravenna (Ravenna 5, fig. 45) there is evidence of several structures, including a porticoed walk, which has a central octagonal nymphaeum and other structures on the cross axis, including a 'tempietto' with niches and a high podium which Maioli suggests may have held a monument.⁵⁸ No date for these structures is provided, but they are more likely part of the late antique building than the early imperial domus.⁵⁹

More complete, and therefore of greater interest, are nymphaeae found in the domus in Piazza Nogara at Verona (Verona 1, fig. 57) and in the domus under S. Salvatore at Brescia (Brescia 1, fig. 18). At Verona two basins, one large, another smaller one beside it, were set against the back wall of a small court which was porticoed on three sides; a small fountain with two water jets was set in the court pavement opposite the basins. The court was paved in limestone and the large basin retained its limestone revetment; the water jets were set in a marble slab which was added at some point after the construction of the nymphaeum. Notches on the basin rims

⁵⁷See N. Neuerburg, L'architettura delle fontane e dei ninfei nell'Italia antica (Naples 1965) 73-80; G. Hornbostel-Hüttner, Studien zur römischen Nischenarchitektur (Leiden 1979) 79-85, 135-139.

⁵⁸Maioli 1987 op. cit. (n.25) 213.

⁵⁹ibid. 213; F. Berti, Mosaici Antichi in Italia, Aemilia: Ravenna (Rome 1976) 12. See below Chapter V 199-203.

directed the overflow of water from the larger basin into the smaller, and from the smaller into a well. Both had drainage holes to permit cleaning. Markings on the stylobate indicate that eight columns surrounded the court. The date of the construction of the nymphaeum is unclear. The west wall behind the basin has red wall plaster, indicating that the nymphaeum was not likely part of the original plan. Cavalieri Manasse proposes that the court was originally without columns.⁶⁰ She dates the initial pavements from the end of the first century B.C. to the beginning of the first century A.C., and the rest from 180 to 250 A.C., with the construction of the portico and heating system possibly occurring in the intervening phase. It is possible that the nymphaeum was part of this renovation as well.

The Verona nymphaeum may be compared with several at Ostia. In the domus del Decumano (2 2 3) a nymphaeum consisting of a simple rectangular basin is set at the end of room I opposite the main reception room L.⁶¹ The place for a water pipe is indicated in the masonry several courses above the basin. There are two drainage holes at the back of the basin beneath the rim and a drainage channel at the front. There is no indication of a niche (or niches) above the basin, although, as Neuerburg points out, there could have been one

⁶⁰Cavalieri Manasse op. cit. n.34 234-236.

⁶¹Neuerburg op. cit. (n.57) 186; G. Becatti, "Case Ostiensi del Tardo Impero," BdA 24 (1948) 108-109.

in the missing upper portion of wall. Becatti dates the house to 200-250 A.C., but has no recommendation for the nymphaeum.⁶² Despite the similarities in form between the nymphaeum at Verona 1 and the Ostian example, there are considerable differences in their position in the house. There is no comparable arrangement of fountain and portico at Ostia. At Verona it is not clear what kind of access rooms B, C, K, L and M had to the court. The wide entrances to rooms G and H give them special access to the court; however, their lack of significant decoration prevents further conclusions.

At Brescia 1 (fig. 18) there is a large nymphaeum of the facade type, consisting of a curvilinear niche flanked by two smaller niches, beneath which is placed a rectangular basin. The nymphaeum is set against one wall of a porticoed court 17m. wide, whose colonnade is reconstructed as 7x7 columns. The precise way in which the fountain functioned is not clear, but it appears that water flowed from small jet fountains in the niches and overflowed into the basin. There is no structural evidence for the construction date of the nymphaeum, but Stella envisions a four-sided peristyle which was equipped with a nymphaeum in the last quarter of the first

⁶²The nymphaeum in the court of the domus del Ninfeo at Ostia (3 6 1) has a comparable basin (although it is oval); however, it is placed beneath a facade fountain of seven semicircular and rectangular niches, and thus is of a very different type (Neuerburg op. cit. 186-187; Becatti op. cit. 109-112, fig. 9.).

century A.C.⁶³ This fountain is an example of a facade nymphaeum. In its dominant position in the peristyle it resembles the facade nymphaea in the imperial Domus Transitoria of Nero at Rome and the Casa dell'Ancora (6 10 7) and the Casa del Torello (5 1 7) at Pompeii.⁶⁴

There are two other nymphaea of interest, although it is not clear whether they were in open courts or interior rooms. Area P at Brescia 3 (fig. 20) has already been discussed,⁶⁵ but the nymphaeum itself bears some scrutiny. It consists of a rectangular basin set against the back wall, with a lead fistula and brick drainage channel; above the basin is an apsidal niche.⁶⁶ Drainage channels were cut in paving stones on both sides of the room.⁶⁷ On the north and west wall traces of Nilotic scenes (pygmies and hippopotamus) on a blue-green background rest on a red socle and are topped by a rose field divided by black lines; there is also evidence of blue intonaco in the apsidal niche. If area P was roofed, it resembles a type of room-nymphaeum, which became popular in the late Republic and continued in use in Imperial contexts

⁶³Stella op. cit. (n.30) 39.

⁶⁴Neuerburg op. cit. 121-122, 125-126; Hornbostel-Hüttner op. cit. (n.57) 80, 136-137.

⁶⁵See above 91-92.

⁶⁶Panazza suggests that a column and portion of an altar found in other parts of the house (in room L and C) belong to this nymphaeum (op. cit. n.44 111-112).

⁶⁷Another channel was a later addition on the west side.

into the first and second centuries A.C.⁶⁸ Many examples are apsidal, with curvilinear and rectilinear niches in the nymphaeum itself and side walls; basilical plans are another variation on the theme.⁶⁹ The Nilotic scenes at Brescia 3 recall similar decoration in the triclinium-grotto in the praedia of Julia Felix at Pompeii (2 7 1), which is another variation of a room-nymphaeum.⁷⁰ If the area was open to the sky, it resembles the niche-nymphaea common to Pompeian gardens and peristyles. A good parallel is represented in the aedicular nymphaeum in the small porticoed area in the Casa della Fontana Piccola at Pompeii (6 8 23). The fountain is flanked by landscape paintings rather than Nilotic scenes.⁷¹ A structure at Ravenna 1 (figs. 41b-c) is identified by Maioli as a nymphaeum, although it is in poor condition.⁷² A waterproof basin is set between two steps in area 2; in it is a concave brick element with a well and the imprint of a pipe. There is also a red marble base, which may have been for a

⁶⁸Neuerburg op. cit. 41-52.

⁶⁹Among the more complex room nymphaea are the Imperial 'Doric Nymphaeum' at Castelgandolfo, the two nymphaea in the so-called Villa of Cicero at Formia and the Villa of Quintilius Varus at Tivoli (Neuerburg ibid. 157-158, 145-147, 250).

⁷⁰For the triclinium-grotto, see F. Rakob, "Ein Grotten-Triklinium im Pompeji," RM 71 (1964) 182-194; for the Nilotic wall paintings, see H. Whitehouse, "In Praedis Iuliae Felicis: The Provenance of Some Fragments of Wall Painting in the Museo Nazionale, Naples," BSR 45 (1977) 52-62.

⁷¹Jashemski op. cit. (n.55) 83-84.

⁷²Maioli 1986 op. cit. (n.47) 214-216.

statue. As previously discussed,⁷³ it is not clear if area 2 was roofed or open; moreover, it occupies a relatively small space and is somewhat closed off from rooms 3 and 4.

Peristyle Gardens

There is little evidence of gardens in the courts and peristyles of these houses. The court at Rimini 4 (fig. 49) is unpaved, which may indicate that it was used as a garden; however, no evidence of planting is recorded. Similarly, no paving was found in the peristyle at Este 1 (fig. 30), and it may have been a viridarium in the Pompeian manner. The gardens in the domus degli Affreschi at Luni 2 (figs. 37b-c) are the great exception. There are two gardens, the small porticoed area to the south (P) and the central bipartite garden (L) which divides the house in two. P is ascribed to the third phase (ca. 50-70 A.C.); the date of the central garden is unclear but falls into the second (ca. A.D.40) or third phase of the house. The smaller garden has two porticoes, one partially walled, and a low wall with small rectangular niches forms an inner border to the garden; marble bases on the niches may have been for statues. The large garden is much more complex. It is divided by a wall into two sections which do not appear to have been directly accessible from one another. The south section (11x5.70m.) was surrounded on two sides by a partially walled portico; an

⁷³See above 90-91.

aedicular niche nymphaeum was located in the west wall. Beneath it was set a marble-faced basin, with a triangular recess which A. Zaccaria Ruggiu proposes as a space for a lararium.⁷⁴ In form the nymphaeum fits the aedicular type common in gardens at Pompeii.⁷⁵ None of its decoration remains and it is therefore impossible to know if it had the same elaborate mosaic decoration as many Campanian examples.⁷⁶ The central area of this south section was not planted, but possibly had potted foliage, as indicated by numerous vase fragments. Zaccaria Ruggiu reconstructs a fenestrated portico around both gardens, based on extant remains of a wall between column bases, and on numerous glass fragments which were found on the surface of the portico pavement.⁷⁷

The north section of the large garden measures 13.30x14.10m. and was separated from the west suite of rooms by an open portico. The central part was articulated by a

⁷⁴A. Zaccaria Ruggiu, "La casa degli affreschi a Luni: fasi edilizie per successione diacronica," Quaderni del Centro Studi Lunensi 8 (1983) 32. Lararia are common in Pompeian gardens; Jashemski (op. cit. [n.55] 117) records that of the 505 published in Boyce's study, 50 were in gardens and 59 in peristyles (G. Boyce, Corpus of the Lararia of Pompeii (MAAR 14 1937). For a general discussion of religion and gardens, see P. Grimal, Les jardins romains (Paris 1969) 41-53, 70-76, 301-335.

⁷⁵Neuerburg op. cit. (n.57) 61-72.

⁷⁶For the mosaic decoration of these nymphaea, see F. Sear, Roman Wall and Vault Mosaics (RM-EH 23, Heidelberg 1977).

⁷⁷op. cit. 21.

canal (0.70m. wide, 0.80m. deep), which divided the garden into four roughly octagonal areas; these too were likely decorated with potted plants, as in the south section. The exterior of the canal was punctuated by small, alternately curvilinear and rectilinear jet fountains, with a circular fountain in the centre.

The baroque, sculpted form of this section of the garden is much more stylized than the gardens of Campania. As W. Jashemski has shown, the gardens of Campania combined formal and informal plantings, with flowers, shrubs and fruit trees side by side and the frequent use of large shade trees not normally found in planned gardens.⁷⁸ Much of the evidence needed to study the gardens was never properly recorded and has only recently been taken into consideration. Early excavation reports record plantings which fit the shape of the pool in the Casa del Centenario (9 8 6), and of undefined formal plantings in houses 1 12 11 and 8 5 2.⁷⁹ In the Casa dei Capitelli Colorati (7 4 51) planting beds beside the pool in the north peristyle outlined in brick formed concentric circles. In house 7 6 7 there were two opposed U-shaped masonry planting beds with root cavities in a small peristyle.⁸⁰ However, there is nothing like the sculpted

⁷⁸Jashemski op. cit. (n.55) 32.

⁷⁹ibid. 32-33.

⁸⁰In the casa della Gemma at Herculaneum two troughs border the garden, which lies at a lower level; Maiuri offers a reconstruction of the garden but does not say whether these

areas at Luni 2. The best comparable gardens are those in the imperial Domus Flavia on the Palatine in Rome.⁸¹ There were ornamental gardens in both the public peristyle in the west wing and in the private east wing, with octagonal, oval and pelta-shaped planting beds. The gardens in the domus at Conimbriga in Portugal offer the best comparison in a domestic context.⁸² The houses are dominated by large central peristyles which have ornately shaped masonry planting beds set in pools. The Maison aux Jets d'eau has numerous water jets along the borders of both the peristyle and planting beds. Smaller colonnaded courts have similarly sculpted planting beds. Etienne and Alarçao also point to the antecedents in Rome, the sprawling horti of the late Republic and the imperial palaces. However, the houses at Conimbriga are dated to the Severan period, while the garden at Luni 2 is dated to the Flavian era.

There is also nothing at Pompeii which compares to the canal at Luni 2. Of the numerous basins of various shapes and sizes the euripus type seen in the Casa di Loreius Tibertinus

troughs held water or were for plants (A. Maiuri, Ercolano. I nuovi scavi (1927-1958) [Rome 1958] 336-342, fig. 270).

⁸¹E. Nash, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome (London 1968) 316-338; A. Boëthius and J. Ward-Perkins Etruscan and Roman Architecture (Harmondsworth 1978) 230-235, 251-253; W. MacDonald, The Architecture of the Roman Empire New Haven 1965, 1982.

⁸²J. de Alarçao, R. Etienne, "Les Jardins à Conimbriga (Portugal)," in E. MacDougall, W. Jashemski eds., Ancient Roman Gardens (Washington 1981) 69-80.

(properly, D. Octavius Quartio 2 2 2) and in the praedia of Julia Felix (2 4) serves to divide the garden in a way similar to the Luni canal; however, the effect is not the same. In the Casa del Citarista (1 4 25) a canal runs along the interior of the south peristyle but plays no role in the interior area; a similar canal is found in the interior peristyle no. 20 in the villa at Oplontis.⁸³

The basins and canals in the domus in southern Gaul offer no comparable models. At Saint-Romain-en-Gal U-shaped basins are especially common.⁸⁴ They line the interior perimeter of the peristyles and often have a niche on one side; the internal areas were planted. However, they do not dominate the garden as does the canal at Luni 2. Unlike the other extant examples, the water canal at Luni 2 determines the form and structure of the garden; it does not merely bisect the garden, but surrounds it and carves out the design of the interior. The area for plants is subordinated to the water element in a manner not seen in even the most complex nymphaea and pools at Pompeii.⁸⁵ There is also a much

⁸³Jashemski 1979 op. cit. (n.55) 34, 292.

⁸⁴M. Leglay, "L'originalité de l'architecture domestique à Saint-Romain-en-Gal," CRAI 1971 764-774; idem, "Les jardins à Vienne," in E. MacDougall, W. Jashemski eds., Ancient Roman Gardens (Washington 1981) 51-65; C. Laroche, H. Savay-Guerraz, Saint-Romain-en-Gal (Guides archéologiques de la France) (Saint-Romain-en-Gal 1984).

⁸⁵An exception may be seen in the casa di Pansa (6 6 1), where the rectangular basin occupies most of the interior of the peristyle and leaves little room for plants.

greater separation between the garden and the rest of the house. In the Campanian house as well as in southern Gaul the peristyle garden forms a core around which rooms of various functions are grouped; covered porticoes direct the flow of traffic around the peristyle. In the domus degli Affreschi, however, the garden appears to have been surrounded by a fenestrated portico, with the result that only the group of three rooms off the north side (I, J, K) opened off the garden through a portico; the other two sides had windows but only room E opened directly off the garden. While fences were common in Campanian peristyles,⁸⁶ they provided more exposure to the gardens for the portico and surrounding rooms. The fenestrated portico suggested for Luni 2 isolated the garden from the rest of the house. As well, the surrounding canal and jet fountains discourage frequent traffic, indicating that this garden was intended primarily to be seen and not entered. Two houses at Herculaneum offer useful parallels, the Casa dei Cervi and the Casa dell'atrio a mosaico.⁸⁷ The latter in particular provides an interesting comparison to the domus degli Affreschi. The central viridarium is surrounded by a fenestrated portico on three sides, while on the fourth there is what Maiuri terms a "veranda a vetri".⁸⁸ a low wall with a wooden framework to hold glass. The windows on the other

⁸⁶Jashemski 1979 op. cit. (n.55) 49-51.

⁸⁷Maiuri op. cit. (n.80) 302-323, 280-302.

⁸⁸ibid. 291.

sides of the portico measure 0.98x1.50m., and there are four on the north side and six on the west.⁸⁹ In both these houses the garden is a space which is more separated from the rest of the house than in the standard Campanian garden. The garden of the Casa dell'atrio a mosaico, however, is itself typical of the informal Campanian type, rather than the complex garden at Luni.

The Cryptoportico at Vicenza

The cryptoportico under the Duomo at Vicenza (fig. 61) has been identified as part of an urban domus, making it the only subterranean example in northern Italy.⁹⁰ Little of the house is still extant, other than the cryptoportico itself; three rooms of uncertain function and part of a corridor open off two ends of the portico. The portico, which has three arms, is entered by a barrel-vaulted ramp 1m. wide; the arms are 27.35-29.50m. long and 3m. wide and 2.85m. high, with 31 shaft windows which open inwards. The porticoes have traces of considerable decoration, including marble wall facing, a stucco cornice, and a decorative hexagonal brick pavement. In

⁸⁹ibid. 292.

⁹⁰The fenestrated portico at Luni 2 (figs. 37a-c; see above 103) can also be considered a cryptoportico. For the public cryptoportico at Aosta, see C. Carducci, "Il criptoportico di Aosta," Les cryptoportiques dans l'architecture romaine (Ecole Française de Rome, 19-23 avril 1972, Rome 1973) 117-129. For domestic cryptoporticoes outside of Campania, see articles by C. Giuliani, H. Lavagne and E. Salza Prina Ricotti in the same volume.

contrast, rooms 3, 4 and 5 which open off the arms are plastered but undecorated. G. Tosi reconstructs a peristyle garden on the upper level, which would provide light through the windows.⁹¹

The characterization of the cryptoportico as private rather than public is based upon the quality of its decoration and its relatively small dimensions, especially those of the entrance. R. Staccioli, however, is not willing to reject entirely a public context.⁹² Domestic subterranean cryptoporticoes are found in several houses and villas at Pompeii, including the Casa del Criptoportico (1 6 2/4), the Casa dell'Ancora Nera (6 10 7), the Casa di Championnet (8 2 1), and in the Villa dei Misteri and the Villa di Diomede.⁹³ With the exception of the first house, these cryptoporticoes were used for storage; they are plastered but undecorated, and only in the Casa dell'Ancora Nera are there rooms off the cryptoportico, which are identified as bedrooms or closets.⁹⁴ In the Casa del Criptoportico the passages are decorated with

⁹¹G. Tosi, "Osservazioni sul criptoportico di Vicenza," Studi miscellanei della Venezia (Venetia 3 1975) 150.

⁹²R. Staccioli, "Sulla destinazione e l'uso dei criptoportici," Les criptoportiques dans l'architecture romaine (Ecole Française de Rome, 19-23 avril 1972, Rome 1973) 59 n.4.

⁹³Richardson op. cit. (n.18) 167-168; 329; 233-234; 399; 354. There was a small one-armed cryptoportico under the Casa di Paquius Proculus (1 7 1), which was used as a cantina. See the forthcoming volume by W. Ehrhardt in the DAI series "Häuser im Pompeji".

⁹⁴Richardson op. cit. 329.

wall painting and there are several small well-decorated rooms and a bath suite opening off the north arm.⁹⁵ The dimensions of the cryptoportico at Vicenza are only slightly larger than those of the one at Pompeii.⁹⁶ Objects such as lamps, antefixes and a round suspensura brick found in the fill are also suited to a private rather than a public context, and remnants of mosaic pavements found nearby suggest too that the area was residential.⁹⁷ Despite Staccioli's reservations, therefore, the available evidence recommends Tosi's identification of a private domus.

Reception Rooms

The tablinum has been identified as the main reception room in the typical Campanian house; here the paterfamilias conducted business and received guests. In architectural terms the tablinum is defined by its position in the traditional Campanian house - a room with a wide entrance off the atrium opposite the fauces on the axis established by the atrium. The relatively scarce use of the traditional atrium plan in northern Italy results in few examples of classic

⁹⁵NSc 1933 252-276; V. Spinazzola, Pompei alla luce degli scavi nuovi di Via dell'Abbondanza I (Rome 1953) 451-525, 549-569. Richardson (op. cit. [n.18] 168) rejects the identification of the bath suite, denying the existence of a heating system.

⁹⁶The west arm in the Casa del Criptoportico is approximately 26.5m. long and 2.5m. wide at its most narrow point.

⁹⁷M. Rigoni, "Vicenza," Il Ven. 127-128.

tablina. These include Este 1 (room 5, fig. 30), Vado Ligure (fig. 53) and Luni 2 (room C, fig. 37a). The pavement of the tablinum at Este 1 is dated to the Augustan period, as is the plan of the house at Vado Ligure. Room J at Luni 2 (fig. 37b) belongs to the second phase of the house and is thus dated to ca. A.D.40. It is identified as a tablinum because it opens off the second atrium on one side and the portico to the garden on the other. In this it does resemble the traditional plan; however, the second atrium does not open off an entrance, and although there is one side room (H), it does not appear to have the symmetrical side rooms in the Pompeian manner. Identification of a tablinum is proposed for Aquileia 2 (room 6, fig. 10), Aquileia 3 (room C, fig. 11) and Aquileia 5 (room 5, fig. 13), and for room C at Brescia 2 (fig. 19a). However, none of these are atrium houses and the rooms are better described as reception rooms.⁹⁸

There is little to be said about the tablina at Este 1 (fig. 30) and Luni 2 (fig. 37a). Both are relatively small⁹⁹ and have decorative mosaic pavements. In other respects they do not differ from Campanian tablina.

⁹⁸For room C at Aquileia 3 (fig. 11) as a triclinium, see below n.117. If house no. i at Velleia (fig. 54) is accepted as a Corinthian atrium, the room off the rear can be taken as a tablinum (see above 73). At Luni 1 (fig. 36) room E is identified by Frova as a tablinum, although the room itself is not actually extant; however, as discussed above (73-74), the colonnaded court is more accurately a peristyle rather than a Corinthian atrium.

⁹⁹Este 1 room 5 - 4.17x3.40m., Luni 2 room C - 3.40x4.40m.

There are numerous triclinia in the evidence of the northern Italian domus. The characteristic U + T pavement, which indicates the position of the couches, is not popular in the region, although a variation on the pattern occurs in room A at Rimini 3 (fig. 48b). Here a white U-shaped band 1.5m. wide runs around three sides of a central figured scene, while a white band on the fourth side is separated from the others by a narrow black border.¹⁰⁰ In rooms 16 and 23 at Oderzo 1 (fig. 38) white borders around simple geometric panels are interpreted by Tirelli as space for couches.¹⁰¹ Precise measurements are not provided, but in room 16 the bands at the sides are approximately 4m. long and 1m. wide, and 0.75m. wide at the back; in room 23 the side areas are approximately 4.75m. long and 1.5m. wide, with the rear panel only 0.63m. wide. Dining couches in Pompeii are 1.25m. wide and 2m. long on average,¹⁰² and so in these areas a couch would have encroached on the pavement motif at the back. This may not have been a serious problem, however, and these rooms may have

¹⁰⁰The pavement remnants in room 3 in the east part of Ravenna 4 may indicate space for couches. For other examples of U + T-shaped pavements in region 10 (Venetia and Histria) see Donderer 25 no. 18, 48 no. 75, 52 no. 84, 118 no. 53.

¹⁰¹M. Tirelli, "La domus di via Mazzini ad Oderzo (Treviso)," Quaderni d'archeologia del Veneto 3 (1987) 130-131, 182-183.

¹⁰²For the width of couches see P. Soprano, "I triclini all'aperto di Pompei," Pompeiana - Raccolta di Studi per il secondo centenario degli scavi di Pompei (Naples 1950) 288-310, and for the length see K. Dunbabin, "Triclinium and Stibadium," in W.J. Slater ed., Dining in a Classical Context (Ann Arbor 1991) 125.

been used as triclinia.

Much more common for triclinia pavements in northern Italy is a central panel in a comparatively plain field, around which couches were placed. A similar pavement type is common in Pompeian tablina and was adopted in triclinia,¹⁰³ but the central panels are generally small and are usually square in shape. In the north Italian examples central panels tend to be larger and of rectangular shape. Examples include: Bologna 1, rooms 1 and 3 (fig. 15), Brescello room A (fig. 17), room H at Brescia 4 (fig. 21), and Ravenna 1 room 3 in the second phase (fig. 41b).¹⁰⁴ This may also be the case for Concordia 1 room 4 (fig. 26), Concordia 2 room 2 (fig. 27), and for the triclinium identified in the third phase at Verona 4 (no plan for this phase), but no dimensions are furnished for any of these.¹⁰⁵ The central panels in these examples have geometric patterns, except Brescia 4, which has marine motives, and only in room 3 at Bologna 1, with its small bird, does the mosaic cater to the viewpoint of the diners in its position.

The small basin in the centre of the mosaic panel in

¹⁰³Donderer 226.

¹⁰⁴The sizes of the central panels are: 4.36x2.45m., 2.82x0.72m (Bologna 1, rooms 1 and 3); 3x1.50m (Brescello); 3.25sq.m. (Brescia). No size is provided for room 3 at Ravenna 1.

¹⁰⁵Rooms 1 and 2 at Concordia 1 have the same pavement arrangement but they are of smaller proportions and may better be identified as cubicula; the same is true of room B at Brescello.

room H at Brescia 4 (fig. 21) is a simple version of the integration of water elements into triclinia which was popular at Pompeii. There is a pool in a similar position in the Casa di Sallustius (6 2 4), and a fountain in that position in the Casa di Nettuno e Anfitrite (5 6-7) at Herculaneum.¹⁰⁶ More elaborate examples include the nymphaeum-biclinia of the Casa di Loreio Tiburtino (2 5 2), house 5 3 11 and the nymphaeum-triclinia of the Casa dell'Efebo (1 7 10) and the praedia of Julia Felix (2 4).¹⁰⁷

Several of these triclinia are of substantial size, such as rooms 1 and 3 at Bologna 1 (fig. 15), room H at Brescia 4, room 23 at Oderzo 1 (fig. 38) and room A at Rimini 3 (fig. 48b).¹⁰⁸ Only two, room A at Brescello (fig. 17) and 16 at Oderzo 1 (fig. 38), have the two to one ratio of length to

¹⁰⁶For the Casa di Sallustius see Soprano op. cit. 300 no. 14; for the Casa di Nettuno e Anfitrite see Maiuri op. cit. (n.80) 397-401.

¹⁰⁷For the Casa di Loreio Tiburtino see Spinazzola op. cit. (n.95) 404, Soprano op. cit. 305-306 no. 25, Neuerburg op. cit. (n.57) 118; for 5 3 11 see NSc 1902 276 and 372, Soprano op. cit. 306 no. 27, Neuerburg op. cit. 122-123; for the Casa dell'Efebo see NSc 1927 52 and 60, Soprano op. cit. 295 no. 5, Neuerburg op. cit. 117; for the praedia of Julia Felix see Rakob op. cit. (n.70) 182-194. See also E. Salza Prina Ricotti, "Forme speciali di triclinii," Cronache pompeiane 5 (1979) 102-149, and eadem, "The Importance of Water in Roman Garden Triclinia," in E. MacDougall, W. Jashemski eds., Ancient Roman Villa Gardens (Washington 1987) 135-184. R. Rebuffat (Thamusida II [Rome 1970] 296) reports basins in secondary reception rooms in the Maison de Venus at Banasa, and the Maison à la Monnaie d'or and the Maison de l'Ephèbe at Volubilis.

¹⁰⁸Respectively, 9.01x5.09m., 9.20x6.25m., 9.25x6.40., 8.70x6.20m., 7.60x8.60m.

width recommended by Vitruvius, but such proportions are not strictly followed at Pompeii either.¹⁰⁹ Room O in no. iii at Rimini 1 (fig. 46), although only partially extant, appears to have a U-shaped area for the couches and is of significant size,¹¹⁰ but has inverted proportions, so that it is wider than it is long. Dunbabin cites 6x4m. as the normal size of Campanian triclinia, although larger examples abound.¹¹¹ There also appears to be no clear increase in the size of these triclinia. The pavements in Oderzo 1 rooms 16 and 23, and the first pavements at Bologna 1 are dated to the end of the first century B.C., that at Brescello to the first century A.C., while those at Brescia 4 and Rimini 3 are dated to the second century A.C.

There are a number of smaller rooms in the north Italian corpus with the central panel pavement arrangement, but much smaller dimensions. Among these are room 3 at Ravenna 1 (figs. 41b-c), rooms N and F at Rimini 3 (fig. 48b) and room 31 at Este 1 (fig. 30). The first measures ca. 3.90x4.30m.,¹¹² with a central panel of ca. 1.60m.sq., which leaves couch space of 1.13m. at the sides and 1.40m. at the back; an area of black pavement is set in front of the door.

¹⁰⁹Respectively, 12x6m. and 8.80x4.40m.; Vitruvius, De arch. 6.3.8.

¹¹⁰8.40x6m.

¹¹¹Dunbabin op. cit. (n.102) 124.

¹¹²The following measurements are approximate, calculated with the scale and plans provided.

Room F at Rimini 3 is 5.40x4.80m., with approximately 1m. at the sides of the central panel, and room N is 4.80x4m., with 1m. at the back for couches and only 0.60m. at the sides, which is too narrow for a couch which does not encroach on the pavement motif. Both the rooms at Rimini 3 have wide entrances off the central court and instrumenta domestica found in room R off N suggest that it could have been a food preparation area.¹¹³ From literary references and the Campanian archaeological evidence, it is clear that one house could have several dining rooms; it is therefore reasonable to identify both N and F as small triclinia, the former primarily for summer use, the latter for the winter months.¹¹⁴

At Este 1 room 31 (fig. 30), which has a central panel and a wide entrance off the peristyle, is identified as a triclinium by Donderer, along with rooms 30 and 32. However, the geometric panel appears to be placed at the very back of the room, preventing the placement of the lectus medius.¹¹⁵ The room is also of small dimensions.¹¹⁶ Room 3 at Ravenna

¹¹³See below 138.

¹¹⁴It is interesting too to note that triclinium A does not have an entrance off the court, and indeed it is not clear that this area had a connection with the rooms to the north. It is possible that triclinium A belonged to a separate house, and that room N and F were part of another dwelling. See Chapter V 189-190.

¹¹⁵See Donderer 144 no. 18 pl. 49.

¹¹⁶4.80x5.90m. This is the approximate measurement of the room after the back wall was advanced, a change which cut less than a metre from its length.

1 (fig. 41b) has equally small proportions; it may have been half of a set of reception rooms, along with room 4 (fig. 41c), which is also small (4.50x3.90m.) and whose pavement, however, does not seem designed for dining couches. Pieces of the mosaic pavement from Phase I of room 3 indicate that it did not have space reserved for couches; a more specialized function was introduced with the new pavement of Phase II. Room 4 was added in the third phase, and seems to have had a more general function. Both rooms are heated, which indicates their importance; however, neither has a direct view of the nymphaeum in 2, nor a wide entrance.¹¹⁷ Despite their size, rooms such as those at Este 1, Ravenna 1, and Rimini 3 may have functioned as dining rooms. Dunbabin's figure of 6x4m. is described as the norm for most Campanian triclinia.¹¹⁸ However, because of the questions raised by their pavements, and a lack of context, no definite function can be assigned. As with the large clearly identified triclinia, no chronological development emerges from these rooms; small, well-decorated rooms are found in the first as well as the second centuries A.C.

To judge from these partial plans, reception rooms have various relationships to other parts of the house. Room H at Brescia 4 (fig. 21) has a wide entrance off a peristyle,

¹¹⁷Room C at Aquileia 3 (fig. 11) is also identified as a triclinium by Donderer (33); however, its size (3.80x3.80m.) does not recommend this.

¹¹⁸Dunbabin op. cit. (n.102) 124.

while rooms N and F at Rimini 3 (fig. 48b) open off a court. Room 3 at Bologna 1 (fig. 15) has a wide entrance but it is not clear whether it is to a room or a small open court.¹¹⁹ It also has a second side entrance off corridor 2. Room 1 at Bologna 1, by contrast, has only one entrance, also at the side to corridor 2. Its more exclusive nature has prompted an identification as a winter triclinium by Scagliarini Corlaità, with 3 as its counterpart for summer use.¹²⁰ Room A at Rimini 3 has a single side entrance, and it too may be a winter dining room; at the same site room N has both a side door to room R, which may have been ancillary to it, and an open entrance to the court. Maioli identifies room 4 at Ravenna 1 (fig. 41c) as a winter triclinium, but it is scarcely more closed off than room 3 and both are heated, blurring the distinction between them.

The colonnaded room at Verona 2 (room A, fig. 58) is an example of the Corinthian oecus room type described by Vitruvius and apparently another form of triclinium.¹²¹ It has a row of five columns along each side and four at the back; a wide entrance flanked by windows opens off a portico which may have belonged to a peristyle. In the east wall there were two windows and a side door which opened off another portico; a third entrance was located in the rear wall

¹¹⁹See above 88-90.

¹²⁰Scagliarini Corlaità 1969 op. cit. n.42 157.

¹²¹De arch. 6.3.8-11.

and led to room C through small corridor B. The pavement is in simple white tessellatum with alternately bichrome and polychrome garlands in the intercolumniations. Traces of wall painting in red and yellow with only a single motif still extant are dated to the Flavian period.¹²²

Corinthian oeci are also found in the Casa del Labirinto (6 2 9-10) and the Casa di Meleagro (6 9 2) at Pompeii, and in the Roman villa at Settefinestre.¹²³ In its size and proportions (10x6.75m.) the Verona Corinthian oecus fits closest the Vitruvian rule that they have the same two-to-one ratio as triclinia; the other oeci are smaller and almost square.¹²⁴ All have wide entrances off peristyles or, in the case of Settefinestre, off a loggia with a view of the countryside, and mosaic and fresco decoration. A variation on the Corinthian oecus is the 'tetrastyle oecus' in the Casa delle Nozze d'argento (5 2 1) at Pompeii, which has four interior columns.¹²⁵

¹²²B. Forlati Tamaro, "La casa romana nel Veneto e una nuova scoperta a Verona," ArchCl 10 (1958) 116-120.

¹²³For the Pompeian oeci see A. Maiuri, "Gli oeci Vitruviani in Palladio e nella casa pompeiana ed ercolanese," Palladio 1-2 (1952) 1-8, and for the Casa del Labirinto see the forthcoming volume by V.M. Strocka in the "Häuser im Pompeji" series; for Settefinestre see A. Carandini, Settefinestre - Una villa schiavistica nell'Etruria romana I (Modena 1985) 20-21; 41-44.

¹²⁴Casa del Labirinto 6.70x6.80m., Casa di Meleagro 6.57x5.82m., Settefinestre 6.50x6.51m.

¹²⁵Maiuri 1952 op. cit. 2-3. Other columnar oeci are found in North Africa. They have not yet been systematically studied, but tend to be larger than the Italian examples,

Apsidal rooms (or rooms with large apsidal niches) are another form of reception room found in northern Italy. Those dated to the late Republic or early Augustan era include room D at Bologna 2 (fig. 16), rooms F at Sarsina 1 no. i, and G at Sarsina 1 no. ii (fig. 51),¹²⁶ and room I at Albenga (fig. 2). Apses dated to the later empire are found at Aquileia 1 nos. i and iii (fig. 9), C-H at Faenza 1 (fig. 32), room 3 at Ravenna 2 (fig. 42) and rooms L, T and the triconch S at the 'palace of Theodoric' (Ravenna 5, fig. 45). At the latter site the pavements in both the apsidal rooms and the triconch are dated to the sixth century A.C., which is significantly

usually with a U or U + T triclinium pavement. Whether or not they are to be considered Corinthian oeci in the Vitruvian sense has yet to be determined. (Maison des Mois at Thysdrus 16.50m.sq. with an internal colonnade 6x6 [L. Foucher, Découvertes archéologiques à Thysdrus en 1961 (Tunis 1961) 50-51]; Maison de Neptune at Acholla 11.20x9.50m. with 4x4 interior columns [S. Gozlan, "La Maison de Neptune à Acholla-Botria [Tunisie]," Karthago 16 (1971-1972) 41-99, especially 48-50]; Maison de la chapelle dionysiaque at Djemila approximately 11.30x10.90m. with 4x4 interior columns, including a row at the entrance [J. Lassus, "La salle à sept absides de Djemila-Cuicul," AntAfr 5 (1971) 193-207]; Maison de l'oecus at Utica 27.20x30m. with 5x4 interior columns [A. Lézine, Architecture romaine d'Afrique: Recherches et mises au point (Publication de l'université de Tunis, 1re série, Archéologie, Histoire. 9, Paris) fig. 47]; Maison des Masques at Hadrumetum, Maison des Laberii at Uthina [R. Rebuffat op. cit. n.107 294 n.2]). It has been argued that the colonnaded oecus in the Palazzo delle colonne at Cyrene (17.50x13m. with an interior colonnade of 4x8, including a row at the entrance) is closer to the Hellenistic tradition; see H. Lauter, "Ptolemais in Libyen - Ein Beitrag zur Baukunst Alexandrias," JdI 1971 149-178 and S. Stucchi, Architettura cirenaica (Rome 1975) 302.

¹²⁶For the dating of this apse, see below 121-122.

later than the other examples.¹²⁷

Of the early examples, the apse at Bologna 2 (fig. 16) is the smallest, measuring 2.50m. wide and 1.40m. deep.; the rest of the room is 4.70x2.79m. A band with a meander pattern separates the bichrome geometric pavement of the room from the scattered tesserae in the apse, whose curve is accentuated by two bichrome bands. Both apsidal rooms at Sarsina (fig. 51) are considerably larger, F measuring 9x12.70m. with an apsidal niche 4.80m wide and 3m. deep, and G measuring 11.70x10.50m. with an apsidal niche approximately 4.40m. wide and 2.40m. deep. Neither has any traces of pavement left, but there are remnants of a marble cornice and wall facing in G. An area of 1.50m. width separates room F from the three rooms to the south (C, D, E); there is a step between this area and the central room C. A covered drain runs under the length of this area for a total of 22 metres, and has two channels from apsidal room F. The relationship between apsidal room G and room H in no. ii at Sarsina 1 is not clear, although they appear to belong to the same house. This apse was later filled in. Scagliarini Corlaità dates both these apses to the first half of the first century B.C.¹²⁸ However, this is an unusually early use of brick, a point which she does not

¹²⁷For these rooms see below 123. Apsidal rooms included in the catalogue but not fully dated or described: 1 at Claterna 1 (no plan), apses mentioned at Rimini 5 (fig. 50) and Verona 4 (no plan for this phase), and the apsidal room of Aosta 6 (fig. 8).

¹²⁸Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 316.

address. It is more likely that the apse dates to the first half of the first century A.C., rather than B.C.¹²⁹ There are no dimensions given for the apse at Albenga (fig. 2), but from the plan it appears to have been small and may be a niche rather than an apse. There is evidence of decoration in a bedding for a mosaic pavement, traces of floral motives on wall plaster, and of a painted plaster soffit. Unlike the others of this period, which appear to have opened off other rooms, this room opened off a peristyle.¹³⁰

Of the later apses, one (room 3 at Ravenna 2, fig. 42) is dated to the second to third centuries A.C. and three (at Faenza 1, fig. 32, and Aquileia 1 nos. i and iii, fig. 9) are dated to the fourth century A.C., all on the basis of their pavements. These are large rooms - at Faenza 1 room C is 9.10x16.90m. with an apsidal niche 5.50m. wide and 3m. deep, with a polychrome geometric pavement. At Aquileia 1 no. i the room is 9.17m.sq. with an apse approximately 8m. wide and 5m. deep.; the rectangular area contains a mosaic with a central figure of a shepherd and two animals and surrounding squares with various motives. In no. iii at Aquileia 1 the room is somewhat smaller at 8x6m., with a geometric mosaic with

¹²⁹G. Mansuelli dates the pavement in room C to the Augustan era ("Mosaici Sarsinati," StudRomagn 5 [1954] 174).

¹³⁰The exact nature of room H at Sarsina 1 no. ii (off which apsidal room G opens) is not clear; it is large (16.8.50m.) but no further description is provided.

similarly various motives.¹³¹ In all cases the apse is distinguished from the rest of the room by its pavement, and at Faenza a small step of 7.5cm. separates the apse from room C. In both apsidal rooms in Aquileia 1 the apse was a later addition to a rectangular room; the mosaics are dated to the fourth century A.C., which is the probable date for the construction of the apses.

The apses and the triconch at the 'palace of Theodoric' (fig. 45) are dated by their pavements to the sixth century A.C.¹³² The apsidal room L is of substantial size, measuring 27x11m. with an apse 4.30m. deep.; room T is 6.30x13m. The east and west apses of the triconch (room S) are 5.30m. wide, and on the north 7m.; all are 5.80m. deep. Room L has traces of opus sectile pavement and a tripartite entrance off the peristyle; room T has traces of a polychrome geometric pavement. There are fragments of polychrome geometric mosaic in the triconch apses and geometric mosaic

¹³¹The size of room 3 at Ravenna 2 cannot be determined due to an inadequate state of preservation.

¹³²Berti op. cit. (n.59) 77-81, 84. It is not clear whether or not they were also built at this period, although the polygonal exterior walls of triconch S are similar to apse-ended churches in northern Italy which are dated to the fifth and sixth centuries A.C. (N. Duval, "Comment reconnaître un palais imperial ou royal? Ravenne et Piazza Armerina," FelRav 115 [1978] 36). The date of the pavements in the north wing at Ravenna 5 is much discussed, and ranges from the late fourth century down to the end of the sixth century. For a concise discussion and bibliography, see Duval ibid. 32-39. Since Berti's is the most thorough modern study of the pavements, her dates have been accepted here for simplicity's sake. For the identification of the building as a palace of the emperor Theodoric, see Chapter V 202-205.

with busts of the seasons and a figured scene, and an inscription in the central square exhorting diners to enjoy the fruits of the seasons.¹³³

Apsidal niches and rooms appear first in bath complexes and nymphaea in the late Republic, and in temple cellae somewhat later.¹³⁴ They are not a common feature in the private houses of Campania, but are not totally absent. In the Casa dei Capitelli Colorati (7 4 31/51) at Pompeii an apsidal room opens off the small peristyle. It measures 4.50x6m., with an apse 3m. deep, and is dated by Tamm to the last decade of the city.¹³⁵ Behind the apse a triangular space was created by the perimeter wall of the house; a hearth found here suggests that the room was used for dining.¹³⁶ Although there is no firm archaeological evidence for the indoor use of the curved dining couch, or stibadium, at this date,¹³⁷ references in Martial and Pliny demonstrate that it

¹³³"Sume quod autumnus quod ver quod bruma quod estas alternis reparant et toto creantur in orbe" (Berti op. cit. 79).

¹³⁴For a brief summary of late Republican/early Imperial apses see B. Tamm, Auditorium and Palatium (Stockholm 1963) 147-182, and for apsidal niches see Hornbostel-Hüttner op. cit. (n.57) passim.

¹³⁵See Tamm op. cit. 165.

¹³⁶Tamm (ibid. 165) suggests too that the hearth may have heated the room but offers no proof of tubuli or suspensurae.

¹³⁷Dunbabin suggests that it was not popular enough to warrant decorating a room for this specific purpose, and presents evidence that stibadia were more common in outdoor settings (op. cit. [n.102] 133-136).

was in use in the early imperial period.¹³⁸ Another apsidal room, in the Casa dello Scheletro at Herculaneum (3 3), is 4.20x5.60m. with a shallow apse 0.90m. deep.¹³⁹ It is dated to the first half of the first century A.C.¹⁴⁰ The apse faces a nymphaeum and has a window in one wall which opens onto the shallow tablinum and through it to the testudinate atrium. It must have served as a reception room, but probably did not function as a stibadium, since the apse, at 0.90m. deep, is too small for a sigma couch.¹⁴¹

In both the Casa dello Scheletro and the Casa degli Capitelli Colorati there are other rooms which can be

¹³⁸Martial 10.48, 14.87; Pliny the Younger Ep. 5.6.36. The emperor Elagabalus is credited with the introduction of this style of dining (SHA Elagabalus 25); however, Dunbabin successfully discounts this (op. cit. 131).

¹³⁹Maiuri 1958 op. cit. (n.80) 265-275; Tamm op. cit. (n.134) 165.

¹⁴⁰T. Ganschow, Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte in Herculaneum (Bonn 1989) Table 11.

¹⁴¹The apse is painted yellow with a variety of motives, including aedicula, a thyrsus, peacock and dolphins. Tamm identifies the room as a Vitruvian Cyzicene oecus (op. cit. 165), but suggests it also had a religious function, because of the thyrsus motif painted in the apse. Similarly, she sees a cultic meaning in the decoration of the apse in the Casa dei Capitelli Colorati, which has painted scenes of Leda and the swan and women sacrificing, and scenes of Achilles in a tent and of Orestes and Pylades at an altar on other walls (See K. Schefold, Die Wände Pompejis [Berlin 1957] 183-184). However, nothing in these motives points to a specifically cultic significance. Moreover, Tamm exaggerates when she says "the absidal (sic) section is always in some way sacred" (op. cit. 182). Whatever its origins and despite its use in the cult places of nymphs, as an architectural feature the apse had clearly lost any distinctly religious connotations it may have once had; it may have simply contained a statue.

identified as possible triclinia by their position or size, if not by their pavements. In the Casa dei Capitelli Colorati, a large rectangular room sits opposite the apsidal room on the plan; there is a small room with a wide opening beside it, as well as a larger one with two columns at the entrance off the larger peristyle.¹⁴² In the Casa dello Scheletro a rectangular room opposite the larger nymphaeum is identified as a triclinium.

The Casa dell'Alcova at Herculaneum takes its name from a small apsidal room (ca. 3.50x3.80m., apse 1m. deep) located at the back of the house.¹⁴³ A window in the apse opens off a small porticoed court, which seems to have functioned as a lightwell.¹⁴⁴ The room is preceded by a chamber which Maiuri calls a procoeton, although he stops short of labelling the apsidal room a cubiculum. He characterizes the suite as a place "di riposo e di frescura".¹⁴⁵

Apses are also found in three Campanian villas.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴²No dimensions are available for these rooms.

¹⁴³Maiuri 1958 op. cit. (n.80) 388-393; Tamm op. cit. (n.134) 163.

¹⁴⁴A well drawn on the plan indicates it was probably open to the sky.

¹⁴⁵Maiuri 1958 op. cit. 392.

¹⁴⁶An apsidal room is indicated on the plan of the villa di S. Marco at Stabiae (plan in A. and M. de Vos, Pompei Ercolano Stabia - Guide archeologiche Laterza [Bari 1988] 322), but its architecture has yet to be studied.

In the Villa dei Misteri at Pompeii a room 6.50x5.64m. with an apsidal niche 1.09m. deep and 2.95m. wide has a wide window in the apse (1.55m. wide) and fragments of marble architectural decoration.¹⁴⁷ Maiuri identifies the room as a sacellum and goes further to suggest that the statue of Livia found in the villa stood here. In the villa di Diomede, also at Pompeii, an apsidal room (5x4.70m.) with three large windows in the curve of the apse is identified as a cubiculum.¹⁴⁸ Part of the room is partitioned, perhaps for a cubicularius, and a masonry podium may have served as a labrum. Maiuri characterizes it as a cubiculum diurnum, for day-time rather than night-time use.

In light of the Campanian comparanda the larger apses at Sarsina 1 (fig. 51), which are of roughly the same date, should also be identified as reception rooms, although here too the partial nature of the evidence hinders a firm conclusion, especially for Sarsina 1 no. ii. The proximity of the drain and the two drainage channels in Sarsina 1 no. i may indicate that the room was used as a nymphaeum; however, no further evidence is recorded, despite the fact that the walls are extant to a height of 1.50m. The apsidal room at Bologna 2 (fig. 16), however, is similar in size to the cubicula diurna of the Villa di Diomede and the Casa dell'Alcova, and

¹⁴⁷A. Maiuri, Villa dei Misteri (Rome 1947) 34-35.

¹⁴⁸A. Maiuri, R. Pane, La casa di Loreio Tiburtino e la villa di Diomede in Pompei (Rome 1947) 14; Richardson op. cit. (n.18) 350-351.

may have had a similar function.

The later apsidal rooms from northern Italy reflect the popularity of apsidal rooms, which increases during the imperial period. Despite its partial condition room E at Faenza 1 (fig. 32) provides an interesting demonstration of their importance. Room E serves as a kind of vestibule to apsidal room C-H. It is paved with an elaborate polychrome mosaic with a central panel containing an enthroned youth flanked by two soldiers; an old man stands before him to the left and a woman to the right. A variety of other figures, mostly soldiers and several women, are contained in surrounding panels. M. Maioli identifies the elderly man as Priam asking for the body of Hector from an enthroned Achilles.¹⁴⁹ G. Gentili, however, sees the scene as the apotheosis of the emperor Honorius.¹⁵⁰ Both agree that the domus was likely owned by a local aristocrat whose taste was influenced by the imperial court at Ravenna. Whatever the iconographic meaning of the mosaic, its quality is indicative of the importance of the apsidal room. The mosaic in E is designed to impress the visitor before he enters the room itself, and the focus on the apse is heightened by the small step which leads to it. Again, it is impossible to assign a

¹⁴⁹Maioli 1987 op. cit. (n.25) 228-237.

¹⁵⁰G. Gentili, V. Righini Cantelli, A. Baldini, M. Pagliani Un museo archeologico per Faenza - repertorio e progetto - Istituto per i beni artistici, culturali, naturali della regione Emilia-Romagna, Comune di Faenza, Documenti 11 (Bologna 1980) 468-479.

specific function to this room; it should be seen as a reception room used for both dining and other purposes.

The apsidal rooms at Aquileia 1 (fig. 9) have been identified as private Christian oratories, because of the popularity of the apse in Christian basilicas, and because of the imagery of the shepherd in no. i and its Christian associations.¹⁵¹ However, W. Schumacher sees nothing specifically sacred in the iconography of no. i and considers it suitable for a dining room.¹⁵² Again, the popularity of the stibadium in the late empire makes it likely that these apsidal rooms were used for dining, but it is impossible to limit them to one function.

The triconch form, as exemplified in the 'palace of Theodoric' at Ravenna (fig. 45), has been identified as a peculiarly imperial form of dining room.¹⁵³ Both the apsidal hall and the triconch in the 'palace of Theodoric' have contributed to its identification as an imperial residence;

¹⁵¹L. Bertacchi, "Il mosaico Aquileiese del Buon Pastore 'Dall'Abito singolare'," AAAd 12 (1977) 429-444; eadem, 1980 op. cit. (n.15) 265-274.

¹⁵²He points to the peacock and the dolphin as particularly common in triclinia; the vine leaf scroll which outlines the apse also seems suited to dining (W. Schumacher, Hirt und 'Gute Hirt' [Freiburg 1977] 217-232). See also Dunbabin op. cit. (n.102) 129, and M. Mirabella Roberti, "Edilizia privata in Aquileia," AAAd 29 (1987) 362-363, who points out that the apse in the basilica at Aquileia was not added until the end of the fourth century A.C., and thus would postdate the two apses in Aquileia 1.

¹⁵³I. Lavin, "The House of the Lord: aspects of the role of palace triclinia in the architecture of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages," ArtB 44 (1962) 1-27.

the apsidal hall is usually identified as a basilical-style audience hall and the triconch as the imperial dining room. As N. Duval points out, however, this feature is common to many late antique urban domus and villas, and it alone, therefore, is not proof of imperial ownership.¹⁵⁴ It is likely that apsidal hall L and triconch S had separate functions, the former serving as the main reception room, the latter as an elaborate dining room. The central square of the triconch is suitable as a space for entertainment,¹⁵⁵ and the message of its mosaic pavement, to enjoy the fruits of the seasons, is a fitting theme for banquets.

In the domus of northern Italy there are other rooms which may have functioned as reception rooms, but which lack triclinium pavements or special architectural features such as columns and apses. Such rooms may be identified by features such as size, decoration and a wide entrance to a court or peristyle. Among the rooms of substantial dimensions are the large room at Aquileia 5 (10x8m.; fig. 13), room B at Bologna 2 (11x8m.; fig. 16) and room 5 at Oderzo 1 (13x7.20m.; fig. 38). Rooms with both significant dimensions and fine pavements include room A at Trento (9.22x6.05m.; fig. 52) and the large room at Aquileia 4 (7x13m.; fig. 12), and rooms

¹⁵⁴N. Duval, "Les maisons d'Apamée et l'architecture 'palatiale' de l'antiquité tardive," Colloque Apamée de Syrie 1980 (Brussels 1984) 447-470; idem. op. cit. (n.132). For further discussion of Ravenna 5 and late imperial palace architecture, see Chapter V 202-205.

¹⁵⁵See Dunbabin op. cit. (n.102) 130.

which also have a wide entrance to a peristyle include room 6 at Aquileia 2 (7.87x5.20m.; fig. 10), rooms I and J at Luni 2 (fig 37b-c) and room A at Brescia 6 (fig. 23), which has a tripartite entrance.

There are a number of small, well-decorated rooms whose function is difficult to ascertain, but which appear to have been significant. Room G at Aosta 1 no. i (figs. 4a-b) and rooms 30-32 at Este 1 (fig. 30) fall into this category. As discussed above, rooms 30-32 at Este 1 are identified as triclinia by Donderer, although the pavements do not seem to recommend it, and he gives no explanation.¹⁵⁶ All three rooms (30-32) have relatively small dimensions: 31 ca. 4.80x5.90m., and 30 and 32 ca. 4.45x5.90m. The entrance to room 30 off the peristyle, though not as wide as that of room 31, is somewhat wider than usual; the entrance to room 32 is not. Access to room 31 from both flanking rooms indicates its position as the main reception room, possibly a dining room. The side rooms seem to function as anterooms to room 31, and may also have functioned as dining rooms. Room 4 at Ravenna 1 (fig. 41c) is small (4.50x3.90m.) with a mosaic pavement and heating system. Maioli identifies it as a winter triclinium although she does not specify a reason, nor does it have the characteristic pavement.¹⁵⁷ Room 3 in the same house is of

¹⁵⁶See above 116; Donderer 136.

¹⁵⁷Maioli 1986 op. cit. (n.47) 214. Both rooms have entrances of average width and both are also heated; neither 3 or 4, then, appears specifically adapted for seasonal use.

similar size and is also equipped with a heating system and mosaic floor, which was suitable for a triclinium in the second phase of the domus. Despite the differences in pavement it is possible that both rooms were used as triclinia, but equally possible that because of its pavement room 4 served other purposes as well.

At Brescia 3 (fig. 20) there are three rooms which, although relatively small, possess significant decoration, and may have served as reception rooms. Room B (5x7m.) is an odd shape, with an alcove at one end and two column bases at the other. There is an elaborate polychrome mosaic pavement and evidence of marble wall revetment and a heating system. The room is identified by M. Mirabella Roberti as a cubiculum in an earlier phase, with the columns, pavement and wall facing comprising a renovation.¹⁵⁸ Room P (5.30x6.90m.) in the same house has a niche nymphaeum along the back wall and wall painting; it is not clear whether or not the room was roofed.¹⁵⁹ Room R (4.30x4.20m.) also has an elaborate polychrome mosaic with a central scene of a reclining Dionysus, and remains of wall painting. None of these rooms has the characteristics of a triclinium and yet attention has clearly been paid to their decoration, indicating that they probably functioned as reception rooms of some sort. The proximity of P and R may suggest that they formed a kind of

¹⁵⁸As recorded in Panazza 1972 op. cit. (n.44) 104.

¹⁵⁹For discussion see above 91-92.

suite. The wide entrance in room H of the house is a later addition; on this basis it has been suggested that there were in fact two houses which were joined through room H.¹⁶⁰ B and P-R would then be reception areas of two separate houses.

In several houses it is impossible to identify reception rooms with certainty. At Brescia 1 (fig. 18) none of the rooms around the large peristyle have any indication of significant decoration and yet a residence of such a size must have had several reception rooms. At Verona 1 (fig. 57) neither G nor H, both with wide entrances off the court, retain pavements of any distinction; the largest room (I) has an equally ordinary floor but does have traces of black wall plaster.¹⁶¹

Cubicula

A room is readily identifiable as a cubiculum if a lectus (or traces of one) is found in it; however, this rarely happens. Otherwise, cubicula are most readily seen in a room which shows clearly the placement of a bed or lectus.¹⁶² In some Campanian examples, there are two separate areas, a coeton or alcove for the bed, and a procoeton or antechamber

¹⁶⁰See Panazza 1972 op. cit. 100.

¹⁶¹There is also evidence of black wall plaster on the anta in room H.

¹⁶²For a discussion of some well-decorated cubicula at Pompeii, see O. Elia, "I cubicoli nelle case di Pompei," Historia 6 (1932) 394-421.

in front of it. The distinction in function between the two areas is reflected in different pavements and wall painting.¹⁶³ More commonly a single room has an internal division of space as indicated by an unadorned rectangular area of pavement at one end, marking the position of the bed, and more elaborate decoration on the rest of the floor. Here too the division of space may be mirrored in the wall painting.¹⁶⁴ The bed niche may also be raised slightly, as in the Casa del Centauro (6 9 3) at Pompeii.¹⁶⁵

In northern Italy there are several examples of cubicula which can be identified as such by their pavements. Rooms A and B at Aquileia 3 (fig. 11), three rooms at Aquileia 4 (fig. 12), room B at Brescello (fig. 17), rooms 1 and 2 at Concordia 1 (fig. 26), room D at Luni 1 (fig. 36), and room O at Luni 2 (fig. 37c) are all identified as cubicula on this basis.¹⁶⁶ One of the cubicula identified at Aquileia 4 seems unlikely; Mirabella Roberti gives no reason for the identification, but it is presumably due to the reported bipartite division of the pavement.¹⁶⁷ However, that

¹⁶³This group is tied to the Pompeian First style wall painting (Elia ibid. 402-409).

¹⁶⁴Elia identifies these with the Pompeian Second style wall painting (Elia ibid. 409-419).

¹⁶⁵Elia ibid. 403.

¹⁶⁶Donderer proposes that room D at Cividale (fig. 25), and another mosaic from the same city (no. 13 - Donderer 124) could also be cubicula.

¹⁶⁷Mirabella Roberti 1987 op. cit. (n.15) 362.

division does not follow the regular pattern, and the room is unusually large for a bedroom (8.93x4.22m.). At Aosta 6 (fig. 8) a room in House B is labelled a bedroom, but no other details are provided. At Brescia 3 room B (fig. 20) is identified as a cubiculum in its second phase, that is, after it had been refitted with a mosaic pavement, wall painting, and two interior columns. However, Mirabella Roberti provides no proof for this nor any discussion; it fits better the criteria for a reception room.¹⁶⁸ The cubicula at Aquileia 3 and two of those identified at Aquileia 4 as well as those from Concordia 1 are dated to the late Republic to early Imperial period. Those from Brescello, Cividale and Luni 2 are dated to the first century A.C., as is one of the three identified at Aquileia 4.; the cubiculum at Luni 1, however, is dated by its pavement to the third to fourth centuries A.C. Donderer notes that in the tenth region (Venetia and Histria) pavements with the bipartite division typical of cubicula occur in the late Republican period, citing the examples from Aquileia 3 and 4. He suggests that they enjoyed a renaissance in the Flavian era, as indicated by a cubiculum dated to that period at Aquileia 4.¹⁶⁹ Those from Brescello, Cividale and Luni 2 also fit this pattern.

Of these, Aquileia 3 (fig. 11), Brescello (fig. 17)

¹⁶⁸Mirabella Roberti 1975 op. cit. (n.45). For discussion of this room as a reception room, see above 132.

¹⁶⁹Donderer 226-227.

and Concordia 1 (fig. 26) are beside identified reception rooms.¹⁷⁰ This follows a pattern found at Pompeii and outlined by Elia. In a number of houses well-decorated cubicula are located beside the major reception room; among the best known of these are the Casa di Obellius Firmus (9 14 4), Casa del Labirinto (6 11 10) and the Casa delle Nozze d'Argento (5 2 1i).¹⁷¹ The examples from northern Italy follow this tradition. L. Richardson has identified these rooms as "ladies' dining rooms", asserting that men and women dined separately.¹⁷² However, as A. Wallace-Hadrill has pointed out, Richardson ignores contemporary sources which indicate the contrary.¹⁷³

Richardson's rejection of these rooms as bedrooms is conditioned more by modern definitions of cubicula than ancient ones. Cubicula were not used exclusively for sleeping, as numerous references in Roman literature

¹⁷⁰At Luni 1 (fig. 36) room D is beside E, which is identified as a tablinum or reception room because of its wide entrance off the peristyle; however, nothing else of the room remains.

¹⁷¹Elia op. cit. (n.162) 410-417. For a discussion of the decorative schemes of these units see also D. Scagliarini Corlaità, "Spazio e decorazione nella pittura pompeiana," Palladio 23-25 (1974-1976) 21-24.

¹⁷²For the numerous examples Richardson sees in Pompeii, see the listing in his index (op. cit. [n.18] 441). See also L. Richardson, "A Contribution to the Study of Pompeian Dining-rooms" Pompei Herculaneum Stabiae I (1988) 61-71.

¹⁷³E.g. Suet. Claudius 32; Tac. Ann. 13.16; A. Wallace-Hadrill, "The Social Structure of the Roman House," BSR 56 (1988) 93 n.147.

demonstrate.¹⁷⁴ They were the scene of private readings, dinners and even trials; the evidence suggests that they could also be used for the reception of guests.¹⁷⁵ Pliny the Younger refers to "cubiculum noctis et somni" and "dormitorium cubiculum", indicating that, in his era at least, the word cubiculum, unqualified, would not necessarily be understood as "bedroom".¹⁷⁶ The combination of triclinium and cubiculum seen at Pompeii is reflected in Pliny the Younger's descriptions of his Laurentine and Tuscan villas. Numerous times Pliny refers to triclinia (and cenationes) and cubicula in close proximity to one another.¹⁷⁷ He also describes cubicula which are highly decorated,¹⁷⁸ with splendid views¹⁷⁹ and internal heating.¹⁸⁰ Throughout his descriptions of cubicula Pliny emphasizes the importance of the position of the room in relation to sun, shade, nymphaea and foliage. It is clear from Pliny's account that cubicula were second only to triclinia in importance. In fact, one room is described as a "cubiculum grande vel modica cenatio"

¹⁷⁴B. Tamm op. cit. (n.134) 113-119 discusses the range of activities which occurred in cubicula.

¹⁷⁵For references Wallace-Hadrill op. cit. 59 n.44.

¹⁷⁶Ep. 2.17.22; 5.6.21.

¹⁷⁷Ep. 2.17.5-6, 10; 5.6.21-22, 23.

¹⁷⁸Ep. 5.6,22-25, 37-40.

¹⁷⁹Ep. 2.17.21; 5.6.30, 37-38.

¹⁸⁰Ep. 2.17.9, 23; 5.6.25.

(2.17.10). It seems likely that cubicula were often rooms of considerably lavish decoration and varied function. Their nature, whether lavish or simple, depended on the wealth and size of the domus and the uses required by the occupant.

Kitchens, Latrines and Commercial Areas

There are few clearly identifiable kitchens and latrines in the corpus of domus from northern Italy. At Bergamo room D (fig. 14) is identified as a kitchen solely on the basis of coarse ware found in it; similarly, in room R in the domus under the Palazzo Diotallevi at Rimini (Rimini 3, fig. 48b) the discovery of instrumenta domestica leads Maioli to identify it as a food preparation area for triclinium N, if not a complete kitchen.¹⁸¹ In room F of domus no. v at Este 2 (fig. 31) a masonry structure in the southeast corner has been identified as a possible hearth. At only 0.24m. high it is lower than most Pompeian hearths and has no furnace, nor traces of burning. However, portable braziers could have been used, and there are two windows for ventilation, as well as a utilitarian opus signinum and two drainage holes.¹⁸² It is difficult to imagine another function, such as industrial or commercial, since the room is of modest proportions and not near a street entrance. In phase III the domus degli

¹⁸¹Maioli AttMosAnt op. cit (n.53) 464.

¹⁸²E. Baggio Bernadoni does not give a location for the drainage holes (ArchVen 4 [1981] 110).

Affreschi at Luni (Luni 2, fig. 37c) underwent a reorganization, as the original atrium of the house became a service area. The fauces of phase I (A) became a latrine, as demonstrated by a trench and drain which led to the urban drainage system. One of the rooms carved out of the old atrium, to the west of the fauces, is identified as a kitchen because of an amphora found there set in the ground; a cistern was built in one of the side rooms of the old atrium.¹⁸³

The most complete kitchen area is found in room G at Trento (fig. 52). It has the characteristics of a kitchen area: stone paving, remains of a plastered masonry hearth and a channel to the large drain in court Q. This drain is identified as a possible sink or latrine; two low walls on the north side are seen as supports for a domestic lararium or storage cupboard. These walls separate the hearth in the northwest corner from the drained area in the east side. This partitioning of space is common in Campanian kitchen and latrine units.¹⁸⁴ At Trento the coupling of kitchen and latrine units with bath and heating areas is also consistent with Campanian practice, where the kitchen and bath often share the same drainage and fuel storage facilities, and

¹⁸³The kitchen and latrine in the room beside the entrance at Aquileia 5 (fig. 13) does not have any apparent connection to the house. Berti identifies room R at Ravenna 5 (fig. 45) as a 'culina' but provides no details (Berti op. cit. [n.59] 12).

¹⁸⁴E. Salza Prina Ricotti, "Cucine e quartieri servili in epoca romana," RPAR 51-52 238-294.

sometimes even the same prae-furnium.¹⁸⁵

There is scarce evidence for industrial or commercial areas within this corpus. The best example is the first phase of the house under the Palazzo Diotallevi at Rimini 3 (fig. 48a), where basins KK, M and Z and cistern G are of indeterminate but probable industrial function. At the end of this phase (end of the first century B.C.) basin Z was paved over to create room R; basin M was closed in the second phase (ca. 100-150 A.C.; fig. 48b), but basin KK was left in operation. The cistern seems to have maintained its function throughout, although in the second phase it was equipped with a cover. At Rimini 4 (fig. 49) basins of a utilitarian character are recorded in the first phase in the Republican period, but disappear with the construction of the domus (end of first century A.C.). At Aquileia 5 (fig. 13) the hearth and latrine in room 3 do not seem to belong to the house but a commercial function is hardly recommended. At some point after Phase III at Luni 2 (fig. 37c) a kiln was installed in the area of the original atrium and was perhaps used for glass

¹⁸⁵E.g. in the Casa del Fauno (6 12 1), the Casa di Trebius Valens (2 2 1) bath and kitchen share the same prae-furnium, but in the Casa del Menandro (1 10 4) and Casa del Centenario (9 8 6) there is a separate furnace for the bath. At Luni 2, however, the heated area is some distance from the kitchen. Other hearths found in urban domestic contexts not part of the catalogue include: Parma, via Cavestro, where bits of pavement, a hearth and latrine were found together (Marini Calvani op. cit. [n.23] 40); Milan under Piazza Duomo, modest building with drain, hearths, painted plaster, dated to end of third century A.C. (D. Andrews, D. Perring, Notiziario della soprintendenza di archeologia di Lombardia 1982 63).

production. The lack of complete entrances reduces the likeliest location of commercial and industrial areas, since access to the street is clearly desirable for conducting business.

Heated Rooms and Baths

Despite the fragmentary remains, there is good evidence for heating in the houses of northern Italy, although there is only one complete example of a heating system. At Ravenna 1 (fig. 41c) both reception rooms (3 and 4) have internal heating, the first via a space 0.50m. wide located at the back of the room, and a small channel in the west wall which led to a small furnace in court 1. The thin wall which separates this space from the room rests on top of the mosaic, indicating that the heating system was not part of the original construction in the Hadrianic era but a slightly later addition. Room 4 is heated via tubuli in one wall which were connected to a second small furnace; heating seems to have been part of the original construction of this room, which is dated to the third century A.C.

Almost complete is room B at Brescia 3 (fig. 20), although the arrangement is somewhat unusual. The room has an alcove at one end, which has several pilae, in the east corner, indicating a raised floor; tegulae hamatae were found in the east wall. No prae-furnium was located. In the west corner of the alcove was a threshold block, delineating an

area with traces of both opus signinum and mosaic pavements. Panazza identifies this area as a small cistern, perhaps in connection with the heating system, which he suggests predates the interior columns and polychrome mosaic pavement¹⁸⁶. This pavement is variously dated from the end of the first century A.C. to the end of the second century A.C. Panazza takes up Mirabella Roberti's identification of the room as a cubiculum in its first phase and theorizes that when the room changed function - from bedroom to reception room - and received new interior decoration, the heating system went out of use.¹⁸⁷ The evidence at Ravenna and at other sites such as Ostia indicates that it became common to heat reception rooms, and that there is therefore no contradiction between the two; in fact, in the cooler climate of northern Italy heating is an amenity appropriate for the most important room in the house. While the history of room B at Brescia 3 is not clear, a heating system would be appropriate to either function. At Verona 1 two rooms (M, N, fig. 57) preserve evidence of a heating system, one with several pilae in situ, the other with traces of burning and therefore identified as a praefurnium. This system may have heated adjacent room L, which has a polychrome tessellated pavement, and/or room O, which has, however, only a plain opus signinum floor; no tubuli or heat

¹⁸⁶Panazza op. cit. (n.44) 103-104.

¹⁸⁷Mirabella Roberti 1975 op. cit. (n.45) 12. Panazza provides no archaeological reason to support his assertion that the heating system went out of use.

vents were found, but room L did open onto room N. The date of the heating system is not clear, but falls in the second phase of the house, between the mid first and mid second century A.C.

In the domus in the Cortile del Tribunale at Verona (Verona 4) traces of a hypocaust were located in the first and second phases (fig. 60), and in the third phase dated to the second to third centuries A.C., when a large hall was built, with pavements decorated with crustae and tessellatum.¹⁸⁸ At Este 1 (fig. 30) the excavator reports that a channel runs between room 26 and a praefurnium, but he does not give further details; the room has traces of wall painting and a stucco cornice.¹⁸⁹ At Trento room D (fig. 52) in the East sector has brick pilae; it is possible that adjacent room A was heated via this system, but no other traces are intact. The date of the mosaic in A (mid second century A.C.) is the only chronological indicator.

There are numerous other examples where a heating system is indicated, but the nature or function of the room is uncertain. At Ravenna 2 (fig. 42) suspensurae were found in 8 next to room 6, which had tubuli in the connecting wall. Room 6 was of some importance, as the gladiatorial scene in

¹⁸⁸P. Hudson, C. La Rocca Hudson, "Cortile del Tribunale e via Dante," Lancaster in Italy. Ricerche archeologiche intraprese in Italia dal Dipartimento di Studi Classici e Archeologia nel 1982 (Lancaster 1983) 17.

¹⁸⁹A. Callegari, NSc 1941 52.

polychrome mosaic indicates. A different form of suspensura is found at Pieve di Cadore (fig. 40), where a hollow floor was created by several support arches, instead of the more common pilae. The mosaics are dated to the second century A.C., but no clear chronological connection with the heating system can be established. A similar kind of suspensura was also used at Zuglio (fig. 62). Evidence for heating was also found at Aosta 6 (fig. 8), Bologna 2 (fig. 16) and 3 (no plan), Brescia 1 and 2 (figs. 18, 19b), Luni 2 (fig. 37c), Rimini 4 (fig. 49) and Sarsina 1 no. i (fig. 51); traces of suspensurae were found at Cremona (fig. 29) and Libarna (fig. 35).¹⁹⁰

In a number of cases the presence of suspensurae or tubuli is interpreted as a bath rather than heating, although no other indicators are present. Among these are Aosta 4

¹⁹⁰Donderer refers to a possible bath in the southern part of Aquileia 3 (fig. 11), but provides no details (Donderer 33). Other traces of heating systems in an apparent domestic context not included in the catalogue are: Brescia, via Tosio 13 suspensurae with pavements and architectural elements found; under the Liceo Arnaldo traces of heating system (G. Panazza, "Appunti su Brescia romana," Cisalpina I - Atti del convegno sull'attività archeologica nell'Italia settentrionale (villa monastero di Varenna 9-15 giugno 1958) (Milan 1959) 127); Milan, piazza Borromeo (M. Mirabella Roberti, Milano romano [Milan 1984] 88); Imola, via Garibaldi (G. Mancini, G. Mansuelli, G. Susini, Imola nell'Antichità [Rome 1958] Appendix no. 64); Parma, piazza Garibaldi (NSc 1957 232); Verona, via Adua (Fogolari op. cit. [n.23] 135); Vicenza, under the atrium of the Ridolfi tomb (Maioli 1977 op. cit. [n.47] 214).

(fig. 7), Claterna 1 (no plan) and Rimini 5 (fig. 50).¹⁹¹ There are also more securely identifiable bath complexes. At the so-called 'Palace of Theodoric' at Ravenna (Ravenna 5, fig. 45) rooms E, F and G appear to belong to a bath complex, although the chronology is unclear and specific functions cannot be assigned. At Bologna 1 (fig. 15) rooms 10 to 13 comprise a bath complex; three (11, 12, 13) have suspensurae and air ducts between them, but no tubuli or praefurnium were found. Negrioli attempted to determine specific functions among the rooms but the evidence for that is inadequate.¹⁹² The pavements in rooms 10 and 11 are dated to the middle of the second century A.C., although that is not necessarily the date for the bath complex itself.

Part of a bath is preserved at Aosta 1 no. ii (figs. 4a-b), where a small apsidal room has suspensurae and steps leading to a basin in the apse. Because of its form it is identified as a calidarium, based on similarly shaped baths at Pompeii.¹⁹³ The rooms with suspensurae in the west sector at

¹⁹¹Other examples of this not mentioned in the catalogue include: Concordia, a domus contiguous to the city wall (Il Ven. 403); Brescia - via Tosio 10, which Mirabella Roberti identifies as 'probabilmente domestico' (NSc 1950 50-52; M. Mirabella Roberti, Storia di Brescia I 1963 281); remains in via V. Gambara 6 possibly a domestic bath (Mirabella Roberti ibid. 270, 280), Piazza T. Brusato remains of a hypocaust, pilae, pavements at several levels, possibly of domestic bath (NSc 1950 50-52, Mirabella Roberti ibid. 281).

¹⁹²A. Negrioli, NSc 1932 80.

¹⁹³E.g. the calidarium in the Casa delle Nozze d'Argento (5 2 1) is apsidal, as is the calidarium in the Casa del Criptoportico (1 6 2), although its basin is located in the

Trento (fig. 52) may constitute a bath. M, a narrow room, has a vaulted duct to room L, which itself has a larger vaulted duct to adjacent room I; this is identified as the praefurnium. It was connected to the narrow room H, which lay at a higher level, and had a drain and a lead pipe. It is the combination of both suspensurae and water supply which lend credence to the identification of a bath, as well as the proximity of the kitchen.¹⁹⁴ At Brescia 3 (fig. 20) room Q is identified as a praefurnium, because of evidence of burning and suspensurae found in the fill; its eastern half is put forth as a possible sudatorium.¹⁹⁵ None of the surrounding rooms show any evidence of heating.

At Rimini 1 no. i (fig. 46) Riccioni hypothesizes that a bath was created in the second century A.C. in the portico of a peristyle.¹⁹⁶ The identification is based on room I which has suspensurae and tubuli; she suggests that basin K could have been used as a plunge bath. It is clear that the peristyle was divided up and several rooms created (I, E, F, G); however, since no other elements are present this must

opposite rectangular side (de Vos op. cit. [n.146] 211, 107). Domus no.iii at Aquileia 1 (fig. 9) has a group of small rooms, one apsidal, which resemble typical private thermal complexes, and could be a bath; however, no details are available.

¹⁹⁴See discussion of service areas above 140.

¹⁹⁵Panazza op. cit. (n.44) 110 n.21.

¹⁹⁶G. Riccioni, "Un complesso edilizia di età romana scoperto a Rimini nell'area dell'ex Vescovado," AttiBol n.s. 20 (1969) [1970] 314, 317-319.

remain conjecture. Room I could simply have been a heated room.¹⁹⁷ At Oderzo 1 (fig. 38) traces of pilae were found in room 25; there is also a channel to the large urban drain. Room 25 is adjacent to 24, which is identified as a court; it is possible that this court separates a service area, including baths, from a reception area to the southwest, as represented by triclinia (16, 23). At Concordia 1 (fig. 26) suspensurae and an air channel were built on top of a mosaic pavement, suggesting a change in room function rather than the addition of a heating system.

When only partial evidence is available it is often difficult to distinguish internal heating systems from domestic bath complexes.¹⁹⁸ The structure under S. Severo at Ravenna (Ravenna 3, fig. 43) provides a good example of

¹⁹⁷Several tubuli were also found stuck in the ground in area L in no. ii at Rimini 1.

¹⁹⁸It can also be difficult to ascertain whether a bath complex is private or public. Mirabella Roberti makes no connection between the suspensurae referred to at Brescia 6 and the domus; this may be because of the size of the room (25x8.60m.), which is not only too large for a private house, but is also large for most public baths. At Forlimpopoli (area officina Valbonesi) there are three rooms of a bath, with suspensurae, including a hypocaust in a T-shape. The rooms measure ca. 3.83x2.33m., 3x4.66m. and 6.83x6.17m. and bear traces of mortar and mosaic pavements, which are dated to the first half of the first century A.C. On the opposite side of the via Aemilia (beside which they were found) are the foundations of a wall with pipes which run to the suspensurae. M. Maioli, in a conversation in June 1990, reports that there is no plan of the rooms, and that in her estimation, they are too large to belong to a private house (FA 17 [1962] no.4384; Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 328). At Ravenna were found rooms of a building which seems thermal in nature, but, again, it is not clear whether it is public or private (Maioli 1986 op. cit. [n.47] 195).

this. The large basin (B - 11x4.70m), the large area F (possibly an open court), the width of corridor E, which, at 3.20m., is much wider than most domestic corridors, suggest that the proportions and features of the building are more consistent with a public than a private structure. The presence of a large, and as yet unexcavated, hypocaust to the west strengthens this possibility.¹⁹⁹

Baths are found in several of the grand private houses at Pompeii, such as the Casa del Fauno (6 12 2) and the Casa del Menandro (1 10 4).²⁰⁰ Construction dates for most Pompeian baths are uncertain,²⁰¹ but in the Casa del Menandro

¹⁹⁹Maioli acknowledges this possibility but does not discuss it (Maioli *ibid.* 217). Donderer (33) refers to the possible identification of a bath in the southwest part of Aquileia 3 (fig. 11). Although he gives no details, he is presumably referring to a basin in that part of the house, which is, however, dated to the period when the structure no longer served a residential function (Bertacchi 1980 *op. cit.* [n.15] 187-188).

²⁰⁰Other houses with baths at Pompeii include the Casa dell'Nozze d'Argento (5 2 1), the Casa del Centenario (9 8 6), the Casa del Criptoportico (1 6 2), the Casa di Giuseppe II (8 2 39), the Casa del Labirinto (6 11 10) and the Casa di Obellius Firmus (9 14 4). The Praedia of Iulia Felix (2 4) also had baths, but they were public rather than private. Villas with baths in Campania include the Villa dei Misteri, the Villa di Fannius Synistor, the Villa di Diomede, the Villa di Boscoreale di Pisanella and the Villa at Oplontis. At Herculaneum only the Casa dell'Albergo (3 1 19) had private baths and, as the name implies, it was likely more public than private in function. A bath may be indicated on the plan of the Villa of the Papiri, also at Herculaneum, and in the villas at Stabiae (de Vos *op. cit.* [n.146] *passim.*).

²⁰¹J.-P. Adam, La construction romaine (Paris 1989) recommends a date of 150 - 100 B.C. for the Casa del Labirinto (6 11 10), Casa di Trebius Valens (3 2 1), and the Casa del Centenario (9 8 6), but dates the general appearance of private baths at Pompeii to the beginning of the first century

baths were added ca. 40-30 B.C. and were subsequently remodelled and redecorated.²⁰² They are often adjacent to kitchen and latrines so that fuel storage and drainage systems can be shared, and thus, despite their often lavish decoration, they are generally characterized as belonging to the service quarter of the house.

There is only one house with a bath at Ostia, the domus dei Dioscuri (3 9).²⁰³ In this case the rooms are not distant from the main reception room (I), but are separated by two corridors (N, R). The largest room, the frigidarium (O), has two apsidal pools, one with a wide window; a rectangular recess also had two windows. Room P is identified by Becatti as the calidarium, with suspensurae and wall tiles for heating; the adjacent room Q was also heated and had two pools, one apsidal and one rectangular, the latter above the praefurnium and with a small window.²⁰⁴ The rooms bear remnants of marble facing, or indications of facing no longer extant. Room M, which opens off reception room I, has an

B.C. (288-289).

²⁰²R. Ling, "The Insula of the Menander at Pompeii: interim report," Ant.J. 73 (1984) 43.

²⁰³G. Becatti, "Case Ostiensi del Tardo Impero," BdA 24 (1948) 113-114, fig. 12. All letter identifications of rooms are taken from Becatti's plans.

²⁰⁴The proximity of Q to the furnace perhaps recommends that it be identified as the calidarium and P as the tepidarium; however, the walls of Q itself are not heated, only the area around the pools, and there is no mention that the floor was hollow.

alcove at one end which was heated via a pipe which by-passed two rooms of the bath and ran to the calidarium. The room was decorated with a polychrome geometric mosaic. Adjacent to it is room L, which also opens off I, also has an alcove and a polychrome geometric mosaic, but is not heated. Both may be cubicula of the sort discussed above.²⁰⁵

Upper storeys

There is some evidence for upper storeys in the houses of northern Italy, although they themselves do not survive. Evidence of stairs was found at Aquileia 2 and 3 (figs. 10, 11), Luni 2 (fig. 37c), Ravenna 5 (fig. 45), and Verona 2 (fig. 57), while pieces of a mosaic floor from an upper storey were found at Ravenna 1 (room 4, fig. 41c) and Rimini 1 (room Q, fig. 46). A staircase is also hypothesized at Aosta 1 no. i (figs. 4a-b). With such little evidence, nothing about the room arrangement of upper storeys can be ascertained, or whether they belonged to the residence of the ground floor, or served as separate apartments.

²⁰⁵For Pliny the Younger's references to heated cubicula, see above n.180.

CHAPTER IV

Construction

An examination of wall construction in the houses of northern Italy offers little help in dating them. No study has been done to establish a regional chronology of construction techniques, and indications are that such a study would be of little value, as techniques appear to vary from city to city.¹ Moreover, there are differences between the methods used in both public and private buildings, and in urban and rural contexts. Finally, many of the domus either have no walls extant or no walls were recorded in their excavation.²

The most common method of construction is an opus incertum of aggregate and pebble in walls which range from 0.25m. to 0.75m. thick, but which are generally 0.45-0.50m. thick. Brick is used frequently in the area of Emilia - Romagna, represented in the catalogue by domus at Bologna,

¹Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 330-332.

²In only one city, Parma, has a complete stratigraphy been identified; unfortunately, there are few traces of domus there (Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 331-332).

Claterna, Faenza, Imola and Sarsina.³ It appears in regular courses with pebbles and aggregate or with other material such as sandstone as at Sarsina, and brick is also the common material for peristyle columns. Brick stamps occur in few clearly domestic contexts and beyond these few examples are therefore of little help in dating.⁴

Examples of various types of wall construction occur in other areas. Opus vittatum appears at Brescia 1 (fig. 18), traces of opus incertum and opus mixtum are reported at Aosta 2 (fig. 5), and Brescia 1, and opus craticium is identified at Ravenna 1 (figs. 41a-c) and Verona 1 (fig. 57).⁵ This latter method consists of a wooden frame with stone, brick or aggregate fill, and is described by Vitruvius as a quick but flammable and essentially unstable technique.⁶ It is possible that its use was more widespread than existing evidence indicates, but because of the wooden frame it does not often

³V. Righini, Lineamenti di storia economica della Gallia Cisalpina: la produttività fittile in età repubblicana (Collection Latomus vol. 119, Brussels 1970) 38-40; Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 330-334. Brick is also recorded in the domus at Vercelli in Piemonte.

⁴Hadrianic brick stamps were found at Ravenna 3 (fig. 43).

⁵These specific references are used of internal walls, except at Ravenna 1, where it is not clear if the wall in opus craticium was internal, or the perimeter house wall.

⁶De arch. 2.8.20; J.-P. Adam, La construction romaine (Paris 1983) 132-135. The best known example of opus craticium is the Casa a Graticcio at Herculaneum, which takes its name from the technique (A. Maiuri, Ercolano. I nuovi scavi. (1927-1958) (Roma 1958) 407-420).

survive. It was less expensive than brick, and, as Vitruvius points out, walls in this technique were thinner and occupied less space; it was thus commonly used for internal partition walls. Evidence such as space between pavements without wall foundations, or fresco fragments which do not apparently belong to any existing wall may indicate the presence of opus craticium. Scagliarini Corlaità suggests that such evidence might indicate brick walls which have been robbed out, although such walls are often indicated by additional evidence such as foundations or other traces in the soil.⁷

Columns were most commonly made of stucco-covered brick, but travertine was used for columns at Aosta 2 (fig. 5), and a stone column is reported in Phase I at Luni 1 (fig. 36). A variety of stones are also reported in construction. At Rimini 1 no. i (fig. 46) sandstone was used for the peristyle stylobate, and for threshold blocks in T and Q, and in U of house no. ii; architectural elements of sandstone were found in the fill of basin K in no. i. Sandstone was also used at Sarsina 1 no. i (fig. 51) for the drain and well parapet in A; and for the orthostates in apsidal room F. Threshold blocks were made of a variety of other stones, including trachite,⁸ and red Verona marble in several

⁷D. Scagliarini, "L'insediamento residenziale e produttivo nel suburbio di Bologna romana," AttiBol n.s. 20 (1969) [1970] 151; Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 332 n.112.

⁸Ravenna 1, Phase III, 4 (fig. 41a).

houses.⁹

Marble is recorded for paving in basins,¹⁰ and for floor paving limestone and Verona marble were used.¹¹ Marble was also used for a variety of architectural elements. Evidence of marble facing was found on walls at Brescello (rooms C, E, fig. 17), Brescia 3 room B (fig. 20),¹² Luni 2 (rooms J, K, fig. 37b), Ravenna 3 (room B, fig. 43), Ravenna 5 (Phase II, rooms di and diii, fig. 45),¹³ Rimini 1 (no. ii room L, fig. 46), Sarsina no. ii (G, fig. 51), Verona 1 (K, fig. 57) and Verona 3 (A, fig. 59) and in the cryptoportico at Vicenza (fig. 61). Decorative cornices in marble were found at Bologna 1 (room 9, fig. 15), Sarsina no. ii (G) and Luni 2 (room J).¹⁴

Stucco was also used for decoration, as shown by a

⁹Thresholds of red Verona marble were reported at: Ravenna 1 Phase II room 3, and in the step/bench of court 2; Ravenna 3, room A (fig. 41b); Ravenna 4, room 3 (fig. 44b); Sarsina 1 no. i, room A (fig. 51); Verona 1 I (out of place; fig. 57). A threshold of wood is mentioned at Este 2 no. v in room C-D (fig. 31).

¹⁰At Claterna 3 (no plan), in the nymphaeum basin of the south garden and the small fountains of the south garden in Phase III of Luni 2 (fig. 37c), and in the basin in court S at Verona 1 (fig. 57).

¹¹Limestone alone in the court at Verona 1, and limestone and Verona marble together in room G at Trento (fig. 52).

¹²Specifically, green marble as a socle.

¹³It is suggested that red plaster in portico Ai (also in Phase II) served as the bedding for marble facing. This is also true of room M in Phase III at Luni 2 (fig. 37c).

¹⁴Marble was also used for the statue bases in the small garden P at Luni 2.

stucco cornice at Este 1 (room 26, fig. 30) and in the Vicenza cryptoportico (fig. 61); a stucco soffit is reported at Albenga (room I, fig. 2), and a stucco garland in room B at Brescia 3 (fig. 20). The capitals in the colonnaded room at Verona 2 (fig. 58) were of an unidentified yellow stone, and the columns were of tufa which was painted red, probably in imitation of the red Verona marble which was used for the column bases. A similar imitation may have been sought in the shelf in room C at Verona 2, which was also painted red, and in the nymphaeum identified in court 2 at Ravenna 1 (fig. 41c), where the same type of marble was used for a threshold block. Pieces of revetment from an arcade were found in court 24 at Este 1 (of unspecified material; fig. 30) and unidentifiable architectural elements are reported at Bergamo (B, fig. 14), Rimini 1 (no. ii Z, fig. 46) and Oderzo 1 room 31 (of limestone; fig. 38).

Among the numerous thresholds which were found, several have marks for cardines.¹⁵ Evidence of windows is found at two sites. In the domus at Verona 2 (fig. 58) windows flank the entrance in the south wall and open off the portico in the east wall. At Luni 2 (figs. 37a-c) large quantities of glass fragments found in the ambulacra indicate that the ornamental garden was surrounded by a cryptoportico

¹⁵These include Aosta 1 no. i room I (figs. 4a-b), Brescia I rooms B, H, Q (fig. 18), Cremona room B (fig. 29), Ravenna 1 (figs. 41a-c), Sarsina 1 no. i room A (fig. 51), Velleia no. i (fig. 54) and Ventimiglia 1 room A (fig. 1).

with windows on three sides.

Water Collection and Drainage

The source of the water supply in most urban centres in northern Italy has not yet been determined. Aqueducts have been identified at Albenga, Aosta and Ventimiglia in the north west, and Este, Ravenna and Vicenza in the north east.¹⁶ The combination of atria and cisterns for domestic water collection, which was the common practice in Pompeii¹⁷, is found only at Libarna (fig. 35); a cistern and a drain are located near an impluvium in the rooms west of via C, although the pipes which connected them no longer exist.¹⁸ At Este 1 (fig. 30) a lead pipe drained water to the city drainage system, and similarly at Aosta 1 no. ii (figs. 4a-b) a channel to the large city drain runs from the area of the impluvium, although the connection between the two is no longer extant.¹⁹ Wells are the most common method of water

¹⁶Cavalieri Manasse et al. 203, 100, 213; for Este and Vicenza Il Ven. 230, 122-123; for Ravenna, R. Chevallier, La romanisation de la celtique du Pô vol. 4 (Rome 1983) 138-139.

¹⁷L. Richardson, Pompeii: An Architectural History (Baltimore 1988) 53-54.

¹⁸Only two other cisterns have been identified, at Aosta 1 (figs. 4a-b) and Rimini 3 (figs. 48a-b); the former may have belonged to domus no. 1, although that is not entirely clear (see below 158-159), while the latter probably served an industrial function.

¹⁹There is no trace of either a well or drain in atrium B at Luni 2 (fig. 37a), and at Ventimiglia 2 (no plan) an impluvium built at the end of the second century A.C. may have

collection in northern Italy, and are frequently found in courts and peristyles;²⁰ there was a well for water collection in the impluvium at Vado Ligure (fig. 53).

Nymphaea and bath suites indicate the necessity for urban drainage systems, but archaeological evidence survives in only a few cases. At Aosta 2 (fig. 5) traces of a drain run the length of the insula from the exedra, which probably had a fountain. At Oderzo 1 (fig. 38) there are the remains of an internal drainage system leading to a large urban drain which runs beneath the cardo along the east side of the house. A channel runs from court 24 to the urban drain; a small channel from room 28 leads to room 29 which, along with room 25, has a channel to the city drain. In the west section peristyle 1 had a drain and pieces of a lead pipe which may have led to a cistern or supplied a basin or fountain; there is no connection to the city drain, which is probably due to the two different construction phases of the house.

The domus at Trento (fig. 52) also has the remnants of an internal drainage system. In court F there is a well and two drains, C1 and C2. C1 cuts across the centre of the court and has no clear connection with the house. C2 skirts along

emptied into a new urban drain which was built at the same time.

²⁰In peristyles these include Luni 1 and Luni 2 (peristyles F and P, figs. 36, 37a-c), and in courts at Oderzo 1 (24, fig. 38), Ravenna 1 (1, fig. 41a-c), Ravenna 2 (2, fig. 42), Sarsina 1 no. i A (fig. 51) and Sarsina 2 (no plan), and Trento (F, fig. 52). For other wells in less certain contexts, see section on "Courts" Chapter III n.48.

the west side of the court and is connected to both the bath complex through room H, and to a third channel (C3) which serves kitchen G and empties into court Q. Drain C3 ends in court Q at a line of paving slabs whose function is not clear, but which may have directed the overflow from C3. There is no extant evidence of a connection with an urban drainage system.

At Aosta 1 (figs. 4a-b) a large drain ran along the decumanus from which house no. i was entered. Its length to the west is not clear but to the east it ends in front of house no. ii. A channel from it ran under room B of house no. i to court D and to the small basin in the northwest corner; another channel drained court H. In house no. ii a channel led from the impluvium in A to this drain. Channels from the drain ran north beneath the cardo between the two houses; one turns west under the eastern wall of house no. i just north of the cistern, and another runs from this one further north, curving toward house no. ii, but is broken off in mid course, so it is not clear whether or not it entered house no. ii further to the north. Nor is it clear whether the large vaulted cistern (2.80m. high) was public or private; it has no extant channels to either house or to the urban drain, although it lay within the insula of house no. i. Finocchi sees this drainage system as specifically designed to accommodate this house rather than the customary subordination

of every house to the larger urban network.²¹ She also suggests that, rather than two separate dwellings, the two areas comprised one single house which straddled the cardo, largely because the urban drain does not extend along the length of house no. ii. However, while both are connected to the urban drain there is no clear connection between the two houses, and the area between is seven metres wide; in the absence of more data it is reasonable to regard nos. i and ii as independent units.

Interior Decoration

Pavements

Of all aspects of the houses of northern Italy, pavements are the best studied and the best preserved. Indeed, most domus were deemed worthy of interest only because of their pavements, leading too often to the neglect of other archaeological evidence. Their value is not to be underestimated, however, for, as the catalogue illustrates, it is most often the mosaics which provide the chronological framework for the houses, especially in the older excavations. This chronological framework is stylistic and is therefore relative rather than absolute; however, without the benefit of such dating in many instances the houses would be without any chronological data.

²¹S. Finocchi, "Resti di abitazioni urbane ad Aosta," RStLig 1958 147-148.

The major types of pavements - opus signinum (decorated and plain), fitted brick in various shapes, the more expensive opus sectile and opus tessellatum - appear with different frequency in northern Italy. M. Donderer's study of the mosaic pavements in the tenth region (Venetia and Histria) is the most comprehensive examination of the floors of the area, although it stops at the Antonine period. He finds that, generally speaking, the pavements of the area do not differ significantly from the trends noted in the mosaics from Campania and central Italy.²² There is less opus sectile in the tenth region, possibly because its cost was simply beyond the local elite.²³ From the identified domus in this region, only room C at Verona 3 (fig. 59) has a sectile pavement. However, several examples occur in other parts of the north. There are several sectile pavements at Ravenna,²⁴ one at Rimini,²⁵ one at Aosta²⁶ and several at Luni²⁷. These pavements range in date from the first century A.C. (Luni 2, Rimini 1, Verona 3 [fig. 59], dii at Ravenna 5) to the second

²²Donderer's all too brief analysis is found in four sections at the end of his catalogue (Donderer 215-228).

²³ibid. 215.

²⁴Room 1 at Ravenna 2 (fig. 42), rooms dii (Phase I), L and Y (Phase IV) at Ravenna 5 (fig. 45), and in basin B at Ravenna 3 (fig. 43).

²⁵Rimini 1 no. iii room O (fig. 46).

²⁶Aosta 1 no. i room G (figs. 4a-b).

²⁷Luni 2 Phase III rooms I, J, K, M, O (fig. 37c).

(Aosta 1, Ravenna 2 [fig. 42] and 3) down to the sixth century A.C. (Ravenna 5, L, Y), and so present no clear chronological trend. The use of sectile pavements seems reserved primarily for reception rooms (Aosta 1 no. i room G, Ravenna 5 rooms L, Y, Rimini 1 no. iii room O, Luni 2 rooms J, M). Its use at Luni 2 in secondary rooms (I, K, O) is understandable because of the town's proximity to the marble quarries at Carrara.²⁸

Aquileia emerges as the centre of mosaic production in the tenth region, and Donderer places the beginning of its ascendancy shortly after the middle of the first century B.C.²⁹ The Flavian era is the time of its greatest success, which Donderer attributes to regional economic prosperity and to an increasing awareness of, and demand for, luxurious interior decoration in the style of Rome itself. Although its evolution essentially follows that of the rest of Italy, there is enough evidence to point to local preferences. Certain motives are especially popular,³⁰ and several which disappear from the Campanian corpus in the Flavian period are taken up again and flourish in the north.³¹ In the period studied by Donderer polychrome pavements are less popular than bichrome,

²⁸The functions of the other rooms with sectile (Ravenna 2 room 1, Ravenna 5 Phase I room dii and Verona 3 room C, [fig. 59]) are not clear; it is also used in basin B at Ravenna 3 (fig. 43).

²⁹Donderer 217.

³⁰ibid. 217-221.

³¹M. Donderer, "Beobachtungen zum Stil der römischen Mosaiken Norditaliens in flavischer Zeit," AttMosAnt 39-50.

which are often accented with a single coloured motif, most commonly a rosette.³² Donderer identifies nine possible workshops in the region, and the success of local mosaic production was such that its influence can be seen in the mosaics of a fairly wide radius, including modern northern Croatia, Hungary, Austria, Germany and Switzerland. However, both Donderer and J. Lancha propose that its influence is most clearly illustrated in the pavements of southern Gaul, at the end of the first to the beginning of the second centuries A.C., and in the Severan period.³³

Several studies have been done outside of the tenth region, but they tend to focus on pavements in particular cities and on comparison with central and southern Italian material rather than considering regional characteristics.³⁴ Brick pavements emerge as especially common in Emilia - Romagna.³⁵ These pavements take a variety of forms,

³²Donderer (1986) 219.

³³J. Lancha, "L'influence des Ateliers de Mosaïstes d'Aquilée et de la vallée du Pô dans la vallée du Rhône," AAAd 8 (1974) 59-72; M. Donderer "Cultura Aquileiese in mosaici geometrici romani dell'Occidente," AAAd 19 (1980) 225-238.

³⁴M. Bollini, "Per la storia urbana di Faenza - I mosaici romani," Studi Faentini in memoria di Mons. G. Rossini (Società di Studi Romagnoli, Saggi e repertori 11, Faenza 1966) 125-163; G. Mansuelli, "Mosaici Sarsinati," StudRomagn 5 (1954) 151-183.

³⁵M. Blake, "The Pavements of the Roman Buildings of the Republic and Early Empire," MAAR 8 (1930) 149-151.

including opus spicatum³⁶, but fitted hexagonal brick is the most popular. Although fitted brick appears to have been used primarily in utilitarian contexts initially, especially in open areas, decorative effects using this material develop in the first century A.C. and appear in both interior and exterior areas.³⁷ It is difficult, therefore, to characterize such pavements when no other archaeological data are available.³⁸

A similar problem exists with opus signinum, which is found in both utilitarian and decorative contexts. Generally, the character and use of signinum follows the evidence from the rest of Italy, although, to judge from Emilia-Romagna and in the tenth region, it was adopted somewhat later in the north, and came into general use only at the end of the first century B.C.³⁹ It appears undecorated in numerous indoor contexts,⁴⁰ but is less common than fitted brick pavements in

³⁶E.g. in basins at Rimini 1 and 3 (figs. 46, 48a-b), court H and F at Aosta 1 no. 1 (figs. 4a-b), corridor E at Rimini 2 (fig. 47).

³⁷E.g. Bologna 1 (14, fig. 15); two examples outside Emilia - Romagna are Vicenza (fig. 61) and Bergamo (A, fig. 14).

³⁸Scagliarini 1969 op. cit. (n.7) 151.

³⁹Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 334; Donderer 215, who notes the rarity of the pavement in particular at Aquileia. For opus signinum, see M.L. Morricone Matini, Pavimenti di Signino Repubblicani di Roma e Dintorni (Mosaici Antichi in Italia - Studi Monografici) (Rome 1970).

⁴⁰E.g. Bologna 1 rooms 6 and 7 (fig. 15), Este 2 no. v F and H (fig. 31), Rimini 1 no. i rooms R and T (fig. 46), Verona 1 room G (fig. 57).

outdoor areas.⁴¹ It occurs decorated with scattered tesserae⁴², or marble crustae⁴³ but most often with tesserae laid in geometric patterns.⁴⁴ Decorated signinum is also found in two second century A.C. contexts, which is unusual in the pavements of central and southern Italy.⁴⁵

The use of polychromy and of figures in mosaics increases in northern Italy in the third and fourth centuries A.C. as it does all over the empire. Aquileia is especially rich in such pavements.⁴⁶ Three figured scenes from the second century A.C. are extant,⁴⁷ while the mosaics of

⁴¹Signinum is found in area 13 at Oderzo 1 (fig. 38) and area F at Verona 3 (fig. 59). In both instances its presence leads to the identification of courts, because of its functional nature; however, these identifications must be left open, when the lack of supporting evidence (e.g. wells) and the preference for brick paving in courts are taken into consideration.

⁴²E.g. room O at Verona 1.

⁴³E.g. Bologna 2 room C, Oderzo 1 room 33, Verona 4.

⁴⁴E.g. Brescello room B (fig. 17), Rimini 1 no. i room Q (fig. 46), Este 2 no. v room A (fig. 31), Brescia 4 rooms G, C-D-F (fig. 21).

⁴⁵At Faenza 2 (fig. 33) an opus signinum pavement with a reticulate pattern (C) was found at a level 0.30m. higher than another pavement (B) which is dated to the second century by a coin of Marcus Aurelius. At Ravenna 3 (fig. 43) a signinum pavement (F) with scattered tessellated flowers is dated to the 2nd century A.C.

⁴⁶See L. Bertacchi, Da Aquileia a Venezia (Bologna 1980) 166-336 passim.; see also Mosaici in Aquileia e nell'alto Adriatico (AAAd 8, 1975).

⁴⁷These are the Dionysus mosaic in room R at Brescia 3 (fig. 20), the pavement with Hercules Bibax and a port scene from room A at Rimini 3 (fig. 48b), and the Orpheus mosaic from room A at Trento (fig. 52). The partial mosaic in room

Dionysus, Heracles and garlanded figures from Luni 1 (fig. 36) are ascribed to the third to fourth centuries A.C. and the circus mosaic from the same house is ascribed to the fifth century A.C. The figured mosaic in room E at Faenza 1 (fig. 32) is ascribed to the beginning of the fifth century A.C., and the fragmentary figured pavements from Ravenna 5 (fig. 45) range in date from the third to the early sixth centuries A.C.⁴⁸

Wall Painting

Although only a few rooms have a partial decorative scheme still intact, numerous fragments of coloured wall plaster indicate that some degree of decoration was common.⁴⁹ Traces of motives are visible on a few fragments: floral

H at Brescia 4 (fig. 21) is identified as a scene from the Rudens of Plautus by M. Mirabella Roberti (Storia di Brescia I [1963] 286-287); this is refuted because the human figure (an old man) wears no mask (Donderer 112). The motives are typical of the Nilotic genre in Roman art.

⁴⁸Phase II C is dated from the third to fourth century A.C., Ai in the same phase is dated to the 5th cen. A.C. In Phase III the circus and hunting mosaic in Ai is ascribed to the mid 5th cen. A.C., and in Phase IV the mosaics are ascribed to the beginning of the 5th century (Aii, Aiii) and to the beginning of the 6th century (S).

⁴⁹Sites with coloured wall plaster fragments contained in the catalogue include: Bologna 1 rooms 1, 2 and 5 (fig. 15), Bologna 3 (no plan), Brescia 1 area X (fig. 18), Brescia 3 rooms H and C (fig. 20), Este 2 no. v rooms B, C-D and Q (fig. 31), Oderzo 2 room C (fig. 39a), Velleia (fig. 54) and Vercelli room E (fig. 56). For a brief review of wall painting in northern Italy, see H. Mielsch, "Funde und Forschungen zur Wandmalerei der Prinzipatszeit von 1945 bis 1975, mit einem Nachtrag 1980," ANRW 2 12.2 170-171.

(Albenga 1 room I, fig. 2; Este 1 room 26, fig. 30), vegetal (Ravenna 3 room E; fig. 43), figural (Este 1 room 26,) and geometric (Ravenna 1 room 5, fig. 41c). Motives reminiscent of sacro-idyllic landscape are found on fragments at Brescia 8 (no plan), but there is not enough evidence to make a clear determination.⁵⁰ A piece of painted socle from Aquileia 2 (room 1, fig. 10) shows an architectural scene in yellow tones reminiscent of Second Pompeian style wall painting.⁵¹ However, H. Mielsch suggests it could be Fourth Style, and dated to the Flavian period, or even Hadrianic.⁵² Fragments of soffits with elaborate, stylized floral calices are found in room A at Bergamo (fig. 14), room A in domus 1 at Brescia 5 (fig. 22), at Este 1 (room 26, fig. 30) and in room P at Rimini 1 no. ii (fig. 46);⁵³ all are ascribed to the Flavian or Trajanic periods, except the last, which is dated to the Antonine period. Scagliarini Corlaità suggests that the

⁵⁰The fragments have animals (a goat, leopard and sheep), a tibia and mask.

⁵¹FA 10 (1955) 4292. For a photo, see L. Bertacchi, Da Aquileia a Venezia (Bologna 1980) fig. 130.

⁵²Mielsch 1980 op. cit. 171.

⁵³For photos and an account of the restoration of the soffit at Este see M. De Monte, "Note di restauro e progetto di esposizione di un dipinto murale di età romana," Quaderni d'archeologia del Veneto 2 (1986) 175-181; for Brescia, M. Mirabella Roberti, "Gli ultimi dieci anni di scavi a Brescia," Atti del convegno internazionale per il XIX centenario della dedicazione del Capitolium (Brescia 1975) 11, figs. 7, 8; for Bergamo, M. Fortunata Zuccala, A. Frova, in R. Poggiani Keller ed., Bergamo dalle origini all'altomedioevo - Documenti per un'archeologia urbana (Mantua 1986) 135-136.

popularity of floral calices among the scanty evidence may indicate a regional preference.⁵⁴

Simple linear decoration is suggested on pieces of plaster from room C at Verona 3 (fig. 59), where a black background is decorated with green and red vertical bands, and a festoon hangs in the lower field; similarly, at Vicenza (fig. 61) the entrance ramp has a black socle, and red and green panels fill the upper field, while the cryptoportico is faced in marble with a red painted border beneath the cornice. At Verona 2 (fig. 58) corridor B has a black socle which is separated by a yellow border from an upper red field. In room 16 at Oderzo 1 (fig. 33) brown, yellow and red lines divide a white background, and at Verona 1 five rooms (K, I, H, D, E; fig. 57) have traces of a black socle; two of these (D, E) also retain traces of a red major field with black and red linear decoration.⁵⁵ There are also fragments with imitation marble decoration at Brescello (room B, fig. 17), Ravenna 1 (court 1 and room 3, fig. 41b), Ravenna 4 (east side 1, fig. 44a) and Rimini 1 (no. ii rooms Z and S, fig. 46). Scagliarini Corlaità sees a possible co-ordination between

⁵⁴D. Scagliarini Corlaità, "Architettura e decorazione nelle domus e nelle villae dell'Emilia e Romagna," Studi Lunensi e prospettivi sull'occidente romano - Atti del convegno Lerici settembre 1985 (Centro studi Lunensi - Quaderni 3 1985-1987) 567-596. She reports similar calices among the wall painting from beneath the Palazzo Arpesella at Rimini, and from the area near the basilica of S. Lorenzo in Milan (op. cit. 586, 590).

⁵⁵In room G there are traces of an earlier decorative scheme using white and violet bands.

floor and wall decoration in the rosette motives in room D at Rimini 1 no. ii.⁵⁶ While acknowledging the paucity of evidence, she also suggests that these fragments, along with those from the villa at Russi, may indicate a local preference for imitation marble, and that the red fragments from Rimini may be intended to represent red marble from Verona, which is commonly used for architectonic elements and thresholds.

In several contexts remnants of wall painting are large enough to give a clear idea of the overall scheme. At Verona 2 two rooms (A and C, fig. 58) have wall decoration which is congruent with the Fourth Pompeian style. Room C is the better preserved, with a white socle and a red border decorated with various motives such as cocks, ducks, griffins, masks, and vegetation. The wall painting of room A seems to be of a piece with the columns and floor decoration. Above a dark socle, the red field is broken up by vertical yellow bands, which are aligned with the columns along the back wall to give viewing access to the red field. The colours of the wall painting reflect the red of the marble column bases and stucco drums, and the yellow stone of the single extant Corinthian capital. A single motif of a birdcage is extant in the red field, recalling the birds in the polychrome mosaic panels in the intercolumniations. The decoration of this room is distinct from that of most other extant columnar oeci,

⁵⁶Scagliarini Corlaità 1985 op. cit. 579.

which have Second Style architectural decoration.⁵⁷ B. Forlati Tamaro dates the wall painting in both of these rooms to the Flavian period, which accords with Donderer's dating of the mosaics.⁵⁸

The domus at Brescia 3 (fig. 20) has two rooms with significant remains of wall painting. In room R panels with landscapes alternate with marine scenes; the wall decoration does not seem to have any thematic connection with the pavement, which has a scene of reclining Dionysus. Both paintings and mosaic pavement are ascribed to the end of the first century A.C. on stylistic grounds,⁵⁹ although the pavement is probably later.⁶⁰ Room P, on the other hand, has a nymphaeum and is decorated with panels with Nilotic scenes. This is a common decorative combination in Campania. At Luni 2 (fig. 37a) the north portico has a simple scheme of red socle, black panels decorated with vertical candelabra and green festoons with red and yellow flowers. This kind of wall

⁵⁷The oecus in the Casa di Meleagro is the exception; it has Fourth Style wall decoration.

⁵⁸B. Forlati Tamaro, "La casa romana nel Veneto e una nuova scoperta a Verona," ArchCl 10 (1958) 116-120; Donderer 177-182.

⁵⁹Mirabella Roberti 1975 op. cit. (n.53) 17; A.D. Tamassia, E. Roffia, San Salvatore di Brescia - Materiali per un museo I (Brescia 1978) 27, 32, 43, 45.

⁶⁰This later date is proposed by G. Panazza ("La domus nella ortaglia del monastero di S. Giulia a Brescia," Archeologia e storia a Milano e in Lombardia orientale (Atti del convegno villa monastero di Varenna 5-6 giugno 1971/10-11 giugno 1972 Como) 104, and is also the opinion of K.M.D. Dunbabin.

organization also occurs in Campanian wall painting.⁶¹

In discussing the evidence from Emilia - Romagna Scagliarini Corlaità emphasizes its scantiness, but points to the notable lack of significant figural representations. She characterizes the extant fragments from the region as eclectic and somewhat more stylized and linear than wall painting in central and southern Italy. From the extant archaeological evidence, however, wall painting in northern Italy appears essentially congruent with major chronological developments in the rest of Italy.

⁶¹A. Barbet, La peinture murale romaine (Paris 1985) 74, 124-125.

CHAPTER V

The Urban Context of the North Italian Domus

The plans of the Roman cities of northern Italy are generally known only schematically.¹ In most cases the scattered and partial archaeological evidence provides only a rough sketch of the urban layout. In general they have an orthogonal arrangement of streets, in which a cardo and decumanus can often be identified. It is not always clear to what degree the plan reflects an indigenuous arrangement which has been adapted to a Roman model. The hand of Roman planners can be clearly seen in the urban configuration of Aosta and Turin (Augusta Taurinorum) in the northwest, whose plans resemble that of a military castrum.² The radial plans of Bologna and Milan (Mediolanum), however, are thought to reflect a pre-Roman settlement around a nucleus which was regularized to conform more closely to the Roman pattern. The

¹See G. Mansuelli, Urbanistica e architettura della Cisalpina romana (Collection Latomus vol. 3, Brussels 1971) 64-79; R. Chevallier, La romanisation de la celtique du Pô vol. 4 (Rome 1983) 81-159, especially 99-104; Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 285-297.

²E. Arslan, "Considerazioni sulla strutturazione urbanistica di Brescia romana," Latomus 37 (1968) 762-765; F. Castagnoli, Orthogonal Town Planning in Antiquity (Cambridge, Mass. 1971) 110-112.

number and arrangement of streets were also designed to suit local topography.

Only one city, Brescia, furnishes enough information to discern an internal division between civic, residential and industrial areas.³ The domus del Ninfeo (Brescia 1, fig. 18) and the domus beneath S. Giulia (Brescia 3, fig. 20), the less complete remains under the Collegio Arici, via Gambara and the piazza Duomo (Brescia 5 to 8 consecutively; figs. 22, 23, 24; no plan for Brescia 8), along with other bits of pavement indicate that the northeastern part of the city had a residential character, perhaps housing the wealthier populace. There are traces of potential bath buildings here as well, although it is difficult to distinguish between baths and internal heating systems.⁴ By contrast, the western part of the city appears to have had a higher number of industrial or commercial structures, while the centre provided the civic and religious focus, with the forum, Capitolium and basilica, as well as the recreational function of the theatre.⁵

Several domus which are distinguished by their decoration and size also had a desirable location near public buildings. Both houses at Luni were built in close proximity

³See Arslan op. cit.

⁴E.g. in piazza T. Brusato, via Tosio 10 and 13, and beneath the Palazzo Poncarali (Arslan ibid. 771-772).

⁵A similar division may have existed at Sarsina, with a residential area in the north east and an industrial area in the north west, but there is less evidence (Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 299).

to the forum: the domus dei Mosaici (Luni 1, fig. 36) which is between the Capitolium and piazza of the 'Grande Tempio', and the domus degli Affreschi (Luni 2, figs. 37a-c) which is just south of the Forum. In the latter instance its location in the city centre appears to have become a liability, when, in its third phase, the second atrium G was destroyed by the construction of a public fountain. The houses at Velleia (fig. 54) were located beside the forum, immediately south of the basilica;⁶ at Este, too, although the evidence is only partial, a residential area was around the civic centre.⁷ The streets on which these houses were located in all three cities had colonnades, a beautification of the urban core which may not have extended to other parts of town. On the other hand, a colonnade also lined the cardo along insulae 51 and 52 at Aosta (Aosta 4, fig. 7), which do not appear to have been aristocratic dwellings. Only the houses in insula 59 at Aosta (Aosta 6, fig. 8) have been identified as multi-family

⁶Five rooms with opus signinum pavements at different levels were found under a public building at the north end of the forum at Velleia. Among the remains are a T-shaped hypocaust, and a corridor 1.65-1.55m. wide. Two of the rooms which can be distinguished are small (3.50m. sq.). A. Frova has identified them as part of a house, but there is no clear plan and the difference in levels makes it unclear if they belonged to a contemporaneous structure. They are dated to the Augustan period, while the building which destroyed them is dated to the late Julio-Claudian or Flavian period (A. Frova, "Novità archeologiche a Velleia," Atti III convegno di Studi veleiatì Milano - Varese 1969 43-84).

⁷E. Baggio Bernardoni (Il Ven. 230) mentions this but does not make clear whether this includes Este 1 and 2 in the catalogue or other remains.

dwellings, resembling the 'casette tipo' plans at Ostia.⁸ Mansuelli points out that their location on the outer limits of the city may indicate that it was a less desirable area. The house at Altino also opened off a colonnaded street, but since the location of the Forum has yet to be established no relationship between the two can be made.

Proximity to theatres and amphitheatres does not seem to have been an impediment to residential areas, as demonstrated by the remains in insulae 31 and 32 at Aosta 5 (fig. 13), which are immediately south of both the theatre and amphitheatre. They appear to be poor dwellings, but it seems that such a location did not necessarily hinder the construction of wealthy houses, as two domus at Aquileia⁹ and three at Rimini¹⁰ indicate.¹¹ In two instances houses are found in close proximity to the already existing city wall.¹²

⁸Mansuelli op. cit. (n.1) 173.

⁹Aquileia 1 and 2, figs. 9, 10.

¹⁰The domus in the area ex Vescovado, under Palazzo Palloni and Palazzo Diotallevi (Rimini 1, 2, 3 respectively; figs. 46, 47, 48a-b).

¹¹Structures built near the amphitheatre at Libarna (fig. 35) may have been residential, but due to scanty evidence their identification is not certain.

¹²The domus in via Medaglie d'Oro at Albenga (fig. 2) was built on the site of the old Republican wall, which was replaced by Constantius IV in A.D.415. Some renovation on the house was also conducted at this time but its precise nature is not clear. The construction of the new wall does not appear to have had any repercussions for the house, since it did not follow exactly the line of the Republican wall and was several metres away from the house (N. Lamboglia, RStLig 36 [1970] 40, 48-56).

Rimini 5 (fig. 50) was built along the inside of the city wall beside the Arch of Augustus; a second structure identified as a house, with an apsidal basin and pavements with marble crustae, was found built up against the wall.¹³ Both are dated to the early Imperial period, which indicates that soon after its construction in 27 B.C.¹⁴ the area around the Arch of Augustus was not restricted, but was incorporated into the urban landscape.¹⁵ Despite the partial evidence, Scagliarini Corlaità suggests that these were the houses of the wealthy, and that proximity to the triumphal arch, as to fora and other civic buildings, lent prestige to the neighbourhood.¹⁶ She also sees the somewhat expansive character of the plan of the house in via S. Chiara as an exploitation of available space around the arch and wall. The house at Ravenna 1 (figs. 41a-c) was built up against the inner perimeter of the city wall near one of its towers. The wall itself is dated to the second century B.C.,¹⁷ but the house was not built until the

¹³Structure in via Minghetti: FA 10 (1955) no. 4294; M. Zuffa, "La tutela, la ricerca e l'organizzazione archeologica a Rimini dal 1800 ad oggi," Storia di Rimini dal 1800 ai nostri giorni III (Rimini 1978) 229. See Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 fig. 38.

¹⁴Mangani et al. 23.

¹⁵Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 296-297.

¹⁶D. Scagliarini Corlaità, "Nuovi date e nuove osservazioni sulle domus di Ravenna e della Romagna," CCAB 34 (1987) 377.

¹⁷G. Bermond Montanari, "Ravenna 1980 - Lo scavo della Banca Popolare - Relazione preliminare," FelRav 127-130 (1984-1985) 30.

second century A.C. In its irregular plan Scagliarini Corlaità sees a pragmatic use of available space beside a wall which had long lost its defensive function.¹⁸

Domestic architecture is also found in suburban areas. At Bologna archaeological data reveal that certain suburban areas had particular functions, with the southern area predominantly residential in character.¹⁹ Its hilly topography and the small streets which occupy it discouraged industrial operations. The villa suburbana at Beverara (Bologna 1, fig. 15) is from this area. An aqueduct and baths from this suburb are both Augustan in date, as are the pavements from the initial phase of the structure; the second century A.C. date of the second phase of this villa is congruent with the remains of other pavements from this sector. The domus in via Cà Selvatica (Bologna 2, fig. 16), which is also identified as a villa suburbana because it is outside the urban nucleus, is located in the western suburban section. This area had a higher proportion of industrial activity, represented in the archaeological record by utilitarian pavements, dolia fragments and basins.²⁰ A large basin, extant to a length of 20m. and internally divided into

¹⁸It is even suggested by Bermond Montanari (ibid 25) that the portion of the wall beside court 1 was destroyed to allow an entrance to the house.

¹⁹D. Scagliarini Corlaità, "L'insediamento residenziale nel suburbio di Bologna romana," AttiBol n.s. 20 (1969) [1970] 144-145.

²⁰Scagliarini Corlaità ibid. 146-147.

at least three sections, was found more than 25m. from the domus of via Cà Selvatica, and Scagliarini Corlaità suggests that it may have formed the industrial section which belonged to the house.²¹ While such a connection is possible the distance between the material and the mixed nature of the other archaeological evidence from this area leave room for doubt.²² In this case too the initial phase of construction is dated to the late Republican or early Augustan eras, which reflects prosperity and a probable population increase; in this period it is the suburban areas closest to the city centre which have the most archaeological material. The renovation work at Beverara in the second century A.C. indicates a second period of growth, while the repair work at both sites in the third century A.C. may indicate a decline.

Other houses located outside the urban nucleus are in the suburb of Valdonega at Verona (Verona 2, fig. 58) and in via S. Rocchino at Brescia (Brescia 4, fig. 21). They can also be considered villae suburbanae and their plans, although partial, are somewhat extensive. The example at Valdonega enjoys a particularly advantageous position: it is located on a hill across the river and overlooks the city centre. These suburban domus apparently had the best of both worlds; they were close enough to the city to use its conveniences, but

²¹ibid. 146.

²²For a schematic plan of the basin in relation to the pavements, see F. Bergonzoni, NSC 1965 Supplement fig. 2.

could also take advantage of the availability of space.

Many houses are found near an identified cardo or decumanus, but the lack of extant entrances prevents conclusions regarding orientation or the relationship to the street system. Although the size of insulae is often known, the size of individual houses cannot be determined, since so few domus are intact. The five houses at Este 2 (fig. 31) are 19.25m. wide and are separated by 0.75m. Domus no. i and ii at Rimini 1 (fig. 46) are approximately 16.50m. wide;²³ however, if the mosaic fragment S belongs to no. iii, this house occupies a width of at least 18.50m., illustrating individual variation and the difficulty in determining a pattern. Similarly, the lack of intact entrances limits our knowledge of streetside tabernae and commercial areas within these houses, although it is likely that they existed, especially in residential areas off fora.²⁴

General Character of North Italian Domestic Architecture

The difficulties presented by evidence of the disparate sort available for the north Italian domus have been clear throughout this thesis; attempts to draw definitive conclusions from it are no exception. Because of its partial character no coherent typology of the northern Italian domus

²³This is the width if symmetry is assumed on both sides of the peristyle in no. i, and if the division between no. ii and iii is correct.

²⁴See Chapter III 140.

is possible. However, some general tendencies do emerge from this evidence.

It has already been noted that the atrium is poorly represented in northern Italy. Only one house, Este 1 (fig. 30), has an intact atrium, and in fact it is the only complete example of an atrium-peristyle house from northern Italy. Even so, it does not follow the Campanian model. The atrium does have axial fauces and a tablinum, but lacks the symmetrical side rooms of the Pompeian house type. The obscure nature of the rooms in the central portion of the house and the lack of thresholds prevent a clear picture of their function and interrelationship. On the basis of its beaten earth floor area 24 is identified as a court, which, if correct, represents a departure from the Campanian plan. The peristyle has been added to the side rather than off the back of the atrium core; this, however, is probably dictated by the space available for expansion.

The two atria at Luni 2 (fig. 37a-c) present a somewhat different plan. The arrangement of the house in its initial late Republican phase is not clear, but it seems that atrium B dates from this period. As reconstructed by Frova, the house has several features of the Pompeian house: fauces and flanking rooms precede the spacious atrium, a tablinum with a simply decorated opus signinum pavement (room C) is also identified, and was flanked by two rooms. The atrium, however, was set on the cross axis rather than the main axis.

It appears too that the large porticoed garden to the west in its original simple form belongs to this phase; however, its relationship to the atrium core of the house remains obscure. In Phase II (ca. A.D.40) the second atrium G along with a suite of three reception rooms (J, K, I) was added to the west side of the large garden. The central room (J) is identified as a tablinum by virtue of its position, although it is similarly open to the large porticoed garden on the other side. However, several questions must be left unanswered. Atrium G is directly beside a cardo, but there is no room for fauces, nor is it clear whether or not the atrium opened off the street at all. As well, rooms can be identified off the south side of atrium G, but it is not clear if rooms also opened off the north side.²⁵ It is also unclear whether atrium B was partitioned in this phase or in the one that followed. If the former is true atrium G may have been a replacement for it; however, if the latter is the case, atrium G may have been an additional, more monumental atrium designed to accompany the ornate porticoed garden. In any case it was short-lived; in the third phase, dated ca. 50-70 A.C., atrium G was paved over for the construction of a public area. As has already been pointed out, the rooms to the east of the large garden are somewhat separated from it by the walled

²⁵On Frova's plan of Phase II (fig. 37b) a threshold is indicated on the north side opposite room H, but no mention is made of it in any sources (A. Frova, Luni - Guida archeologica [Sarzana 1989] fig. 137b).

cryptoportico. They are oriented instead toward the smaller garden P and had only limited access to the large garden. Rooms I, J and K to the west, however, open off the large garden through an open portico. It is possible that the east wing may have formed the private part of the house, while the west wing with the large garden, atrium G and the suite of rooms J, K and I constituted a more public reception area.

The other extant atria have little architectural context. The house with an atrium at Vado Ligure (fig. 53) was poorly preserved but appears to have had side rooms and three rooms off its main axis, one of which is identified as a tablinum, although it is rather narrow; a hortus was located off the back. The house at Ventimiglia 1 (fig. 55) had the fauces and flanking tabernae typical at Pompeii, but nothing else of the house remains. This atrium (if correctly dated to ca. A.D.100) and the others which date to the second century A.C.²⁶ illustrate the survival of the form in the northwest long after its eclipse by the peristyle in south and central Italy.²⁷

There is no easy explanation for the relative infrequency of the atrium in northern Italy. Although the colonization of the province began as early as the end of the third century B.C., there is little evidence of flourishing

²⁶These include the atrium at Aosta 1 no. ii (figs. 4a-b), Ventimiglia 2 (no plan) and the atrium at Brescia 8 (no plan).

²⁷For the dating of these atria see Chapter III 76-78.

local culture before the first century B.C. The rural population appears to have stabilized in the first century B.C. and in a parallel manner urban centres began to prosper.²⁸ At this time monumental architecture and more permanent domestic architecture began to appear, and it is clear that the atrium was not now considered an essential element. This corresponds to its decreasing popularity in the rest of Italy. Pliny the Younger, writing at the end of the first century A.C., refers to the atrium in his Tuscan villa as already "ex more veterum".²⁹ However, as the second century atria from the northwest indicate, the atrium was still, to some degree, a viable architectural form in this region. This demonstrates that architectural trends which are traceable in Campania and to some extent in central Italy do not hold true in all respects in northern Italy.

Peristyles are better represented than atria in the domestic architecture of northern Italy, but the partial nature of the evidence prohibits a characterization of the complete plan. At Este 1 (fig. 30), Luni 2 (figs. 37a-c), Claterna 3 (no plan) and Vado Ligure (fig. 53) peristyles or porticoes appear to have been built behind (or beside) an atrium, as in the traditional Pompeian house. The arrangement of rooms around the peristyles in these houses can be clearly seen only at Este 1 and Luni 2. In the former, small, well-

²⁸Mansuelli op. cit. (n.1) 101.

²⁹Ep. 5.6.15.

decorated rooms which may have been reception rooms open off one side of the peristyle. The central room (31) is larger and has a wider opening off the peristyle, and so may be identified as a triclinium. On the opposite side room 26 has a wide opening off the peristyle and area 24, which has been identified as a court,³⁰ is directly opposite room 31. At Luni 2 rooms M and O open off the small portico P, and the ornamental garden was open only to rooms I, J and K.

In several other examples the peristyle formed the nucleus of the house. The best preserved and documented of these is the house in piazza Nogara at Verona (Verona 1, fig. 57). An open central court is porticoed on three sides, with a nymphaeum occupying the fourth side. Rooms open off the court on the three porticoed sides; there are rooms behind the nymphaeum, but, with the exception of E, which has a door to F, it is not clear if these rooms had access to the porticoed court. While there is no trace of an upper storey, the possibility cannot be ruled out. Both B and C are suitable for a staircase, and the perimeter wall is probably wide enough (0.60m.) to support one upper floor. The house at Oderzo 1 (fig. 38) is much less well preserved, but appears to have had a large peristyle with rooms off it which occupied one wing of the building.

The peristyle in Brescia 1 (fig. 18) is relatively intact, but its great size (17m. wide) puts in question the

³⁰See chapter III 87.

domestic character of the structure. The excavation of the area to the southwest (Brescia 2, figs. 19a-b), which is still incomplete, has revealed two more peristyles of some size, and stratigraphic evidence which indicates that the two areas may belong to the same structure.³¹ No function can be assigned to the rooms in Brescia 1 and there is no evidence of significant decoration. The presence of several peristyles and the monumental character of the nymphaeum, however, puts into doubt the identification of the building as a private house; the official residence of a local functionary or a building with some public function may better fit the dimensions and formal nature of the architecture.

The construction date of peristyles is difficult to assess. Portico pavements and the pavements of surrounding rooms are usually the only available evidence, and, in the absence of other data, it is these dates that are accepted as the construction date of the porticoes themselves.³² On this basis, it appears that, while several peristyles are dated to

³¹With the exception of the preliminary results of 1986 and 1987 (see Catalogue entry) the excavation is still unpublished. Results of the April 1990 season include many fragments of wall painting and more architecture which is as yet unstudied. It is the opinion of the excavators that the building is not merely a private house, but has some official function.

³²For a detailed discussion of the chronology of these porticoes and peristyles, see Chapter III 81-85.

the first century B.C.,³³ the majority were built in the second half of the first century A.C. and later.³⁴ It has been suggested that porticoes were added to simple courts at Sarsina 2 (no plan) and Verona 1 (fig. 57). The date of these additions is not clear; Sarsina 2 more likely falls at the end of the first century to the beginning of the second century A.C., while the three-sided portico at Verona 1 seems roughly a century later. At Este 1 (fig. 30) the peristyle was enlarged in a post-Flavian era, taking over part of the back suite of rooms to the point of partially destroying their pavements.

A number of peristyles were closed up and became corridors or were cut up into rooms;³⁵ at Rimini 1 (fig. 46) it is suggested that a bath was built in the peristyle of no. i, using the decorative basin as a plunge pool. No pattern can be discerned in these renovations; it seems that in these individual cases the peristyle was sacrificed to meet particular needs. The porticoes in the peristyle at Luni 1 were walled up but not subdivided, and thus served the same

³³Aquileia 3 (fig. 1), Luni 1 (Phase I, fig. 36), Oderzo 1 and 2 (figs. 38, 39a-b), Rimini 1 (fig. 46), Vado Ligure (fig. 53).

³⁴Peristyles dated to the first century A.C. include: Albenga (fig. 2), Aquileia 1 and 2 (figs. 9, 10), Bergamo (fig. 14), Brescia 1, 4 and 5 (figs. 18, 21, 22), Este 1 (fig. 30), Luni 2 (figs. 37a-c), Ravenna 5 (fig. 45), Verona 2 (fig. 58). Those dated to the second century A.C.: Altino (fig. 3), Aosta 1 no. i (figs. 4a-b), Brescia 6 (fig. 23).

³⁵See "Peristyles" Chapter III 85-86.

function of providing access to different rooms without letting in light or air.

Peristyles occur at only four sites in the Cispadane region: Claterna 3 (no plan), Ravenna 5 (fig. 45), Rimini 1 (fig. 46) and Sarsina 2 (no plan). There are also only five examples from the northwest, although it should be said that this area has produced overall the least evidence for domestic architecture.³⁶ The region of Lombardy has produced seven peristyles, one at Bergamo (fig. 14) and six at Brescia (1, 2, 4, 5 and 6; figs. 18, 19a-b, 21, 22, 23), although the identification of Brescia 1 and 2 as a private house is still uncertain. It is significant to note that the portico reconstructed at Aosta 1 no. i has no rooms opening off it except the small room C, which had a door. It is easy to believe that the cold mountain climate would have discouraged the open concept of a peristyle; so too the cold and wet winters of the Cispadane region.

The highest concentration of peristyles is found in northeastern Italy, in the region of the Veneto.³⁷ In fact, peristyles are a marked feature of the extant houses at

³⁶Peristyles from the Ligurian coast include Albenga (fig. 2), Luni 1 and 2 (figs. 36, 37a-c) and Vado Ligure (fig. 53); also in the northwest is the portico identified at Aosta 1 (figs. 4a-b). See also Chapter III 78 n.23, 80 n.25 for fragmentary evidence of peristyles.

³⁷These include: Altino (fig. 3), Aquileia 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 (figs. 9-13), Este 1 (fig. 30), Oderzo 1 (fig. 38), Verona 1 and 2 (figs. 57, 58). The total is raised to eleven if the pilaster bases at Oderzo 2 (court A, Phase I, fig. 39a) are identified as part of a portico.

Aquileia. The poor documentation and publication of these buildings recommend caution, but it appears that the peristyle dominated the atrium in popularity from the late Republican period. The porticoed court in the domus under the basilica (Aquileia 3, fig. 11) has been identified as a colonnaded atrium by Bertacchi and Mirabella Roberti. However, its size and proportions are better suited to a peristyle than an atrium.³⁸ Three rooms (A, B, C) open off one side, but the poor condition of the house makes it impossible to ascertain whether or not there were side rooms. It is difficult to discuss the other houses at Aquileia with authority, since the plans are so undetailed. In the best preserved house, Aquileia 2 (fig. 10), the central three-sided portico is surrounded by rooms on three sides. The plan of domus no. i at Aquileia 1 (fig. 9) appears to have a line of columns which may have formed a peristyle but the connection between this area and the surrounding rooms is not clear. There was at least one peristyle at Aquileia 4 (fig. 12),³⁹ but, other than the large room to the west, it is unclear how the surrounding rooms related to the peristyle. At Aquileia 5 (fig. 13) the large reception room 5 opens off the peristyle, which had at least three sides. The mosaics in Aquileia 3 are

³⁸Using the scale on the plan, the central area measures ca. 14x15.90m., the central basin 4.70x3.10m., and the porticoes 2.66m.

³⁹Donderer discusses two portico pavements but it is not clear whether they are from one peristyle or two, and no mention is made of their location (Donderer 27, 28).

dated by Donderer to the late Republican to early Augustan period, which puts its central peristyle plan ahead of those at Pompeii.⁴⁰

There are some similarities between the Aquileian domus and the traditional Pompeian plan, as demonstrated by the fauces and axiality of Aquileia 3 and 5. However, despite their partial nature, the other plans lack the axiality and symmetry of the Pompeian model, and appear rather to prefer a central colonnaded court with surrounding rooms more akin to the Hellenistic houses of Delos. This is not to suggest, however, that the houses of Aquileia are derived from a Delian model, or from any specific Greek model. Rather, it seems that the peristyle is the common element, and that it became popular in Aquileia just as it did in the rest of Italy; at Aquileia, however, there was no pre-existing house plan for it to replace.

The lack of atrium houses, or of any documented traces of atria at Aquileia is interesting. Although the precocity of the peristyle plan at Aquileia 3 (fig. 11) must be viewed with caution because of the uncertainties of its plan and chronology, this absence of atria is striking. The city was colonized in the second century B.C. and the location of Aquileia 3 outside the original city walls indicates that the settlement had already expanded significantly in the mid first

⁴⁰The mosaics in Aquileia 1, 2 and 4 are dated to the last third of the first century A.C., while a third century date is the only one provided for the pavements at Aquileia 5.

century B.C. It is not clear why the atrium house was not transplanted to the city, but a possible explanation may lie in its commercial character. Aquileia was an important port city and had long-standing trade contact with the Greek world. It is clear that the peristyle gained popularity in the second century B.C. in Campania, where it was grafted onto the atrium core. It appears that at Aquileia the atrium house never took root and the peristyle form dominated from the earliest phase of domestic architecture. It must be restated that while the houses of the north share some of the same features as those of south and central Italy, there are clear indications of significant differences from the Campanian model, so often used as the standard for all Roman domestic architecture. In addition to these divergences from the Pompeian house, the plans of these houses show a degree of diversity within the region itself, and cannot not be regarded as monolithic.

Courts appear to have been common in northern Italy generally, especially in the region of Emilia-Romagna, to judge from the high number of utilitarian pavements with drainage or wells for water collection. However, there are few examples with intact plans which might indicate how the interior space of such houses was organized. The domus under the palazzo Diotallevi (Rimini 3, figs. 48a-b) offers the most complete plan with a court. In its second phase the court was embellished with a decorative basin and two small reception rooms were added to it. Remarkably, it never appears to have

had anything but a beaten earth floor. The relationship between the central court and the rooms to the south, notably A, is unclear; so too cistern G to the east. Room A has a pavement consistent with triclinia; that it does not open off the court suggests that it was a winter rather than a summer triclinium. As has been pointed out in the case of Trento,⁴¹ it is not impossible that the north and south suite of rooms at Rimini 3 belonged to separate dwellings. Cistern G (and basins KK, M and Z of phase I) probably formed part of an industrial area which may or may not have belonged to the residents. The evidence may in fact belong to two separate dwellings. If it is one unit, an apparent separation in function between the two areas may be noted: the east sector, with reception room A, may have been for the reception of guests, and the west sector, with kitchen and possible bath,⁴² may have been predominantly for a service area. On the assumption that it is one house, the limited access between the court F and the surrounding rooms may be due to the cold climate; windows could have provided light but limited the flow of air into the rooms.

There is no clear room arrangement in the partial plans of houses with courts. Unlike Trento, rooms of various

⁴¹See Chapter III 87-88.

⁴²See Chapter III 139, 145-146.

function usually open off the court.⁴³ As Scagliarini Corlaità has pointed out, these courts do not seem to be the focus of the house, but seem somewhat decentred, nor is it generally possible to identify a single axis. She also points to their small size, in comparison with surrounding rooms, and to the tendency to place them at the front rather than the back of the house.⁴⁴ Although the incomplete evidence prevents firm conclusions, it appears that these courts functioned mainly as light wells, providing air and light to surrounding rooms, but in a limited fashion. There is also some evidence that corridors may have augmented courts as access areas between rooms or parts of the house. At Brescia 4 (fig. 21) corridor K branches off from the portico and runs in a perpendicular direction through to the east group of rooms. Corridor K also seems to separate rooms with simple signinum pavements (C - G) from those with more complex tessellated pavements. At Bologna 1 (fig. 15) both triclinia 1 and 3 open off the same corridor (2), which serves to separate them, and which seems to have continued eastward along area 5. Corridors which provide access between rooms are seen at Rimini 3 (figs. 48a-b), where BB seems to be a corridor leading to triclinium A, at Rimini 2 (E), at Verona

⁴³If area 14 at Bologna 1 (fig. 15) is identified as an open court, it seems to separate reception rooms 1 and 3 from the bath suite (10 - 13), which opens off the side.

⁴⁴This judgement is based on utilitarian pavements with wells at Bologna and Reggio Emilia, which occur near identifiable streets (Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 315).

3 (D, fig. 59) and Aosta 1, no. i (figs. 4a-b), where corridor E runs from the porticoed court to the other half of the house. Thus, although, the evidence for corridors is piecemeal, it suggests that corridors functioned as access areas in lieu of large central courts.

Scagliarini Corlaità, in discussing specifically the domestic architecture of the region of Emilia-Romagna, has commented on the consequences of the absence of central features such as the traditional atria and peristyles in many of these houses.⁴⁵ She suggests that in such arrangements there is no articulation of interior space and that certain characteristics emerge to compensate for this. She points to corridors, which not only provide access between rooms, but also isolate and create a focus on reception rooms. She also points to the large size and high level of decoration of many reception rooms, as well as to their decorative thresholds which indicate the importance of the rooms. Such rooms are also placed beside areas with utilitarian pavements, making it necessary to distinguish them from their neighbours. She asserts that in this way reception rooms are made more 'autonomous' within the house. The contention that such houses have no recognizable organization is certainly true, but this is largely due to their partial condition. The size and decoration of reception rooms are not out of keeping with

⁴⁵Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 passim., but especially 304-314.

Campanian examples, and decorative mosaic thresholds are also common. Similarly, it is not unusual that well-decorated reception rooms and triclinia be beside service rooms; only in the largest houses is there space to separate clearly service and reception areas.

These houses have also been characterized as expansive in plan, "latitudinal" rather than "longitudinal".⁴⁶ With the exception of the few atrium houses there is little evidence of the axially which so dominates the house plans at Pompeii and, to a lesser extent, Herculaneum. However, in the absence of complete plans such characterizations must be accepted as speculation. Indeed, although scanty, there is some evidence for upper storeys, which, if extant, might diminish the 'latitudinal' aspect which Mansuelli sees.⁴⁷

The courts of the north Italian domus may represent an architectural compromise between the restrictive axially and symmetry of the atrium house and the openness of the peristyle house. Although the Pompeian atrium-peristyle arrangement proves inadequate as a comparandum for this feature of the north Italian house, several houses at Herculaneum and Ostia offer closer parallels. A number of single-family dwellings at Herculaneum have small courts which act as lightwells to surrounding rooms. Among these are the Casa del Bel Cortile

⁴⁶Mansuelli op. cit. (n.1) 173; Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 311.

⁴⁷For upper storeys, see Chapter III 150.

(5 8), the Casa dell'Alcova (4 3-4) and the Casa del Gran Portale (5 34-35).⁴⁸ In none of these examples is the court a central area around which rooms are placed. Although several rooms have doors or windows to the court, there is a lack of central focus in these houses. The first two have the long, narrow shape of most lots at the site, with courts placed along the length, while in the third the court opens to the side of the fauces. They lack both the axiality and the symmetry which marks many houses at Herculaneum and the majority of Pompeian houses.

At Ostia several houses of the second and third centuries A.C. offer unusual plans which may be closer to the houses in the north than the Pompeian house. Three houses in region 5 have irregular interior arrangements with small courts which serve as lightwells. House 5 2 10 is an example of the 'basilical' type defined by Packer: a central hall has a row of rooms off either side, while an open court measuring 7.61x3.39 opens off the end of this corridor.⁴⁹ In house 5 2 13 a narrow open area separates two groups of rooms which open off it.⁵⁰ This 'court' resembles an open corridor,

⁴⁸A. Maiuri, Ercolano. I nuovi scavi (1927-1958) (Rome 1958) 384-388; 388-393; 377-384. Other houses with courts include the Casa della Stoffa (4 19-20) and the Casa del Graticcio (3 13 - 15); the latter is considered a multi-family dwelling by Maiuri (ibid. 425-426; 407-420).

⁴⁹J. Boersma, Amenissima Civitas - Block V vii at Ostia: Description and Analysis of its Visible Remains (Assen 1985) 166-171, figs. 160, 164.

⁵⁰ibid. 181-189, figs. 176, 179-181.

measuring 2.17m. in width and 11.58m. in length, and has a well and bench at one end.

A hallway or corridor with rooms off both sides of the type described above appears with some frequency in Ostian residential architecture and has received the label 'medianum'.⁵¹ Although multi-family and multi-purpose insulae dominate Ostian domestic architecture, some similarities with the traditional domus can be seen. The Insula di Giove e Ganimede (1 4 2) is a notable example.⁵² The structure has an unusual plan: a hallway or medianum ca. 2.6m. wide runs through the house, giving access from one room to another. An open court (no.13) approximately 5x8m. is also placed off the side of this hall, and has an entrance and a window to it. Two reception rooms open off this court, both two storeys high and with black and white geometric pavements: 11, identified as a triclinium by Packer, and 14, somewhat larger in area and identified as a tablinum. Packer characterizes the house as unlike the usual identified domus at Ostia, but nevertheless belonging to a wealthy owner. He sees several of the typical elements present - fauces, tablinum - but in an unorthodox arrangement. The house, which is dated to the Antonine period, had two apartments on its upper floor which were separate from the first floor dwelling.

⁵¹See G. Hermansen, "The Medianum and the Roman Apartment," Phoenix 24 (1970) 342-347.

⁵²J. Packer, The Insulae of Imperial Ostia (MAAR 31, 1971) 134-139, plans 4 and 5.

John Clarke has also pointed to similarities between Pompeian and Ostian houses.⁵³ Using the decorative programmes on floors and walls, he identifies "spatial hierarchies"⁵⁴ which are common to both certain Ostian apartments and the Campanian house. Clarke points to the demise of certain elements of the traditional Pompeian house, such as axiality, and lighting from atria and peristyles. Instead, windows to the street and internal courts result in a variety of interior arrangements. However, he asserts that at both Pompeii and Ostia it is not only room arrangement but also decoration which signal the relative importance of areas within an individual dwelling, and maintains that the same principle continues to operate in the Ostian apartment despite its very different and diverse internal organization.⁵⁵ Such principles may also have played a part in the north Italian domus. Certainly the variety of arrangements demonstrated by the Ostian evidence provides interesting points of comparison for the north Italian domus, and distances it even further from Campania.

There is little evidence for the utilitarian multi-family dwellings which predominate at imperial Ostia. The

⁵³J. Clarke, The Houses of Roman Italy 100 B.C. - A.D. 250 - Ritual, Space and Decoration (Berkeley 1991).

⁵⁴ibid. 27.

⁵⁵See also Carol Martin Watts, A Pattern Language for Houses at Pompeii, Herculaneum and Ostia (Diss. Univ. of Texas at Austin, 1987).

'casette tipo' as it exists at Ostia is not found; however, Mansuelli sees a parallel function in the houses at Aosta 6 (fig. 8). The plan indicates four houses in a block, lit by central courts; they were not well-decorated and the rooms appear small and without symmetrical organization. The houses of insula 51 and 52 at Aosta (Aosta 4, fig. 7) may also be of a utilitarian character, since they too are without decoration or recognizable order in their arrangement. Mansuelli also characterizes as utilitarian the fragmentary houses at Libarna.⁵⁶ Such architecture must have existed, especially in the larger urban centres of Roman northern Italy, but does not generally survive because of the poor quality of its construction and the probable use of wood in its supporting members. Mansuelli's Aostan examples may represent utilitarian domestic architecture, but the poor quality of both the archaeological material and its publication prevent adequate analysis.

There are many reception rooms in the domus of northern Italy; these include tablina, triclinia and other rooms which are clearly significant, but whose precise function cannot be ascertained. Generally, they do not deviate from the characteristics of similar rooms in central and southern Italy.⁵⁷ The tablinum J at Luni 2 (fig. 37b),

⁵⁶Mansuelli also points to structures as Zuglio and Gravelona Toce as likely utilitarian residential architecture (op. cit. [n.1] 173).

⁵⁷For a full discussion, see Chapter III 110-133.

however, presents an unusual example. It is dated to the second phase of the house (ca. A.D.40), along with the construction of its two flanking rooms (K, I) and atrium G. Room J is identified as a tablinum because it is set on the axis established by atrium G and is completely open to it on one side; however, it is similarly open to the large porticoed garden on the other side, a characteristic which develops at Pompeii only as peristyles begin to flourish. So, while in one respect room J occupies the traditional position of the Campanian tablinum, it is not the original republican arrangement illustrated by the Casa di Sallustius, for example, but rather the arrangement which came to dominate as the emphasis shifted to the peristyle. Moreover, this identification as a tablinum by position is lost in the third phase of the house (ca. 50-70 A.C., fig. 37c), when atrium G was destroyed; room J remained open to the porticoed garden, and, along with the flanking rooms I and K, resembled at this stage the well-decorated room which typically opens off Pompeian peristyles. The mid first century A.C. construction date of Phase II presents something of an anomaly in domestic architecture, because by this time the atrium-tablinum dyad was no longer the focus of the Campanian house.

The typical U + T triclinium mosaic pavement is found in the region, but is not popular; instead, a central panel around which couches were placed is preferred. Other well-decorated rooms of varying size may also have functioned as

reception rooms, but because of the partial nature of the evidence little can be said about the role of these rooms within the house. Features may include mosaic floors, wall painting, heating, and, in one instance, interior columns. In several examples a seasonal distinction is made between rooms which have wide openings off open areas, and those which are more closed.⁵⁸ There is some evidence of heating in well-decorated rooms, which is a logical amenity in the cool and rainy winters of many parts of the north.⁵⁹

Apsidal rooms are a variation of reception rooms which also occur in the region, and reflect a trend which can be traced in the rest of peninsular Italy. The small apsidal room at Bologna 2 (fig. 16), and the large apses at Sarsina 1 (nos. i and ii, fig. 51) are representative of the type in the early imperial period, in which apsidal rooms may have functioned as stibadia, or, as in the case of Bologna 2, simply as alcoves, providing architectural variation.⁶⁰ Apsidal rooms became commonplace in the architecture of the Empire. Such rooms likely functioned as reception rooms and dining rooms, as the fashion for the stibadium, the curved sigma couch, grew.⁶¹ Distinguishing securely between these

⁵⁸See Chapter III 117-118.

⁵⁹See Chapter III 141-143.

⁶⁰For detailed discussion, see Chapter III 121-122, 127.

⁶¹K.M.D. Dunbabin, "Triclinium and Stibadium," in W.J. Slater ed., Dining in a Classical Context (Ann Arbor 1991) 128-136; I. Lavin, "The House of the Lord: aspects of the

two functions is only possible when, as with rectangular triclinia, a pavement indicates the placement of a curved dining couch, which is the case in numerous examples from the late empire. Not only is space reserved on the pavement for couches but the subject matter of the mosaics often relates to dining.⁶² The preference for sigma couches grew in the second and third centuries A.C. and by the fourth and fifth centuries overtook the rectangular triclinium form in popularity.⁶³ The apsidal rooms at Aquileia 1 (nos. i, iii, fig. 9), Faenza 1 (fig. 32), and Ravenna 2 (fig. 42) illustrate that this trend was followed in northern Italy as well. The function of these rooms is not clearly indicated: Aquileia 1 no. i may have been a stibadium,⁶⁴ but no determination can be made for the rest.

The imperial palaces of Nero and Domitian in Rome, and the villa of Hadrian at Tivoli, as well as private villas of the imperial period, demonstrate the popularity of the apse.⁶⁵ In an urban context there are numerous examples of

role of palace triclinia in the architecture of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages," ArtB 44 (1962) 1-27; N. Duval, "Les maisons d'Apamée et l'architecture 'palatiale' de l'antiquité tardive," Colloque Apamée de Syrie 1980 [1984] (Brussels 1984) 447-470.

⁶²Dunbabin ibid. 128-136.

⁶³Dunbabin ibid. 130-131.

⁶⁴See Chapter III 129.

⁶⁵For the Domus Aurea of Nero, see A. Boëthius, The Golden House of Nero (Ann Arbor 1965); for the palace complex on the Palatine see W.L. MacDonald, The Architecture of the Roman

apsidal rooms in North Africa;⁶⁶ in Italy, the apsidal hall in the Casa di Fortuna Annonaria at Ostia is the best known,⁶⁷ but other examples exist in Rome. Partial plans of houses with apsidal and polylobed rooms have been identified at Rome, and are dated from the third to the fifth centuries A.C.⁶⁸ These apsidal rooms are generally very large,⁶⁹ and do not appear to have side doors, but were entered only from the front, thus emphasizing the axially of the apse. Some are equipped with broad arcaded windows, statue niches and pools or nymphaea, and two have tripartite entrances.⁷⁰ Most are decorated with opus sectile pavements, which is also the most common floor decoration in the reception rooms of the imperial period at Ostia. Since they do not have space

Empire (New Haven 1965, 1982). For the villa of Hadrian see H. Kähler, Hadrian und seine Villa bei Tivoli (1950), S. Aurigemma, Villa Adriana (Rome 1961), H. Mielsch, Die römische Villa (Munich 1987) 75-85. For villas see K. Swoboda, Römische und romanische Paläste (Vienna 1969); Mielsch ibid.; J. Gorges, Les villas hispano-romaines (Paris 1979) 137-139.

⁶⁶See the plans in R. Rebuffat "Maisons à peristyle d'Afrique du nord - répertoire de plans publiés," 1 MEFR 1969 658-724; 2 MEFRA 1974 445-499.

⁶⁷See Chapter II 57-58.

⁶⁸F. Guidobaldi, "L'edilizia abitativa unifamiliare nella Roma tardoantica," in A. Giardina ed., Società romana e impero tardoantico, vol. 2 - Roma. Politica, economia, paesaggio urbano (Bari 1986) 165-237.

⁶⁹E.g. domus under the 'Sette Sale' 14.5x22m., domus under the Largo Argentina 16x27m., domus under S. Balbina 16x27m. (Guidobaldi ibid. 170, 175, 181).

⁷⁰The domus of Junius Bassus, and the domus under S. Saba (Guidobaldi ibid. 184, 204).

reserved for couches on their pavements, it cannot be taken as established that these apsidal halls were used as triclinia. Several houses have large rectangular rooms as well, and it is possible that in such cases the apsidal halls were for reception, and the others for dining.⁷¹

Special mention should be made of both the apsidal room and triconch at Ravenna 5 (fig. 45), and of its identification as the 'palace of Theodoric'. The identification is based on a local tradition, and medieval sources record that this area of the city was traditionally referred to as the "Regio Palatii Theodorici Regis", or simply the "Regio Palatii".⁷² The Church of S. Apollinare Nuovo, which is attributed to Theodoric, is situated very near the 'palace', and another tradition located his imperial palace between the church and the city wall.⁷³ It is also recorded that Theodoric's palace was a brand new structure.⁷⁴ Both the triconch and the apsidal room have been used to support the identification of the structure as an imperial residence.

⁷¹In the domus of Octavius Felix a small apsidal room, 3x8m., was paved in opus sectile and seems to have opened off a court; the domus in via G. Lanza had a small room with an apse 5m. in width (Guidobaldi ibid. 223, 194).

⁷²F. Berti, Mosaici Antichi in Italia, Aemilia: Ravenna (Rome 1976) 4-6, 10; F. W. Deichmann, Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes Bd. II, Kommentar, III Teil, Geschichte, Topographie, Kunst und Kultur (Stuttgart 1989) 51-58.

⁷³Lavin op. cit. (n.61) 8.

⁷⁴N. Duval, "Comment reconnaître un palais imperial ou royal? Ravenne et Piazza Armerina," FelRav 115 (1978) 39.

The triconch has been characterized as an imperial form of dining room, and the apsidal hall compared to the imperial audience hall, as exemplified in the aula regia of the Domus Flavia.⁷⁵ Other architectural features are cited in this argument, such as the building's significant dimensions, the axially of apsidal room L and the peristyle structures, and a perceived tripartite arrangement of open court or peristyle, vestibule and apsidal hall.⁷⁶ However, these features are not unique, but are in fact commonplaces in late antique domestic architecture, both urban and rural; alone, they are not proof of imperial ownership.⁷⁷

⁷⁵For a succinct discussion of the problem of identification, see Duval ibid. 32-39; for a broader discussion which focuses on the architectural argument see Duval 1984 op. cit. (n.61) passim.

⁷⁶The attribution of imperial ownership to the villa at Piazza Armerina in Sicily has also been partially based on these structural characteristics. Owners have been variously identified as the emperors Maximian (H. L'Orange, E. Dygge, "E un palazzo di Massimiano Erculeo che gli scavi di Piazza Armerina portano alla luce?," Symbolae Osloenses 29 [1952] 114-128; G. Gentili, La villa erculia di Piazza Armerina - I mosaici figurati [Milan 1959]) or Maxentius (H. Kähler, Die Villa des Maxentius bei Piazza Armerina [Berlin 1973]; S. Settis, "Per l'interpretazione di Piazza Armerina," MEFRA 87 [1975] 873-994); a local governor L. Aradius Valerius Proculus Populonium, and several other candidates (A. Carandini, A. Ricci, M. de Vos, Filosofiana - la villa di Piazza Armerina [Palermo 1982]). The most recent publications generally dismiss the identification of imperial ownership. See also R.J. Wilson, "Piazza Armerina and the Senatorial Aristocracy in late Roman Sicily," in G. Rizza ed., La Villa Romana del Casale di Piazza Armerina (Cronache di Archeologia 23 1984) 170-182.

⁷⁷Duval 1984 op. cit. (n.61) cites the numerous vast houses of North Africa, the western provinces, Cyrene, and Apamea and the villas of northern Italy, Sicily and the Dalmatian coast which share these features. More recently, M.

The chronology of the pavements in the north wing is also used to support the identification with Theodoric, who died in A.D.526. However, the chronology of these pavements is in some dispute.⁷⁸ Some scholars, such as Berti, ascribe almost all to the era of Theodoric;⁷⁹ others argue for earlier or later dates.⁸⁰ A lack of a clear connection between the chronology of the pavements and stratigraphic evidence further complicates the problem.⁸¹ Duval's persuasive discussion of the architectural features, in particular the apse and triconch, proves that there is nothing inherently imperial about them, and that they are in fact relatively common in late Roman private domestic architecture. Moreover, the building was clearly not a new construction of

Johnson has attempted to draw architectural parallels with the palace at Constantinople; however, he offers nothing new to disprove Duval's argument ("Theodoric's Building Program," DOP 42 [1988] 73-96.

⁷⁸For a summary of the major chronological arguments, see see Duval 1978 op. cit. (n.74) 37-38.

⁷⁹Berti op. cit. (n.72) 77-81, 83-84.

⁸⁰e.g. Ghirardini recommends the era of Theodoric for the construction of L and S (and so too their pavements), but ascribes the geometric pavements (in P, Q, R and T) to ca. 550-600 A.C. (Duval 1978 op. cit. [n.74] 38); M. Maioli suggests that the opus sectile pavement in apsidal room L could be dated to the end of the fourth to the beginning of the fifth centuries A.C., during the residence of Honorius and Galla Placidia in the city, since these pavements are similar to other sectile pavements of that date at Ravenna (M. Maioli, "L'edilizia privata tardoantica in Romagna: appunti sulla pavimentazione musiva," CCAB 34 [1987] 215).

⁸¹Duval 1978 op. cit. (n.74) 33-36.

Theodoric, as the complex stratigraphy indicates.⁸² Duval acknowledges the possibility that it was in fact a residence of Theodoric, a formerly private holding which passed into imperial ownership; however, neither the chronology of the pavements nor the stratigraphy indicate a consistent phase which can be attributed to the king.⁸³ In light of the ambiguous nature of the evidence, it is prudent to regard the structure as the holding of a local aristocrat, with architectural features and decoration which reflect contemporary fashions in late imperial palace and villa design. Whether or not it was ever owned by Theodoric remains uncertain.

⁸²G. De Angelis d'Ossat has suggested that apsidal room L was part of an earlier private residence, but that it was lengthened and the apse enlarged by Theodoric, and that it was this renovation which is misidentified as a new construction ("L'aula regia del distrutto palazzo imperiale di Ravenna," CCAB 23 [1976] 345-358).

⁸³Duval 1978 op. cit. (n.74) 56.

CHAPTER VI

The Domus in the Western Provinces

The domestic architecture of the western provinces provides further material for comparison with that of northern Italy. The detail and extent of publication of these houses varies from province to province and indeed from site to site. However, even a brief consideration of this evidence is revealing, and demonstrates that atrium houses of the type popular at Pompeii and indicated to some extent in central Italy are uncommon. Rather, variations on the peristyle and portico prevail, and different interior arrangements reflect regional diversity.¹

Southern Gaul

The evidence from southern Gaul indicates that the traditional Campanian house is poorly represented. The only

¹The houses of Germany and Britain are not well-published, but appear in general to be strip houses, small, narrow houses with limited street frontage and a few rooms. See A.G. McKay, Houses, Villas and Palaces in the Roman World (Ithaca 1975) 156-209. For Britain, see R.C. Collingwood, I. Richmond, The Archaeology of Roman Britain (London 1969) 125-132, J. Wachter, Roman Britain (London 1978) 79-83. For Germany, see C.-M. Ternes, Die Römer am Rhein und Mosel (Stuttgart 1975) 145-147; E. Wightman, Roman Trier and the Treviri (London 1970) 73, 89, 116-122. The best known exception is the peristyle house at Köln; see F. Fremersdorf, Das römische Haus mit dem Dionysos-mosaik vor dem Südportal des kölnner Domes (Berlin 1956).

extant example of this type is the Maison à Portiques at Narbonne.² The disposition of its first phase is not entirely clear, but the excavators reconstruct a house with Tuscanic atrium (ca. 8x8.30m.) with rooms off it, and a full peristyle with rooms off two sides which is built off the side rather than on the same axis as the atrium. This initial phase is dated to the late Republic/early Augustan period; the house underwent changes in decoration but its plan was essentially unaltered until the middle of the second century A.C., when a fire destroyed the peristyle.³

A brief examination of other sites in Gaul indicates a variety of arrangements in domestic architecture.⁴ The houses at Glanum, three kilometers south of the modern St. Rémy, are generally viewed as Greek in original character.⁵ Sixteen houses are identified at Glanum, although most are partial, and not all are discussed in the publications. Of

²M. and R. Sabrié, Y. Solier, La maison à portiques du clos de la Lombarde à Narbonne e sa decoration murale (RANarb supplement 16, Paris 1989).

³ibid. 74, 103-104.

⁴The question of atria in this region is discussed by C. Goudineau in his publication on the Maison au Dauphin at Vaison-la-Romaine (Les Fouilles de la Maison au Dauphin (Gallia supplement 37, Paris 1979) passim. but especially 234-239). Goudineau re-examines the arguments about the identification of atria and peristyles presented by R. Etienne and R. Rebuffat (see Chapter I n.53), and adds the colonnaded courts of Greek houses and Pompeian atria to the discussion.

⁵H. Rolland, Fouilles de Glanum (Gallia supplement 1, 1946, 2, 1958); idem, "Fouilles de Glanum 1956-1957," Gallia 16 (1958) 96-114; A. Roth Congès "Nouvelles fouilles à Glanum," JRA 5 (1992) 39-55.

those described, four have columned courts (nos. 4, 6, 8, 11), and one has traces of a portico (3).⁶ Of these, house 8 is identified as a tetrastyle atrium by Goudineau, who also characterizes it as "gréco-italique", not only because of this atrium, but also because of the peristyle of the neighbouring house, to which it once belonged.⁷ While this house may be, as Goudineau claims, the closest Gallic version of the Pompeian domus, several difficulties should be pointed out. First, the house is small, with several rooms off all four sides, and the internal arrangement does not match the Pompeian house in either symmetry or axiality. While there is a reception room (H) with a wide opening off the atrium it cannot be compared to a Pompeian tablinum. Instead, it bears a closer resemblance to a Greek peristyle in the role it serves, and in this respect it is consistent with the Greek origins of the city. The date of this group of houses is unclear, but in their original form they belong to the pre-Roman or early Roman era.⁸ A more recent study of houses 11,

⁶Another (12 Maison de Sulla) has an area which is identified by Rolland as an atrium, although he makes no mention of an impluvium and in fact acknowledges that it is not clear whether it was roofed or open (Rolland 1958 op. cit. 119).

⁷Rolland 1958 op. cit. 98-99; Goudineau op. cit. 238. This neighbouring building later became a sanctuary of the Bona Dea.

⁸Rolland distinguished three periods: Glanum 1, 2 and 3, dated respectively to the Hellenistic period, from ca. 100 to 49B.C. and from 49B.C. to the fourth century A.C. (Rolland 1946 op. cit. 20). Regarding house 8 Rolland states that it is difficult to determine whether its masonry belongs to

12, 16, 18 and 19 reveals a small court as the common characteristic. Their construction is dated to ca. 100-50 B.C.⁹

At Ensérune another tetrastyle atrium is identified in house A of insula 10.¹⁰ The area is large, with an impluvium 4.65m.sq. with a column base at each corner and drainage holes, one of which leads to a cistern. However, the house is only partially preserved, and it does not resemble the Pompeian plan: there are only three rooms off two sides of the atrium, and there is no entrance passage. On the basis of coin evidence, the house is dated to the first century B.C.

The remainder of sites in Gaul have houses with a different appearance, dominated by peristyle courts and large ornamental gardens. At Vaison-la-Romaine no typical arrangement can be demonstrated in the houses; common to all, however, is the use of porticoes with gardens and decorative basins. Smaller courts, both with and without columns, are also found, and appear to have functioned as lightwells. There is no discernible axuality in the room arrangement of these houses. The best studied domus, the Maison au Dauphin,

Glanum 1 or 2; see Rolland 1958 op. cit. 98-99. Goudineau casts doubt on both the divisions and the dates of Rolland's chronology, and on his plans, which he calls "tous inexacts" (Goudineau op. cit. 208 n.106; 224 n.161; 242, n.230.). For recent discussion of the chronology of Glanum, see Roth Congès op. cit.

⁹See Roth Congès op. cit. 47.

¹⁰H. Gallet de Santerre, "Fouilles dans le quartier ouest d'Ensérune (insula no. X)," RANarb 1 (1968) 39-83.

is dated in its original phase to ca. 50-30 B.C., and has a central peristyle plan with rooms off three sides.¹¹ Although one room is identified as the main reception room, it does not have a dominant position over the others, as in the houses in North Africa.¹² At the end of the first century A.C. a large garden with ornamental basin and a portico was built off the south side. It does not appear, however, to have been easily accessible from most of the interior, and the original peristyle continued to be the nucleus of the house. In the last construction phase, which falls between the Flavian and Antonine periods, alterations were made to the vestibule. An impluvium (4.50x5.20m.) and four columns were added, creating a colonnaded entrance area which Goudineau calls a 'tetrastyle atrium', but which he acknowledges bears little resemblance to the traditional atrium, and functions rather as a vestibule. Goudineau characterizes this atrium as a conscious archaism and an indication of the level of Romanization at Vaison-la-Romaine, but he acknowledges that it is a merely a nod toward the old architectural traditions and does not substantially affect the internal organization of the house.¹³

Peristyles dominate houses at other French sites, with evidence of regional variation, and the emergence of peristyle

¹¹See Goudineau op. cit. 93.

¹²Room 23 - Goudineau ibid. 149.

¹³ibid. 162-165; 170.

gardens with elaborate fountains and basins. The houses at St. Romain-en-Gal, a residential part of Vienne (ancient Vienna), have large peristyle gardens with characteristic U-shaped basins.¹⁴ Two of these houses, the Maison des Deux Oceans and the Maison des Cinq Mosaïques, have a degree of axially in their arrangement. In the former, an entrance court with a round central basin recalls the Pompeian atrium but it functions as a vestibule to the large peristyle garden. Other, smaller houses have no axially, but have a two- or three-sided portico with a U-shaped basin. In general, these peristyle gardens do not have rooms off more than one side, and even these do not always have clear access. Their primary function seems to have been ornamental, rather than providing light and air, and they do not serve as the nucleus of the house, as in many of the North African examples. They are dated to the second century A.C. Houses with peristyles are also known from Vienne itself,¹⁵ as well as at Aix-en-Provence,¹⁶ Fréjus,¹⁷ and Lyon.¹⁸

¹⁴M. Leglay, S. Turrenc, "L'originalité de l'architecture domestique à Vienne d'après les découvertes récentes de St-Romain-en-Gal," CRAI 1972 764-774; M. Leglay, "Les jardins à Vienne," in E. MacDougall, W. Jashemski eds., Ancient Roman Gardens (Washington 1981) 51-65.

¹⁵A. Pelletier, Vienne antique (Roanne 1982) 169-210.

¹⁶Gallia 5 (1947) 98-122; 16, 2 (1958) 417-419.

¹⁷P.-A. Février et al., "Fouilles au Clos du Chapitre à Fréjus," CRAI 1972 355-381.

¹⁸Rue des Farges: see Gallia 35 (1977) 486.

Iberian peninsula

The limited publication of houses from this region precludes anything more than a superficial examination of the domestic architecture; however, some conclusions can be drawn from a consideration of their plans. The axial impluviate atrium plan appears to some extent, in houses dated to the Augustan era and to the first century A.C. At Ampurias, ancient Emporion, house no. 1 is close to the Campanian model.¹⁹ There is an axial arrangement of a Corinthian atrium, with rooms off it, including a reception room in the position of the tablinum; a large peristyle garden is set alongside, rather than attached to the rear. The atrium is rectangular, with eight columns (3x3) and a central impluvium which was connected to a drainage system.²⁰ The house is dated to the Augustan era.²¹ A second house ('no. 2') appears to have a similar, if somewhat simpler, plan: a Tuscanic atrium, with a well and drainage channel, is surrounded by rooms in the Pompeian manner. A four-sided peristyle opens off the rear. This house is somewhat later

¹⁹M. Almagro, Ampurias - Histoire de la cité et guide des fouilles (Barcelona 1956) 92-103 plan - fig. 32. A. Balil, Casa y Urbanismo en la España Antigua 3 (Studia Archeologica 3 (Valladolid 1972) 15-25).

²⁰The atrium is approximately 10.60x12.90m., with an impluvium 4.40x2.70m. The Corinthian atrium at Herculaneum (House 5 30) is c.8.20x10.60m, with an impluvium 3.78x5.20m. (A. Maiuri, Ercolano. I nuovi scavi [1927-1958] (Rome 1958) 261-265).

²¹Balil vol. 3 op. cit. 24.

than no. 1; initial construction is dated to the first half of the first century A.C., while its mosaic pavements are assigned to the Flavian period.²²

Another atrium house, dated to the first century A.C., is described by Balil at Baetulo near Barcelona.²³ There are fauces with flanking tabernae and an atrium with an impluvium. A tablinum opened off the atrium; because of the poor condition it is not clear whether or not there was a hortus or peristyle off the back. At Celsa there is a house which resembles the Pompeian model in some respects, but which also bears significant differences.²⁴ In its first phase, dated to ca. 36 B.C. - A.D.10, there is a central covered space which resembles a testudinate atrium.²⁵ The entrance corridor is not unlike the fauces of Pompeian houses, but the rooms grouped around the central area lack their symmetry and

²²ibid. 25, 27. Both house no.1 and 2 have adjoining houses with similar atrium plans, one Tuscanic, the other incomplete, but with two columns, perhaps indicating a tetrastyle atrium. Both appear to have peristyles, although one is less clear. Another house, 'casa H', was only partially excavated, but was identified as an atrium house; Balil, however, doubts this claim (A. Balil, Casa y Urbanismo en la España Antigua I [Studia Archeologica 17, Valladolid 1972] 43). House no.11 has fauces and a cistern, which leads Balil to suggest there was an atrium (Balil vol. 3 op. cit. [n.19] 30-31).

²³Balil vol. 3 op. cit. 33-35.

²⁴M. Beltram-Lloris, A. Mustalac Carrillo, J.A. Lasheras Corruchaga, Colonia Victrix Lepida - Celsa (Velilla de Ebro - Zaragoza) I. La arquitectura de la "Casa de los Delfines" (Zaragoza 1984).

²⁵ibid. 61, 71, 119 fig. 52.

axiality. An open area is attached to the side of the house, similar to a Pompeian hortus. Shortly after, the house was enlarged and an open court and a number of rooms were added, including one which is identified as a triclinium.²⁶ Subsequent to this, at some point in the first half of the first century A.C. a cistern was put in the court, but there is no evidence of an impluvium, and at no point in its history does the room arrangement resemble the traditional Campanian plan. The rooms open off corridors as well as the court and the hortus, which was kept throughout.

There is also evidence of peristyle houses in the region. Of the two partial houses published from Merida (Augusta Emerita), one clearly has a central peristyle plan,²⁷ while the other, the so-called 'Casa basilica romano-cristiana' has a small peristyle (5x4 columns) in axial arrangement with an entrance vestibule.²⁸ The atrium does not appear on the partial plans of the houses at Italica (Colonia Aelia Augusta Italica). The 'Casa de los Pajaros' resembles the peristyle houses of Volubilis.²⁹ It has an axial, central peristyle plan, with a large room off it on the

²⁶ibid. 124.

²⁷'Casa romana del anfiteatro', dated in its first phase from the end of the first to the the beginning of the second century A.D. E. Garcia Sandoval, "Informe sobre las casas de Merida y excavaciones en la 'Casa del Anfiteatro'," Excavaciones Arqueologicas en España 49 (1966) 13-43.

²⁸ibid. 9-11.

²⁹See below 216-217.

main axis, which is identified by Garcia y Bellido as a triclinium.³⁰ Similar in plan is the 'Casa de la Exedra', which, in addition to a central peristyle with sculpted basin, also has a rectangular court with a cryptoportico running along the length of the house.³¹ The house adjacent to the 'Casa de los Pajaros' is less complete, but has a central peristyle, and another rectangular basin which appears to be connected to a well. It is described, however, only as a court, and does not appear to occupy the position of an atrium.³² The 'Casa de Hylas' has one peristyle and two other areas which seem to be courts,³³ while the 'Casa por Demetrio de los Rios' has four interior peristyles on its plan, as well as columns in the vestibule.³⁴ The house east of the 'Casa de Hylas' has a small colonnaded court which resembles a Corinthian atrium in form; however, there is no indication of whether there is a basin or paving in the centre. Moreover, it does not seem to have the axial Pompeian arrangement, nor adequate dimensions to be an atrium.³⁵ No

³⁰A. Garcia y Bellido, Colonia Aelia Augusta Italica (Madrid 1960) 83-90, fig. 22.

³¹ibid. 94-102, fig. 31.

³²ibid. 90, fig. 26. A. Balil, Casa y Urbanismo en la España Antigua 4 (Studia Archeologica 28, Valladolid 1974) 44-45.

³³Garcia y Bellido op. cit. 90-92 fig. 28.

³⁴ibid. 90, fig. 88.

³⁵ibid. 92-94, fig.29; Balil vol. op. cit. n.31 45-46.

dates are suggested for the construction of houses at either Merida, or Italica;³⁶ however, the Hadrianic rebuilding of Italica provides an approximate terminus post quem. It seems that the atrium had its greatest use in Spain in the late first century B.C. to the first century A.C., and was subsequently replaced by the peristyle, thus reflecting the trend in central and southern Italy.

At Coimbra (Conimbriga) in Portugal the plans of two groups of houses have been published; however, only one of these groups has been systematically studied. The houses examined in detail by J. Alarçao and R. Etienne are multi-family dwellings rather than domus.³⁷ Rooms are arranged in no particular order; there is no central focus to the plans, nor any axuality. In one block, the insula du Vase Phallique, renovations in the Flavian period resulted in a modest portico on the street facade, and a small colonnaded court with a basin on the interior, which the excavators consider a tetrastyle atrium.³⁸ The court is located just off the entrance and is paved; a central basin was connected to the urban drainage system and is bordered by four columns. A brick support in the northwest corner may have been for a

³⁶Garcia Bellido provides a date only for the 'Casa de la Exedra' (late third century A.C.; op. cit. 100-101).

³⁷J. Alarçao, R. Etienne, Fouilles de Conimbriga - L'architecture I (Paris 1977) 65-81, 135-140, 155-170. For further discussion of the insula, see below.

³⁸ibid. 138.

lararium. Simultaneously, a small portico of four columns was added to the entrance. Despite Alarçao and Etienne's identification, however, this "atrium", as with the "atria" identified at Ensérune and Vaison-la-Romaine, does not have the traditional fauces - alae arrangement; two rooms open off it but not in the axial, symmetrical way typical of Pompeian domus. Although it has the columns and impluvium of a tetrastyle atrium, it functions as a vestibule rather than as the nucleus of the house, and it is therefore more prudent to consider it as a colonnaded court.

In the same period a similar colonnaded court, also identified as a tetrastyle atrium, was added to the insula north of the baths.³⁹ In its original phase, dated to the Julio-Claudian era, the insula had an internal portico of five columns which divided the agglomeration of rooms into two sectors.⁴⁰ In the renovation (which included a number of other changes in the internal room arrangement) one of these columns was removed and a basin resembling an impluvium was built using two of the columns and two half columns which were added to the wall. The placement of the basin was designed to incorporate a drain which had been part of the original portico. A small room which opens off the new "atrium" is considered a lararium by Alarçao and Etienne. Here too, as in the insula du Vase Phallique, the arrangement of surrounding

³⁹ibid. 139.

⁴⁰ibid. pl. XLVII, XLVIII.

rooms is neither axial nor symmetrical, and thus it cannot be taken as a parallel to the Pompeian atrium house.

The other houses at Conimbriga have been only partially examined,⁴¹ but resemble the peristyle houses of North Africa.⁴² They have central peristyles along a clear axis, with large reception rooms off them. The houses have so far been published for their peristyle gardens, which have ornate planting beds in central basins. There are also small colonnaded courts, sometimes also with basins, which serve other parts of the houses. The elaborate mosaic pavements in the houses are dated to the Severan period.

North Africa

In North Africa colonnaded peristyle courts are a dominant feature, and atria of the Campanian type are not found. At both Thamusida and at Volubilis, which have been ascribed to the second century A.C.,⁴³ colonnaded peristyle courts share some features of Pompeian atria: they occupy the main axis, and provide the focus around which the rooms of the

⁴¹J. de Alarçao, R. Etienne, "Les Jardins à Conimbriga," in E. MacDougall, W. Jashemski eds., Ancient Roman Gardens (Washington 1981) 67-80.

⁴²See below.

⁴³For Thamusida see R. Rebuffat, Thamusida II (Rome 1970) 310-313; for Volubilis see R. Etienne, Le Quartier Nord-Est de Volubilis (Paris 1960) 147-155. For the dating of the houses at Volubilis to the second century, see R. Rebuffat, "Le développement urbain de Volubilis au second siècle de notre ère," BAC n.s. 1-2 [1965-1966] 231-240).

house are grouped. However, unlike atria, they are surrounded by porticoes, and instead of impluvia they have at the centre extensive paved areas or gardens with basins of various sizes and shapes, which are purely decorative and play no role in domestic water collection.

A group of small secondary colonnaded courts found in the houses at Volubilis is labelled atriola by R. Etienne, who borrows the term from Pliny the Younger.⁴⁴ These atriola have columns reminiscent of tetrastyle atria and provide light and air to the surrounding rooms; some have basins connected with the urban drainage system in the manner of impluvia.⁴⁵ Etienne sees these atriola as successors of the Pompeian atrium, serving as the nuclei of the private or domestic area of the house, while the large peristyle courts are the focus of the public area of the house. However, since these colonnaded courts do not occupy the same axial position in the house as the Campanian atrium, nor do the surrounding rooms have the same symmetry and regularity of arrangement as do Campanian atria, no clear line of development can be demonstrated. It is more accurate to consider these courts as lightwells, small open areas decorated with colonnades.⁴⁶

⁴⁴Ep. 5.6.20; see Etienne ibid 124.

⁴⁵However, three of the nine which are cited do not have basins, but are paved: the Maison au Cadran Solaire, Maison au Bassin Trèfle and the Maison au Portique.

⁴⁶R. Rebuffat ("Maisons à peristyle d'Afrique du nord - répertoire de plans publiés," MEFR 1969 676) refers to five houses at Timgad which are reported in an earlier publication

At Timgad, houses with full peristyles are confined to the northwest quarter of the city and do not make up the majority.⁴⁷ There is another group of more modest houses with a different set of characteristics, and which date from the earliest settlement period in the city, at the beginning of the second century A.C.⁴⁸ They are small⁴⁹ and have a variety of interior arrangements. Some have paved courts, both with and without columns, which appear to function as lightwells. But these courts are not necessarily centrally placed nor are they axial. Houses without courts consist of seven to eight rooms with no apparent regularity in arrangement. While further study and publication of these houses is necessary before any conclusions can be drawn, they do point to a diversity of plan within Timgad itself.

Only two North African domus have entrance areas which bear an apparent resemblance to a traditional Pompeian atrium; however, closer scrutiny reveals significant differences. The

to have had atria, one of them with four columns. He notes that they have been omitted from his survey because of illegible plans, but states that they did in fact have peristyles rather than atria.

⁴⁷R. Hanoune, "La maison romaine: Nouveautés," Actes du Colloque Apamée de Syrie - Bilan des recherches archéologiques 1973-1979 Bruxelles 29-31 mai 1980 (Brussels 1984) 440. Hanoune suggests that the peristyle houses of the northwest area were part of the original plan and were intended as officers' houses.

⁴⁸Hanoune ibid. fig. 4.

⁴⁹Hanoune (ibid. 440) suggests an area of 100m.sq. per house, with a second floor.

vestibule in the House of Sertius at Timgad has four pilasters in the manner of a tetrastyle atrium but the entire area is paved and does not have the position of an atrium, with rooms opening off it; rather, it is clearly an antechamber to the peristyle.⁵⁰ Similarly, the vestibule of the Insula of Jason Magnus at Cyrene looks like a Corinthian atrium, with 2x3 columns; however, there is no impluvium in the centre but bare earth, and it too lacks surrounding rooms.⁵¹ It is clear, then, that the traditional atrium never became entrenched in North Africa.

Large, well-decorated reception rooms are another common feature in North African houses. They generally open off the peristyle on the main axis, and in this way are reminiscent of the arrangement of Pompeian atria and tablina. Like the houses at Ostia, they demonstrate the supremacy of the peristyle-reception room plan which is the common centrepiece in so many houses of the imperial period. Many have the characteristic triclinium pavement,⁵² and in addition there are a variety of reception rooms represented in North Africa, including rooms with interior columns,⁵³

⁵⁰See Rebuffat 1969 op. cit. 678.

⁵¹P. Mingazzini, L'insula di Giasone Magno a Cirene (Rome 1966) 25. Mingazzini suggests that the centre was a planted area.

⁵²For triclinia in North Africa, see K.M.D. Dunbabin, "Triclinium and Stibadium," in W.J. Slater ed., Dining in a Classical Context (Ann Arbor 1991) 126-128.

⁵³See Chapter III n.125.

apsidal rooms, and triconchs.⁵⁴ In many houses there is also a smaller well-decorated room which has a wide opening off the peristyle and is orthogonal to the main axis. R. Rebuffat has labelled these rooms 'exedrae', and assigns to them a secondary reception function.⁵⁵

Summary

In some respects this evidence fits the pattern observed in central Italy. The increasing importance of the triclinium and other reception rooms can be seen at Pompeii, and this is to some extent reflected in the provinces, most clearly in North Africa. In particular, the increased size of such rooms and structural variations, such as apses, tripartite entrances, or the addition of interior columns, are increasingly common. The trend to aggrandize domestic interiors also resulted in the addition of decorative basins and nymphaea, which are in evidence in the western provinces.

It is also clear that the atrium had only a limited popularity which occurred primarily in the Augustan period.

⁵⁴For apsidal rooms in North Africa, see Dunbabin op. cit. 129-130. For triconchs ibid. 130; see also I. Lavin, "The House of the Lord: aspects of the role of palace triclinia in the architecture of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages," ArtB 44 (1962) 4-6, 26-27; N. Duval, "Les maisons d'Apamée et l'architecture 'palatiale' de l'antiquité tardive," Colloque Apamée de Syrie 1980 (1984) (Brussels 1984) 457, 459-461, 468. For the 'palace of Theodoric' at Ravenna, see Chapter III 123-124, 129-130; Chapter V 202-205.

⁵⁵For further discussion of the function of such rooms, see Chapter I 20-21.

It is well represented only in Spain, and is rare in Gaul. Both this characteristic and the popularity of porticoes and peristyles reflect the trend away from atria and toward peristyles already in evidence at Pompeii in the first century A.C., a trend which is more clearly illustrated by the houses of imperial Ostia.⁵⁶ In fact, although a variety of interior arrangements exists, the peristyle, or its abbreviated form, the portico, is a feature common to many provincial houses. This evidence exhibits a variety of arrangements and regional tendencies. The importance of the axial central paved peristyle in North African houses of the second century A.C. can be contrasted with the numerous uses to which porticoes and peristyles are put in southern Gaul, where large ornamental gardens are a marked feature.

⁵⁶See Chapter II 55-63.

CONCLUSION

No single house type emerges from the currently available archaeological data of northern Italy. However, the evidence indicates that north Italian domestic architecture reflects contemporary trends in both peninsular Italy and the western provinces in two major aspects, its diversity of form and the complexity of its development. While general trends can be seen and certain elements such as the peristyle and major reception room do dominate, a variety of arrangements occur, and the evolution is neither linear nor universally homogeneous.

Although there is some evidence in the north for the atrium-tablinum house of southern and central Italy, it is clear that this house type never had widespread acceptance in the region. Instead, courts and peristyles appear to be more common, although no canonical arrangement can be seen. In this respect the north Italian house fits more closely the provincial, rather than the Campanian, patterns. Evidence from the western provinces shows that although atrium houses of the Augustan period are found to a limited extent in Gaul and Spain, they are not widespread and are outnumbered by a variety of arrangements involving courts, porticoes and

peristyles.

The limited representation of the Campanian house should not be viewed as a conscious rejection of a Roman tradition, however, but rather as a reflection of contemporary changes in Roman domestic architecture. The atrium was declining in importance in southern Italy in the first century B.C., and was being supplanted by the peristyle and its variations as the focal point of the domus. This is best illustrated by the innovative domestic architecture of Herculaneum. The continued presence of the atrium in Campania, especially at Pompeii, is possibly a reflection of a longstanding local tradition. No such tradition is apparent in northern Italy, and its domestic architecture reflects instead the adoption of courts and porticoes without the necessity of accommodating the Republican atrium. A variety of arrangements characterizes the residential architecture of Ostia, and demonstrates the flexibility demanded of urban residential architecture in the imperial period. The appearance of the atrium in Liguria in the first and second centuries A.C. may represent a kind of conscious archaizing, like the so-called tetrastyle atrium at Vaison-la-Romaine, or it may point to a local preference. These atria serve as a reminder that factors such as climate, local taste or tradition result in a variety of architectural features and arrangements; they also highlight the dangers of a simplistic view which anticipates a single house type for the Roman west

in any one chronological period.

The peristyle and its integration into Roman domestic architecture reiterate the characteristics of diversity and complexity. The use of the peristyle reflects the general trend toward the inclusion of interior columns in the domestic architecture in the rest of the peninsula. In northern Italy this is somewhat limited to the northeast, and is particularly evident at Aquileia, where the peristyle appears as the focus of the house in the late Republican to early Augustan periods, somewhat earlier than at Pompeii. Although the area did have greater exposure than other parts of the north to Hellenistic culture through its commercial activity and cosmopolitan population, the apparent precocity of the peristyle at Aquileia does not indicate a greater willingness to accept Hellenistic culture; it is rather the opposite case. This region embraced Roman culture more readily than others in Cisalpine Gaul, and the appearance of the peristyle here demonstrates the desire to imitate mainstream Roman architecture, which had witnessed the integration of porticoes and peristyles into domestic architecture since the second century B.C. The peristyles of Aquileia recommend a reconsideration of the Pompeian house and its persistent atrium, which may in fact be less representative of contemporary domestic architecture than is generally assumed.

In the Pompeian house peristyles appear in a variety of arrangements, from full four-sided peristyles to simple

single porticoes. The evolution is not the simple replacement of the central atrium by the peristyle but the integration of columns and small open areas into the domestic interior. The same diversity and complexity can be seen in the provinces, from North Africa where the central peristyle-reception room plan dominates, but where small courts, colonnaded or not, are also present. In the Iberian peninsula too the central peristyle plan dominates, but includes elaborate gardens and fountains. In the houses of southern Gaul the portico and peristyle are put to a variety of uses and the central peristyle plan is less common. Instead, the peristyle is generally the site of a garden and is less thoroughly integrated into the internal arrangement of the house; it serves a more decorative purpose than the usual practical function of providing light and air to surrounding rooms.

The study of the Roman domus continues to expand and to change, due to new excavation work and to the reexamination of old data. The breadth of variety in the Campanian house is only beginning to be explored by scholars, and there is a growing body of reliable evidence from the provinces. The diverse nature of the north Italian domus broadens this study in its details, and leads to a re-evaluation of old assumptions, and so initiates new lines of inquiry.

Catalogue

The catalogue includes published evidence of domus in northern Italy. It is organized by cities, which are listed alphabetically by their modern name, with Latin equivalents given in brackets; entries within each city are listed numerically. Most entries describe one identified domus, but a few include more than one; this occurs only when several houses are included in a single plan. In such cases the individual houses are indicated by lower case Roman numerals (e.g. Aosta 1, no. i and no. ii). The identification of individual rooms within a house is taken for the most part from published plans; thus, some entries use numbers, others letters. A brief bibliography is given for each entry, and a specific reference is provided for the source of plans. The plans vary in quality and detail. Several were published without scales but measurements were given in the accompanying text; in other cases scales on plans were the only source for measurements, and approximate measurements were taken from these. Where applicable, figure references have also been included; these indicate photographs which illuminate architectural details. In some entries reference is made to the collection of mosaic motives and the multilingual terminology used to describe them in Le Décor Géométrique (C. Balmelle et al., Paris 1985); this is used in cases where the mosaic pattern described closely matches one given in Balmelle's collection. It is here abbreviated to DG. Each entry concludes with a chronological summary.

For a map of northern Italy with the sites included in the catalogue, see fig. 1.

Albenga (Albingaunum)

domus in via Medaglie d'Oro

Grosso, G., RII 12 (1957) 79f.
Lamboglia, N., RStLiq 36 (1970) 46.

Plan, fig. 2: Lamboglia fig. 20; plan shows insula with domus as reconstructed by Lamboglia, without detailed plan of areas discussed below; no scale provided.

domus built on site of old city wall; corner of peristyle with portico, with one room off west side, three off north side, one apsidal.

- peristyle - eight columns on north side, three on west side found in situ; traces of opus signinum floor in ambulacrum

A - room off northwest corner off peristyle; traces of mosaic pavement, later replaced by opus signinum

F, G, H - rooms off north side of peristyle; opus signinum floor in F

I - apsidal room, with mosaic bedding with ceramic evidence dated to the first century A.C.

- evidence of wall plaster - red-purple background with garland; also yellow field with branches and stylized flowers; fragments of plastered and painted soffit

Using the apsidal room as the theoretical midpoint of the peristyle, Lamboglia reconstructs the house as seen in the plan, occupying a double insula. (50x70m.) No other archaeological evidence for this reconstruction is provided. Ceramics found under the mosaics in I are dated to the first half of the first century A.C. (post Augustan), and indicate the first phase, including traces of mosaic in A; ca. 50-100 A.C. the opus signinum floors were laid. At a later date (second-third century A.C.) the peristyle was walled up and made into a corridor, and two lateral parallel walls closed off the north row of rooms from the peristyle. In the era of Constantius IV (415-420 A.C.) Albenga underwent a rebuilding programme; some renovation work in the domus is indicated but no clear picture emerges.

Altino (Altinum)

domus east of museum (proprietà Veronese)

Donderer 14-17.

Tombolani, M., "Altino," Il Ven. 334-335.

Plan, fig. 3 - Tombolani 334; no scale provided.

group of mosaics, including arm of portico, off colonnaded decumanus; entrance to domus no longer extant

A - room with fragmentary white mosaic (2.96x2.20m.) with double black border, piece of central panel with tiger drinking from a rhyton, which is oriented toward the street

B - polychrome geometric mosaic (3.11x2.18m.) some 12m. east of A, border of 'running pelta' pattern (DG Pl. 57 f), inscribed circle with tangent squares in honeycomb pattern with internal motives of swastika, knots and ivy leaf

C - portico, L-shaped, around a paved court, has a mosaic (10.33m. long, 2.74m. at west side of L; 4.46m. wide at south end, 2.20m. at north end), white with double black border and parallel rows of black crosslets

D - room with two areas indicated by pavements, one, a rectangular bichrome geometric mosaic with motives such as stars formed of lozenges, circles and squares inscribed with knots and rosettes; separated by black band from white mosaic pavement with parallel rows of black crosslets; the extant area of both measures 6.51x2.86m.

- Tombolani identifies another simple pavement to west of geometric mosaic, of which only traces remain

E - mosaic, white with black border and central panel with marine motives in black; identified as possible oecus or triclinium by Tombolani (335)

F - white mosaic with double black border and trace of central motif

G - small area of white mosaic with black border

H - area of pavement in terra cotta cubes, which Tombolani suggests was open or service area (335)

I - small band of black mosaic with indications of white and further black border, located east of portico C

These pavements cover an earlier, illegible phase, with the same orientation, indicated only by fragments of opus signinum, dated from the Augustan period and later.

Donderer describes a small area of white mosaic with a checkerboard pattern (16 no. 11) and another larger piece of white mosaic with traces of black at the centre (16 no. 12) but neither fits the description or plan given by Tombolani. (No. 12 could be F but the dimensions given by Donderer [3.78x1.93m.] do not seem to fit.)

Donderer dates all mosaics to the third quarter of the second century A.C., and, although he notes apparent stylistic discrepancies, he seems to favour a single construction date. Tombolani, however, interprets these discrepancies as an indication of separate phases (noting too the earlier signinum pavements) and suggests that the house was built at the beginning of the second century, with subsequent decoration or renovation occurring through the century (335).

Aosta (Augusta Praetoria Salassorum)

1. remains of two domus in via Promis (insula 39)

Finocchi, S., "Resti di abitazioni urbane ad Aosta,"
RStLig 1958 144-157.

Archéologie en vallée d'Aoste du Néolithique à la chute de l'empire romain 3500 av. J.C. - Vième siècle apr. J. C. (Aosta 1985).

Plan, fig. 4a: Finocchi fig. 4.; no scale provided.
 Reconstruction, fig. 4b: Archéologie fig. 32.
 Photos: Finocchi figs. 6-10.

domus no. i off north of decumanus; domus no. ii in next insula to east, separated from no. i by cardo

no. i

A - entrance area off street, flanked by two rooms, one (B) to west with entrance facing onto vestibule, room to east (C) with threshold in same position, closed up at uncertain date, and also door in north wall to portico
 - drain to street drainage system divides into two under B, one heading toward court, other running to small basin (1.20x1.80m.) in southwest corner of court, of stone slabs set upright with three holes for water drainage

D - court with L-shaped base, identified by Finocchi as base for two-sided portico (no report of columns nor markings found, with exception of column fragment found in H)

- two entrances in north wall closed at later date
 - entrance to court H also closed up at later date
 - on west entrance trace of pilaster on west side and base for pilaster attached to north wall

E - corridor off north end of court to east section of house, slightly trapezoidal in shape; trace of wall from initial phase

F - extension of corridor E into east section, with threshold block and two pilasters indicating separation between the two

- pavement in opus spicatum, which appears to extend to north in area east of G; not clear if this constitutes a separate room or another corridor

G - room at slightly higher level, with wide opening off court H, with opus sectile pavement of red squares separated by white rectangles

- piece of stone altar found on pavement, identified as

lararium by Finocchi (155)

H - court with opus spicatum pavement, and paving slabs in L shape

- Finocchi identifies this as the border of a fountain or basin but provides no other data

I - area between two large threshold blocks, ca. 5.50m. wide; block to north has marks for cardines; masonry support for block to south blocked off drain, which ran at angle from street; trace of north/south wall from first phase

- two amphorae found here at 0.70m. below level of rest of house, left in renovation work of second phase

The area south of no. i is identified as an entrance by Finocchi, despite the lack of a threshold to the street or other indicators. North of the portico are two rooms and two narrow areas, which are either corridors or stairwells (see reconstruction fig. 3b). The masonry indicates that these are from the second phase; they are closed off from corridor E, except for the easternmost corridor/stairwell, which at least at some point allowed access between the two areas.

Finocchi identifies two construction phases, the first dated to the beginning of the second century A.C., based on ceramic and coin evidence found in the walls and the two amphorae found in no. i. She envisions the first phase as a 'typical' atrium house, with portico D occupying the place of an earlier atrium, although she presents no evidence to support this. The second phase occurred in the course of the second century, based on coins of Lucius Verus and Faustina Major, and on ceramic evidence found at the foot of the later wall between D and H. This phase included the construction of the portico and entrances in its north and east walls, as well as the rooms from the other structure to the north and room G. The inscription on the altar found in room G is dated to the second century A.C. and is also ascribed to this phase.

no. ii

- two rooms of other house to east

A - atrium with traces of impluvium, pavement in white mosaic with scattered black tesserae; remains of later wall running east/west; entrance off street to west; channel to urban drainage system

B - room with small apse, which had steps to a basin, and suspensurae; traces of same type of mosaic as in A - identified as calidarium of private bath (Finocchi 147)

The walls are 0.75m. thick; in the reconstruction (fig. 3b) a later wall in A is hypothesized as part of a stairwell (fig. 32). A vaulted cistern is connected to the urban drain in the decumanus by a channel which runs under the cardo.

The structure is dated to the second half of the second century A.C., on the basis of the mosaic pavement and lamp fragments (Finocchi 148).

2. domus between via Losanna and via Challant (insula 35)

Mollo Mezzena, R., "Augusta Praetoria. Aggiornamento sulle conoscenze archeologiche della città e del suo territorio," Atti del congresso sul bimillenario della città di Aosta October 5-20 1975 (Bordighera 1982) 255-256.

Plan, fig. 5: Mollo Mezzena fig. 42; plan difficult to read due to later construction.

three phases

I - ca. first century A.C.

- remains in opus incertum of peristyle of domus which occupied entire insula, with exedra (2 on plan) perhaps for fountain in south side; traces of drain connected to exedra and running length of insula; columns of travertine and stuccoed brick; rooms off west side

II - in second century colonnade of peristyle closed up by construction in opus mixtum

III - in late empire peristyle divided up into rooms in opus mixtum

3. domus in via Aubert and via Trottechien (insula 33)

Mollo Mezzena op. cit. 257-261.

Plan, fig. 6: Mollo Mezzena fig. 43.

Photos: Mollo Mezzena figs. 44, 45.

group of pavements

A - room (width 7.50m.) opus signinum pavement with diagonal rows of white tesserae with double black border (Mollo Mezzena suggests missing central emblema); threshold block of entrance in east

- Mollo Mezzena (259) suggests it was triclinium (because of size)

D - area of black mosaic pavement to south of A with two

borders, in meander motif and pelta and guilloche motives
- identified as corridor (257)

B, C - rooms off east side of A; threshold located ca.
5m. west of B

E - room in white mosaic with black hexagonal grid

F - to west of A area of black tessellated pavement with
rows of white crosslets and white border
- possibly a corridor

The mosaics are dated to the beginning of first century
A.C. (261).

4. remains in via Festaz (insulae 51 and 52)

Mollo Mezzena op. cit. 249-253.

Plan, fig. 7: Mollo Mezzena fig. 36; plan difficult to
read.

Photos: Mollo Mezzena fig. 37, 38.

residential area off porticoed cardo

Insula 51 (west of cardo)

- first occupation in Augustan era; ca. mid first
century A.C. a well (B on plan) with rooms to north and
south, described as paratactic, with evidence of
corridors (C, E, F, G); floors in opus signinum
- some structural additions in second to third centuries
A.C., and again in fifth to sixth centuries A.C.

Insula 52 (east of cardo)

- only partially excavated; line of five rooms along
perimeter wall, with apparent paratactic arrangement
- two rooms (II, III) with suspensurae and tubuli, dated
to second century A.C.

room I - three levels of opus signinum pavement: lowest
dated to first century A.C. (on ceramic evidence),
highest dated to fourth to fifth century A.C.

5. remains in insulae 31 and 32

Mollo Mezzena op. cit. 254.

no plan; photo: Mollo Mezzena fig. 41.

traces of rooms in opus mixtum, with opus signinum
pavements, opening off one another and grouped around an
open area

- from ceramic evidence dated to end of the second century A.C.

6. group of four residential units, insula 59

Finocchi, S., Cisalpina I - Atti del convegno sull'attività archeologica nell'Italia settentrionale (villa monastero di Varenna 9-15 giugno 1958) (Milan 1959) 93-109.

Plan, fig. 8: adapted from Archéologie fig. 34.
Other plans: Mansuelli, G., Urbanistica e architettura della Cisalpina romana (Collection Latomus vol. 3, Brussels 1971) fig. LXXXIV.
plan only published; no details of excavation

House A - entrance indicated by threshold off decumanus onto a vestibule; a second inner court (described on plan as 'porticoed'); several rooms but access unclear

House B - entrance off decumanus into area marked vestibule; opens onto court; several rooms, large and small, off court
- one small room on south side identified as a bedroom
- between houses A and B two rooms and L-shaped area identified as shops

House C - to south of house A; entrance unclear, rooms run off corridor at west of which is located an apsidal room (apse ca. 4m. wide)
- to south of this corridor is small area with well, and attached to this, also to south, is room with suspensurae; not clear whether or not these latter two areas belong to house C

House D - on plan indicates only one large room or court; area to north of this, which includes several rooms, corridor and two small rooms with suspensurae, may belong to house B or C, or may be independent

group of rooms south of house B includes a Mithraeum

no date

Aquileia

1. domus in Fondo CAL (Cooperazione Autonoma dei Lavoratori), via Giulia Augusta

- Schumacher, W.N., Hirt und 'Guter Hirt' (Freiburg 1977) 217-222.
 Bertacchi, L., Da Aquileia a Venezia (Bologna 1980) 268- 269.
 Mangani et al. 221-222.
 Donderer 57-65.
 Mirabella Roberti, M., "Edilizia privata in Aquileia," AAAd 29 (1987) 355-364.

Plan, fig. 9: Mirabella Roberti fig. 2.
 Photo: Donderer pl. 20-23.

three houses along main cardo, not fully published

no. i (to north)

on plan is part of peristyle or portico, one row of columns with a parallel wall with columns or pilasters; well at one end of portico;
 rooms off west side, one apsidal (9.17m.sq.; apse ca. 8m. wide, 5m. deep), apse a later addition; 80cm. higher than level of portico, with polychrome mosaic of octagons with interior animal figures and central circle with shepherd surrounded by dog and sheep; apse paved in terra cotta cubes, with a vine garland in border

no. ii (south of no. i)

- plan indicates central court with rooms off two sides

no. iii (south of no. ii)

- plan shows three groups of rooms, perhaps around central court; group to west has one apsidal room 8x6m. with polychrome geometric pavement; apse a later addition; to north also part of apsidal room of smaller dimensions (bath?) and possible hearth in corner; group of small rooms to northeast

No other description is provided with the plan in Mirabella Roberti. Donderer describes twenty-eight mosaics, mostly black and white, but some polychrome and some in terra cotta, all dated to the last quarter of the first century A.C., with one exception, dated to the second to third centuries A.C. He acknowledges, however, that all are dated purely on stylistic grounds, as no excavation data is available, nor does he attempt to match mosaics to the plan, to which he possibly had no access. The polychrome mosaics of the apsidal rooms in no. i and no. iii are dated by Bertacchi to the fourth century A.C.

It is also not clear whether there are two or three houses. Mirabella Roberti claims there are three, but Mangani et al. refer to only two, apparently grouping nos. ii and iii together. As only one threshold or door

is indicated on the plan it is of no use in solving this problem. Mangani et al. and Bertacchi identify both apsidal rooms as Christian oratories; however, this is disputed by Schumacher and by Mirabella Roberti. Initial construction is dated to the Augustan period.

2. domus in ex beneficio Rizzi

FA 9 (1956) no. 4874.
Bertacchi op. cit. 161-162.
Mangani et al. 222-223.
Donderer 52-56.

Plan, fig. 10: Donderer fig. 5.
Photo: ibid. pl. 18.

house with rooms off three sides of a peristyle
1 - room with white mosaic (6x5.70m.) with central panel in black with simple geometric motives e.g. Solomon's knots, squares; threshold block in east wall, later closed up; remains of wall painting of socle, pilaster, threshold with imitation marble panels in yellow, red, blue and white

2 - room with white mosaic (6x5.20m.) with central panel with motives in black such as inscribed lozenges, kantharos, guilloche, and central flower; threshold in east wall, also closed up, as in 1, and in west wall to room 6

3 - room with white mosaic (5.23x4.98m.) with central panel in black with central kantharos surrounded by inscribed lozenges

4 - room of approximately same size as 1-3; no pavement found

5A - room with black and white mosaic (6.45x3.55m.) with central rectangle of rows of parallelograms (DG Pl. 8 d)

5 - L-shaped corridor, east arm (2.60x0.55m.) in white tessellatum; north arm (6.57x0.68m.) black with white border and scattered white tesserae

6 - room with bichrome mosaic (7.87x5.20m.) double border in wave pattern around rows of isosceles triangles with central panel with guilloche border, and lozenge, ivy leaf motives; traces of fourth style wall painting in northeast corner

- wide opening to peristyle court; identified by Mangani et. al. as tablinum

7 - room with mosaic (7.82x2.50m.), wide white border with pattern of triangles and rectangles; opens onto peristyle

peristyle with pilaster bases on three sides, four on north and east sides, five on west side; original signinum pavement, now lost

4 and room to west probably utilitarian in function; rooms off north and west side of peristyle in poor condition

Lead pipes were reportedly found (FA) but their precise location is not indicated. Bertacchi reports a kitchen with latrine and amphora, and another room identified as a textrina because of loom weights found (Bertacchi 161-162).

Donderer dates the mosaics in 4 - 7 to the last third of the first century A.C.; in 1 - 3 to the Hadrianic era. Wall painting in 6 is also dated to the Hadrianic period (FA 116). The east row of rooms probably constitute a later addition. A later wall subdivides 5 - 7.

3. domus under basilica

Kähler, H., Die spätantiken Bauten unter dem Dom von Aquileia (1957) 11f.

Bertacchi op. cit. 187-189.

Donderer 33-36.

Mirabella Roberti 1987 op. cit. 360-362.

Plan, fig. 11: Mirabella Roberti 1987 fig. 1.

rooms around central peristyle

A - room with white mosaic (2.94x2.07m.) with central panel with double border of isosceles triangles and central field of polychrome crustae outlined in white tesserae; plain white field at one end, leading to identification as cubiculum (Donderer 33); door to peristyle

B - room with white mosaic (2.96x2.07m.) with central panel with rows of polychrome crustae separated by rows of poised black tesserae; as in A, area of plain white tessellatum at one end; this room also identified as cubiculum, based on arrangement of pavement; door to peristyle

C - room with white mosaic (3.80x3.80m.) with central panel with polychrome crustae

- wide opening to peristyle

D - room with white mosaic (3.63x2.60m.) with black border

E - room with white mosaic (2.25x1.95m.) with part of panel still extant with rows of bichrome parallelograms (DG Pl. 8 d)

peristyle with columns (5x4), with rectangular basin; well dates from Christian era

entrance off opposite end of peristyle, on same axis as C, flanked by two rooms; narrow area to east of D identified as potential stairwell (Kähler 12, Mirabella Roberti 360)

Room C is identified as a tablinum, based on its position, by all sources except Donderer, who considers it a triclinium (33). The peristyle is identified as an atrium by Bertacchi (187); however its arrangement seem more in keeping with a peristyle.

Donderer describes three other mosaic fragments (nos. 46-48) without giving their location on the plan. He dates all mosaics to the late Republic - early Augustan era.

4. domus in ex Fondo Cossar

Schumacher op. cit. 224-232.

Bertacchi 1980 op. cit. 164, 266-268.

Mangani et al. 227.

Donderer 20-32.

Mirabella Roberti 1987 op. cit. 360-362.

Plan, fig. 12: Mirabella Roberti fig. 3.; pavements described without reference to location of rooms on plan; letters here ascribed to rooms for clarity, but only A can be located on plan with relative certainty

rooms off peristyle

- peristyle (9x11m.); corner and area of pavement extant (Donderer no. 22) with mosaic (3.55m. wide; extant length 15.65m.), black, with rows of white tesserae and double white border

Donderer describes a second peristyle pavement (no.27), also black with rows of crosslets alternating with rows of poised white tesserae; on this portico (of which a corner also remains) is one column base in situ, with different geometric motives in intercolumniations; interior of peristyle in black tesserae

A - large room to west of peristyle (7x13m.) with two levels of pavement - lower, plain white tessellatum with

black border, upper pavement of polychrome mosaic with crosses and octagons with internal animal figures and central panel with fish; identified as triclinium by Donderer (21; no reason given)

rooms to south

B - exact location on plan unclear

- two levels of pavement - first, black tessellatum (8.93x4.22m.) divided into two parts, one panel black mosaic with scattered crustae, other white reticulate grid on black background; between two a band (3.11x0.45m.) with fine polychrome ivy and vine garland with bow in centre; later mosaic not described but dated to third century by Donderer (21)

- suggested as cubiculum by Mirabella Roberti (362);

- on top of these two levels, a third pavement (11x6m.) with octagons with inscribed animal protomes and central square with inscribed circle with fish and two putti in boat; identified as oratory by Bertacchi

- two other rooms described by Bertacchi (165) one with plain white mosaic, other with checkerboard motif

C - exact location on plan unclear

- room in northwest corner of peristyle with polychrome mosaic of central square with inscribed octagon with central motif of deer feeding on leaves, and tree, surrounded by birds in poised squares and lozenges inscribed with three-dimensional cubes and simple guilloche

D - exact location on plan unclear

- room north of large west room has polychrome mosaic with pattern of squares with internal guilloche and rosettes, some orthogonal and some poised; two borders extant, one has garland with flowers, other a grid of inscribed poised squares

In all, Donderer discusses thirty-two mosaics from this structure; however, as with the domus under CAL, he makes no connection with a house plan. In addition to those pavements discussed above, two more are of particular interest: nos. 13 (3.76x2.32m.), 29 (3.75x2.48m.) which he identifies as cubicula, because of the mosaic layout, and no. 18 (9.38x5.43m.), which he discusses in terms of triclinia (without actually identifying it as one). He dates the first (no. 13) to the late Republic/early Augustan era, and the latter two to the Flavian.

E - exact location on plan unclear

- Bertacchi describes a room, 9x6m., several metres

north of the large west room which has a bipartite pavement, half in a simple geometric pattern, half with an inscribed circle in a square containing a shepherd and two animals. She identifies this as a private oratory.

Donderer ascribes a nucleus of rooms on the south side to the late Republic (including the two-part pavement with crustae, garland and reticulate grid); a renovation which included pavements in the two porticoes and the first plain pavement in A is dated to the Flavian period. Bertacchi and Mirabella Roberti date the mosaic in C to the second century A.C. (165, 361); Bertacchi also dates the mosaic in D to this era. Donderer's omission of these two mosaics presumably means that he dates them outside the Antonine limits of his work. Bertacchi dates both mosaics in so-called oratories (B, E) to the fourth century A.C. The second pavement in A is dated by Mirabella Roberti to the mid-fourth century A.C. Donderer reports that during a renovation in the late empire the peristyle (no. 22) was divided into at least two rooms (227).

5. domus in Piazza Capitulo

Bertacchi, L., "Edilizia civile nel IV secolo ad Aquileia," AAAd 22 (1982) 349-353.

Plan, fig. 13: Bertacchi fig. 4.

remains of domus with several rooms off peristyle
1 - entrance via narrow fauces, probably from nearby cardo (actual threshold not located)

2 - room to north of fauces, paved in terra cotta

3 - room to south of fauces with terra cotta pavement; brick hearth in corner, double latrine connected to channel which leads to drain in cardo

4 - peristyle with six column bases in situ, two more restored to create 3x4 arrangement; not clear if south side had portico or was partially walled; another column base found out of place; not clear where it belongs; traces of mosaic (no description given) in parts of portico

5 - room (10x8m.) with complex polychrome mosaic (7x5m.) of various motives (e.g. swastika, guilloche,) with four panels (two preserved) with interior animal figures; identified as tablinum by Bertacchi (350)

- rooms to north of 5 bear traces of bichrome geometric mosaic

Bertacchi dates the mosaic in 5 to the third century A.C. and states that the house continued in use into the fourth century A.C., when it was partially taken over for the construction of the post-Theodoran church.

Bergamo

domus in via Arena

Fortunati Zuccala, M., Frova, A., Bergamo dalle origini all'altomedioevo - Documenti per un'archeologia urbana a cura di R. Poggiani Keller (Mantua 1986) 126-136.

Plan, fig. 14: Fortunati Zuccala fig. 122.
Photos: Fortunati Zuccala figs. 123-126, 131-134.

three rooms off portico

A - room (7.40x5.70m.) with pavement in hexagonal orange and yellow brick, with black and white tesserae inserts;
- wall in yellow plaster (extant area 3.16x5.45m.) divided into three parts: rectangular panels with simple triangular pediments and central panels (missing) bordered in red; bird and vegetal motives in area above panels; wide brown vertical borders which have various decorative motives; in upper area, above a brown border, is a complex floral garland with birds and animals

B - room (7.40x5.70m.) with black and white mosaic pavement and suspensurae with several pilae extant in northeast corner; walls in black plaster (3x2.24m.) divided into panels containing motives such as candelabra, birds and flowers and a basket of figs; fragment of painted soffit found; black background divided into squares by foliage, with red discs containing white rosettes at corners and yellow and green roses circled in white in each square

C - portico partially excavated with white opus signinum floor with marble inserts

- one small brick column (0.77m. diameter), fragments of architectural elements in marble found

- painted plaster panel found (0.85x1.88m.) with yellow aedicula traced on white background with garlands and branches

D - room (2.70x4m. extant) with coarse pottery of

domestic function found, principally dating from the first to third centuries A.C.

- identified as kitchen (127, fig. 122)

The wall painting in A and B is dated to the end of the first to the beginning of the second century A.C.; the pavements in A and B are dated to the first and second centuries A.C. Two phases are assigned, in the first and in the second centuries A.C.

Bologna (Bononia)

1. domus in suburb of Beverara

Negrioli, A., NSc 1932 51-88.

Blake, M., "Roman Mosaics of the Second Century in Italy," MAAR 13 (1936) 121-122.

Zuffa, M., Emilia romana II (1944) 280-282, 285-288, 294.

Scagliarini Corlaità, D., "L'insediamento residenziale nel suburbio di Bologna romana," AttiBol n.s. 20 (1969) [1970], no.4 155-9.

Donderer 131 n.1216; 182 n.1737.

Plan, fig. 15: Negrioli fig. 1.

Photos: Blake pl. XXVIII 1, 3.

two reception rooms with mosaic pavements (1,3), separated by corridor (2); bath complex (10-13)

1 - room (9.01x5.09m.) with mosaic pavement, black with a white border and rectangular panel in centre (4.36x2.45m.) with complex polychrome geometric design of alternating squares containing circles with six-petalled rosettes, lozenges inscribed in rectangles and checkerboard with poised squares; area at sides of central panel approx. 1.32m. wide

- underneath is another pavement, of opus signinum, with grid containing crosslets in black and white tesserae separated by a simple meander border into two areas of unequal size; in front of door (southwest side) is an area with pattern of rows with crosslets set as saltires on a plain field

- in the larger area (northeast) is a circular geometric motif of adjacent octagons forming squares

- southeast wall is 52cm. thick, made of brick and mortar in the lower courses and mixed fill of tile and brick fragments in upper course; two courses of stones appear at various levels; brick used in corners

- doorway and threshold in west wall (1.39x0.57m.);

fragments of black and red wall plaster found

- identified as winter triclinium by Scagliarini Corlaità (157) because of the mosaic design and somewhat closed-off character

2 - corridor 1.50m. wide, with tessellated terra cotta pavement; fragments of yellow wall plaster found

3 - room (9.20x6.25m.) with white mosaic with panel (2.82x0.72m.) of black and white inscribed outlined hexagons on southeast side and fragmentary central panel (3.55x3.60m.), with adjacent inscribed lozenges and squares and central lozenge enclosing polychrome vegetal motif with a bird, facing the back of the room (northeast); area at sides of panel approx. 1.32m. wide

- under this, another pavement in opus signinum with a grid in white tesserae of adjacent octagons forming squares (each with single tessera) on the short side, each octagon having an inscribed square with single tessera in black and white tesserae

- near northeast side, rectangle (1.42x1.48m.) with fragments of polychrome marble crustae;

- northwest wall has two pilasters on outside; probable perimeter wall of house (Negrioli 62, 76)

- identified as a summer triclinium by Negrioli (80) and Scagliarini Corlaità (157)

4 - partial room found to northeast of 3; width 3.98m. with pavement in opus signinum with rows of bichrome crosslets

5 - area to east of 4 with opus signinum pavement; traces of earlier opus signinum pavement beneath

- some wall plaster found - gray, yellow and white

- Negrioli (59) extends east wall of 3, making this a narrow room (ca. 1.70m) to account for the difference in pavement between 5 and 2

6, 7 - both only partial, with opus signinum floors at same level as the earlier floors in 1 and 3

6 - brick feature (82x85cm.); southeast wall part of later rebuilding

7 - many brick and tile fragments found

8, 9, 10 - Negrioli (60) suggests that they were probably originally one room (due to wall construction; no details given)

8 - corridor 1.20m. wide, max. length 5.82m.; paved with terra cotta tesserae; walls unfinished

9 - room (3.82x2.10m.); tessellated terra cotta floor as in 8; dividing wall with 8 75cm. thick, preserved to

height of 80cm.

- feature like a bench (40cm. wide) made of brick fragments and small stones
- two pieces of marble cornice (70x61cm.) suitable for framing a door

10-13 form bath complex

10 - room (3.82x3.80m.); terra cotta pavement, with traces of black and white tessellated pavement, greatly damaged but with trident motif visible

- wall between 9 and 10 (3.82 long; 0.38m wide) originally had doorway, later bricked up; steps and door in southeast wall led to 11

11, 12, 13 - all have double floor for circulation of air

11 - partially extant (3.50x6.10m.); round brick pilae; black and white mosaic, geometric and vegetal motives, of crude execution

12 - room (4.65x3.50m.), at same level as 11; connected with 11 by square opening (55x57cm.), and with 13 by two openings in southeast wall

13 - room (4.65x2.90m.); feature in west corner (1.78x1m.) in brick faced concrete, function unclear

14 - room found to 5.90m width; opens off southwest door of 3; paved with terra cotta tesserae and marble plates, with 4 concentric lines which may have formed a circle (max. dia. 5m.)

- identified as possible court by Negrioli (77)

Negrioli (80) identified the components of the bath complex as follows: 10 apodyterium, 11 tepidarium, 12 calidarium, 13 laconicum. As Scagliarini Corlaità points out (158), the absence of the praefurnium and the uncertainty regarding access between these rooms make such a firm identification impossible.

The lower pavement of 1 and 3 can be dated to the end of the first century B.C. A second phase, dated by the upper pavements of 1 and 3, is most likely placed in the middle of the second century A.C. The pavements in 10 and 11 can be dated to the end of the second century A.C. (Scagliarini Corlaità 158), while there is evidence of repair work in the third to fourth centuries A.C. (Negrioli 81).

2. domus in via Cà Selvatica

Bergonzoni, F., NSc 1965 (Supplement) 59-68.

" , "Un complesso edilizio di età romana in via Cà Selvatica," AttiBol n.s. 17-19 (1965-1968) 93-105.

Scagliarini Corlaità 1970 op. cit. 177-179; 146-147.

Plan, fig. 16: Mansuelli, G., Urbanistica e architettura della Cisalpina romana (Collection Latomus vol. 3, Brussels 1971) fig. LXXXIX.

Other plans: Bergonzoni fig. 6.

three rooms, one apsidal, and corridor

B - mosaic pavement (11x8m.), with internal divisions and evidence of later repair work

B1 - garland, (4x0.30m.) polychrome, divides room almost in centre

B2 - border on north and south sides (1.34x10.30m.), black and white checkerboard pattern of right-angled isosceles triangles; are also internally divided by a black band, but not at same point as garland

B3 - largest area on west side of garland (5.80x4.20m.), white tesserae with double black border

B4 - area on east side of garland (3.50x4.20m.), with checkerboard motif of diagonally quartered squares alternating with squares containing rosettes

C - area east of B (4.85x1.25m.); opus signinum with scattered polychrome crustae

D - rectangular mosaic pavement to southeast of C, (4.70x2.79) with apse (2.50m. wide, 1.40m deep); black outlined squares on white background; in apse, scattered polychrome tesserae with two curved bands, one black, one white; black and white meander (2.50x0.40m.) separates apse and geometric mosaic

E - rectangular mosaic pavement (4.50x3m.) black and white trichrome checkerboard motif with black border, the third colour of single tesserae (DG Pl. 114 e)

F - rectangular mosaic pavement (2.10x0.90m.) rows of black tesserae on white background, with black border;
- contiguous and at the same level, small area (40x78cm.) of terra cotta hexagonal paving

G - area of hexagonal terra cotta pavement, extant 4.20m wide and extends at least 2m. to south; 50cm. below level of pavement E; wall tubuli and bessales found between E and G

- identified as probable court by Scagliarini Corlaità (n.32)

No walls were found, however, the area between pavements indicates they were approximately 50cm. wide.

The mosaics are dated to the late Republican - early Augustan era, with repairs up to the third century A.C. (Scagliarini Corlaità 179).

3. domus in vie C. Battisti and Porta Nova

via C. Battisti n.9

Brizio, E., NSc 1890 204.

Bergonzoni, F., Bologna romana I (Bologna 1976) n.12.9.

via Porta Nova n.3

Brizio, E., NSc 1891 19.

Bergonzoni 1976 op. cit. n.102.3.

no plan

group of pavements with evidence of heating system

1 - black and white mosaic (3.43 wide x 4m. length extant, but was longer); pattern of intersecting circles with black border; panel located three-quarters along length with ivy garland in vermiculatum, but central motif missing (0.95sq.m.)

2 - square-shaped area to south of 1; pilae of circular bricks (dia. 18cm.) with tile fragments and remains of tubuli with wall plaster still intact

3 - to west of 2 opus signinum pavement of roughly square room, 3m. on one side

4 - to south of 2 remains of pavement in brick cubes, extant 2.80x3.50m.

5 - to east of 3 and 4 white tessellated mosaic (3.50x6.60m.) with black border

6 - at south edge of excavation, two drains, made of brick

7 - mosaic pavement, white with border of two rows of lozenges; 10m. long, width undetermined; border becomes wider and more complicated, after 0.29m. length, for 2m., then becomes a simple black border

8 - south of 7, opus signinum pavement (extant to

4.38x3m.) with rows of rosettes in white tesserae and a bichrome border; 60cm. below level of other pavements

9 - between 7 and 8, wall foundations in brick, at edge of pavement

Fragments of painted wall plaster were found (yellow, red, black, green) in the area of 1-5.

Mosaic 1 can be dated to the first half of the first century A.C. (Bergonzoni 1976 55).

Brescello (Brixellum)

Negrioli, A., NSc 1914 164-166.

Manino, L., Atti del I congresso internazionale di archeologia dell'Italia settentrionale Turin 1961 (1963) 142.

Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 309-310.

Plan, fig. 17: Negrioli fig. 1.

Photos: ibid. figs. 2, 3.

five rooms, one a triclinium; no location given

A - large tessellated pavement, white with black borders (2 thin, 1 thick), 12x6m., with black and white geometric panel (3x1.50m). set in centre but closer to north end: border of isosceles triangles and tripartite field of adjacent lozenges, squares and hexagons; area at sides of panel approx. 1.42m. wide

- foundation of brick walls in southwest corner

- identified as triclinium (Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 301-310)

B - floor (5x4m.) in opus signinum with scattered crosslets in black and white and crustae in parallel lines; central rectangular panel (2.70x1.15m.) with circle containing inscribed adjacent lozenges, triangles and squares

- fragment of wall plaster in red, green and yellow in imitation marble

- identified as possible cubiculum on basis of mosaic arrangement (Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 308 n.54)

C - fragment of black and white tessellated pavement but no details given as to size or description (from plan, room seems comparable in size to 2); piece of marble wall facing found

D - no details; traces of mortar floor south of B, with no sign of dividing wall

E - mortar with fragment of white marble, probably wall facing; no pavement

The mosaics are dated to the first century A.C. (Negrioli, Donderer n.1372).

Brescia (Brixia)

1. domus under S. Salvatore ('domus del ninfeo')

Guarnieri, I., "L'edificio romano scoperto sotto S. Salvatore di Brescia," Arte Lombardia 5 (1960) 149-160.

Mirabella Roberti, M., "Archeologia ed arte in Brescia romana," Storia di Brescia I (1963) 283-285. Donderer 103-105.

Stella, C., La domus del Ninfeo sotto S. Salvatore di Brescia (Modena 1988) 11-42.

Plan, fig. 18: Stella fig. 1.

Photos: Guarnieri figs. 1-8.

rooms extant off two sides of a peristyle, walls in opus incertum, unless otherwise specified

- nymphaeum on north side of peristyle with three semicircular niches at back of a basin (11.50x1.30m.; 0.75m. deep), with drainage channel (1x0.40m., 0.10m. deep) in front to receive run-off; side niches 1.80m. wide, 0.70m. deep, central niche 2.80m. wide, 1.80m. deep, with podium 0.75m. high; wall behind 1-1.10m. wide in upper levels to 1.60m. wide at bottom

- peristyle - 17m. wide with entrances off east and west

- colonnade of stuccoed brick, intercolumniation 1.70m., markings for nine columns found on square bases 0.45m., brick columns 0.40m. in diameter (number found unspecified); colonnade restored to 7x7; water channel for drainage on stylobate

- portico (13x1.85m. on west and east sides) paved in white mosaic with rows of small black squares with white tessera in centre; dividing wall with E-F-G 0.65m. wide, extant to 1.80m. high

- drain runs diagonally beneath centre of court

X - area of pavement south of peristyle, of black

tessellatum with a reticulate grid in white (extant 2.12x3.38m.); pieces of paving slabs, wall in opus incertum and wall plaster in red and yellow found; also piece of paving with two bases (0.45m.sq.), one with column mark

A - room (3.50x4.50m.) with traces of pavement (0.30x0.80m.), white with black border; drain from peristyle passes beneath

B - room (2.25x1.30m.) with entrance to north 1.40m. wide, with marks for doorposts and evidence of three steps

C - partial room (3.60m. wide, 2.70m. extant length) no pavement extant

D - room (3.30x3.80m.) with paving stones

E - room (3.75x6.30m.), small area (2x1m.) of opus signinum

F - room (8.20x5.50m.) traces of threshold in south wall and drain

G - corridor (1.80x8.25m.) black mosaic with rows of white tesserae; part of lead water tube in a channel 0.15x0.20m. in northeast corner

H - room (7.40m. wide, 4.25m. extant length) with fragmentary white opus signinum pavement with rows of black tesserae; threshold block in east wall with markings for doorposts
 - traces of tegulae hamatae for heating in wall at height of 0.70m. from floor; Guarnieri suggests in early phase was hypocaust here

I - room (2.70m. wide, 5m. extant length) to east of H, but 0.25m. lower, with three threshold blocks, in south and east walls, (in addition to block in H) with marks for doorposts; opus signinum pavement with scattered polychrome crustae; traces of wall plaster
 - indications of raised floor for heating system, as well as traces of tegulae hamatae and a suspensura; evidence of destruction by fire

K - area 0.50m. wide and 1.30m. extant length; nothing found but corridor hypothesized

L - room (area hypothesized 6.30x3.60m.) with traces of tessellated pavement

Q - paved area (3.50x4.70m.) with portico running north/south to west; remains of brick column 0.45m. diameter and traces of two other columns, no longer extant; threshold block to R, P and to west ambulacrum, with marks for doorposts

- this portico interpreted as entrance to suite of rooms O, P and R, with several columns perhaps supporting a roof

M - corridor (2.80x1.55m.) with three paving stones

N - corridor (1.50 wide, 1.60m. extant length), trace of white mosaic at north end, 0.25m. higher than paving in M

O - trace of wall in opus vittatum and threshold block to N, indicating room no longer extant; trace of mosaic near threshold

P - part of room (4.20m. length) with walls in opus vittatum and two pavement levels, oldest opus spicatum, followed by mortar bedding for mosaic no longer extant; traces of socle in mortar; remains of older wall with different orientation, which runs under Q and R

R - room (5.80x7m.), paved with stone slabs, with two thresholds to portico area Q; drain runs beneath

S - narrow corridor 0.50m. wide, 7m. extant length

T - area of opus signinum (1.50x1.30m.) at level 0.80m. higher than R, due to slope of hill to north

Y - area to southeast of rooms off east side of court; room (4.60x2.50m.), lead pipe, area of mortar pavement to east (2.50x0.52m.); relationship to rest of structure unclear

Four building phases are proposed by Stella on the basis of the pavements, the first ca. 50-1 B.C. comprising the peristyle, probably, she suggests, with porticoes on all four sides. It is unclear, however, whether or not the porticoes were paved at this point, since the extant portico pavements are ascribed by Donderer to the second century A.C. Stella also suggests that in this initial phase there were rooms off at least one side (H - I); in the west sector, however, only wall traces beneath P and its level of opus spicatum pavement appear to belong to this phase. Area X is dated to the beginning of the first century A.C. by Stella and thus constitutes a separate, second, phase in her chronology, while Donderer dates it somewhat more broadly to the first half of the

same century. (103) In the third phase, ca. 75-100 A.C., Stella hypothesizes that the north portico was taken out for the construction of the nymphaeum and creation of A and B. The rooms in the east sector (E-F-G) are also dated to this period, as is the addition of the heating system in H and I; P and probably the rest of the west sector are part of this phase. To the fourth phase, which Stella dates to the second to third centuries A.C. belong the pavements of the portico and mosaic bedding in P; Donderer however dates the portico pavements to ca. 100-150 A.C. (103). Coin and ceramic finds date from the Augustan era to the fifth century A.C., but have no coherent stratigraphic sequence.

2. Excavations in courtyard of S. Giulia, at southwest corner of domus under S. Salvatore

remains of two peristyles found, one with rooms on two sides

Brogiolo, G.P., Notiziario - soprintendenza archeologica della Lombardia 1986 109-117.

Bishop, J., De Vanna, L., Notiziario - soprintendenza archeologica della Lombardia 1987 116-119.

Plan, fig. 19a: Notiziario 1986 fig. 104.

Plan, rooms north of small peristyle, fig. 19b: Notiziario 1987 fig. 111.

'Large Peristyle' - three-sided peristyle with internal court 10x7m. found (not fully shown on plan), with stylobate, mark of one column, channel for water drainage and several slabs of paved interior; room off north side 7x10.50m.

- two rooms to east, 7m. width

'Small Peristyle' - to east of large peristyle 13x11.50m., interior court 7.70x5.70m.; basin in northwest corner, probably to collect rain water

- to south, remains of three rooms;

- A - with white mosaic with black border, and traces of white and red wall plaster

- B - room (ca. 2.90x4.10m.) to north of 'A', with mortar floor and white wall plaster; threshold to peristyle and room 'C'

- C - room (extant to 4.60x5m.) with black and white geometric mosaic panel (extant ca. 3x3.50m.), with polychrome Medusa head and wide opening to peristyle; identified as tablinum by Brogiolo

- to north, room with black mosaics with tesserae

inserts;

- to north of this, row of three rooms
- D (ca. 5.90x3.40m.) with white mosaic with hexagonal grid in black and traces of yellow wall painting with floral festoons; entrance to portico widened at later date
- E - (ca. 5.90x5.90m.) with mosaic pavement of black squares divided into brick-shaped rectangles with white square at centre, with black and white borders; entrance to room F with mosaic in meander motif
- F - (ca. 5.90x3.90m.) with black mosaic with white border; to west, suspensurae and wall tubuli

corner of peristyle - portico with traces of geometric bichrome mosaic with some polychrome details, paved in centre, traces of one column, one pilaster, on stylobate

- at later date (uncertain) mosaic of C and portico cut by lead pipe; peristyle walled up, except in front of room C; door between B and C walled up; 'large peristyle' also walled up and divided up into small rooms

Evidence dated to Roman period, precise date uncertain. Bishop and De Vanna (117) suggest that this area was part of the 'domus del ninfeo', but the exact relationship between the two is uncertain. Excavation is still in progress.

3. domus in garden of monastery of S. Giulia

Panazza, G., "La domus nella ortaglia del monastero di S. Giulia a Brescia," Archeologia e storia a Milano e in Lombardia orientale (Atti del convegno (villa monastero di Varenna) 5-6 giugno 1971/10-11 giugno 1972 Como) 97-123.

Mirabella Roberti, M., "Gli ultimi dieci anni di scavi a Brescia," Atti del convegno internazionale per il XIX centenario della dedicazione del Capitolium e per il 150 anniversario della sua scoperta II (Brescia 1975) 12-17.

Tamassia, A.M. Roffia, E., San Salvatore di Brescia - Materiali per un museo I (Brescia 1978) I-26-46.

Plan, fig. 20: Tamassia - Roffia II 03; no scale provided.

Photos: Panazza, figs. 113, 116, 117.

structure of twenty-six rooms, not fully published or excavated and partially destroyed during construction of monastery

A - room in white mosaic with black border; under are fragmentary remains of opus signinum pavement, which has in centre remains of stuccoed brick column and base; to west was rough brick square with hole in centre (from description, appears to be set in pavement); coins from third and fourth centuries in fill found on top of mosaic

B - room (5x7m.) alcove to south and two column bases in north end, west base 0.76m. from west wall, in situ (0.47x0.47m.), east base 0.81m. from east wall and apparently disturbed or repaired in medieval era; polychrome mosaic pavement divided into three areas with grid of stars formed by lozenges and squares in central field, lozenges, Solomon's knots in the alcove and a grid of hexagons, some with rosettes, in area between north wall and columns; fields are separated by floral garland to south, and line of rectangles with floral motives to north; borders on east and west in meander and garland motives; fragments of garland decoration in stucco found at base of column

- in east wall tegulae hamatae

- brick suspensurae found, with evidence of burning in earth, in east corner (1.10x0.95m.) of alcove; in west corner traces of opus signinum pavement, mortar on walls, evidence of white mosaic with black border and threshold set in mortar pavement; identified (Panazza 104 n.10) as small cistern; many blue glass tesserae found in fill

- pieces of green marble socle found along west wall, between column base and northwest corner

- coin and ceramic evidence found in fill dating from third to fifth centuries A.C.

Panazza proposes that heating system dates from early phase and that columns, mosaic and wall facing added later (103-104); he quotes Mirabella Roberti, who (1975 14) identifies the room as a cubiculum in this second stage.

C - room with traces of white wall plaster and black and white mosaic pavement in lozenge pattern

- element from fountain, in shape of small altar found in fill

E - pavement in brick and marble fragments; under is drain, not yet fully examined

G - room (1.95x1.60m.) in white mosaic with polychrome central panel of kantharos surrounded by guilloche

H - room with white wall plaster and mortar pavement; many fragments of painted wall plaster found in fill; wide entrance in east wall is later addition, without threshold block

I - room with mortar pavement and rose wall plaster with faint vertical lines in white, except on east wall, which has a dark background with red lines; wide entrance with threshold block to A in east wall, smaller door to Y in south wall

- coins of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius in fill

L - room, only partially excavated, with mortar pavement and white wall plaster; on north wall remains of painted socle in red with green borders

- many painted plaster fragments in fill, near north wall in yellow, ochre and red, near west wall in red and green; no clear access to surrounding rooms

M - room in white mosaic with white plaster walls divided by black lines and narrow borders, which, on the south wall, are decorated with red lozenges on white background and, on east wall, a square with internal amphora

- wide entrance to P, smaller openings to N and O
- coin of Alexander Severus found in fill

N - room with mortar pavement with white wall plaster; threshold in northwest to Q, access also to H and M

O - narrow area with plastered walls, probably for staircase, as indicated by two steps (one in situ, one indicated by markings) at north end

- piece of small column (0.50m. high, 0.18m. diameter) with hole for lead pipe along length, probably attachment for nymphaeum in P

P - area (5.30x6.90m.) with floor, in paving stones, which inclines slightly to sides; along east and west wall are two wider courses of paving stones with channels along walls; on west side was second channel made at later date

- along north wall was nymphaeum, as indicated by rectangular basin with semicircular element with lead pipe and brick channel for drainage; column from O and altar from C probably belong to this fountain; above basin is apsidal niche

- north and west walls bear traces of wall painting, with red socle topped by green-blue panels with Nilotic scenes with hippopotamus and armed pygmies; above this is another red border, followed by a rose field divided by black lines

- in niche is blue plaster, which represents earlier phase of decoration

- described as uncovered by Mirabella Roberti (1975 17) and Tamassia (26); Panazza makes no comment but his suggestion areas S, T, C and D were horti may indicate that he considers P roofed

- paved area indicated on plan not referred to in any publication, and missing from plan in Panazza

Q - room divided into two parts, separated by later north/south wall; in west side is structure composed of two small walls, possibly the supports for a boiler, as much ash and soot found nearby

- several suspensurae found, as well as fragments of bricks with holes found in fill and on walls; west part identified as praefurnium, east as possible sudatorium (Panazza 110 n.21)

R - room (4.30x4.20m.) with polychrome mosaic: ivy scroll in border, major field with various geometric motives, such as stars formed by inscribed lozenges, four octagons with guilloche border and two with interior kantharos; central panel with Dionysus who reclines on a rock under a garland, with thyrsus in one hand and rhyton in other, panther seated nearby, guilloche in border

- painted wall plaster - on each wall a dark green socle divided into three panels, a central rectangle flanked by two squares separated by orange borders which have floral motives; birds and tufts of foliage in central rectangle, theatre masks in flanking squares; in major field yellow-gold borders with vegetal motives in horizontal borders and herms in vertical borders; panels, three on each wall, on north and south wall central panel with landscape flanked by small panels with marine motives; order inverted on east wall; west wall missing one panel due to door

V - room with opus signinum pavement and white wall plaster, threshold block to P

W - room at 0.40-0.50m. lower than surrounding rooms area to north paved with stone slabs; Panazza hypothesizes entrance located to west of this area, now no longer extant

X - room with white wall plaster

Z - room with opus signinum pavement and traces of white wall plaster

The mosaics and wall painting are dated to the end of the first century A.C. (Mirabella Roberti 1975 17; Panazza 118-119; Tamassia-Roffia 27, 32, 43, 45), with the exception of Panazza (104), who suggests that the mosaics in both R and B are as late as the end of the second century A.C. and thus he suggests that B underwent renovations at this period, when the heating system was taken out of use.

4. domus in via S. Rocchino/via Grazioli

Mirabella Roberti 1963 op. cit. 285-288.
Donderer 109-112.

Plan, fig 21: Donderer fig. 9; no scale provided.

rooms off three sides of a court

A-G off east side of court

A - room with black and white mosaic with hexagon pattern

B - room (7.70x5m.) white mosaic with quadrilobes of peltae motif around circles which have inscribed patterns; central panel with polychrome rosette

C-D-F - originally one room (5.20x7-8m.) with opus signinum pavement with reticulate grid in white tesserae, central panel with lozenge and hexagon motives; threshold blocks in between F-K and F-G

E - room of uncertain size without pavement and with threshold block to corridor K

G - room with opus signinum pavement with black and white grid pattern; at lower level is a white opus signinum with a reticulate pattern also in white tesserae

H - room (9.25x6.40m.) has wide opening off south side of court; mosaic with wide white border (c.1.60m. wide) and polychrome guilloche border within two black lines; central field divided into octagons linked by swastikas with a variety of motives e.g. rosettes, peltae, knots of Solomon, Erotes, masks; central panel (3.25m. sq.) surrounded by guilloche contains a small basin in stone and plaster surrounded by scattered marine motives e.g. fish, tridents, including crocodiles and a building (temple?), perhaps Nilotic in character

- area at sides of basin approx. 1.60m. wide

K - portico (3m. wide) runs north/south along court and extends east to form a corridor (3.50m. wide) which separates A-B from C-G; white mosaic pavement with narrow black border and rows of black crosslets, arranged diagonally in portico and orthogonally in corridor; in south corner brick base with a brick semicolumn on the north side; possibly the basis for a lararium

Traces of a wall to the north of court K indicate the existence of another room. A channel was cut through the corridor at a later date; however, it is not clear if it is antique. The mosaics in C/F and the lower pavement in

G are dated to the first half of the first century A.C. C and F were then divided. The mosaics in A, K, the corridor and upper level in G are dated to last third of first century A.D. The mosaics in B and H are dated to ca. 150-175 A.C. (Donderer).

5. domus under Collegio Arici (via Trieste 17)

Mirabella Roberti 1975 op. cit. 8-12.
Donderer 105-109.

Plan, fig. 22: Cavalieri Manasse et al. 248; no scale provided.

Photos: Mirabella Roberti 1975 fig. 7; Donderer pl. 35.3

five rooms off peristyle

A - room (4.70x6.50m.), white mosaic pavement with polychrome guilloche border; painted wall plaster shows nut-brown socle with a black border with vegetal motives in yellow; above this, a red field; soffit painted in white background with grid of fine floral calices in red, brown and green; at slightly higher level than neighbouring room B

B - room (3.50x6.50m.) with opus signinum pavement, separated from A by narrow wall, indicating the two once formed one room; walls decorated with red painted socle with green vegetal motives, above is a white field divided into two panels by a red band, with internal red frame

C - two rooms (2.40x3m.; 2.40x2.90m.) with identical opus signinum pavements with reticulate grid and meander border in white tesserae; painted wall plaster has traces of red socle with green tufts of foliage

D - room (3.90x6.50m.) with opus signinum pavement with same decoration as C

E - room (6.50m. length, width uncertain) with opus signinum pavement with same decoration as C and D; wall painting of red socle with tufts of foliage in green

- corner of portico (4.10-4.80m. wide; extant length 15m.) with white opus signinum pavement with rows of black lozenge-shaped tesserae and black border

The pavements in C, D, E and portico are dated to the first half of the first century A.C.; the mosaic in A is dated to the last third of that century (Donderer 106-

107). The wall paintings are dated to the Flavian period (Mirabella Roberti 1975 11).

6. domus above Brescia domus 5

Mirabella Roberti 1975 op. cit. 8-12.
Donderer 105-109.

Plan, fig. 23: Mirabella Roberti 1975 fig. 1.
Photos: Mirabella Roberti 1975 figs.3-6; Donderer pl. 36.4.

part of house, partially superimposed on domus 5; 1.10m. between levels

A - room (8.70x9.90m.) with tripartite entrance off portico created by four column (or pilaster) bases in situ with three threshold blocks in between; in front of central entrance, an opus sectile pavement of black hexagons and white triangles; in front of other two entrances orthogonal pattern of tangent crosses of four chevrons (DG Pl. 118 a); lies partially on portico pavement of domus 5

B - room (3m. wide) to west of A, in polychrome mosaic with pattern of stars formed by lozenges and, at south end, a panel with kantharos and garland

C - room (3m. wide) to east of A, with oblique rows of diagonally poised black squares on white background

- portico (4m. wide), with one Attic pilaster base; black and white mosaic with pattern of stars formed by lozenges

The small area of suspensurae north of C drawn on the plan is not mentioned in the text in relation to either house.

To the east is a series of rooms (6?), one with a black and white mosaic in a checkerboard pattern (5x5.70m.), another paved in stone. These rooms share their north wall, which runs for some 30m. and is parallel to two other long walls to the north. To the north of A in domus 6 is another large area (25m.long, 8.60m. wide) with a tile floor which rests on suspensurae and has tegulae hamatae for heating in the walls. The relationship, if any, between this area and the two domus is not clear; differences in levels are not quoted nor is an attempt made to date the hypocaust and surrounding area. Donderer, however, includes the black and white mosaic located east of the two domus with the other pavements and also dates it to the same period (108

no.26).

The pavements in A, B, C and portico are dated ca. 150-175 A.C. by Donderer (107-108), slightly earlier by Mirabella Roberti (10 - A, portico to 100-125 A.C., B, C somewhat later). Donderer also discusses an area of black and white mosaic in a checkerboard pattern, which he says is superimposed upon a pavement in room A of domus 5; he describes another black and white checkerboard mosaic from the site, but gives no location (109 no.27; no.28). There is no mention of either of these in the text or on the plan of Mirabella Roberti. The construction of domus 6 seems to indicate the eradication of domus 5.

7. domus in via Gambara/via Tosio (under Istituto magistrale)

Mirabella Roberti 1963 op. cit. 280-282.
Donderer 113-116.

Plan, fig. 24: Donderer fig. 10; no scale provided.
Other plans: Cavalieri Manasse et al. 247.
Photos: Donderer pl. 40.1, 2.

A - room (8.71x7.25m.) with white field surrounded by black border, divided into squares which are divided into brick-shaped rectangles with black square at centre; threshold to west has black and white star motif

B - corridor (1.65m. wide, 9m. extant in length), which Donderer describes as having an L shape, with plain white mosaic with black border; threshold to A (1.07x0.58m.) has black and white mosaic with alternately vertical and horizontal squares; threshold to C (1.20x0.96m.) has mosaic with alternating black and white squares

C - room (9.10x5.02m.) has mosaic with white border and central field which reverses the pattern of A, i.e. a black field divided into squares which are internally divided into rectangles with a white square at centre

Donderer records two other pavement fragments (nos.38 and 41), but gives no location. The walls are 0.60-0.65m. wide; the mosaics are dated to 75-100 A.C.

8. domus under piazza Duomo (under Credito Agrario Bresciano)

Mirabella Roberti 1963 op. cit. 315.

- Patroni, G., NSc 1907 717-727.
 Quilleri, C., Archeologia urbana in Lombardia (Modena 1984) 170.
 Stella, C., AquilNost 57 (1986) col.778-792.
 Rossi, F., Notiziario della soprintendenza di archeologia di Lombardia 1986 118-122.

no plan; photo Mirabella Roberti 314; Rossi fig. 112

atrium (4.23x3.68m. extant; Patroni gives somewhat larger dimensions - approx. 5.50m.sq.), impluvium (0.84x0.78m.) in Carrara marble with drainage hole; mosaic with marine motives and two borders, one with ivy scroll and guilloche, on other side with meander; when found impluvium covered with marble slab, indicating it was no longer in use

- beneath atrium - layer of mud, then below this a level of mosaic pavement in white with black tesserae

- room contiguous to atrium with opus spicatum rendered in black and white tesserae

- another room nearby with traces of wall painting and black and white geometric mosaic

- some fragments of wall plaster found with animal motives (sheep, goat, leopard), mask and tibia

The mosaic under the atrium is dated to late Republic; the mud stratum suggests that the structure was then abandoned due to flooding, and then reoccupied in the first century A.C., as indicated by fragments of painted wall plaster on top of the mud layer (Rossi 119-120). The mosaic in the atrium and the construction of the atrium itself comprise a fourth phase and are dated to the middle of the second century A.C. (Stella 783).

Cividale (Forum Iulii)

domus under Municipio, Largo Boiani (11, i)

- . Stucchi, S. Forum Iulii (Cividale del Friuli) (Italia romana, Municipi e colonie, XI) (Roma 1951) 64-66. Donderer 121-123.

Plan, fig. 25: Donderer fig. 11; no scale provided.
 Photo: ibid. pl. 43.1.

A - room (6.75x3.64m.) black and white geometric mosaic with white border

B - corridor (1.20x3.48m. extant length) black mosaic with white border and pattern of white stones in even rows

C - mosaic (1.80x0.48m.) black with white tesserae in uneven rows with narrow white border

D - fragment of mosaic, white with black border; field has two black lines with half of rhombus still visible

E - fragment of black mosaic with white border

All mosaics dated to the middle of the first century A.C. by Donderer, who also suggests that the double black stripe in D may indicate the bipartite division characteristic to cubicula (227). Walls (40cm. wide) extend to east and west, indicating three additional rooms.

Claterna (Ozzana Emilia)

remains found on both sides (mountain and valley) of via Emilia
no plans; relationship between evidence difficult to ascertain

Mountain side of via Emilia

1. FA 14 (1959) no.4181.
Gentili, G., AttiBol n.s. 20 (1969) [1970] 14.
Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 324.

1 - apsidal building 15m. wide x 27m. long with north/south orientation; length divided into three sections, south section had apse; west wall had pilasters; no description of walls given

2 - to east of 1 - remains of two rooms, no pavements

3 - To east of 1 and 2 - remains of five rooms in form of two wings around central court; three rooms in south wing, two rooms in east wing

- pavements partially opus signinum, partially tessellated black and white, and gray with marble incrustation; dated to last half of first century B.C.

4 - to north two rooms, badly preserved, with same orientation and wall structure as 3

There is some evidence of brick in the walls, which are

described only as "abbastanza antica". Gentili (14) states that there is evidence that a bath was constructed in the first century A.C. (suspensurae found) but gives no details.

Scagliarini Corlaità (1983 324) refers to a mosaic with a bipartite division indicating a triclinium, but does not specify its location.

2. remains on proprietà G.B. Foresti

Brizio, E., NSc 1892 133-134; 1898 233-236.

Aurigemma, S., NSc 1934 12-18.

Blake, M., "The Pavements of the Roman Buildings of the Republic and Early Empire," MAAR 8 (1930) 81-82.

Morricone Matini, M.L., "Precisazione sui mosaici di Quaderna e di S. Lorenzo in Panisperna Roma," ArchCl 15 (1963) 233-238.

Morigi Govi, C., Vitali, D. eds., Il museo civico archeologica di Bologna (Ozzano 1982).

Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 315 n.64.

Schematic drawing - Brizio 1898 fig. 1.

Photo: Aurigemma fig. 1.

- four column bases 5.50m. apart form square; resemble tetrastyle atrium, but no impluvium found

- several pavements found on same property - mosaic of plain white field with a garland border, which separates it from a bichrome grid pattern (cancellum) intersected diagonally by lines; this area bordered by meander; hexagonal brick, beaten brick and opus spicatum also found; relationship to four columns unclear

Morricone Matini dates the garland and grid mosaic to the Republican era, while Blake dates them to the first half of the first century A.C. In the museum guide the garland is dated to the last quarter of the first century B.C. (341).

valley side of via Emilia

3. remains on proprietà P. Foresti

Brizio NSc 1892 135-140.

Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 315 n.64.

1 - basin (2.52x1.07m.) of tufa slabs, moulded cornice; in northeast corner access to covered drain 2.65m. long
- 7m. from basin, on same axis, is mosaic (6.50x4m.)

divided into two areas; a panel, positioned slightly off-centre toward the south end, has a motif of black triangles on a white background; at the other end is another rectangle (3x1m.) with a black border; the two areas are separated by a band of black squares with a lozenge motif in white, yellow and purple

- Brizio identifies this as a possible triclinium on the basis of the mosaic arrangement, suggesting the small panel indicates the place for a mensa (138-139)

- 4m. to east side of this mosaic are four brick pilaster bases, aligned north/south, with an intercolumniation of 2.50m. for a portico 14m. in length; area of pavement 5x2m. in opus spicatum

2 - basin of large marble slabs 12 m. from 1; central cavity 2m. square with decorative moulded cornice 0.60m. wide

Concordia (Iulia Concordia)

three domus in via dei Pozzi Romani

Croce da Villa, P., Quaderni d'archeologia del Veneto 1 (1985) 39-41.

" , "Concordia," Il Ven. 407-413.

1. Plan, fig. 26: Croce da Villa Il Ven. 408.

1 - room (ca. 2.30x3.90m.) with white opus signinum floor with tesserae inserts; panel at one end with black and white convergent bands of isosceles triangles (DG Pl. 10 j) with six-petalled flower in centre

2 - room (ca. 3.30x4.30m.) in white opus signinum with panel at one end with black and white geometric motif; traces of entrance in east wall to room no longer extant

3 - court (ca. 3.80x2.90m. extant) with paving in terra cotta cubes

4 - room (ca. 3.20x6.60m.) with opus signinum pavement and small square panel at one end containing same motif as in 1

- identified as possible triclinium (Croce da Villa Il Ven. 408); function changed at later date, as indicated by traces of suspensurae and air duct added in second phase

5 - fragmentary mosaic pavement, white with black border; ca. 2.30x3.50m.; no details given

7 - rectangular room ca. 3.20x4.50m.; niche ca. 0.70m. deep, 1.70m. wide; with opus signinum floor and curved niche in south wall; belongs to second phase

8 - rectangular room ca. 6.30x3.40m.

9 - area with terra cotta cube pavement ca. 2.20x1.20m. extant

1 and 2 are identified as possible cubicula (Croce da Villa 1985 40). The mosaics in 1-4 are dated to the late Republic-early Imperial period; they were reduced in size in a subsequent phase. 7-9 are dated to the late antique period, apparently on basis of wall construction (no details given) (Croce da Villa Il Ven. 408).

2. Plan, fig. 27: Croce da Villa Il Ven. 409.

1 - room (ca. 7.10x8.30m.) with white mosaic and border in crenellated pattern filled with superposed isosceles triangles (DG Pl. 12 a)

2 - room (ca. 7.80x4.10m. extant) with terra cotta cube pavement; at one end tessellated panel with central circle with enclosed hexagon and star, surrounded by pelta motif and four-petalled rosettes

3 - white mosaic with fragment of central panel indicating guilloche border dividing two squares; extant ca. 2.90x1.10m.

4 - fragment of mosaic in terra cotta cubes; extant ca. 1.20x0.50m.

5 - fragment of white mosaic, extant ca. 2.10mx0.75m.

The mosaics are dated to 50-100 A.C. (Croce da Villa Il Ven. 409).

3. Plan, fig. 28: Croce da Villa Il Ven. 411.

group of eleven rooms, two corridors off decumanus

1 - white mosaic (ca. 5.80x9.30m.) with large black and white square panel with star, circle and lozenge motives

6 - white mosaic (ca. 3.60x3.60m.) with square panel with pattern of hexagons with stars and central flowers

9 - area with brick well; identified as court (Croce da

Villa Il Ven. 410)

2 and 11 identified as corridors; 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12 not described; no dates given

Cremona

domus in via Cadolini

Frova, F., BdA 42 (1957) 325-334.
Donderer 127-131.

Plan, fig. 29: Mansuelli, G., Urbanistica e architettura della Cisalpina romana (Collection Latomus vol. 3, Brussels 1971) fig. LXXXIII.

Other plans: Frova fig. 2.

Photo: Donderer pl. 44.5.

two rooms and two corridors of domus

A - corridor (1.25m. wide, extant 6m. length) pavement in black with two white borders and rows of alternating white and polychrome crosslets; underneath is another pavement in black with white crosslets

B - passage (1.44x1.13m.) with black and white labyrinth mosaic with central panel (0.16x.145m.) with simple polychrome figured composition of Theseus and the Minotaur; threshold (0.99x0.44m.) between B and C has pavement in black and white inscribed lozenges; threshold blocks on northwest and southeast sides have markings for doors

C - room (5.85x3.75m.) white border with square panels outlined in black which contain polychrome rosettes in various forms; central field of polychrome crustae in opus signinum with oblong monochrome white tesserae

D - corridor (extant 6.50x3.50m.) with opus signinum pavement, double black border and rows of black lozenge-shaped tesserae; beneath this, another pavement in yellow opus signinum with scattered black tesserae

Round pilae bricks were found, but the location of the suspensura is not clear (Donderer 127 n.1187). Lower pavements in A and D dated to the first century B.C.; other mosaics dated to 75-100 A.C. Later pavements may belong to period of rebuilding following the destruction of the city in A.D.69 (Donderer 127).

Este1. domus in the Serraglio Albrizzi

Callegari, A., NSc 1941 42-60.
Donderer 136-146.

Plan, fig. 30: Callegari fig. 2.; no scale provided.
Photos: Donderer pl. 48, 49.

1 - entrance off street with antae

2 - vestibule (3.28x3.10m.) white mosaic with two black borders; threshold in white mosaic with black volute and leaf pattern

3 - cella ostiaria (4.30x2.25m.) with mortar floor

4 - atrium (8.83x11.80m.); black mosaic with two white borders and rows of alternating cubes and crosslets in white; impluvium missing but outlined (2.90x2.30m.) in white mosaic with black meander; lead fistula (16cm. wide, 20cm. deep) leads out to street

5 - tablinum (4.17x3.40m.) with white mosaic with one wide and two thin black borders; central panel (60x60cm.) no longer extant; evidence of repair work in mortar; threshold with polychrome floral garland with sparrow on white background

6 - area behind tablinum (2x1.60m.); no pavement

15, 21 - traces of mosaic found; no description

19 - opus signinum pavement with meander pattern in white tesserae; at lower level than other mosaics (Donderer 136)

24 - court with beaten earth floor; pieces of Corinthian and painted Tuscan column found; also pieces of revetment from arcade

25 - room (5.50x9.50m.) with marble threshold block; black mosaic with one line of white border; gray socle on walls

26 - room (5.50x14.60m.) with white mosaic with one wide and two narrow black borders; field with rows of black crosslets; room widened to 7.85x13.80m. in secondary phase

- channel 60m. long communicates with prae-furnium to west (location not specified by Callegari [52] - in 27?)

- red socle, fragment of blue festoon with red lilies on yellow background and female head; pieces of stucco cornice

28 - court, possibly viridarium; 2 columns covered in white stucco at entrance

- remains of high black socle on walls with tracing of meander in white

- mosaic extant on south side of portico only - plain white field in front of rooms 29 and 33 and in front of walls between 31-32 and 30-31; black and white interlocking circles with central area in front of 31 with black shield motif and square with wave pattern and kantharos

- 5 columns bases found here, not in situ - probably from peristyle

29 - black and white mosaic with one wide and two narrow black borders; pattern of squares with interior rosettes and four small crosses between petals; threshold to portico with black and white triangle motif; threshold to 30 in west wall (not on plan), black and white rows of crosses set in squares

30 - white mosaic with double black border; near back square with triangle motif in border and inscribed circle with rosettes in hexagons; threshold to portico has row of squares with various interior motifs e.g. triangles, cubes, rosettes

31 - white mosaic with one wide and one narrow black border; rows of alternating squares with crosses and 'hour glass' motif; at centre back, red and white cut marble triangle in black tesserae which form a star; threshold to portico has garland

32 - white mosaic with one wide and two narrow black borders, hook and cross motives; threshold to portico with hexagons and ivy leaves

27 - white mosaic with black border; not necessarily part of house

Donderer (136) identifies rooms 30-32 as triclinia, but gives no grounds.

In a later phase the back wall of the south suite of rooms off the peristyle was advanced, cutting off part of their pavements. The south arm of the portico was also extended so that the row of columns stood on top of the pavements. Access to 31 via the lateral walls in 30 and 32, apparently contemporary with the pavements. Donderer dates the pavement in 19 to the second half of the first

century B.C., 2-25 to the Augustan period. 26, 29-33 and the south arm of the portico were laid ca. 75-100 A.C., when the peristyle itself was probably built. In a post Flavian period the peristyle was extended and the back wall advanced; the wall of 26 could also have been altered at this time. 27 also dates to this period.

2. five domus found in area of Ospedale Civile

Baggio Bernardoni, E., ArchVen 4 (1981) 99-114.

Plan, fig. 31: Baggio Bernadoni, "Este," Il Ven. 217-234, plan on 223.

Photo: ibid. 230.

no. i

eastern perimeter wall, two rooms, one with opus signinum pavement, other with mosaic in fragmentary condition (black field with white border); area between two rooms had well; another well near west wall

no. ii

traces of beaten pavement with stone chips, well

no. iii

traces of walls, two rooms

no. iv

four rooms, one with stone chips in mortar, traces of walls

no. v

A - room (5.25x7m. extant), opus signinum pavement with rows of white tesserae

B - room (6x3.40m.), opus signinum pavement with rows of lozenge-shaped crustae; beneath is pavement of clay and brick fragments; trace of red wall plaster on north wall

C-D - room (5.60x3.80m.), white mosaic with scattered black stars and central polychrome panel with trace of cornice and triangle motif; earlier pavement in clay and brick fragments; trace of red wall plaster; wooden threshold

E - room (7.10x7.10m.), probable beaten earth floor; no trace of earlier pavement as in other rooms

F - room (5.60x2.70m.), red opus signinum fragment in southeast corner; under is earlier pavement (1.20x0.93m.) in terra cotta cubes in circular pattern; threshold to O;

two windows in east wall (0.11x0.37m.; 0.22x0.25m.); later traces of east/west dividing wall indicates later subdivision of room; larger window added at same time
 - in southeast corner brick structure (1.45m. wide, 0.78m. deep, 0.24m. high); walls plastered; holes for drainage (location not clear); possible hearth, although no traces of fire; room identified as possible kitchen (Baggio Bernardoni 110)

G - room (4.80x2.20m.), opus signinum with rows of white tesserae in west half of room; earlier pavement of stone chips and traces of north/south wall, which left room smaller than H

H - room (2.30x2.20m.), opus signinum; some traces of wall plaster; lower level of pavement in stone chips extends into later room G

I - room (2.85x1.40m.); L - room (1.10x3m.); M - room (1.10x2m.); N - room (1.40x1.80m.);
 - no traces of pavement; area of pebbles in I and L probably later; east/west wall cuts lower level pavement of clay and brick fragments; west and north sides delimited by row of bricks; hole for drain (0.15x0.35m.) in east perimeter wall; east/west wall leans against east perimeter wall and is therefore probably later; access clear only in M

O - court (north/south width 7.50m., east/west arm 10.70x3.30m.)
 - only one pavement level of pressed stone chips in clay which belongs to earlier pavements in other rooms
 - Baggio Bernardoni suggests court was open, although presence of plaster on walls facing court may recommend partial roofing

P - room (5x2.20m.) possible entrance to street in west wall, as indicated by consistent masonry only at lowest level; later filled in

Q - room (extant 4.50x7m.), with traces of tesserae on east side; threshold at earlier level in northeast corner was later closed up; traces of yellow, gray and white wall plaster

Pavements in opus signinum dated to early Imperial era; date of lower pavements uncertain, so too the later subdivision of I-N.

Faenza (Faventia)1. domus in via Dogana 6

Righini Cantelli, V., Gentili, G.V., Baldini, A., Pagliani, M.L., Un museo archeologico per Faenza - repertorio e progetto Istituto per i beni artistici, culturali, naturali della regione Emilia-Romagna, Comune di Faenza (Bologna 1980) R.C. 13 95; R.C. 15 95-99, 427.

Maioli, M.G., "L'edilizia privata tardoantica in Romagna: appunti sulla pavimentazione musiva," CCAB 34 (1987) 228-238.

Plan, fig. 32: Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 fig. 39.

four rooms, one apsidal

Stratigraphy: A, B, I -2.60-2.70m.
 G -2.57m.
 D -2.05m.
 C, E -1.90m.
 H -1.83m.

A - mosaic (5.40x3.10m.) grid motif in white on black with polychrome guilloche border
 - in southeast corner three courses of brick wall 0.45m. wide

B - polychrome mosaic (5.40x7.50m.) with intricate geometric pattern of alternating hexagons and squares with interior motives surrounded by guilloche and border with laurel stem and dog's tooth pattern
 - 0.65m. under mosaic, fragment of brick wall 0.30m. wide; under wall (1m. beneath mosaic level) stratum of carbonized earth

I - southeast of A opus signinum floor (not on plan)

C - fragmentary polychrome geometric mosaic (9.10x16.90m.) to northwest of A and B; pattern of alternating circles and ovals surrounded by guilloche; central panel
 - wall area between C and A-B 0.45m.

D - red opus signinum floor beneath C, extant 3.80x4.15m., (in south corner of C, 3.75m. from E; not on plan); lines of rosettes, with central area (2.20x2.30m.) with alternately black and white rows of rosettes, separated by four rows of rosettes from a panel with diagonally arranged black and white rows of tesserae

E - southwest of C polychrome mosaic (extant 4.75x7.60m.) with figures set in squares separated by guilloche; central panel of enthroned figure surrounded by two soldiers and an old man

G - opus signinum pavement beneath E (not on plan)
- piece of wall, 0.30m. wide, 1.10m. beneath E

H - apse only partially extant, probable width 5.50m. depth 3m.
- mosaic (2.80x1.75m.) octagon motif comprised of oblong hexagons around a square
- pieces of plaster facing, possibly for step between C and H (7.3cm. high)
- pavement in opus spicatum with small yellow brick in mortar; 0.60m. beneath H; delimited by wall 0.52m. wide
- pavement of small red bricks set in mortar 1.50m. below H

The pavement in D is dated to 150-100 B.C. The mosaics in A are dated from the second to the third centuries A.C., B from fourth to the sixth centuries A.C., C and H to the fourth century A.C., and E to the beginning of the fifth century A.C. (Gentili 427-428). Maioli dates E to mid fifth century A.C. (238).

2. domus in via Cavour (ex convento S. Maglorio)

Monti, P., NSc 1971 43-54.
Righini Cantelli et al., op. cit. R.C. 69 122-123.

Plan, fig. 33: adapted from Monti fig. 4.
Photos: Monti figs. 2, 8, 9.

Stratigraphy: A, B, i -2.50m.
D -2.35m. (2.20m. in Righini Cantelli 122)
C, h -2.20m.

A - mosaic, black and white (6.70x3m.); white field with central panel (2.30sq.m.) with circle inscribed in a square and linear palmette motif in corners
- traces of fire in corner, bounded by walls on two sides
- wall of sesquipedales brick, extant up to 0.74m. height

B - mosaic (2.80x2.87m.) opus signinum pavement with grid pattern
- fragment of plaster on dividing wall with A; medieval wall runs through northwest/northeast, in similar technique is well d' to east

D - fragment of pavement of tesserae in mortar

C - dark opus signinum floor with reticulate pattern in white tesserae; located 2m. north of A

h - basin (circa 2.50x1.80m.) with hexagonal brick pavement, opening for water; walls plastered

i - area of hexagonal brick pavement beneath basin h

The mosaic in A is dated to the second century A.C.; a coin of Marcus Aurelius was found at the same level some distance away and is used as corroboration (Monti 54).

Imola (Forum Cornelii)

1. domus in via S. Pietro Crisologo ('Grisologo' in Romualdi)

Brizio, E., NSc 1897 55-57.

Mancini, F Mansuelli, G. Susini, G., Imola nell'Antichità
(Storia di Imola I, Rome 1958) 164 n.11, 12.

Romualdi, A., NSc 1981 24-26.

Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 294, 311, 320.

no plan; group of pavements and corridor

1 - black and white mosaic with grid of outlined marble hexagons and lozenges; 4m. wide with scale pattern

2 - mosaic pavement in same pattern as 1, with green border, extant to 2m. wide

3 - after 1 and 2 white tessellated pavement with polychrome rinceau with foliage and bacchic masks; step to north in middle

4 - corridor 1.55m. in width, separated from 5 by wooden wall

5 - pavement 4.25m. across surviving section; with lozenge pattern in black and white

There is evidence of bricks used in walls. Ceramics were also found dating from the second to first centuries B.C. and second century A.C. Mosaics are dated from the late republic to early Imperial era (Mancini 158, Romualdi).

2. domus in viale Rivalta

Mancini et al. op. cit. 164 n.12.
 Bollini. M., NSc 1961 26-32.
 Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 320; 322.
 Donderer 66 n.556, 559; 78 n.701.

Plan, fig. 34: Scagliarini Corlaità fig. 45; no scale provided.

Photos: Bollini figs. 3, 4.

A - mosaic pavement, white with polychrome straight tongued double guilloche border; extant to 6m. long x 4.40m. wide

B, C - T-corridor (2m. wide) runs perpendicular to A, up to 12m.; paved in mosaic of black tesserae with a narrow white border; panel in white with swastika motif flanked by two rosettes; C also in black tesserae, 2m. wide and up to 6m. to north

D - area west of A with mortar foundation of pavement ca. 4x6m.

Two rooms ca. 3.20m. from A and B

H - mosaic black with double narrow white border
 - piece of painted socle extant with bands of purple and black and traces of white panels with interior purple field

I - mosaic (4.20m.long and up to 2m. wide); white with black hexagonal grid with interior crosslets in black

F - area (1.40m.) of hexagonal brick pavement

E - area (1.60m.) of opus spicatum pavement

Mancini dates mosaics ca. 50 B.C. or slightly later.
 Bollini dates all mosaics to the Augustan era (32).
 Donderer dates A, B and I to the Flavian period (A - 66 n.559; 78 n.701; 146 n.1375; B - 66 n.556, 559; 78 n.701; I - 147 n.1403). Wall foundations are 0.31m. wide.

Libarna

Moretti, G., NSc 1914 113-134; 1922 362-8; 1950 221-226; 1952 211-220.

Monaco, G., Forma Italiae IX - Libarna (Rome 1936) 14-15.

Plan, fig. 35: Moretti 1914; no scale provided.

remains of houses, plans incomplete
 at northwest corner of via C and D
 - two rooms (identified as alae) and area (b) identified
 as atrium
 - room 'c' (4x5.10m.) with hypocaust, with pilae 15cm.
 high, 20cm. diameter, distance between 80cm.

rooms west of via C, between via F and G; fragments of
 mosaics; other evidence of hypocaustic heating, extending
 through two rooms; air duct
 - impluvium identified, paving stones lightly inclined
 to central square cistern; drainage channel nearby

no date

Luni (Portus Lunae?)

1. domus degli mosaici (via S. Pero)

Humphrey, J., "Two New Circus Mosaics and their
 Implications for the Architecture of Circuses,"
AJA 88 (1984) 392-397.

Frova, A., Luni - Guida archeologica (Sarzana 1989) 95-
 100.

Plan, fig. 36: Frova 163a; no scale provided.

remains of domus, neither fully excavated nor published,
 located directly north of Capitolium, with decumanus
 several metres to north

Phase I

- plan hard to read, but sondages indicate there was
 probably a central area (A - 9.50x7.50m.) identified by
 Frova as a Corinthian atrium but with proportions more
 closely resembling a peristyle; three stone columns on
 each side, five columns, marble wellhead in impluvium
 still in situ

- rooms off portico with opus signinum pavements
 decorated with white tesserae in rows and in reticulate
 pattern

Phase II

A - intercolumniations walled up, low parallel wall built
 inside peristyle to create channel, lead fistulae found
 (number unspecified); corridors on three sides with
 pavements

B - north corridor has guilloche border, square panels in
 two registers around central kantharos; upper register

with basket of flowers and birds, lower, with garlanded male and female figures

C - corridor off west side of 'atrium' has mosaic of Dionysus with thyrsus, surrounded by figures of the seasons in corners, between runs a garland with birds

D - room off northeast corner of 'atrium' with wide entrance and mosaic with plain white border at north end (2m. wide) and central panel with Heracles and lion skin surrounded by floral garland in border; identified as cubiculum because of plain mosaic field at one end (Frova 1989 100)

E - room to east of that with Heracles mosaic mostly destroyed by course of via S. Pero, but threshold block with wide entrance to atrium intact; identified as possible tablinum or reception room (Frova 1989 100)

F - room east of 'tablinum' has traces of marble pavement and evidence of much renovation work

Phase III

G - in east corridor off atrium mosaic depiction of Circus Maximus in Rome; earlier pavement in this corridor (i.e. contemporaneous to Phase II) is not known

Other rooms shown on plan not described; room to east of E shown with tessellated pavement.

Phase I is dated to the late Republic, Phase II third-fourth century A.C., Phase III to the fifth century A.C.; all dates based on mosaic evidence (Frova 1989; Humphrey 397).

2. domus degli Affreschi

Frova, A., Scavi di Luni I (Rome 1973) coll. 203-232.

" , Scavi di Luni I (Rome 1977) 3-9; 32-77.

Zaccaria Ruggiu, A., "La casa degli affreschi a Luni: fasi edilizie per successione diacronica," Quaderni del Centro Studi Lunensi 8 (1983) 3-38.

Frova 1989 op. cit. 78-95.

Plan, phase I, fig. 37a: Frova fig. 137a.

Plan, phase II, fig. 37b: ibid. fig. 137b.

Plan, phase III, fig. 37c: ibid. fig. 137c.; no scales provided

Photos: ibid. 139-142, 153.

domus immediately south of Forum, directly off cardo

Phase I - largely destroyed by subsequent construction

- entrance from porticoed decumanus minor

A - fauces (2.30x4m.) with traces of anta; flanked by two rooms, one to northwest open only to street and garden, one to southeast open only to fauces

B - atrium (11x8m.) with floor and impluvium in red opus signinum, the latter decorated with parallel rows of crustae; no trace of drain or well in impluvium (15cm. deep); atrium not axial to fauces, but on cross axis

C - room (3.40x4.40m.) with opus signinum pavement with reticulate grid in white tesserae; identified as tablinum by position (Zaccaria Ruggiu 17)

D, E - two rooms flank tablinum, also paved in opus signinum

F - peristyle garden entered through room on west side of tablinum; surrounded on three sides by light brick wall with stuccoed brick columns (30cm. diameter), reconstructed by Zaccaria Ruggiu (21) as a fenestrated portico with glass windows, indicated by numerous glass fragments found in ambulacra; space between 1.50m.; internal wall probably painted yellow

- wall painting in situ on wall of north and east arm of portico indicates a red socle (70cm. high) internally divided by white lines; white band (30cm. wide) separates socle from major field of black panels (180cm. high), separated by narrow vertical bands with candelabra motif and decorated with lightly traced green garlands with yellow and red flowers; panels closed off at top by bands of dark red and white; wall ca. 3.50m. high; this wall later (ca. second - third cen. A.C.) repainted; external wall painted black, while bottom of columns red

- on fourth (west) side colonnade is open; columns painted red at bottom and violet above; brick drainage channel faced with plaster runs outside for collection of water which came through windows; traces of opus signinum pavement found, possibly from portico

- another wall (0.80.m high) runs along inner perimeter of garden, with square markings every three metres; identified as bases for vases, statues or other ornament (Zaccaria Ruggiu 19)

- well on south side

Phase II

G - a second atrium (14x9.50m.) built to west of peristyle garden; pavement (11.70x8m.) of mortar and stone chips with rows of polychrome marble crustae; band of marble crustae on west and north side; impluvium

(2.15x2.80m.) faced with marble; many fragments of painted wall plaster, mainly blue, but also in white, yellow, red, violet and black

H - small room identified as an ala (Zaccaria Ruggiu 24) with wide opening off south corner of atrium, with same type of pavement as in atrium in east end, and plain beaten pavement in west end

- two other rooms extending along same side of atrium G to west (not on plan) perhaps also belonged to house in this era; room to immediate west has pavement of mortar and marble chips; room further west has no pavement extant but stone drain

row of three rooms to east of atrium G

J - central one identified as new tablinum of house, open to both atrium and peristyle garden; traces of marble wall facing up to socle level (35cm. high) with modelled cornice

K - room to north of J has pavement of mortar and marble chips; evidence of red, green and black bands painted on walls; entrances to J, portico and atrium G

I - room to south of J has wide opening off peristyle garden, as well as small entrance to tablinum

L - portico open to peristyle; pavement in white mortar with marble chips; traces of black socle in painted plaster; many pieces of paving stones found, perhaps fallen from upper storey; remains of four steps also found in room off west end of portico

F - garden divided into two separate areas, with no apparent access between them; date of reorganization unclear, falls into either Phase II or III

- south side divided into four octagonal areas by a euripus faced in mortar and plaster; small fountains with low basins in marble with lead fistula placed along walls of garden, rectilinear in corners, curvilinear in between; only fountain in southwest corner still intact; in centre of four octagons is a circular fountain; hexagonal areas not cultivated, as indicated by layer of clay, sand and ceramic fragments; probable that areas were covered in grass or potted plants or plants needing little care (Zaccaria Ruggiu 30); numerous vase fragments found in fill

- walled portico of earlier phase kept on north side with semicircular nymphaeum added in west side, with basin faced in marble and two drainage channels; masonry podium in basin with small triangular niche faced in marble and with small marble bracket; Zaccaria Ruggiu

suggests this is a lararium (32); this area also not cultivated but probably decorated with potted plants, as indicated by numerous vase fragments found in area

- entrance to garden from eastern suite of rooms closed off; new entrance made from hortus (P) added in southwest corner

- marble plaque with Silvanus found

- original atrium B may have been subdivided into several small rooms in this phase, and original entrance closed up

Phase III

G, H covered by construction of a piazza

row of three rooms (I,J,K) to east of second atrium G closed off on west side

I - wide entrance to portico closed up; access apparently only via J; imprint of opus sectile pavement no longer extant on mortar bedding indicates geometric pattern of circles and squares

J - opus sectile pavement with grid of internal poised squares in polychrome marble with central square panel (60x60cm.) no longer extant; walls faced with marble to socle level, still in situ on west wall; identified as possible triclinium (Zaccaria Ruggiu 25)

K - markings of opus sectile pavement no longer extant with grid with inscribed octagons; marble wall facing up to socle level with modelled cornice (as in J in Phase II) dated to this renovation; at later date this room subdivided, with small L-shaped area created with rectangular masonry feature with openings east and west, probably a latrine (Zaccaria Ruggiu 7)

area of original atrium divided up into several rooms

M - room with polychrome opus sectile pavement with rectangular grid with internal poised squares; markings on wall mortar indicates walls were faced, possibly with marble; wide opening to hortus P with threshold block with markings for doorposts

- identified as possible winter triclinium (Zaccaria Ruggiu 12)

N - corridor to east of M with opus signinum pavement

O - room to east of corridor N with polychrome opus sectile pavement with grid pattern formed by four rectangles around a central square (DG Pl 141 a); at north end band of white tessellatum, perhaps for bed, indicating room was used as cubiculum

C - former tablinum of Phase I in white tesserae with central disc of white marble

F - corner of peristyle with two sides of portico of stuccoed brick columns partially walled with light brick wall; beaten pavement of mortar and marble chips; inner wall with small rectangular niches with small marble bases, probably for statues; internal area of portico probably planted; well collected water from rest of dom.

fauces A of Phase I later made into a latrine, with trench and drain to street cloaca; room to west of A found with amphora set in ground; identified as possible kitchen (Zaccaria Ruggiu 14); cistern also built on west side of atrium of Phase I; in east part of former atrium a kiln built, perhaps for glass or lime production (Zaccaria Ruggiu 15)

- room with hypocaust and suspensurae located south of garden

Phase I is dated to the late Republic on the basis of the pavements, ceramic evidence and wall construction (large blocks and stone in foundation with smaller cut stone in upper courses) (Zaccaria Ruggiu 22). Phase II is dated to ca. A.D.40 due to the stratigraphic relationship with Phases I and III and to Tiberian Arretine ware (Frova 1977 15-16; 29). Phase III is dated to 50-70 A.C., based on ceramic evidence, and on the construction of a public fountain, dated ca. 50-65/70 A.C., which destroyed atrium G (Frova 1989 74; Zaccaria Ruggiu 28). The wall paintings are not specifically dated but must fall in Phase II or III.

Oderzo (Opitergium)

1. domus in via Mazzini and via Roma

Tirelli, M., "La domus di via Mazzini ad Oderzo (Treviso)," QdAV 3 (1987) 171-192.
" , in Il Ven. 369-381.

Plan, fig. 38: Tirelli 1987 fig. 3.
Photo: Tirelli 1987 fig. 25.

two nuclei with different orientations along large drain (1.52m. wide, 1.65m. high), which probably ran under cardo; west section has north/south orientation and is the earlier; east section follows orientation of cardo (northeast/southwest) and was built later; both at same

level

West Section

- 1 - peristyle (12.30x7.50m) traces of stylobate foundations in brick on north and southeast side; remains of Attic column base in situ on east side; no pavement extant; brick drain, fragments of fistulae found, probably for cistern or fountain
- 2 - portico (width south side 3.00m., east 2.00m west 3.70m, north 5.00m) only beaten foundation found
- 3 - corner of room found - east wall 9.50m., north 7m. long, in brick and mortar on foundation of large stones; pavement foundation of mortar
- 4 - traces of mortar foundation level for pavement
- 5 - room (13x7.20m.) traces of walls on south side; threshold to portico; trace of white mosaic in corner with double black border
- 6 - room (3.50x4.00m.), white mosaic with two borders in black and two in white; traces of west and south walls
- 7 - room (5.70x4.60m.) off portico, white mosaic with two narrow black borders; traces of south wall
- 8 - L-shaped room (8.20x5.60m.), white mosaic with black ivy scroll border
- 9 - room (2.70x2.40m.) cut out of 8; mortar floor; two pyramidal-shaped blocks (0.26m high, 0.24m.sq.) along west side of pavement with evidence of burning
- 10 - room (5.60x3.80m.), white mosaic with black border; piece of border on west end indicates renovation work
- 11 - room (1.60x4.50m.), white mosaic with black border; two small bits of mosaic along west wall seem to indicate limit between 8 and 11, with double row of black and white tesserae; wall foundations on east only - no structural evidence of separation from 8
- 12, 19, 27 - areas of uncertain size and shape, presumably created when second domus (east section) built

East Section

- 13 - area, 7x15m., two areas of opus signinum paving; possible court (Tirelli 180)
- 14 - corridor, 7x2.40m., no trace of paving

15 - triangular area (2.20x5.10m.), paving in terra cotta tesserae, with tesserae lined up to create border along north side

16 - T-shaped room (8.80x4-4.0m.); no walls; white opus signinum floor divided into two parts of unequal size by black outline and separated by band of black and white triangles; wider side panels at north end indicates position of triclinium couches (Tirelli 1987 180-181); southeast end has rows of scale motif, each divided by vertical line and each half with a crusta, in various coloured marble; northwest end has reticulate pattern with a central rhombus filled with rows of superposed isosceles triangles and an inner border of black and red triangles on a white background; fragment of white wall plaster found with brown, red and yellow lines

17 - room (4.80x6.20m.), with bit of southeast wall; trace of terra cotta pavement

18 - room (3.50x7.00m.), trace of southeast wall; opus signinum pavement with reticulate motif and border with zigzag; line of black tesserae indicates another area of pavement to southeast no longer extant

20, 22 - corridors (1m., 1.30m. wide); traces of brick and mortar pavements

21 - room (width 4x1.50m extant length), white mosaic with black border and trace of geometric motif

23 - room (8.70x6.20m.), white opus signinum pavement divided by border with meander pattern; as in 16, space for dining couches indicated at northeast end (Tirelli 1987 182-183) with central rhombus with rosette, surrounded by rows of stars; southeast end in white with rectangular crustae set obliquely in opposed rows with border of tangent poised squares; room enlarged in north section, as indicated by coarser tesserae

24 - court (6x6.40m.) traces of pavement and wall foundations; brick well on east side; traces of channel to large drain

25 - room (3.70x3m.) mortar pavement with marks of pilae (0.25-0.31x0.26m.) in rows; channel to large drain on east side; part of bath or heating system

26 - room (3.70x2.80m.) no pavement; connection with heating system unclear

28 - room (2.60x2.90m.) drain runs to second drain in 29

29 - room (2.90x1.50m.), no pavement; drain leads to large drain

30 - trapezoidal room (7.50x6.40m.) with brick tessellated pavement

31 - room (3.50x7m.), pavement foundation; channel from peristyle in west section cuts underneath to large drain; piece of limestone architectural decoration

32 - area connected with 31

33 - to southeast of excavation limit, not on plan; area of white opus signinum pavement with rows of crosslets, wide black border with different coloured marble crustae

Traces of earlier phase under west section, with pavements in opus spicatum and brick, and two areas, a large room (10x6.30m.) and a court (19.75x7.37m.). The suggested date for this phase is the beginning of the first century B.C. Mosaics in the west section are dated to the late Republican period, except 8, which is dated to the end of the first century A.C.; in the east section, to the end of the first century B.C. (Tirelli 1987 189).

2. domus in via dei Mosaici

Malizia, A., Tirelli, M., "Note preliminari sul rinvenimento di domus romana nel settore urbano nord-orientale dell'antica Oderzo," Quaderni d'archeologia del Veneto 1 (1985) 151-165.

Tirelli, M., "Oderzo," in Il Ven. 376-379.

Plan, phase I, fig. 39a: Malizia - Tirelli fig. 6.

Plan, phase II, fig. 39b: ibid. fig. 10.

house in two phases

Phase I

A - court with pavement foundation and remains of three square brick bases, possibly for pilasters

B - room (5.30x2.25m.), red opus signinum pavement with one black, one red border and parallel rows of white tesserae

C - trace of north wall with beige plaster

D - red opus signinum pavement in two sections; south area (2.60x2.70m.) plain field, north area (2.90x3.40m.) with lines of black and white rosettes which form a grid

of lozenges each with a large tessera at centre; brick well

E - traces of cobbled pavement

F - room (3.70x2.70m.) white opus signinum with tangent rhombi and hexagons with rosettes; inscription ("AVE") in white border

G - traces of beaten earth floor

Phase II

L - court (18.75x14m.) with patches of brick pavement; well

M, N, O - rooms off west side - M 0.50m. wide, possibly for staircase; N (3.30x2.35m.) with opus signinum floor, placed on top of B; O pavement foundation with marks of marble inserts

P, S, Q, R - rooms off east side - P (2.10x3.20m.), S (2.70x2.70m.), both with mortar floors; Q (6.10x5.75m.) white mosaic with black border and central panel with various geometric motives separated by guilloche and kantharos at centre; R (4.30x3.80m.) white mosaic with black border and central panel divided by guilloche into octagons and crosses which contain various motives

T - (not on plan) traces of black and white mosaic with missing emblema

In 1951 an unpublished excavation uncovered three mosaics, two terra cotta pavements and one column base to east.

Mosaics in the first phase are dated to the first century B.C.; the mosaics in Q and R are dated to the second century A.C. (Malizia - Tirelli 162).

Pieve di Cadore

domus in Piazza di Pieve

Fogolari, G., NSc 1953 206-211.
Donderer 172.

Plan, fig. 40: Fogolari fig. 1.

A - room 1.65x3m. with black and white mosaic in

checkerboard pattern surrounded by two borders, one black, one white, with corner extant which indicates there was a central square surrounded by a double border

B - A and B separated by threshold block 'b'; B 4x4m. with black and white mosaic with a motif of stars made of lozenges with various motives in interstices e.g. pelta, dolphin, vase

C - 2x2m. white mosaic, 20 cm. higher than A and B and partially overlaps B

Walls 45-55cm. wide; underneath A-C suspensurae composed of series of arches; passage for heat 0.65m. wide, extant to 1.50m. long

Mosaics dated by Donderer to 125-150 A.C., except C which clearly postdates B.

Ravenna

1. domus in via Guerini and piazza Arcivescovado (under the Banca Popolare)

Bermond Montanari, G., "Recenti rinvenimenti archeologici a Ravenna. Riassunto.," CCAB 28 (1981) 13-15.

" , "Ravenna 1980 - Lo scavo della Banca Popolare - Relazione Preliminare," FelRav 127-130 (1984/1985) 21-34.

Maioli, M.G., Porto 55-59.

" , "Appunti sulla tipologia delle case di Ravenna in epoca imperiale," CCAB 33 (1986) 210-216.

Scagliarini Corlaità, D., "Nuovi dati e nuove osservazioni sulle domus di Ravenna e della Romagna," CCAB 34 (1987) 377-380; 383; 390.

Plan, phase I, fig. 41a: Bermond Montanari 1984/85 fig. 4.

Plan, phase II, fig. 41b: ibid. fig. 3.

Plan, phase III, fig. 41c: ibid. fig. 2.

Rooms and court of house with three construction phases; built up against city wall

Phase I - 5.65m. below street level (6m. at north end); three major areas established

1 - court paved with brick; deep well near wall

- to north, portion of brick wall, probably with wooden inserts

- plastered and painted in imitation green marble; area

between this and city wall approximately 11m.

2 - room with opus signinum floor 3.60m. wide

3 - room with mosaic partially preserved on south side; black and white geometric motif of tangential hexagons and squares; walls plastered and painted in dark red, divided into panels by black bands

- short time later, room heated - space 50cm. wide built along south end; separated from room by thin partition wall; opening at west to small furnace in court 1

Phase II - marked by raising in level of pavements to 5.35m. below street level (5.70m at north end), probably due to water level

1 - new pavement in hexagonal brick

2 - new pavement in hexagonal brick; bench or step built into east side, painted red; drain under pavement runs east-west, then to south; imprint of stairs to upper storey between bench and entrance to 3

3 - new mosaic laid; white with black area near door and central square divided into four smaller squares with central motives of rhombi and lozenges; area at back of panel approx. 1.40m. wide, at sides approx. 1.13m.

- new red Verona marble threshold; wall plaster painted in imitation marble in red and orange

- identified as triclinium by Maioli (no reason given Maioli 1986 213)

Phase III - new room, feature in 2 added

1 - new pavement in rectangular brick

2 - second step added to first, also with red plaster; another step built to east

- between two steps is waterproof basin; concave element in brick with well inside and marks of pipe; at the south side is a base in red marble

- stairs and landing built to connect room 3 with new room 4

- floor repaved in brick

- drain altered to empty into court 1

3 - no change

4 - new room built to west of 3; near wall 4.70m. below street level, 4.85m. on opposite side; heating via vertical pipes on west wall; connected to small furnace located behind feature in 2

- mosaic, black and white geometric with black border;

central octagon with guilloche and Solomon's knot surrounded by circles (containing six-petalled flowers) and lozenges

- door in north wall to landing, trachite threshold between this landing and one in 2
- bronze pieces from table (Maioli 1986 216) and piece of mosaic in mortar fallen from upper storey
- identified as winter triclinium (Maioli 1986 214)

5 - small room (not on plan) in 2; difficult to discern because of later changes; plaster in checkerboard pattern in yellow and green

The mosaic in Phase I (3) is dated to Hadrianic era, while the new mosaic in Phase II is dated to the end of the second century A.C.. The mosaic in room 4 is dated to the third century A.C. (Maioli 1986 212-214). Maioli suggests that the feature in Phase III-2 is a nymphaeum, perhaps with a cascade (Maioli 1986 216).

2. domus under S. Croce

Berti, F., Mosaici antichi in Italia, Aemilia: Ravenna (Rome 1976) 94-98; 99-101 (area ex Caserma).

Cortesi, G., "I principali edifici sacri ravennati in funzione sepolcrale nel sec. V e VI," CCAB 29 (1982) 63-107.

Maioli 1986 op. cit. 199-203.

Scagliarini Corlaità 1987 op. cit. 381-382.

Plan, fig. 42: Maioli 1986 fig. 1; no scale is provided, and on the plan the Roman levels are under the church of S. Croce, and are therefore difficult to read.

group of pavements, court, apsidal rooms, traces of heating system

1 - black and white geometric mosaic in bichrome ashlar pattern, with sections in opus sectile in white and red marble

2 - to east small rectangular room and court in beaten earth

- drain running north/south near dividing wall with 1; well with brick lining

3 - room with vaulted apse in south side; black and white mosaic with scale motif in apse; in main field, black and white grid of interlocking with crosses

4 - mosaic, black and white geometric, with floral

pattern (containing some polychrome details) and kantharos in centre; dog's tooth motif in border

5 - black and white mosaic with star, rectangles and pelta motives; missing octagonal central panel

6 - to east, piece of polychrome mosaic with gladiatorial scene; room heated via tubuli in wall connected with 8

7 - area with hexagonal pavement

8 - room adjacent to 6 with suspensurae

Another mosaic, polychrome with a central panel and surrounding octagon with Dionysiac figures, was found nearby; however, its exact position is not clear. There are other mosaics found nearby, in area ex Caserma, which are dated to the third century A.C. Berti says they are related to S. Croce mosaics but the nature of the relationship is not clear.

The mosaic in 1 is dated to the first to second centuries A.C., in 4 from mid to late second centuries A.C., and 3, 5 and 6 to the second to third centuries A.C. (Berti 96-98; Maioli 201-203).

3. domus under S. Severo (Classe)

Bermond Montanari, G., La chiesa di S. Severo nel territorio di Classe (Bologna 1968) 63-95.

" , Porto 61-63.

Maioli 1986 op. cit. 217-218.

Plan, fig. 43: Bermond Montanari 1968 fig. 36.

Photos: ibid. figs. 35, 40-43, 45.

group of rooms and basin cut by walls of sixth century church of S. Severo

A - room off entrance area with threshold of Verona marble; column base in doorway to F; beaten earth floor
- perimeter wall of house to south and east

B - basin (11x4.70m.), walls 0.95m. wide on north and west side, 0.45m. on south and east side; layers of marble and plaster facing on west wall and traces of marble facing; masonry on outside

- pavement in black and white opus sectile with six-pointed star motif at 1.78m. below street level, another in brick base 1m.x 1m. found in basin, possibly for fountain; in northwest end of basin brick pavement 0.20m.

higher than opus sectile

- tile-covered drain runs under F to basin

F - pavement (14.50x9.50m.) opus signinum with scattered flowers in black and white tesserae

- covered drain runs through F, from I to basin B
- several round and square holes 50-60 cm. in floor, possibly for water drainage; rectangular water pipe under floor with cover

E - corridor (3.20m. wide) with white tessellated pavement with scattered black tesserae; two entrances to rooms C, D, and H; one threshold block intact, other gone but traces remain

- fragment of painted wall plaster found with vegetal motives

C - mosaic (9.50x4m.) black and white geometric with pattern of rectangles which contain lozenges

D - black and white mosaic in pattern of tangent hexagons forming squares and four-pointed stars

H - mosaic pavement, black and white with motif of interlocking octagons which form a grid of squares and hexagons

G - area with brick pavement indicated on plan; no discussion in sources

I - area south of F with hexagonal pavement; at lower level; described as possible court or basin (Maioli 1986 217)

Plaster was found in basin B with a geometric design in yellow, red and blue. To the west is evidence of a large hypocaust, perhaps connected to the basin and drain.

All mosaics are dated to the second century A.C. (Bermond Montanari 1968 91), but Bermond Montanari suggests that the lower level of I indicates an initial phase which she dates to the first century A.C. (89) Hadrianic brick stamps were found in the basin wall and in a hypocaust located to the west. These, combined with mosaic parallels at Ostia, are used by Bermond Montanari to recommend a Hadrianic date for the construction and pavements in B, C, D, E and F (82).

4. domus in Largo Firenze (under Cassa di Risparmio)

Bermond Montanari, G., "Attività di ricerca nel decennio 1973-1983 della sopr. Arch. dell'Emilia e Romagna,"

Opuscula Instituti Romani Finlandiae 3 (1986) 11.
 Maioli 1986 op. cit. 206-210.
 Scagliarini Corlaità 1987 op. cit. 385.

Plan, fig. 44a: Maioli fig. 3.
 Plan, detail, east side, fig. 44b: ibid. fig. 5.

two groups of rooms cut by ancient trench

A West Side

1 - hexagonal pavement; red opus signinum pavement beneath

2 - mosaic black and white geometric with a polychrome guilloche and swastika and pelta motives in central emblema; imprint of tesserae from earlier mosaic 30-40 cm. beneath

B East Side

1 - area with opus signinum floor and traces of tesserae
 - part of E wall extant with plaster painted in imitation polychrome marble; two steps provide access to 3

3 - room with red Verona marble threshold (2 on plan); black and white mosaic in checkerboard pattern with superimposed squares in front of threshold; in centre field white with black crosslets, black border; along west wall black band in half T shape bordering plain white field; possibly for dining couch and therefore identified as triclinium (Maioli 206)

4 - room with hexagonal pavement, originally accessible through door to 3, later closed up

A wall under 3 with north/south orientation indicates earlier phase. The house was destroyed by fire, as witnessed by traces of fallen roof beams on pavement. A section of a large basin with white mosaic and rounded walls was also found on top of pavement; its origin is not clear. Mosaics are dated to the second to third centuries A.C. (Maioli 210).

5. so-called Palace of Theodoric and domus beneath

Ghirardini, G., "Gli scavi del Palazzo di Teodorico," Mon.Ant. 24, 2 (1918) cols. 737-838.

Duval, N., "Que savons-nous du Palais de Theodoric à Ravenna?," MEFR 72 (1960) 337-371.

Berti 1976 op. cit. 10-86.

Duval, N., "Comment reconnaître un palais imperial ou royal? Ravenne et Piazza Armerina," FelRav 115

(1978) 29-62.

Maioli 1986 op. cit. 198-199.

" , M.G., "L'edilizia privata tardoantica in Romagna: appunti sulla pavimentazione musiva," CCAB 34 (1987) 212-215.

Plan, fig. 45: Duval 1978 op. cit. fig. 3.

Other plans: Berti op. cit. fig. 58.

two nuclei of rooms off north and south side of peristyle
Ai-Aiii

Rooms to south

Phase I

Ai - portico of peristyle (5.80m. wide, 28m. extant length) with white mosaic with rows of black crosslets;
- five pilaster bases still in situ, with two more abutting on the north and south walls; low wall built between pilasters; chronology not clear, but pilasters are on top of portico pavement

- drain in peristyle runs parallel to portico; two converging hemicycles in area north of portico interpreted as basins by original excavators
mode of access from portico in south to north section not clear in initial phase

B - room, partially excavated, with opus signinum pavement with marks of marble paving; threshold to portico

C - room, subdivided by east/west wall in this phase; north area paved in black mosaic with rows of white rosettes; in south is white mosaic with scattered black tesserae

- probable stairwell on west side to upper storey; threshold to B and to I; threshold to A has simple geometric mosaic; threshold to di has geometric mosaic

di - room (6.96x3.68m.) with threshold mosaic to dii with hexagonal grid motif in black and white dated to this phase

dii - room with fragment of polychrome opus sectile pavement; threshold to portico A

diii - room with two steps down found in original excavation (not on plan)

- possibly part of bath complex

E, F, G - three rooms, originally one, later subdivided, but chronology confused

- in G traces of pavement in hexagonal brick; latrine in

corner; also traces of a drain, leading to hypothesis that G was a small internal court

H - room with suspensurae, part of bath complex

Hi - room, possibly also part of bath complex

I - corridor, only partially excavated; possibly more rooms to south

Traces of pavement were found in north arm of portico at approximately the same level as Ai (-0.70m.). The mosaics are dated to the middle of the first century A.C. (All dates are from Berti.) Berti does not include Aiii in this phase, despite the similarities in pavements and levels (24).

Phase II

several changes dated to this phase

Ai - level of pavement raised; walls faced with red plaster, probably base for marble facing

- fragments of polychrome mosaic with figured scenes in rhombi found, dated to fifth century A.C.

C - east/west dividing wall opened; black and white mosaic of interlocking hexagons and other fragments with geometric motives; with figured panel with male and female bust in silhouette; dated third to fourth century A.C.

- in second stage of this phase C becomes virtual corridor between portico A and corridor I

di - traces of marble socle; black and white geometric mosaic (DG Pl. 144 d); threshold with black and white mosaic to dii

dii - suspensurae installed in south end, with marble paving

- in north end black and white mosaic of hexagons (with internal crosses) alternating with four-pointed stars; two steps between two areas

diii - fragment of black and white geometric mosaic in threshold to dii; pink wall plaster, with traces of marble socle; basin or pool, probably added in second phase, also covered over with black and white mosaic in second stage of this phase

G - probable praefurnium, with air duct (?) to diii

The chronology for this phase is very complex and poorly

understood. Dates for mosaics range from the first half of the second century A.C. for the pavements in di,dii and the threshold in diii, and the middle of the second century A.C. for diii, to the third - fourth century A.C. for C and lastly the fifth century for portico Ai.

Phase III

Ai - new mosaic laid, now fragmentary, with scene of circus and venatio

C - two areas of new mosaic preserved, one black and white geometric, one polychrome

dii - suspensurae no longer drawn on plan for this phase, although in text change discussed in context of Phase IV (Berti 20-21)

G - closed off from north area of house

H - as in dii, suspensurae left off plan for this phase, while change assigned to fourth phase in text

I - fragments of new polychrome geometric mosaic
- room to south indicated on plan, but not discussed in text

Mosaics are dated to the middle of the fifth century A.C., except G, which is dated to the end of the fifth century A.C.

Phase IV

Ai - new polychrome geometric mosaic

B - converted to large hypocaust with addition of suspensurae

C - new polychrome geometric mosaic laid

di,dii,diii - three rooms combined into one large room (D - 9.50x7.50m., northeast area 5x4m.) with polychrome geometric mosaic of poised squares with interior squares and knots; well added

E - mosaic with polychrome grid of adjacent hexagons composed of inscribed lozenges

G - room (3.32x5.60m.), created by addition of dividing wall with F, has polychrome geometric mosaic with large central lozenge with internal squares, guilloche

I - fragment of polychrome mosaic with pelta motif

Ii - room off southeast corner of I, with fragment of polychrome geometric mosaic

Mosaics in Ai, C and D are dated to ca. A.D.525, G to ca. A.D.500 and I to ca. A.D.550.

Peristyle and East Portico Aii

Aii - east arm of peristyle with fragments of polychrome mosaic, mostly geometric but one piece with human figure, which is dated a century earlier

- external wall to east leans against perpendicular wall of portico Ai, indicating that it was a later construction; as well, width of portico Aii and north arm Aiii are the same, but both smaller than Ai

- geometric mosaic dated to the first quarter of the sixth century A.C.

- pavements indicate two levels of decoration, but overall chronology of construction and relationship to rest of complex to south is not clear

Structures in the centre of peristyle include a porticoed walk, Aiv, which leads to an octagonal fountain, and a structure or 'tempietto' with high base and niches on the east, perhaps the support for a monument (Maioli 1987 213).

Rooms to north

only final two phases legible; earlier disposition unclear

Aiii - north arm of portico has traces of polychrome figured mosaic, dated to the beginning of the fifth century, and three levels of polychrome geometric mosaic dated to ca. A.D.525, ca. A.D.550 and to the last half of the sixth century A.C., which Berti considers contemporary with the pavements in Ai, Phase IV (25).

L - apsidal room (27x11m.) with fragments of polychrome opus sectile pavement; two pilasters from portico Aiii create tripartite entrance off peristyle

- structures in peristyle (fountain, porticoed walk) on axis of L, as are two pilasters in door

- thresholds to side rooms N, M, O, P, U and T

M, N - rooms with traces of marble paving, thresholds to L; in M, threshold to portico Aiii

O - room with traces of marble paving; thresholds in all four walls, to surrounding rooms and portico Aiii

P - traces of polychrome geometric pavement; three thresholds, including one to north, but internal organization of walls unclear

Q - fragment of polychrome geometric mosaic; threshold to R

R - room with fragment of polychrome geometric mosaic; apparently an anteroom to triconch S; identified as a kitchen by Berti (12)

S - room with three apses (apses 5.30m. in diameter; central square 15.60x11.20m.); fragments of polychrome geometric mosaic in apses, and in central area a complex, if fragmentary, polychrome mosaic with geometric motives, tabulae ansatae and busts of seasons around central panel with figured scene identified as Bellerophon and the Chimera; one tabula ansata with extant inscription about the seasons

- exterior polygonal walls

T - apsidal room (6.30x13m.) off L with traces of polychrome geometric mosaic

Y - room (not on plan) with area of opus sectile pavement (4.26x0.70m.)

U - room off L, no description

V, Z - rooms without description

Mosaics in L, R, S, T and Y are dated to ca. A.D.525, in Q ca. A.D.550, and in P to the last half of the sixth century A.C.

In its final phases, the structure is interpreted as a wealthy residence, with service and domestic area to the south (Ai - I), with bath and living rooms in an upper storey, and reception rooms to the north (Maioli 1987 212). Its initial character, dated to the first century A.C., is not clear, but seems centred in the south sector; how much of the peristyle belongs to this period is not clear.

Rimini (Ariminum)

1. three domus, area ex Vescovado

Zuffa, M., "Nuove scoperte di archeologia e storia riminese," StudRomagn 1962 114.

FA 17 (1962) no.4780.

Riccioni, G., BdA ser.5 52 (1967) 121.

" , "Un complesso edilizia di età romana scoperto a Rimini nell'area dell'ex Vescovado," AttiBol n.s. 20 (1969) [1970] 313-333.

Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 318, 291, 295.

Plan, fig. 46: Riccioni 1969 fig. 2.

no. i

B - room (ca. 7.70x3.50m.) with opus signinum floor; sesterces of Antoninus Pius ca. 140-143 A.C. found beneath; earlier disposition unknown

I - room (ca. 3.50x5m.) with fragment of black and white geometric mosaic

- several square pilae found (20cm. sq.) and row of tubuli attached to NE wall

- coin ca. 50cm. beneath suspensurae, 268-187 B.C.

E - room (ca. 3.50x3.80m.) with polychrome mosaic of intersecting circles with stars in overlap; wide white border with inserted coloured tesserae

- coins of 293-311 A.C. and 335-350 A.C. found in fill beneath

F - room (c. 3.50x4.40m.) with white tesserae with scattered polychrome tesserae; marginal border of I and F covered stylobate of peristyle (H)

G - room (3.50x12.80m. extant) with white mosaic with scattered polychrome tesserae as in F; at northeast end pattern of black and white squares; lacuna 1.80x3.50m. between two areas falls in front of entrance to Q

- door to G falls in intercolumniation of peristyle; column incorporated as door end on one side; another column found as door jamb

- coin of Lucius Verus (161-169 A.C.) found under checkerboard mosaic; 50cm. below this fill with pottery of fifth to second century B.C.; traces of fire

T - room (7.60x3.60m.) with pale red opus signinum floor; open to G (originally portico of peristyle) with sandstone threshold

R - room (7.60x3.60m.) with pale red opus signinum floor
- fragments of wall painting with floral pattern

Q - room (7.60x6m. extant) with opus signinum floor with reticulate pattern in white tesserae and meander border in black tesserae; sandstone threshold with evidence that entrance reduced by 2m.

- fragments of wall painting in imitation marble in yellow white, and red

- pieces of coarsely made polychrome mosaic found in Q and T, possibly fallen from upper storey; two coins of Gallienus (254-268 A.C.) found in two pieces of fallen plaster bedding

H - peristyle with three sides extant - northeast 9.70m.,

southwest 10.50m., northwest 9.50m.; stylobate in sandstone blocks 25cm. wide, four Attic column bases in situ, diameter 45cm.; paving stones 20cm. wide formed a drainage channel; remains of column drums and a Tuscan capital found nearby

K - basin in centre (4.85x3.40m.), dug into earth, and paved with opus spicatum, side walls 1.25m. deep, 50cm. wide faced with waterproof plaster; border on surface 50cm.;

- in fill in basin architectonic elements in sandstone, piece of water pipe, fragment of tile with stamp 'Cinniana', dated to Julio-Claudian era found

Riccioni proposes two phases of construction, the first in the Republican era. The precise character of the first phase cannot be determined, due to later renovation work and the limits of the excavation. The front part of the house opening off the street was impossible to find. However, Riccioni assumes that the house had a "nucleo italico" - atrium, tablinum, alae, cubicula. Rooms Q, R and T are part of the original phase.

In the second phase of construction, which she dates to the second century A.C. (based, presumably, on the coins of Antoninus Pius found in B and of Lucius Verus in G) the portico of the peristyle was subdivided into rooms, which formed part of a private bath. Rooms I, E, F and G were thus created. The intercolumnar space on the northwest and northeast sides was bricked up; on the southwest side the columns were moved to meet the newly created dividing walls of I-E-F. Riccioni identifies B as part of a new thermal complex, presumably because of the coin of Antoninus Pius found beneath its floor. This is certainly possible; however, as no structural connection is mentioned between B and I, it is possible the room may have received a new floor in the renovation work, without any connection to the thermal function. Riccioni also suggests that the peristyle basin could have been used as a plunge bath.

Additional renovation work is evidenced by the polychrome mosaic in E, with third and fourth century coins found in the fill, and by the third century coins found in the debris of the second floor found in Q. The second floor may belong to the second phase, with a new pavement laid in the third century, or its construction may belong entirely to renovation work of the third century. The discrepancy between the coins of B and E presumably indicates that E received a new pavement in the third to fourth century renovation; whether or not E also got a new mosaic when the bath was built in the second century

is not clear. Riccioni states that the pavements of B-I-E-F vary by no more than 15cm., but gives no details.

no. ii

C - room (7.10m. long) with white mosaic with a scattering of polychrome tesserae (4.10x1.80m. extant); traces of fire

- in mosaic bedding coin of Marcus Aurelius, datable to A.D.173 and piece of lamp, also datable to the second half of the second century A.C. (50cm. below lamp was found dated to third to second centuries B.C.)

D - mosaic (4.70m. wide), black and white grid of inscribed hexagons with internal six-petalled rosettes and inscribed lozenges in the interspaces

- fragments of wall painting with motif of yellow flowers on red background with white border

- in fill of room ceramic material from the fourth century and coins of Elagabalus (218-222A.C.), Constantius II (323-361A.C.) and Theodosius I (379-395A.C.); in mortar of mosaic bedding lamp fragment datable to the second century A.C. found

L - area to southwest largely disturbed by bulldozers and bombing; parietal wall with no.i partially extant; tubuli fixed vertically in earth, cemented together, without wall; more pieces of white and yellow marble facing; traces of wall for L; traces of earlier wall, not reused, connected with wall under pavement level of G (no clear connection drawn between them)

U - room (4x6.55m.) with pavement in red opus signinum; sandstone thresholds similar to T and R of no. i

- painted cornice with delicate palmette motives traced in white on yellow background

- in fill coin of Constans found (335-350A.C.); under floor, tile fragments with stamp 'Pansiana' datable to the Julio-Claudian era

Z - room (ca. 4.80x6m.) with opus signinum floor with scattered clumps of white tesserae in fill; also tubuli and worked marble

- fragment of wall painting has yellow field with red panel decorated with garland motif; traces of lunette 50cm. high with imitation marble decoration in black and red

- under pavement a piece of lamp datable to the second half of the second century A.C.

P - small area of white mosaic (3.90m. wide); piece of coarsely built wall 50cm. wide delimits it

- fragments of wall painting with pattern circles with stylized floral motives on white background

The coin and ceramic evidence indicates that this house was built in the second century A.C., probably in the Antonine period. There is no extant evidence of an earlier phase.

no. iii

N - dividing wall with no. ii 60cm. wide, brick courses on stone foundation 2.90m. wide with opus signinum floor with rows of crosslets in white and black tesserae

- fragments of wall painting in black with white floral garland

- ceramic fragment ca. 150-200 A.C. found on top of pavement

- N1 -piece of pavement fallen from above with black and white tesserae (no clear pattern)

M - black mosaic (5.10x2.60m. extant); wall between M and N 0.40m. wide

O - wall between O and M 0.40m. wide; mosaic (8.40x6m. originally) divided into three areas, one (3.50x1.40m.) with orthogonal pattern of outlined adjacent squares formed by four rectangles around a small square (DG Pl.141 a); central panel (3.50x2.30m.) in geometric polychrome opus sectile; two panels (originally 1.70x4.50m.) of inscribed lozenges and peltae with animal figures (in S portion) - one panel, deer with tree, another on right side, running dog

- sectile dated to first century A.C., room identified as triclinium by Riccioni; date confirmed by ceramic fragments of same date found beneath pavement

S - bit of black and white mosaic, fragments of painted wall plaster in red, white and gray

Construction of the house is dated by Riccioni (314-315) to the first century A.C., with possible renovations or additions made in the second/third centuries A.C.

2. domus under the former Palazzo Palloni

Zuffa 1962 op. cit. 125.

" , "La tutela, la ricerca e l'organizzazione archeologica a Rimini dal 1800 ad oggi," Storia di Rimini dal 1800 ai nostri giorni III (Rimini 1978) 229.

Riccioni, G., "Nuovi mosaici di Rimini romana,"

StudRomagn 15 (1964) 203-221.

FA 17 (1965) no.7437.

Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 292, 295, 300, 311.

Maioli, M.G., "L'edilizia privata tardoantica in Romagna: appunti sulla pavimentazione musiva," CCAB 34 (1987) 225-227.

Plan, fig. 47: Riccioni fig. 1a.

A - mosaic of black opus tessellatum with scattered polychrome crustae and double white border; only small piece extant

B - polychrome mosaic (extant 3.50x3.70m.) with grid of octagons with Solomon's knots, borders with wave pattern and guilloche; repaired with brick; evidence of burning; open to corridor E

C - polychrome mosaic with floral pattern of quadrilobed peltae (extant 4.50x1.50m.), guilloche border

D - mosaic (7.40x6m. but was longer) polychrome mosaic with pattern of hexagons with adjacent squares and triangles containing interior motives such as knots, herringbone pattern, stars; border with wave motif

E - corridor running off B, small area of opus spicatum ca. 2m. wide

F - red opus signinum floor with meander border in white tesserae; inner field of stars of four tesserae in parallel lines

G - polychrome geometric mosaic (only small area extant) northeast of F, with pattern of intersecting octagons around squares

- Maioli considers this a corridor (225)

K - basin (3.10m. maximum diameter) on virgin earth; connection with C and F, if any, is unclear

The pavement in F is dated to the late Republic-early Imperial era; the mosaic in A is also of early Imperial date. the mosaic in B is ascribed to the third century, C, D and G from the third to fourth centuries A.C. (Riccioni).

3. domus under Palazzo Diotallevi

Gentili, G., BdA 64 (1979) 49-56.

Maioli, M.G., "La casa romana di Palazzo Diotallevi a

Rimini (FO): fasi di costruzione e pavimenti musivi," AttMosAnt 461-474.
 Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 295, 300, 318.
 Scagliarini Corlaità, D. "Nuovi dati e nuove osservazioni sulle domus di Ravenna e della Romagna," CCAB 34 (1987) 381.

Plan, phase I, fig. 48a: Maioli 462 fig. 1.
 Plan, phase II, fig. 48b: ibid. 463 fig. 1.

group of pavements, basins around a court, corridor, cistern, in two construction phases; dated on basis of mosaics by Maioli

Phase I - ca. 100 B.C.

- central rectangular court (ca. 17x7.40m.) without pavement

KK, M, Z - basins with opus spicatum and opus signinum floors and drains; sizes approx. 4.40x2.20m., 4x2m., 3x2m.

V. T - rooms off north side of court (ca. 1.80x3m.; 2.20x2m.)

C - room off east side of court (ca. 2x2.60m) L - room off south side of court;

- C has red opus signinum floor; others have opus signinum floors with inserted tesserae in various patterns such as lozenges, meander, scattered rosettes; one with black and white irregular mosaic; not clear which pavements belong to which rooms

G - L-shaped cistern with rectangular room reached by corridor with small steps; at intersection of two arms is a square basin inserted in pavement for water collection; double walls, faced with red waterproof plaster covered with lime incrustation; also a well in northeast corner

Renovation work, late first century B.C.

Z - Basin Z closed with opus signinum pavement to create room of greater size (R)

G - wall of cistern doubled

Phase II (ca. 100-150 A.C.)

basin M closed, heating system installed in C with suspensurae directly on old floor; two rooms (N, F) and basin S built

S - ornamental basin (ca. 4.70x2.80m.) with curvilinear

bases in short sides, possibly for statues

N - room (ca. 4.80x4m.) off court to west; not clear if entrance entirely or only partially open to court; polychrome mosaic with white border, motif of star composed of tangential inscribed lozenges surrounded by compartments with guilloche and dog's tooth pattern; door to R in north wall;

- identified as possible winter triclinium by Maioli

F - room (5.40x4.80m.) black and white central geometric panel with adjacent circles with internal bands of isosceles triangles, rosettes and guilloche with band of black and white vegetal motives across width

- wide opening off court to W (Maioli considers it slightly later than N because of ceramic remains found underneath; after mid second century A.C. - Maioli 469)

- identified as possible summer triclinium (Maioli)

R - room (ca. 8.70x3.50m.) with black mosaic; small step in white mosaic in front of threshold between two rooms

- instrumenta domestica found here may indicate its use as a food preparation area for triclinium N

- at end of second century A.C. room subdivided by east/west wall, placed on top of mosaic, with threshold

A - black and white mosaic (7.60x8.60m.) white U-shaped border (1.50m. wide) on three sides, white band on fourth side separated from others by narrow black line; band with alternating black circles and kantharoi with candelabra; band of simple guilloche; band with running garland forms circles which contain running animals; guilloche followed by meander; at centre encircled figure of Heracles Bibax with club and drinking cup surrounded by half shell motif with birds in interspaces; band at south end with two ships and dock to left; seems built at end of phase, at least after N, F and I

- does not open off court, but off corridor to east; also door to room BB

G - cover built; cistern still in use

I - corridor with black and white checkerboard motif; in southwest corner area in white the width of four squares of checkerboard, possibly for permanent furniture; north/south arm 11.20m. long, 2.80m. wide; east/west arm 5.80m. wide, extant to ca. 6.60m.

GG - room (ca. 6.60x3.60m.) with opus signinum floor; no direct access between G and GG (wall too high)

- evidence of subsequent repair work; at beginning of

third century damaged by fire, then reused for ceramic manufacture

4. domus under ex convento S. Francesco

Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 291, 315.

Maioli, M. G., "Lo scavo dell'area dell'ex convento di S. Francesco," in C. Giovagnetti ed., Lucerne romane nel museo di Rimini - scavi e collezioni (Rimini 1984) 46-48.

Plan, fig. 48: Maioli, 47; no scale provided.

collection of basins and pavements in two phases

Phase I - basins, utilitarian in function

Phase II - basins closed up

two black and white geometric mosaics, one (A) white field with small central panel, other (B) with pattern of adjacent outlined rectangle around squares (DG Pl. 141 a)

C - fragmentary black and white mosaic in simple linear pattern around a court, indicating presence of at least three sides

The first phase is dated to the Republican era, based on the presence of utilitarian basins which are common to Rimini in this period. Maioli refers to an atrium and peristyle in phase II but provides no details. It is dated between the end of the first century A.C. and the Hadrianic era, based on ceramic evidence found in the filling in of the basins. Later renovations are indicated by traces of polychrome geometric mosaics which are dated to the fourth century A.C.

5. domus in via S. Chiara

Riccioni 1967 op. cit. 120.

Zuffa 1978 op. cit. 229.

Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 297, 320, 328.

Plan, fig. 50: Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 fig. 38; no scale provided.

- apsidal room with other rooms off it, black and white geometric mosaics; bath area with suspensurae and praefurnium on east side; long ambulacrum, perhaps along court (Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 320); early Imperial date (ibid. 296)

Sarsina1. two domus in via Cesio Sabino

Negrioli, A., NSc 1892 370-372; 1900 395-399.

Mansuelli, G., "Mosaici Sarsinati," StudRomagn 5 (1954)
161, 166, 174.

Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 323.

Plan, fig. 51: Negrioli 1900 396; no scale provided.

no. i

group of rooms, one apsidal

A - room 9x9m., with well in centre 1.60m. in diameter surrounded by parapet 1.40m. high of sandstone, marble, brick fragments and stone; well is faced with stone to 5m. depth; channel (0.15m. wide) of sandstone blocks runs 3.60m. from well to red marble threshold (3.10x.5m.), which had traces of doorposts

- preceded by three narrow rooms approximately 2.50m. wide; central one perhaps a corridor leads to threshold

B1-4 - rooms off A; B2 subdivided at later period; B1 and 3 had access to A; approximately 4-5m. wide

all following at slightly higher levels (unspecified)

C - room (10x6.30m.) with opus signinum floor with central disc of white marble and red and black tesserae in border; around marble disc are two concentric circles of white tesserae, a band of pavement 0.40m wide and another circle of three rows of white tesserae

- room in southwest corner built at later date has opus signinum floor with double border and pattern of black rosettes on white ground

D - room (10x5m.) in opus signinum with grid pattern in white tesserae; at 0.25m. lower level to carry suspensurae (Mansuelli 1954 161). Negrioli interpreted the difference in levels as providing an area for water collection but two small brick columns are described as in situ (1892 370).

E - room (8.90x4.71m.) at north end, 4.78m. at south end with black and white mosaic in larger area only; division later (no details); mosaic with pattern of tangent hexagons forming four pointed stars and squares (which have inscribed square); two black and one white border

F - room (9x12.70m.) with apse in north side (4.80m. wide

and 3m. deep); preserved to a height of 1.50m.; area between C and F 1.50m wide, approached by a step, covers a drain which had two channels from F; drain in sandstone blocks runs for 22m., trapezoidal shape (1.40m. high, 0.60-0.80m. wide)

Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 (323) identifies two phases, first without the apse, as demonstrated by sandstone orthostates with brick in upper courses (the technique which characterizes most of the walls) while the apse and the rest of the north wall are completely of brick (332). She dates the apse to the first half of the first century B.C. If accurate, this would be unusually early for the use of brick. Mansuelli (174) dates the pavement in C to the Augustan period.

no. ii

G - room (11.70x10.50m.) with brick walls (0.66m. wide) and apse in north end preserved to 1.10m. height; wall between has plaster 7cm. and marble facing on wall and floor; pieces of white marble cornice extant at socle level; bronze pieces for revetment preserved at some points; piece of column 2.20m. long found; mode of access not clear; at same level as F - perhaps also had step entrance; dated to first century A.C.; apse later filled in

H - room 16x8.50m.

2. domus in via Roma

Mansuelli, G., NSc 1965 111-113.
Gentili, G., AttiBol n.s. 20 (1969) [1970] 13.
Scagliarini Corlaità 1983 318.

no plan

rooms of domus around courtyard with well, characterized as Republican (Gentili); courtyard partially porticoed at later date; floors in opus signinum, black and white mosaic, one with opus sectile insertions; at end of second century A.C. room 9x6m. with polychrome mosaic with figure of Dionysus

Trento (Tridentum)

domus in via Rosmini

Tosi, G., "La casa romana di via Rosmini a Trento,"

AquilNost 69 (1978) 117-160.

Plan, fig. 52: Tosi fig. 1.

domus divided into two areas by court (F)

East Sector

A - room (9.22x6.05m.) with threshold blocks in north and south walls, in latter with cutting for door; in southwest corner brick hearth (1.30x.75m.; 0.13m. high) added in subsequent phase

- white mosaic with black guilloche border, central rectangle divided into square with inscribed circles and two side borders with star and pelta motives, floral and dolphin motives in interstices; meander border with ivy leaf on top and bottom borders; circle has central hexagon with Orpheus, surrounded by six hexagons with running deer and dog; all hexagons outlined with guilloche

B - room (2.10x5.5m. extant), terrazzo pavement with tesserae

C - room 2.40x3.25m.; no pavement

D - room (3.70x3.25m.) with tile pavement 0.70m. below threshold; several square brick suspensurae

F - court (7.54m. wide) 0.30-0.40m. below level of A; drain (C1) 0.45m. deep, covered by paving stones; second drain (C2) 0.30m. deep along west wall, slopes toward northeast and joins drainage system in H and G (C3); well, closed at later date with paving stones; traces of pavement in baked brick on top of C2

West Sector

R2 - court (ca. 3.5m. wide, extant ca. 1.7m.) with pavement in same baked brick as in F; in east wall step up to F; this access later closed off

G - room (4.20x4.80m.) at level 0.32m. lower than F; pavement in white limestone and red Verona stone which appear re-used; doorway with threshold to Q in west wall; in northwest corner remains of hearth in brick with plastered walls

- in northeast re-used threshold block cut with drainage channel leads into drain (C3) which runs from east wall in the form of an arch as it passes under threshold to court Q; possibly a latrine or sink; two low walls extending from north wall separate drained area from hearth; possibly a base for lararium or storage cupboard

H - room (5.70x1.75m.) with drain (C2) which passes through west wall in northeast corner; air duct in southeast corner; fistula found under overhang of wall; south wall leans against east wall, not aligned with perimeter wall of L-P; north wall covers line of old threshold; both cut the water pipe

I - room (2.80x1.90m.) with beaten floor; access to G later closed off; access to H via steps; in south wall vaulted channel to L for air passage, therefore identified as praefurnium

L - room (4.10x2.80m.) with brick suspensurae in rows; in southeast corner pilae removed for later dividing wall; vaulted duct to M in west wall

M - room (6.50x1.40m.) with pavement in tile and 22 brick suspensurae in two rows originally ca. 60cm. high

N-O - room originally 6.50x2.80m., later subdivided

P - room (6.50x3.20m.) has white mosaic with narrow black outline and broad white border; field decorated with black crosses and five squares with polychrome knots of Solomon; central square (0.55m.) with vase with polychrome ivy tendrils; internal partition wall added later

Q - court, beaten earth with row of paving slabs, which marks end of drain C3; however, slabs do not cover a drain and are perhaps an indication of the flow of water from C3 through the court; north/south wall added later and is aligned with wall of N-O-P; threshold to R2

The mosaics in P and A are dated to the middle of the second century A.C. (Tosi 138, 140).

Vado Ligure (Vada Sabatia)

domus in S. Giovanni Battista

Lamboglia, N., RII 9 (1954) 42-46.

Grosso, G., RII 10 (1955) 21-22.

Plan, fig. 53: adapted from Cavalieri Manasse et al. 179; no scale provided.

remains of house with unclear plan

1 - atrium, impluvium with well, which was renovated in

late Roman era; two flanking rooms identified as alae with windows (Lamboglia 42); row of rooms east of atrium, central narrow room identified as tablinum (presumably because of its axial position), originally closed at back but later opened up to hortus to east; two rooms flank each side of 'tablinum' with large openings to hortus; not clear if the are windows or doors

2 - area identified as hortus, probably with portico; water channel, masonry column and base found in situ

The plan is dated to the Augustan era on the basis of the wall construction, which resembles other walls in the city which have dated to this period on ceramic grounds. (Lamboglia 42, 46) There is also evidence of later renovation work. There are traces of earlier walls, ca. second to the first century B.C., but of different orientation. The house was destroyed by fire in the fourth century A.C.

Velleia (Veleia)

three domus south of forum

Barocelli, P., AttiCstr (Roma 1938) 122-133.
Mangani et al. 113-115.

Plan, fig. 54: Mangani et al. 114; no scale provided.

three domus identified in area south of forum, behind basilica, off porticoed street

no. 1 - 'casa del cinghiale'

1 - entrance (ca. 3.30x5.80m.) with stairs flanked by two tabernae; threshold with marks for doorposts

2 - central area (ca. 5x7.70m.) identified as an atrium by Barocelli (128), who reports traces of an impluvium, but makes no mention of columns nor stylobate; no evidence of impluvium in June 1990; remains of portico, apparently in situ (examination June 1990), three bases on east side, two on west, made of stone, except for one in masonry; stylobate (ca. 0.40m.) with channel for drainage

3 - room to south of court (ca. 10x5m.); in initial excavation mosaic with boar found, lost in nineteenth century; Barocelli reports traces of coloured wall plaster (129)

The house is not published in any more detail; other

rooms on the plan no longer visible in situ; From the plan it appears there were five other rooms off the central area, two to the east, three to the west; a corridor opens off this central area and runs along west side of three. There is a room to the west of the corridor, but its relationship to the rest of the structure is unclear.

no. ii to west of 'casa del cinghiale'

- narrow entrance, flanked by two tabernae, to group of rooms, whose arrangement is difficult to understand

no. iii to west of no. ii

- entrance off colonnaded street, possible tabernae to west; interior of large area of irregular shape, with three rooms at back. Barocelli comments on the paucity of evidence, but mentions a base of unspecified dimensions in large central area (129).

Other structures to west of no. iii are of indeterminate plan and function.

Ventimiglia (Albintimilium)

1. domus 'del Cavalcavia'

Lamboglia, N., RII 26 (1971) 78-82.

" , RII 27 (1972) 111-115.

Plan, fig. 55: adapted from Lamboglia 1971 fig. 2; no scale provided.

atrium and several rooms of domus off decumanus maximus

A - entrance off street, with threshold block with mark of cardines; flanked by two tabernae

B - atrium with impluvium with several different pavement levels and evidence of renovation in house; beneath are Republican walls, which were destroyed in Augustan era

There is evidence of construction in the Augustan period, which destroyed the Republican walls; however, no clear plan emerges. The domus, including the atrium is dated to the beginning of the second century A.C.; there is evidence of renovation in the third century A.C.

2. domus to west of domus 1

Lamboglia 1972 op. cit.

no plan

- traces of another house, also with an impluvium, in the insula to the west of domus 1, built over the cardo; at same level as new drain dated to end of second century A.C.

Vercelli

domus in Bruit Fond

Panto, G., Spagnolo Garzoli, G., Quaderna della soprintendenza archeologica del Piemonte 8 (1988) 242-250.

Plan, fig. 56: Panto - Garzoli.

eight rooms of domus

A - room (5.50x3.44m.) with pavement in opus signinum with pattern of intersecting circles over a rectangular grid; in centre a tessellated panel (1.10x1.18m.) with similar pattern of intersecting circles in black and white; at northeast end border white and gray marble inserts; trace of white plaster on walls; at later date size of room reduced, as indicated by wall in brick; at same time floor level raised

B - room (3.35m. wide) with two pavement levels - pink opus signinum, later opus signinum with rows of rectangular and lozenge-shaped crustae; one large lozenge near centre; no evidence of east wall

'b' - corridor between A and B slightly trapezoidal in shape (1.00-0.80m. wide), no pavement; small transverse wall

C - room (3.50m. wide) with traces of pink opus signinum; no evidence of east wall

'c' - corridor (1.00-0.80m. wide, 5.40m. extant length), no pavement; brick drain, covered with brick, runs along centre; inclines to north; at north end trace of same opus signinum as in C, which cuts drain

'd' - corridor 1.05x3.15m. extant length; trace of white plaster on walls

D - room (3.25x2.80m.), pavement in pink opus signinum;

evidence of plaster on east wall

E - room (4.55x2.05m.) pink opus signinum pavement, traces of white and yellow plaster on east wall

F - room (3.80x4.30m. extant) pink opus signinum pavement with black tesserae in U-shape, some scattered white and gray crustae
 - large rectangular well in northwest corner, of brick and mortar

H - room, some seven metres to east, extant to 3m.; pink opus signinum with stone chips in rows; later level of red signinum on top, which excavators suggest could be from another room

G - room off southwest side of A, with bedding for, and traces of pink opus signinum

I - area with clay and sand layer, which appears to be a bedding for brick pavement, several in situ

Walls 0.25-0.30m. wide, composed of stone and mortar with brick fragments, except west wall of B, which is 0.50m. wide and is of stone and mortar with irregular brick courses.

Pavements in A, B and H are dated to the Augustan period, which is confirmed by lamp and pottery fragments. Excavators suggest house was in use only until mid-second century A.C.

Verona

1. domus in Piazza Nogara

Cavalieri Manasse, G., "La casa romana di piazza Nogara a Verona," ArchVen 8 (1985) 209-250.

Plan, fig. 57: Cavalieri Manasse fig. 1; no scale provided.

A - room (7.40xc.2.80m.), no pavement; west wall is perimeter house wall, 0.60m. wide

B - room (3.40x1.50m.), no pavement

C - room (3.60x1.50m.), no pavement

D - room (4.65x2.50m.), white mosaic with narrow black

border; central rectangle (3.02x1.40m.) divided into three panels, two flanking areas in white with lines of polychrome rhombi; central square with polychrome lozenges and central cross with guilloche

- traces of wall painting show black socle and red wall divided by lines, white on socle, black on major field; extreme east and west end of north and south wall painted yellow

- north wall has core of brick fragments, stones and mortar and row of deep holes 0.60-1m. apart which had traces of burnt wood, identified as opus craticium; originally open to C, as shown by line of threshold block in mosaic; hearth in northeast corner possibly added at same time as door to C closed

E - room (2.50x4.60m.), black and white mosaic, white field with central panel with intersecting circles and pelta motif; traces of black socle, some red above socle on south wall

F - room (4.60x5.20m.), threshold blocks in south and east walls (the latter to portico); tile found in trial trench in centre of room datable to A.D.50-200

G - room (3.55x3m.), opus signinum pavement; traces of original violet and white socle under layer of plaster; three threshold blocks in south wall creates wide opening off portico

H - room (3.55x3.55m.), mortar pavement with limestone chips; three threshold blocks give wide access to portico; trace of black wall plaster on east anta

I - room (5.30x5.05m.), mortar pavement with limestone chips; earlier level of opus signinum beneath contemporaneous with traces of black plaster on west wall - room later subdivided longitudinally (end of wall intact, extending from south wall); red marble threshold block found out of place against west wall

K - room (5.20x3.50m.), polychrome mosaic with geometric and floral motives set in white background; traces of red marble wall facing; entrance in first phase unclear; second phase appears accessible only via L and not portico; in east part of room, lower mortar pavement, attached to piece of black socle

L - room (ca. 3.30x5.20m.), lower level of pink mortar pavement; at later date floor level raised slightly, perhaps in connection with heating system in M and N - fragmentary white mosaic with central area with polychrome guilloche border and floral and geometric

motives visible; communicated with K and N; break later made in west wall to give access to portico

M - room (1.70x1.50m.), brick floor with border of stones along walls; two brick antae separate M from N; two tufa blocks blackened by fire, probably form base for vaulted opening between rooms

- identified as praefurnium

N - 1.70m. wide, probably 3.30m. long; brick pavement with remains of four pilae

O - room (5.75x3.50m.), opus signinum floor with scattered black, white and red tesserae

P - room (2.50x3.50m.); foundation wall in middle of room, running north/south but impossible to say if it indicates a subdivision or an earlier division of rooms no longer visible

Q - room 3.10x3m.

R - portico 2.40m. wide, on three sides only, marks on stylobate blocks indicate eight columns, with variable intercolumniations (1.35-1.75m.); four Tuscan capitals and column drums (ca. 30cm. diameter), with evidence of stucco facing; pavement in large tesserae of white background with red crosslets in parallel rows and red border

S - court (5.75x4.15m.) paved with cut white limestone, two basins built up against west wall, red plaster on wall indicates they are an addition

- larger basin (3.20x1.10m., 0.92m. deep) with paved bottom and paving slabs on sides; water overflow channelled into small brick well in northwest corner of court which is connected to drain in street; small basin (0.80x1.10m., 0.77m. deep), fountain near east portico, consisting of marble paving block with two holes, appears later than basins, connected to brick drain (0.15m. wide, 0.13m. deep) which runs under pavement to basins, then turns towards well, fistula runs from drain to basins

Mosaics D, E, L, K are dated by Cavalieri Manasse to 180-250A.C. She suggests that initially the house was without the portico, basins, paving and fountain; instead, there was a beaten earth floor in the court.

The lower pavements of I, K, L and the pavement in O date from the end of the first century B.C. to the beginning of the first century A.C. In a second phase the peristyle was added and possibly at this time the heating

system was installed in M and N, the floor in L raised and the entrances of G and H enlarged. The mosaics D, E, K, L and the division between D and E constitute a third phase. The portico was paved after this, and the hearth in D and blocked access to C date from a still later period. The dating of the basin and fountain in S is uncertain; it was clearly an addition to the original house, but whether it is contemporary with the peristyle or a subsequent addition is unclear.

2. domus in via Marsala 66 (Valdonega)

Forlati Tamaro, B., "La casa romana nel Veneto e una scoperta a Verona," ArchCl 10 (1958) 116-120.

Tosi, G., Studi Miscellanei della Venezia (Venetia 3, 1975) 11-71.

Donderer 177-182.

Plan, fig. 58: Donderer fig. 16.

A - room (10x6.75m.) with interior colonnade on three sides, twelve tufa column bases preserved; 0.30m. diameter faced with mortar, filleted and painted red, intercolumniation 1.40m; Corinthian capital in yellow stone

- large entrance in south wall (2.63m.) flanked by two windows (1.08m. wide), 0.50m. from pavement; one entrance in east side wall, which was closed at a later date, and another at rear, both 1m. wide; remains of two window sills in east wall; space between column and wall - east 0.50m., west 0.46m., north 0.70m.

- white pavement with black border; in intercolumniation bichrome garland alternates with polychrome garland with bird so that central intercolumniation at back is polychrome; each panel 1.10-1.30x0.44-0.46m., two in east wall destroyed in initial excavation; walls have dark socle (ca. 30cm. high) interrupted at intervals by yellow panels; along back wall narrow bands of yellow are aligned with placement of columns; narrow white band above socle, above is red field with motif of birdcage

B - corridor (3.86x1.43m.) with pavement separated into two parts by a threshold block; trace of old wall on north dividing wall with C; at east end is black mosaic pavement with white border, west end only mortar foundation preserved

- corridor appears to have been lengthened, as indicated by pavements, and dividing wall between B and C, which leans up against west wall; threshold blocks to A, C and portico D; black socle (ca. 30cm. high) separated by

upper red field by yellow band

C - room (3.80x6.75m.), white mosaic pavement with two narrow black borders; brick shelf on west wall faced with red marble on top (0.90m. high, 0.60m. deep)

- window (1.80m. wide) in east wall overlooks portico
 - stairs at north end of portico, three steps in stone preserved on brick base (1.82m. wide)

- painted walls in white field divided by red and blue borders, with various motives such as birds, duck, mask, griffins, cornucopia, fruit and foliage

D - portico in area to east and south, seven column bases on east side, four on south, including jamb attached to threshold block, which delineates south portico from east; column bases 0.50m. wide, intercolumniations from 1.42 - 3.42m., spaced to fit windows in A and C; east ambulacrum 18.75m. long, 1.82m. wide, south arm 1.55m. wide; first base on south side has imprint of column; two other bases found in excavation not in situ, probably from south portico

The perimeter wall is extant on the north and west sides; on the west side there is a space (2m. wide) between the perimeter wall and the internal wall of A. Since the external wall has no evidence of facing it may have functioned as a retaining wall against the natural slope.

Width of walls - west outer wall 0.80m., inner west wall 0.60m., north wall (in C) 0.60m., east wall 0.50m., dividing walls in A, B and C 0.43m.

The original date of construction is not clear; there is evidence of renovation in the dividing walls of A, B and C, in the lengthening of B and in the layers of yellow wall plaster on the perimeter west wall and on the socle and shelf in C. The mosaics are dated to Flavian period (Donderer); the wall painting is identified as fourth style (Forlati Tamaro).

3. domus in via S Cosimo 3

Franzoni, L., "Immagine di Verona romana," AAAd 28 (1986) 356.

Cavaliere Manasse, G., "Verona," Il Ven. 23; 42.

Plan, fig. 59: Cavaliere Manasse 43; no scale provided.

three rooms flanked by corridors open off a court; built beside portion of city wall

A - room (5x5m. - Franzoni 356) with black and white

mosaic in hexagonal grid with black border; walls have socle faced with red Verona marble; threshold block to court F

B - corridor with mortar pavement with stone chips

C - room (5x5m. - Franzoni 356) paved in opus sectile of white marble in square grid; traces of wall painting, black background with red and green vertical bands and vegetal garland in lower area; piece of threshold to corridor B

D - corridor, also with mortar pavement with stone chips; traces of red wall plaster with geometric and vegetal motives in white

E - room, partially extant, mortar pavement with stone chips

F - room, opus signinum floor with scattered black and white tesserae and large crustae outlined in tesserae
- identified as court by Franzoni

The plan dates from the Augustan era; the decoration (pavements and wall plaster) are dated to the mid first century A.C. (Cavalieri Manasse 23).

4. domus in Cortile del Tribunale

Hudson, P., Hudson, C. La Rocca, "Cortile del Tribunale e via Dante," Lancaster in Italy, Ricerche archeologiche intraprese in Italia dal Dipartimento di Studi Classici e Archeologia nel 1982 (Lancaster 1983) 10-23.

Cavalieri Manasse, G., "Verona," Il Ven. 22, 47.

Plan, fig. 60: Cavalieri Manasse 22; only available plan shows remains ca. first century A.C.; plan partially labelled, but not possible to identify location of specific pavements.

excavation still in progress, therefore only partially published

ca. 50-1 B.C. - collection of pavements - white mosaic with an emblema in opus vermiculatum, structure with five sides and floor in opus spinatum (sic), mortar pavement with rows of white tesserae; walls in stone base and brick courses and evidence of small hypocaust; this phase destroyed by later level

ca. first century A.C. - rooms around court; opus

signinum with scattered polychrome crustae, heating system in three rooms; room with mosaic in white opus signinum border and central area with rows of black tesserae, enclosed in black border; central panel with geometric motives and central kantharos; corridors in white mosaic with double black border; two porches with access to corridors; between two porches an area of mortar pavement, perhaps an uncovered passage between two buildings - this passage also gives access to two other rooms; cistern labelled on plan

ca. second-third century A.C. - several rooms enlarged; room with crustae and contiguous room with hypocaust combined to create large hall, with white mosaic and central panel with geometric motives; identified by Cavalieri Manasse as possible triclinium

ca. fourth century A.C. - internal court paved over, walls of two surrounding rooms taken down; rectangular room (10.30x7.20m.), mortar floor, deposit of burnt seeds; possibly food store house (Hudson 17); to west apsidal hall built, floor with limestone paving in centre, mortar at sides and in apse; pavement of brick and limestone fragments laid in rest of building; unclear if domestic function maintained; destroyed by fire in sixth century A.C.

Vicenza (Vicentia, Vicetia)

Andreae, B., "Archäologische Funde und Grabungen im Bereich der Soprintendenza von Nord- und Mittelitalien, 1949-1959," AA 74 (1959) 149.

Tosi, G., Studi miscellanei della Venezia (Venetia 3 1975) 145-156.

Donderer 183-184.

Rigoni, M., "Vicenza," Il Ven. 125-127.

Plan, fig. 61: Rigoni 126.

Photo: ibid. 127.

1 - barrel vaulted entrance ramp (1m. wide) and stairs down with two landings; traces of black socle; above red squares divided by green/blue borders

2 - cryptoporticus, barrel vaulted, with three arms - North, south arms 27.35m. long, central arm 29.50m. long, all 3m. wide (Tosi 149 n. 8 3.40m.), 2.85m. high; 31 shaft windows open inwards (11 in N and S arm, 9 in central arm, space between 1.50m.); walls faced with marble; moulded stucco cornice runs under spring of

vault; red painted border under cornice; three levels of pavement - hexagonal brick, with white tessera in centre, with scattered rhombus shape brick; on top white mosaic with black border; latest level in square brick

3, 4, 5 - rooms at end of arms, one off northwest, two off southwest, 3 has trapezoidal shape; all plastered, barrel vaulted

6 - oblique corridor partially excavated

Lamp fragments, antefixes, and a round suspensura brick were found in the fill (Rigoni 127-8). The hexagonal brick pavement is dated to the first half of the first century A.C. (Donderer).

Zuglio (Iulium Carnicum)

domus north of imperial baths

Moro, P., Iulium Carnicum (Roma 1956) 82-86.
Donderer 186-187.

Plan, fig. 62: Mansuelli, G., Urbanistica e architettura della Cisalpina romana (Collection Latomus vol. 3, Brussels 1971) fig. LXXXVIII.

1 - room with three levels of pavement 50 cm. apart - terra cotta beneath opus signinum, followed by terrazzo; coins of Constantine II and Gratian in terrazzo level

2 - room with hypocaust of pilasters and pilae which form vault supports

3 - plaster pavement with grid composed of crosses, white with black centre, with marble crustae in centre of square; border has four rows of alternating black and white tesserae; in corner inscription "O PHIL"

4 - room, initially part of 3

6 - room only partially extant

7 - corridor

8 - hypocaust with vaults

The pavements are dated to the first century B.C. or the beginning of the first century A.C. (Donderer 186). Coins indicate fourth century occupation.

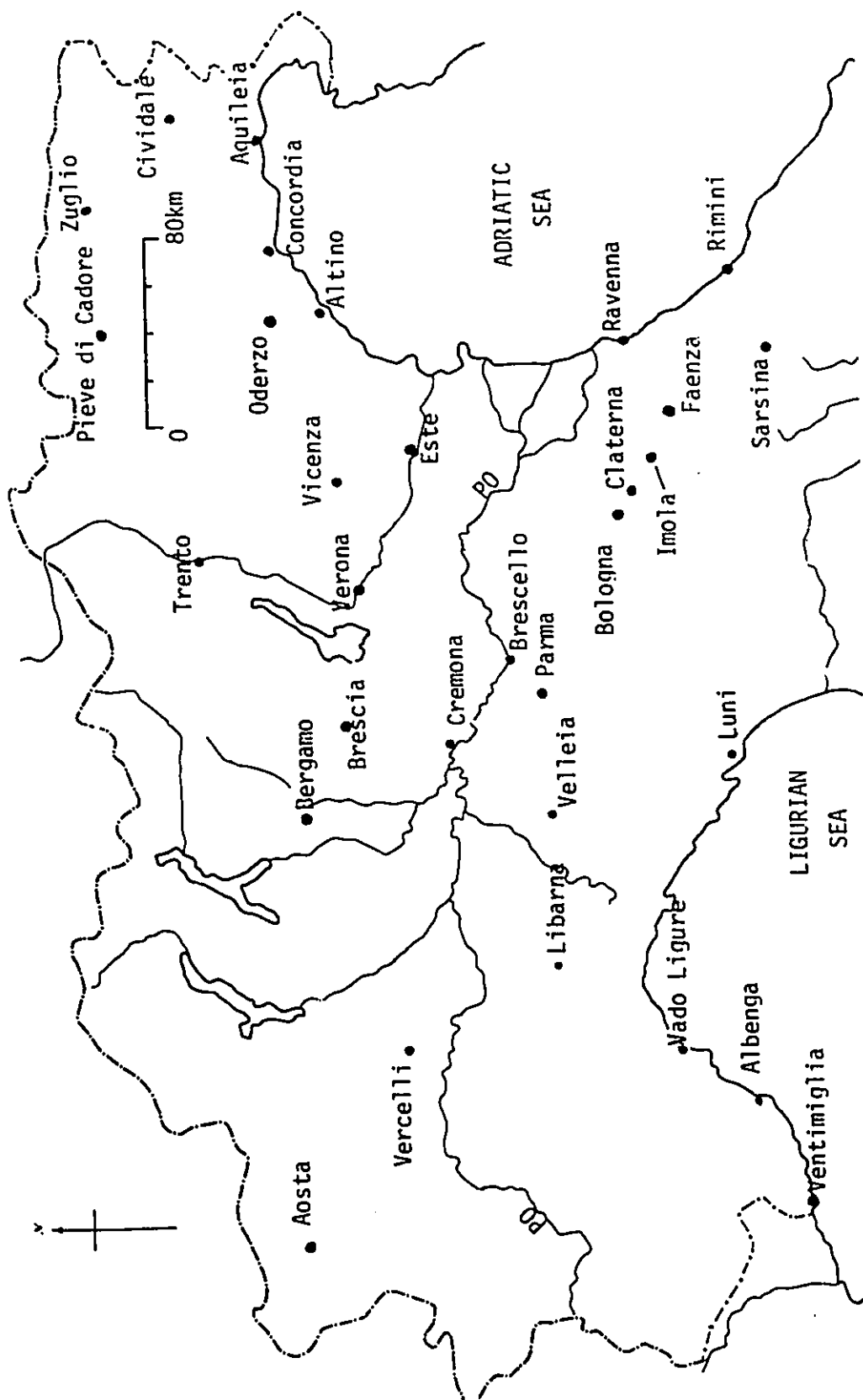


Fig. 1 - Map of northern Italy with sites included in catalogue

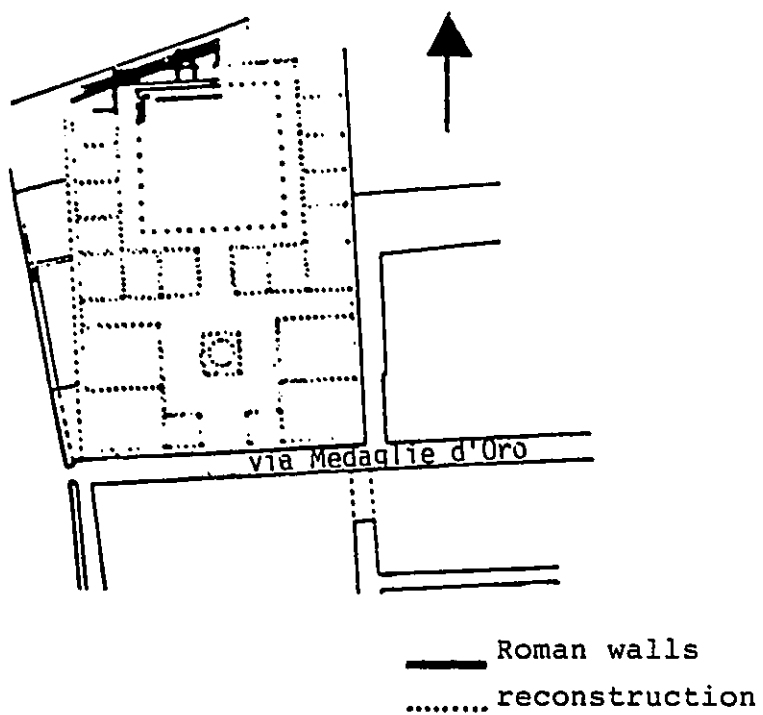


Fig. 2 - Albenga

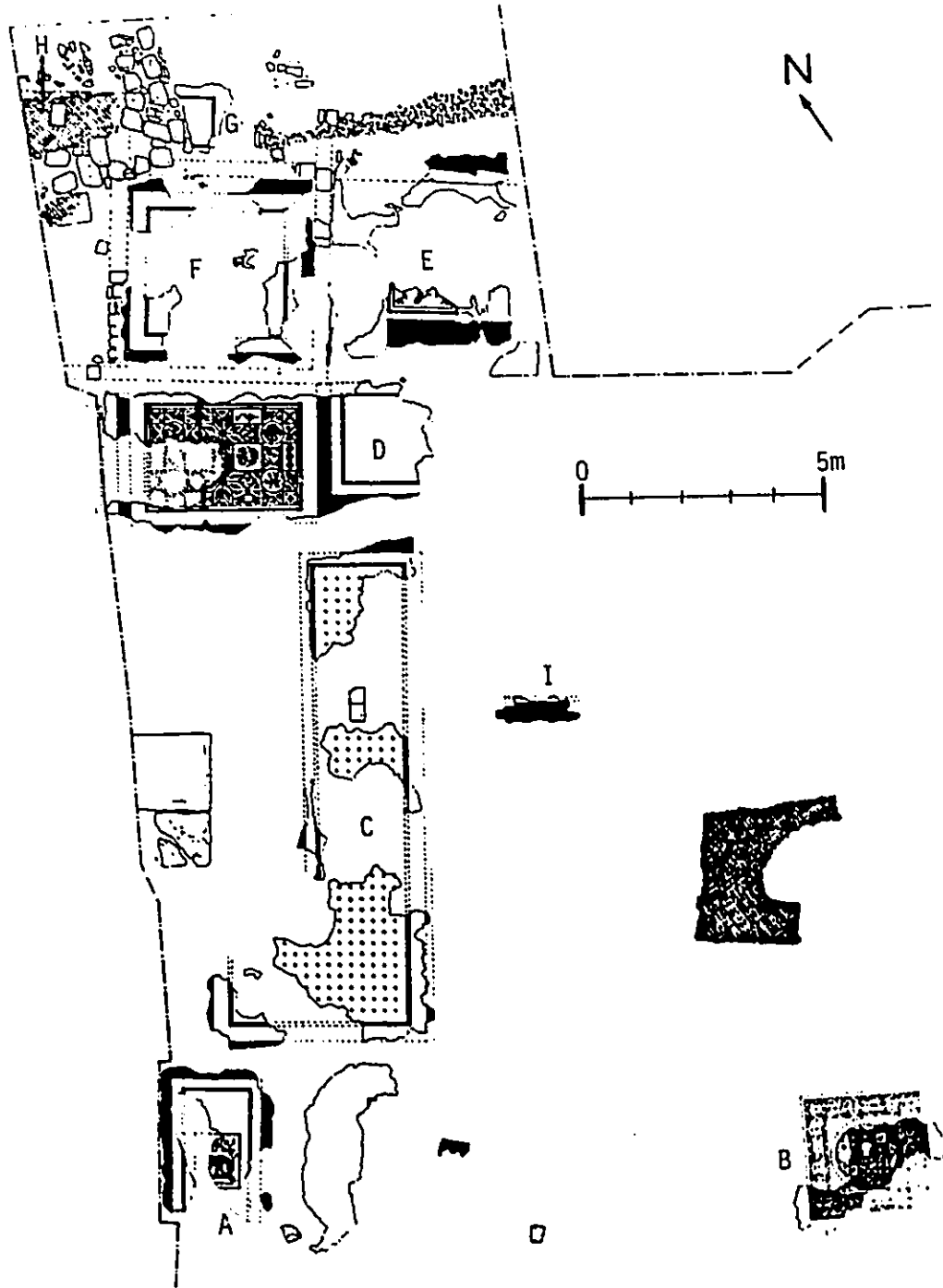


Fig. 3 - Altino

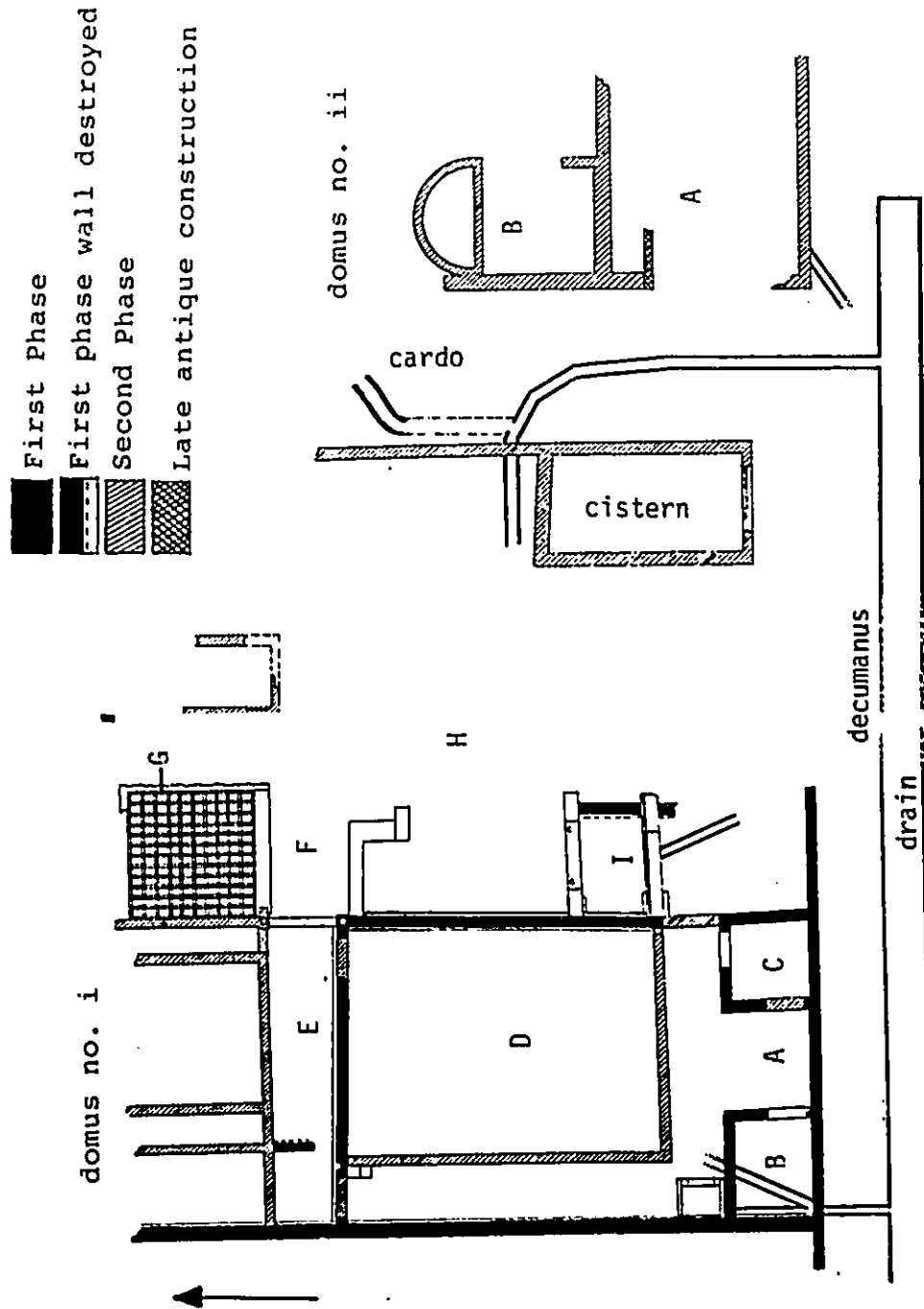


Fig. 4a - Aosta I

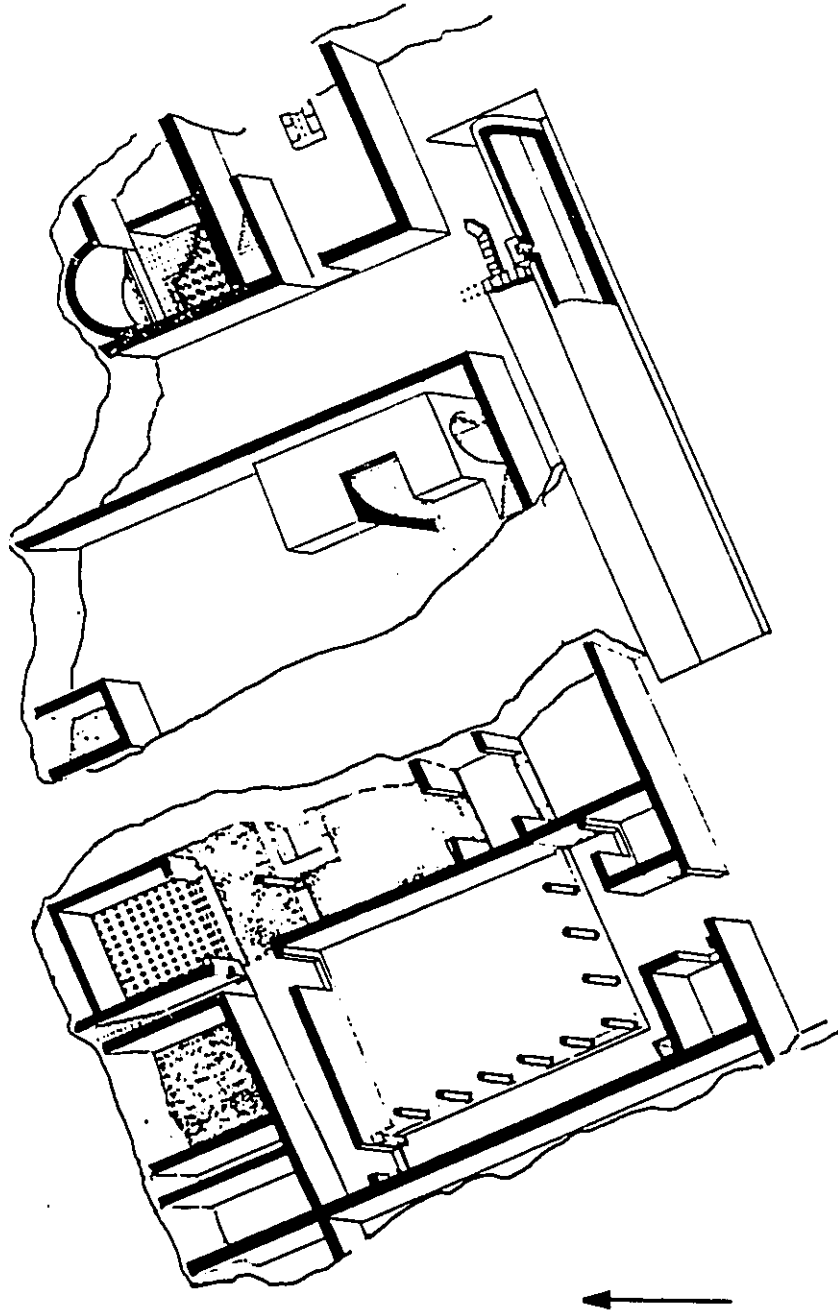


Fig. 4b - Aosta I - Reconstruction

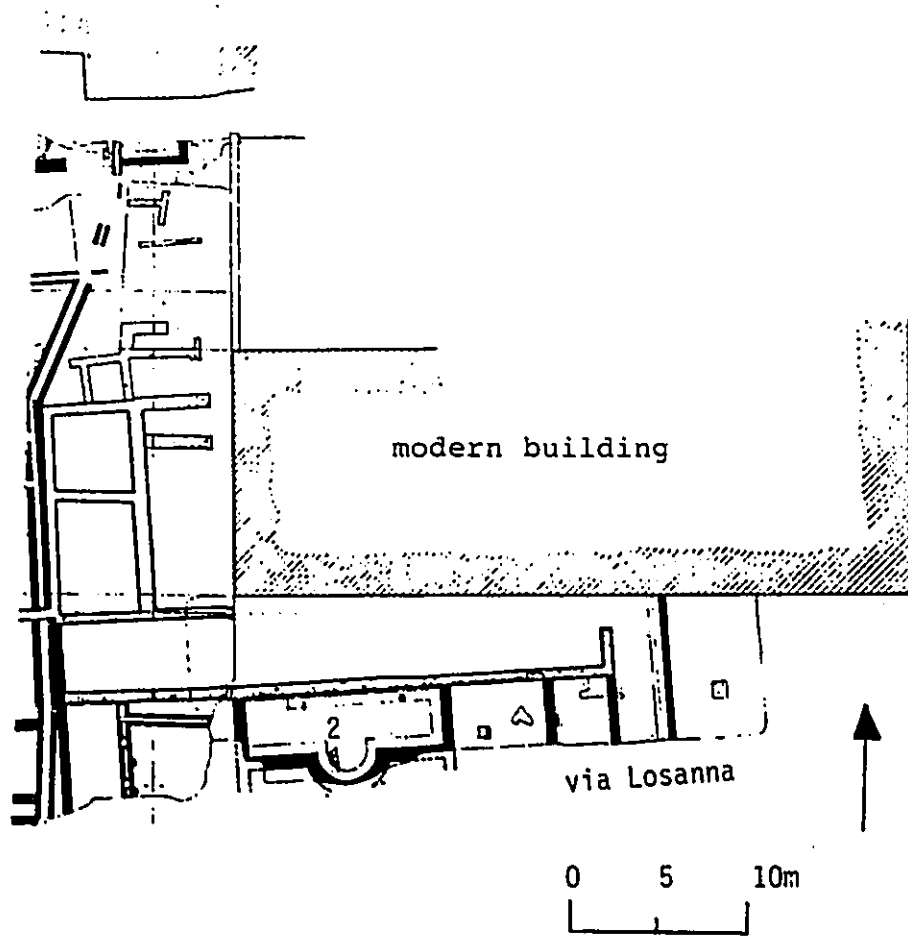


Fig. 5 - Aosta 2

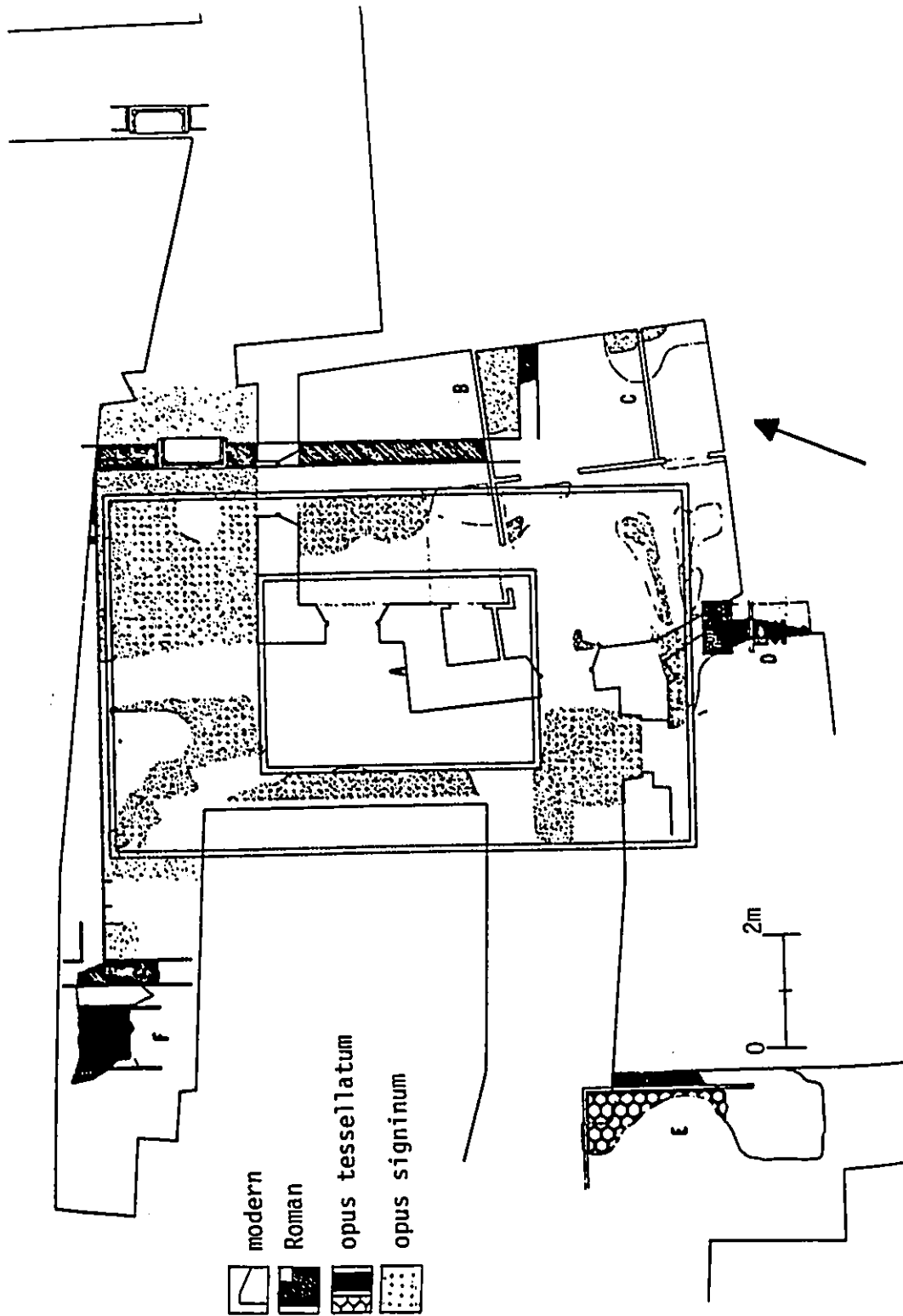


Fig. 6 - Aosta 3

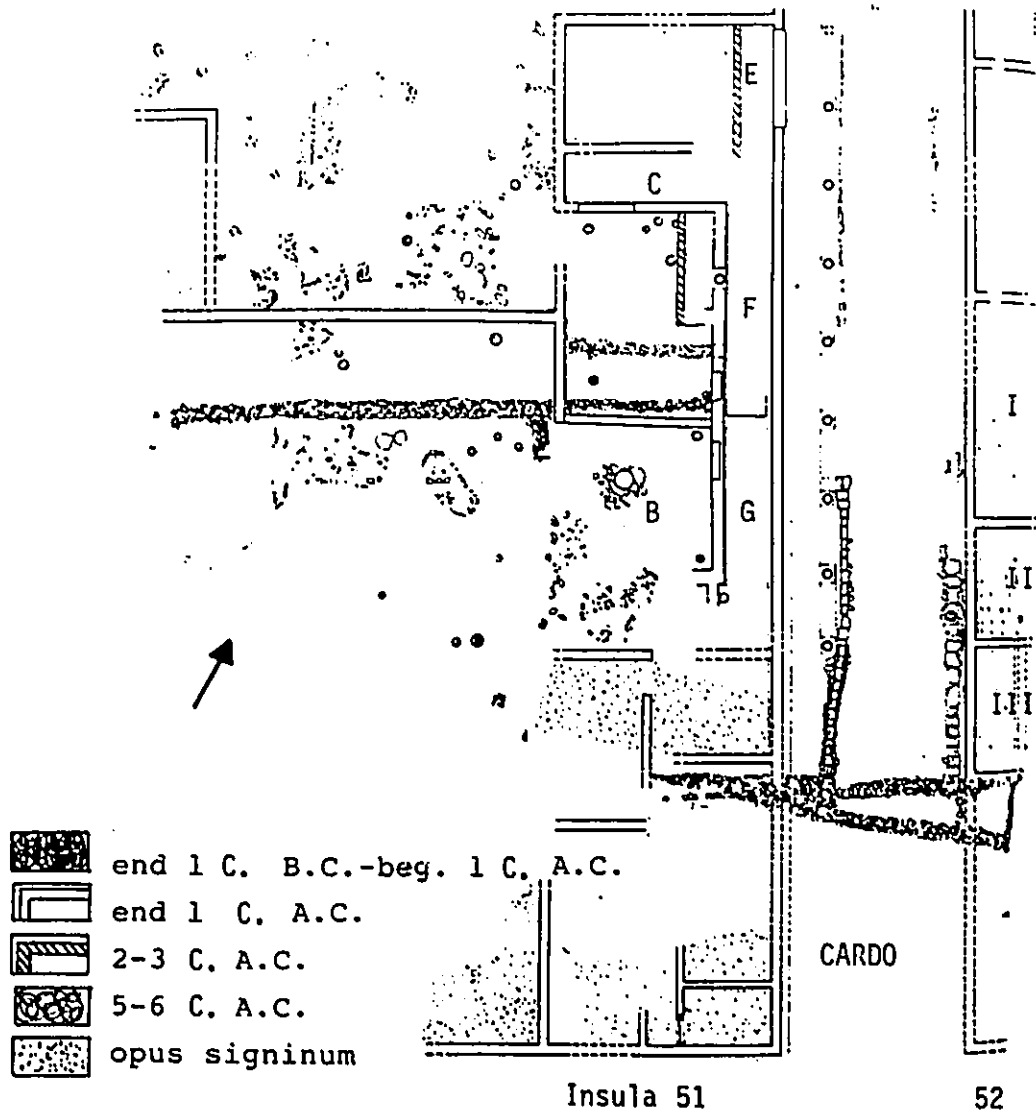


Fig. 7 - Aosta 4

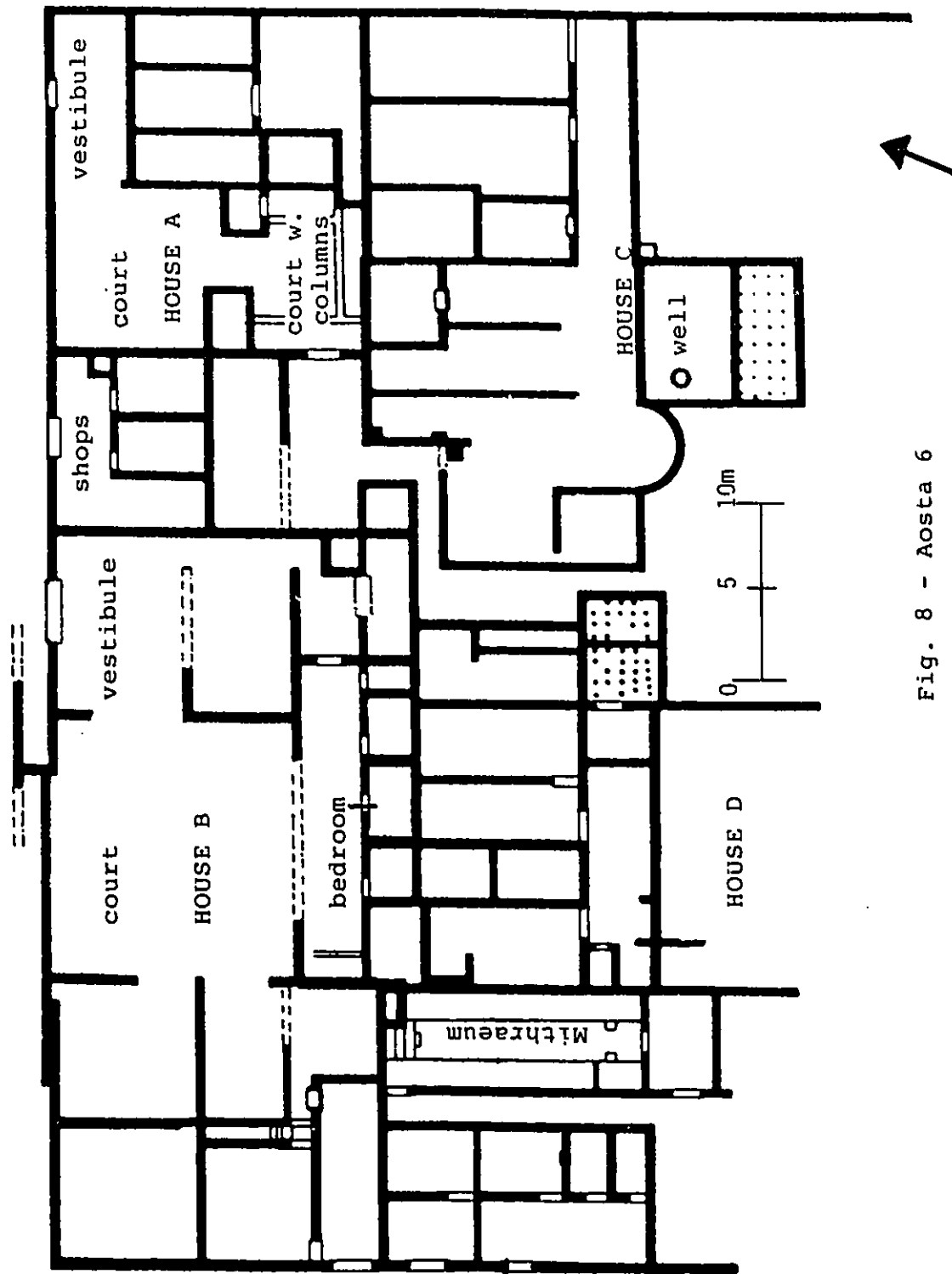


Fig. 8 - Aosta 6

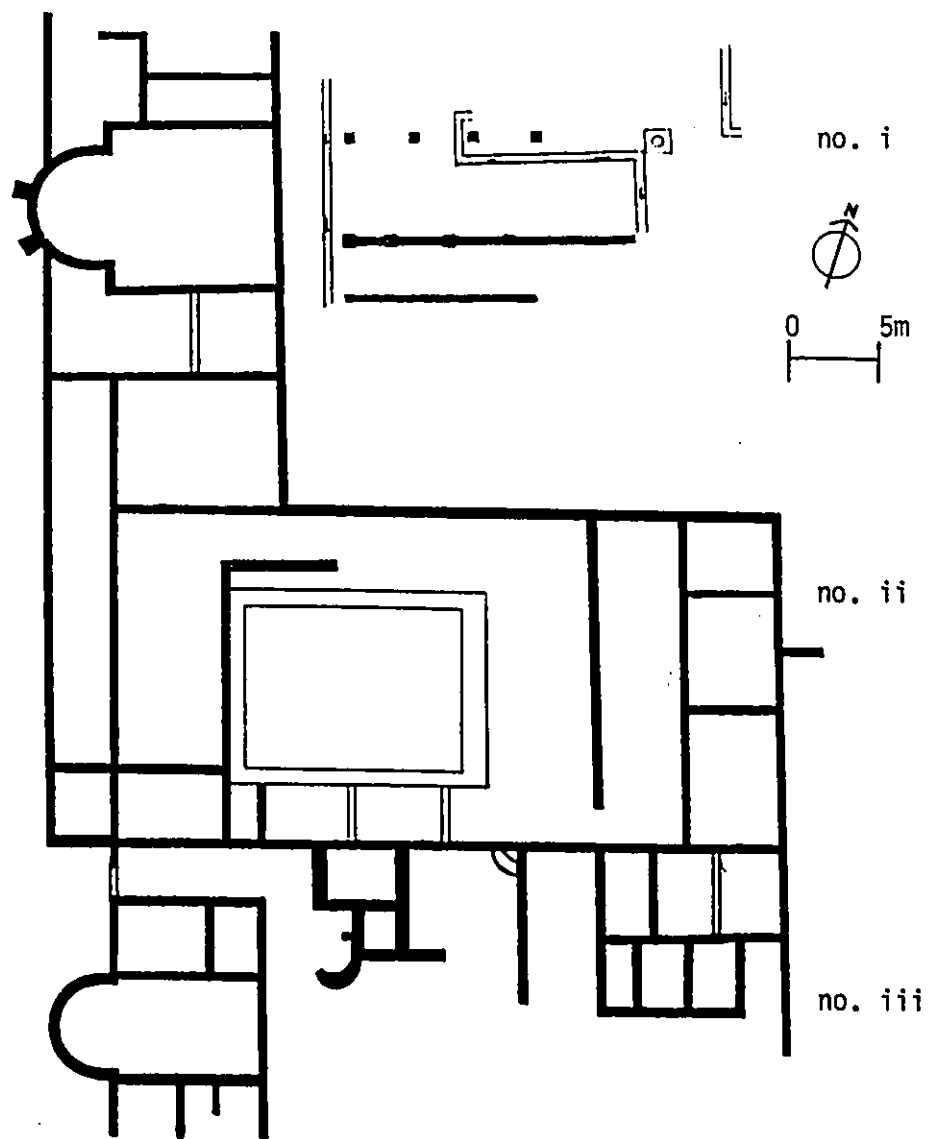


Fig. 9 - Aquileia 1

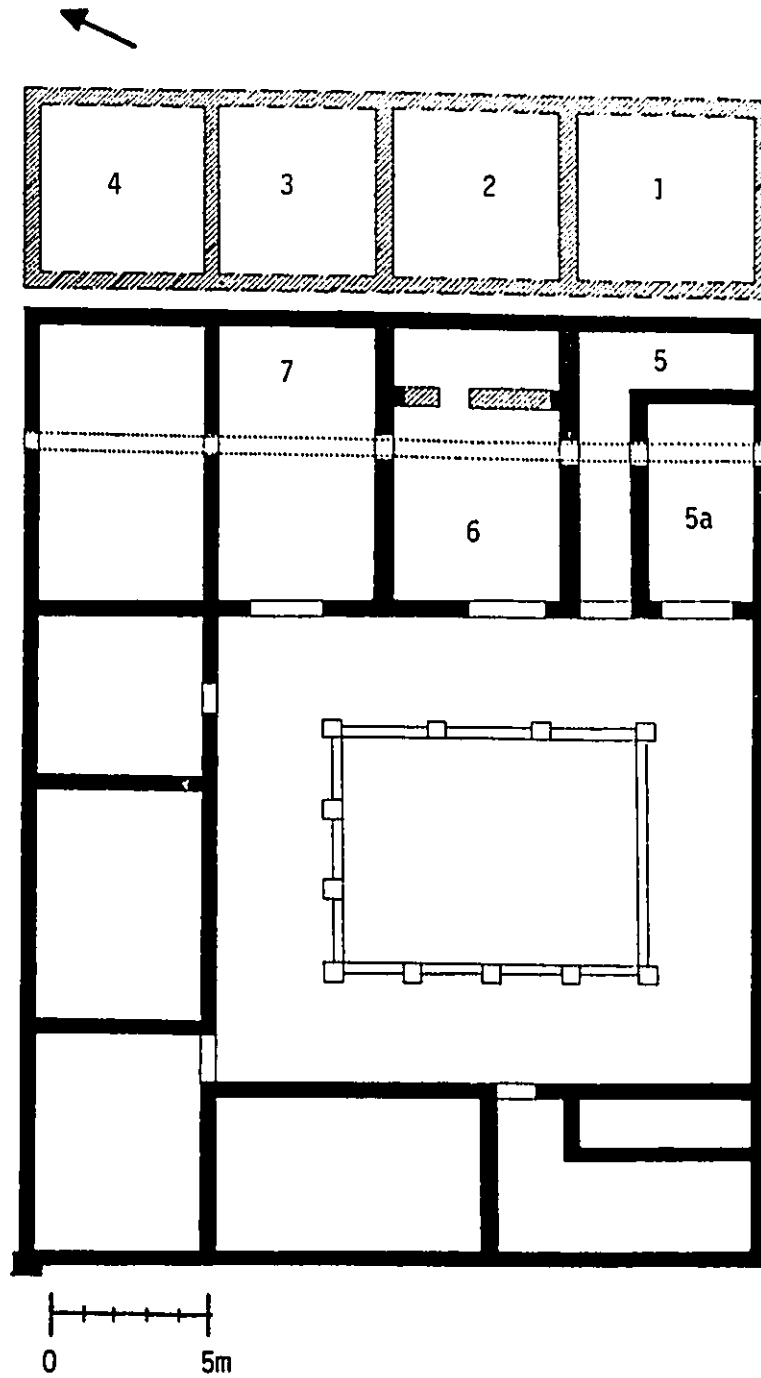
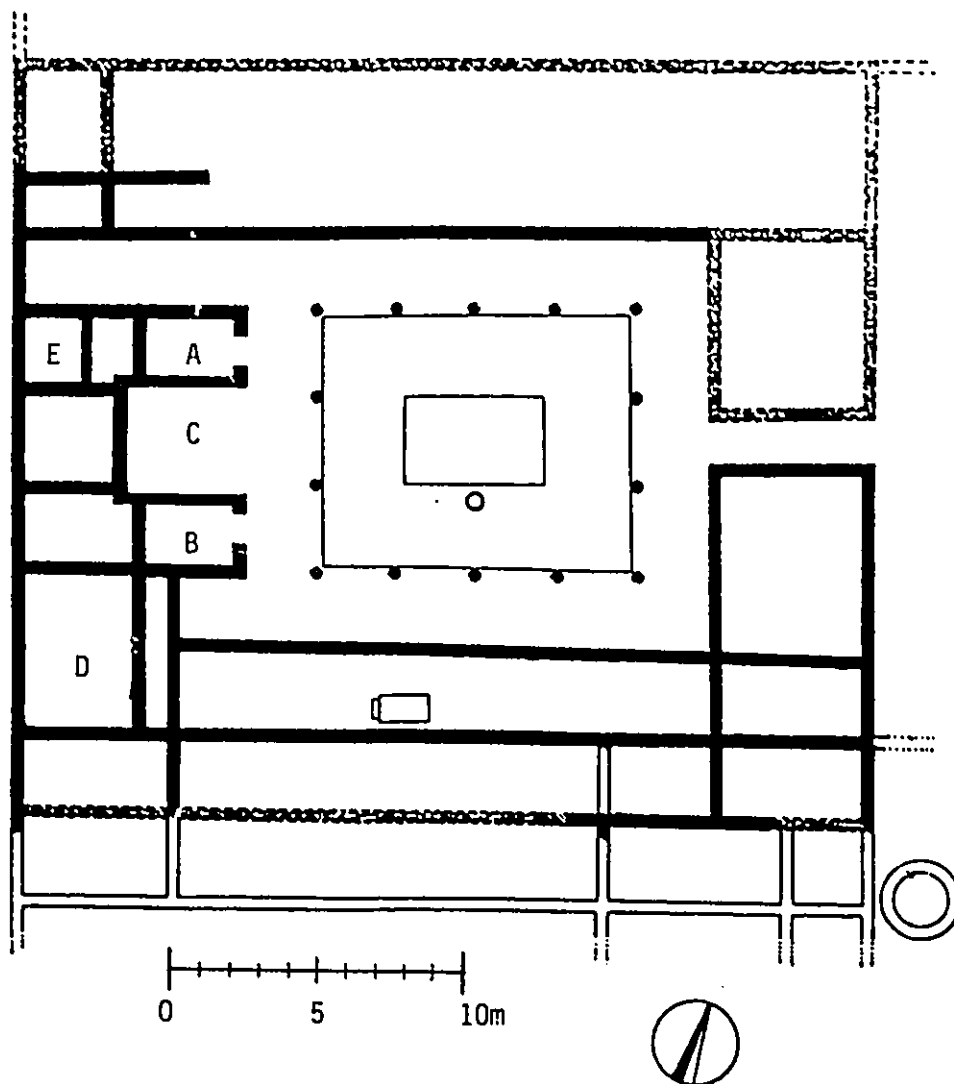


Fig. 10 - Aquileia 2






-  certain walls of domus
-  probable walls of domus
-  possible walls of domus

Fig. 11 - Aquileia 3

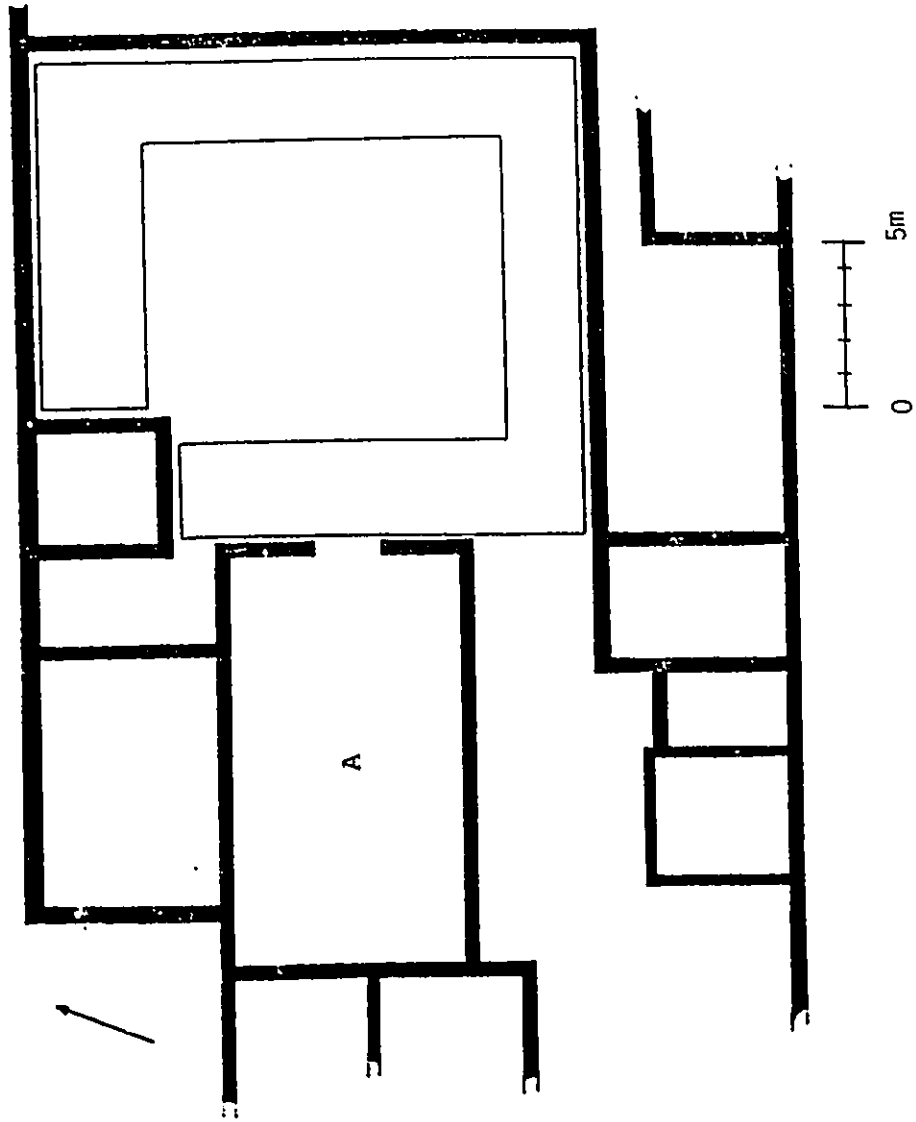


Fig. 12 - Aquileia 4

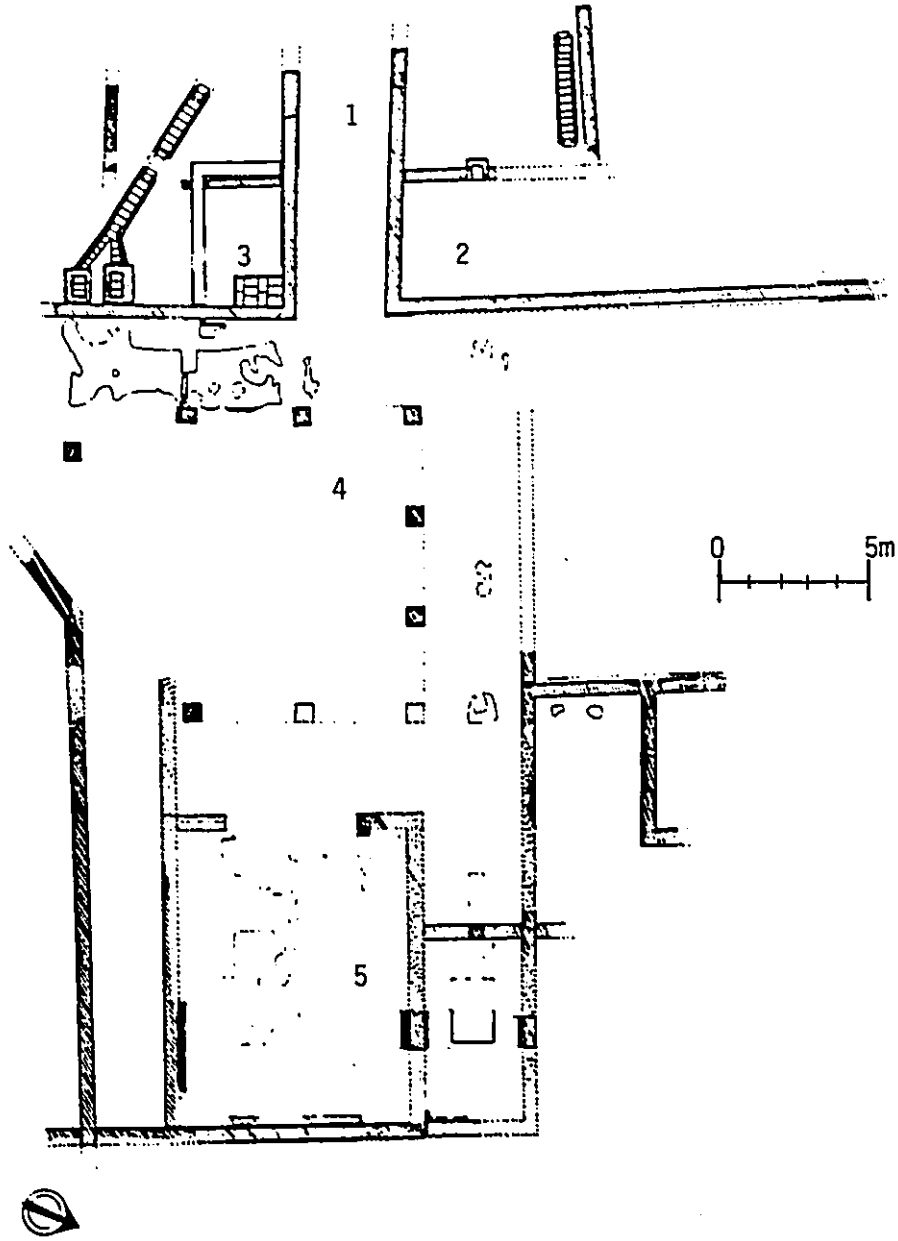


Fig. 13 - Aquileia 5

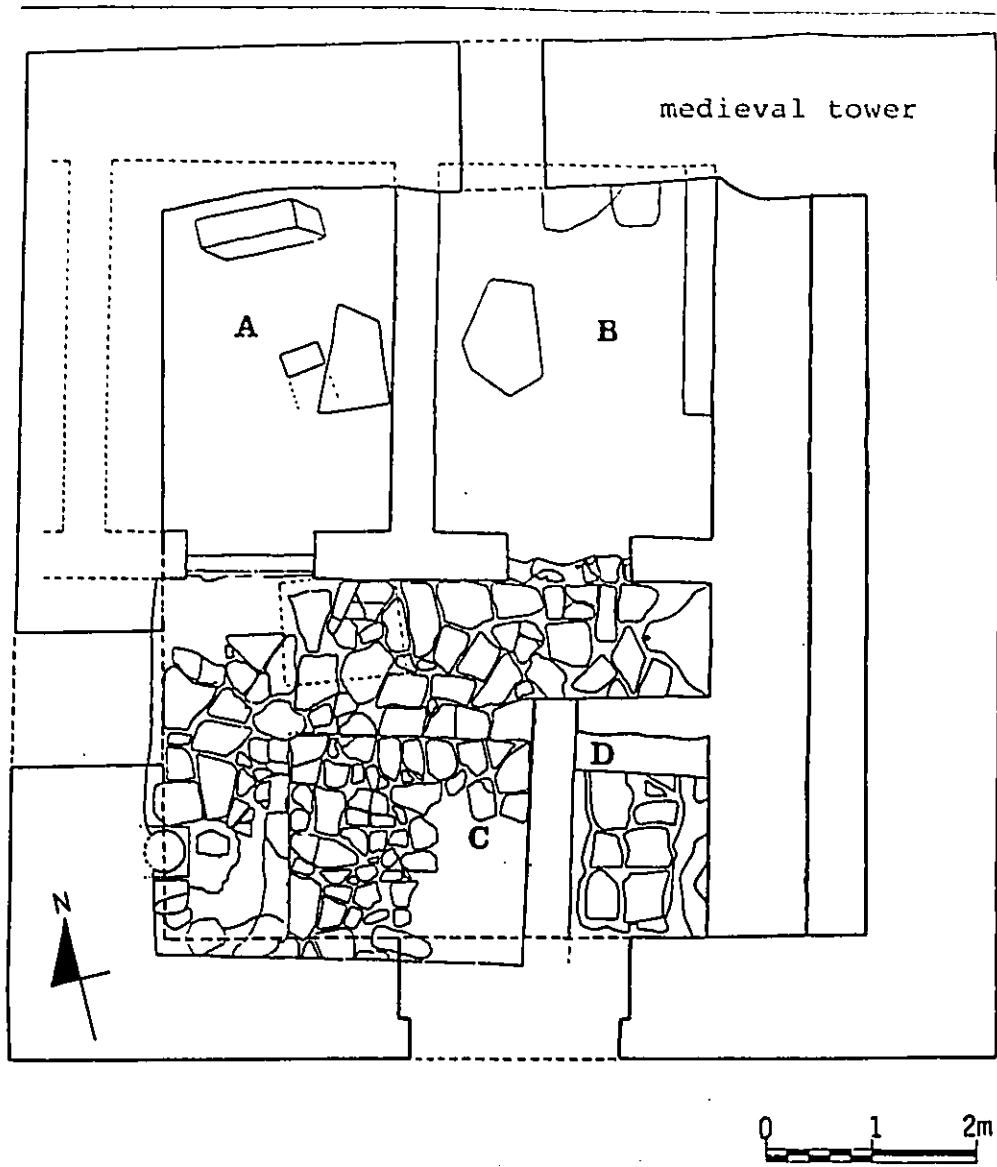


Fig.14 - Bergamo

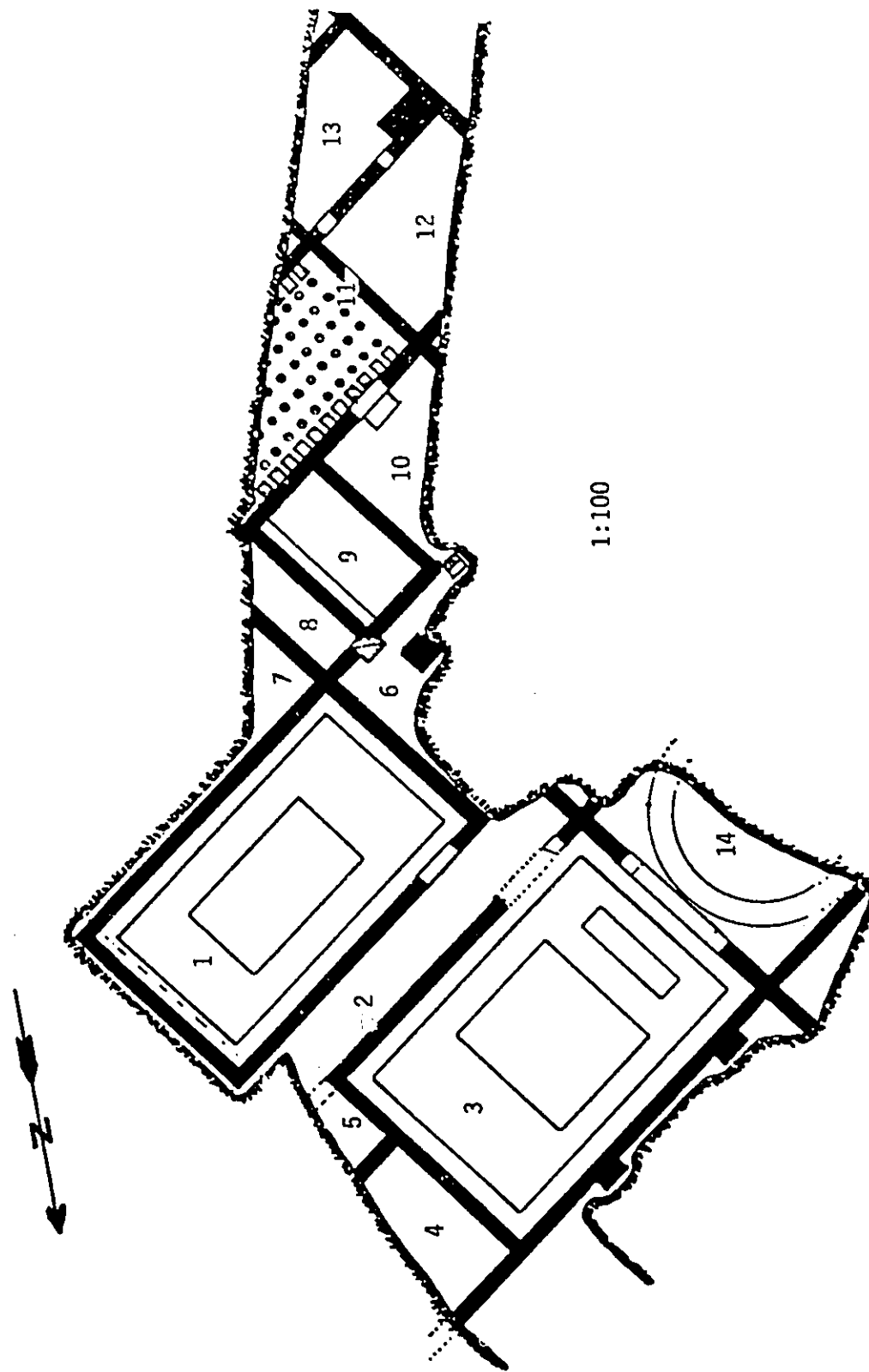


Fig. 15 - Bologna 1

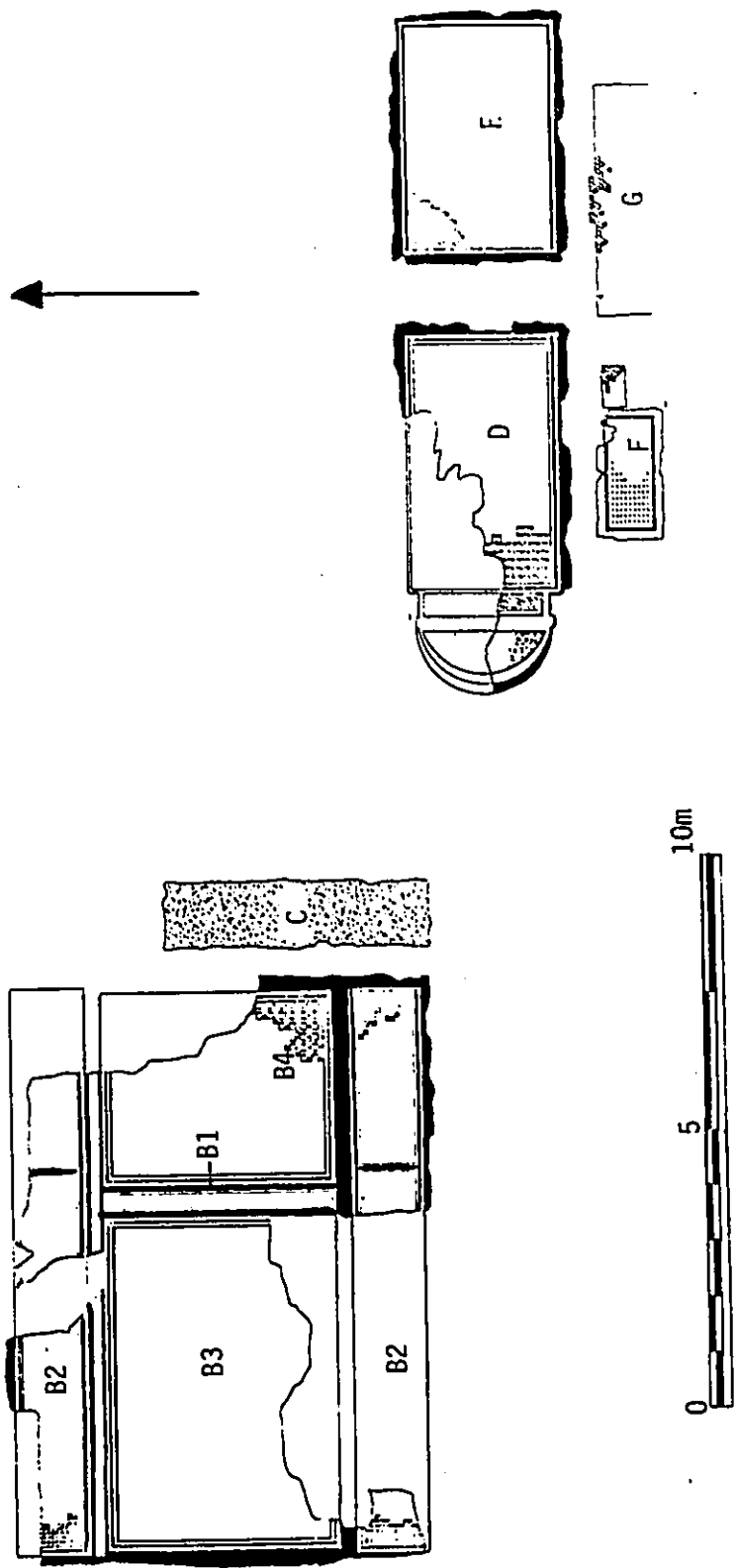


Fig. 16 - Bologna 2

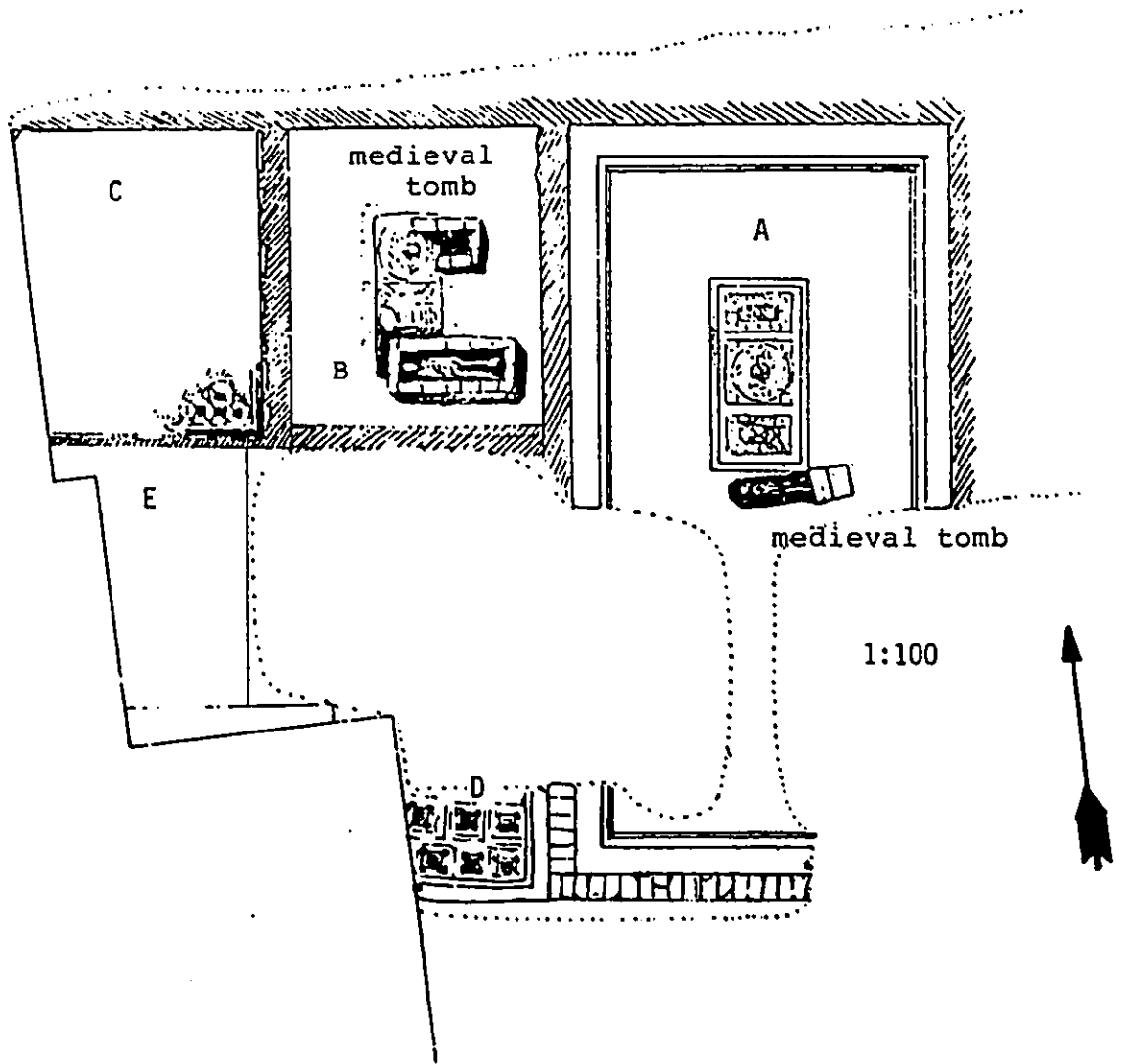


Fig. 17 - Brescello

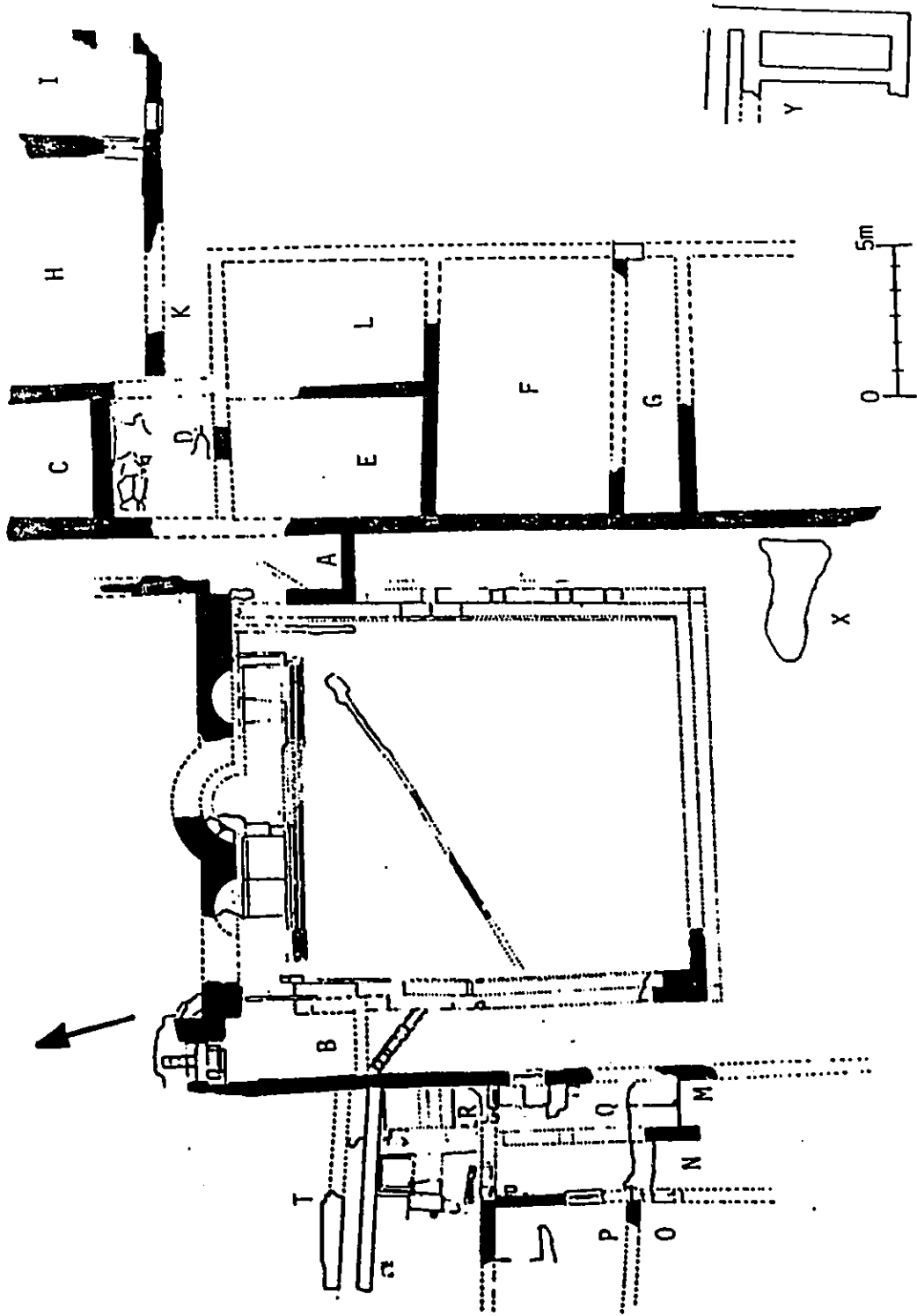


Fig. 18 - Brescia I

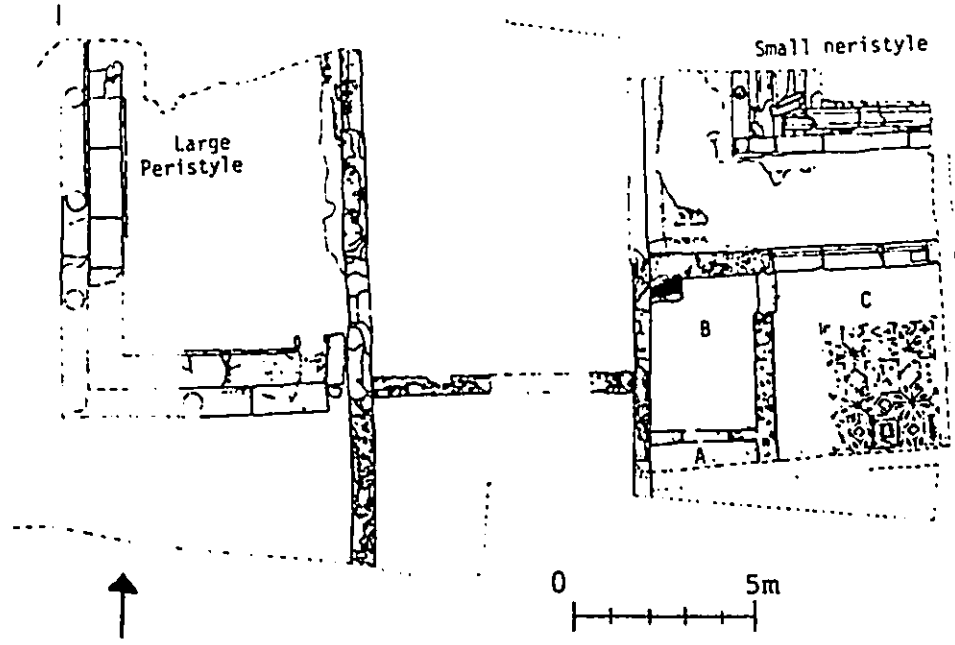


Fig. 19a - Brescia 2

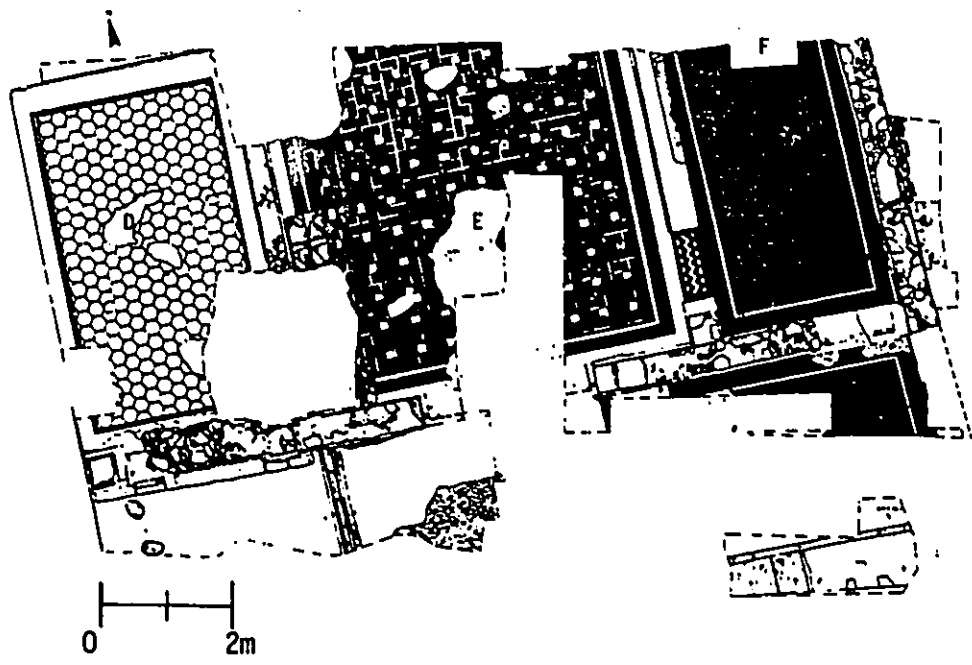


Fig. 19b - Brescia 2 - rooms north of small peristyle

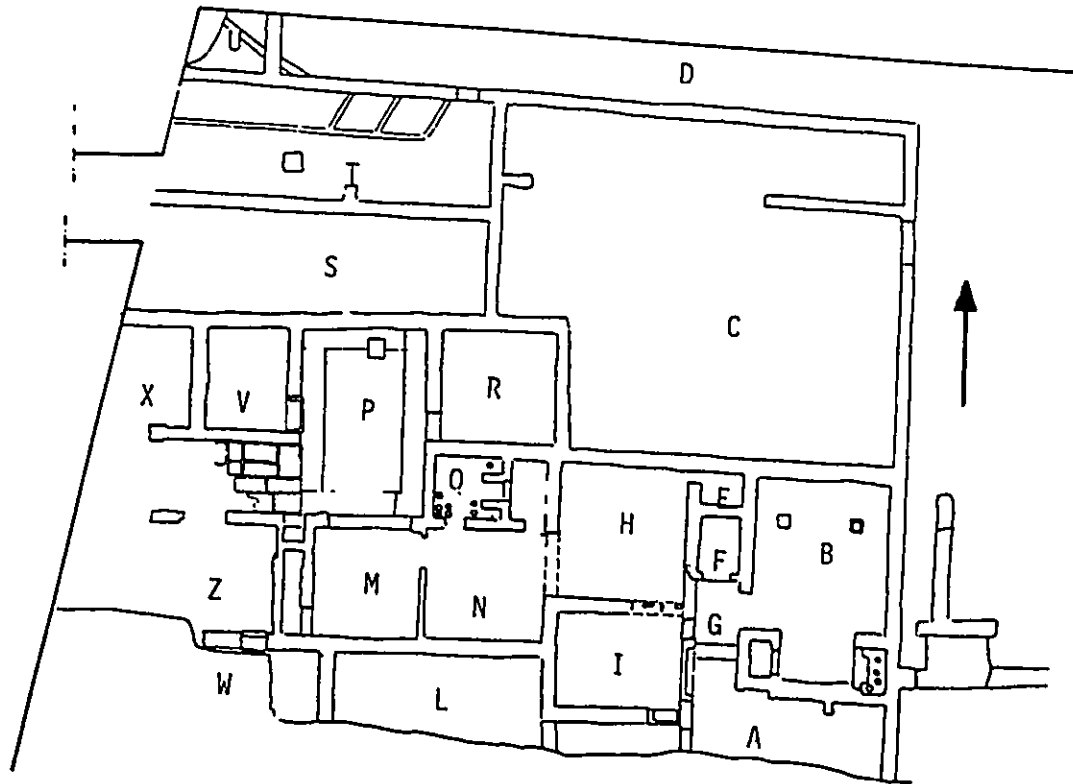


Fig. 20 - Brescia 3

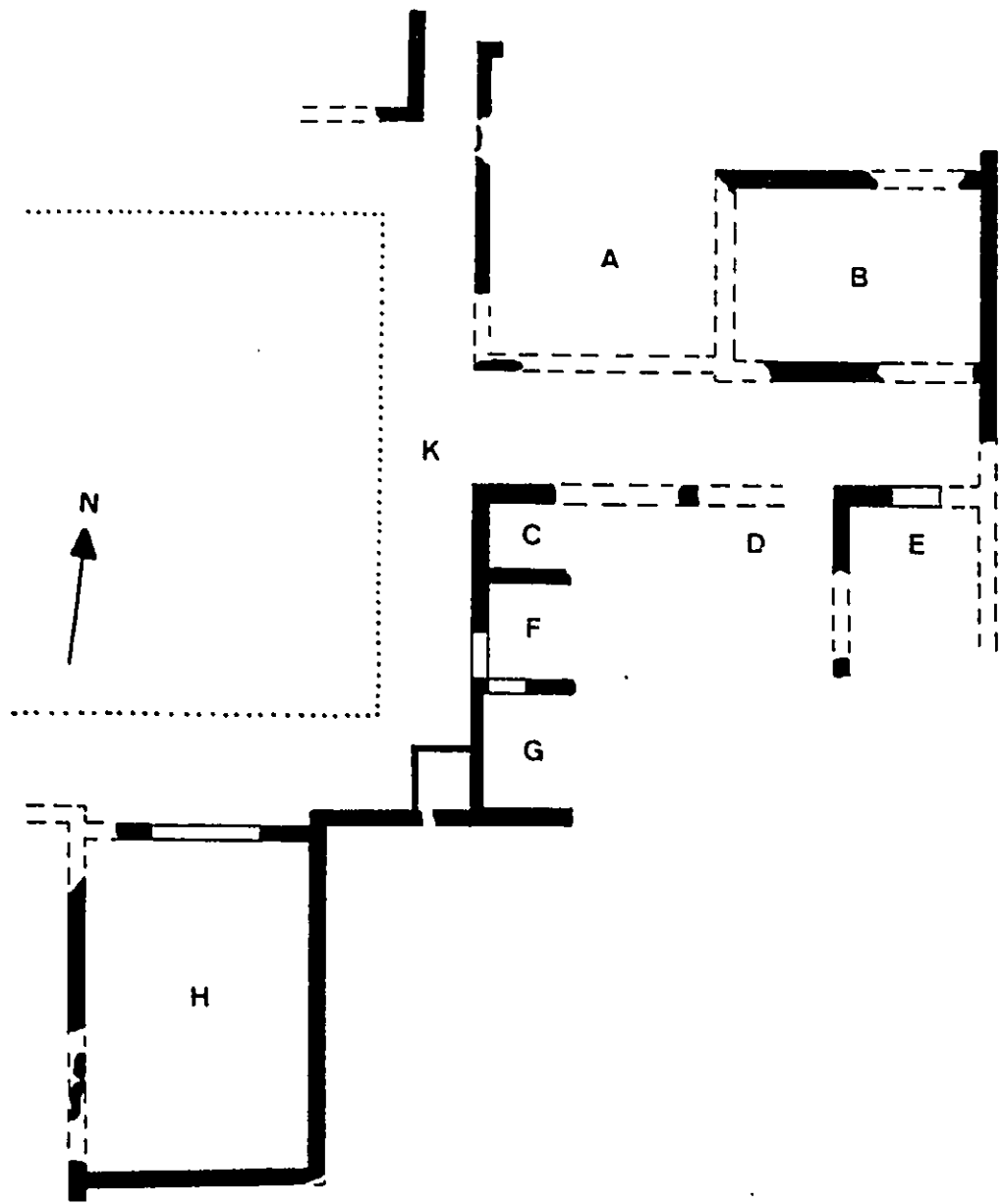


Fig. 21 - Brescia 4

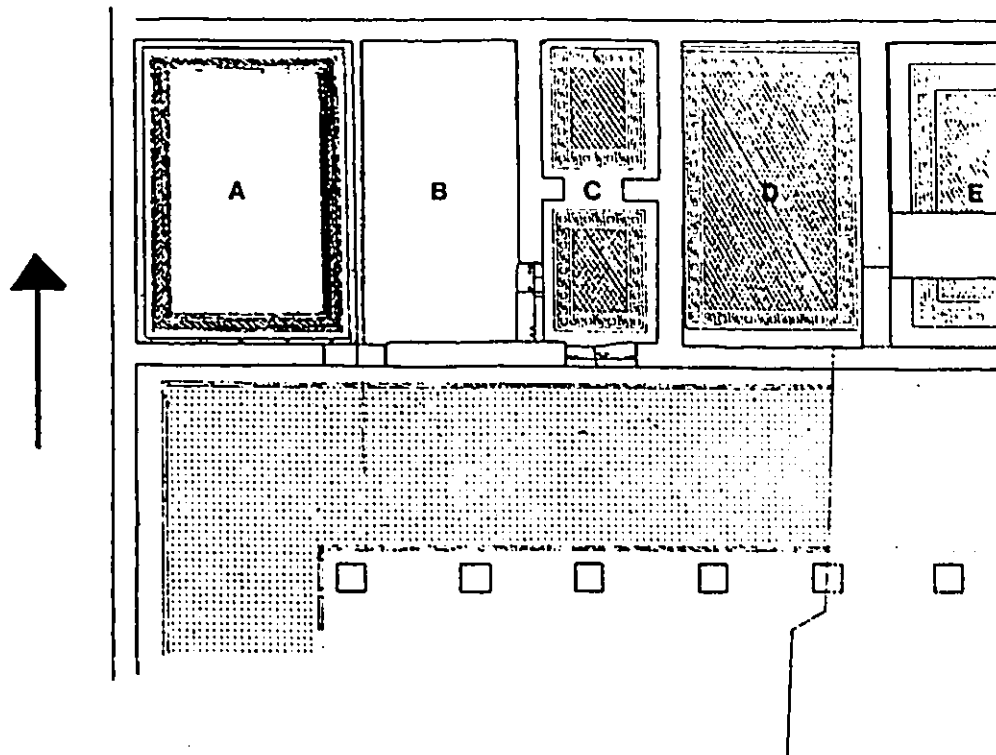


Fig. 22 - Brescia 5

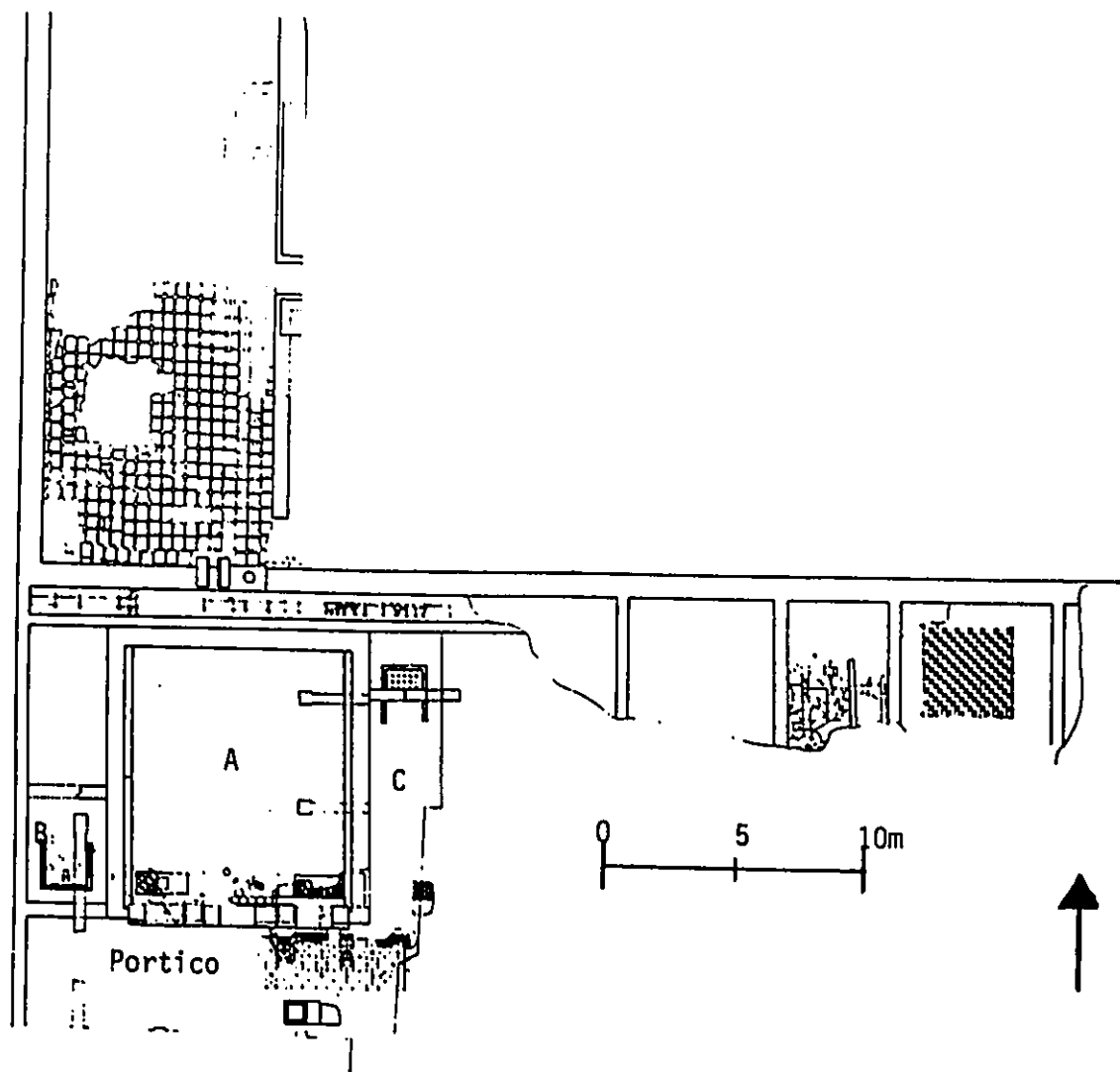


Fig. 23 - Brescia 6

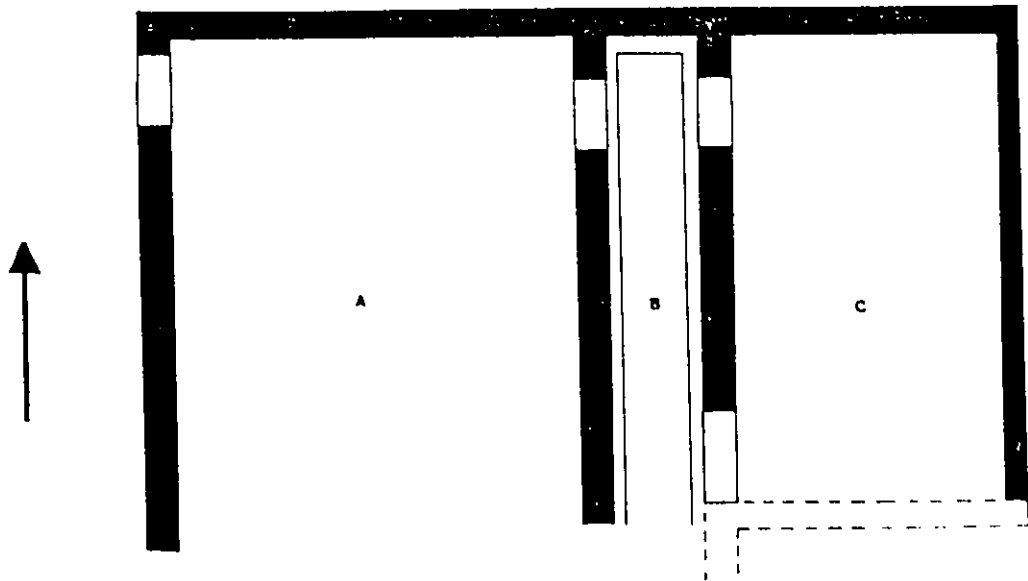


Fig. 24 - Brescia 7

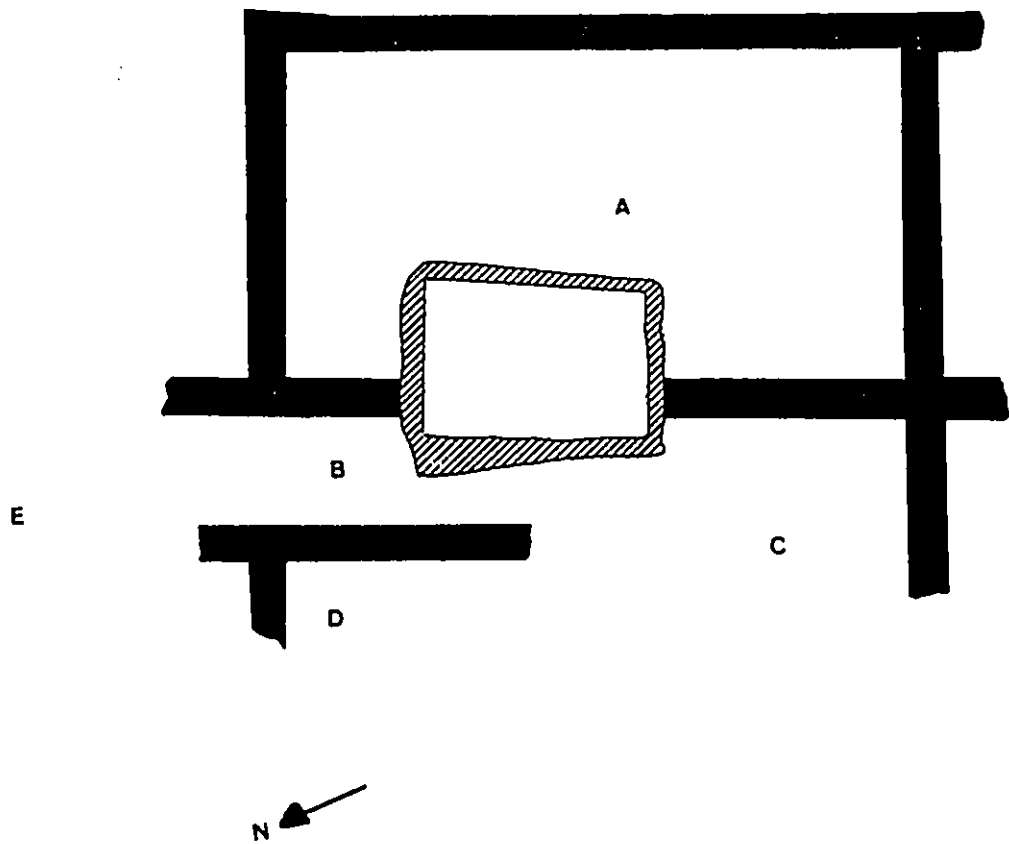


Fig. 25 - Cividale

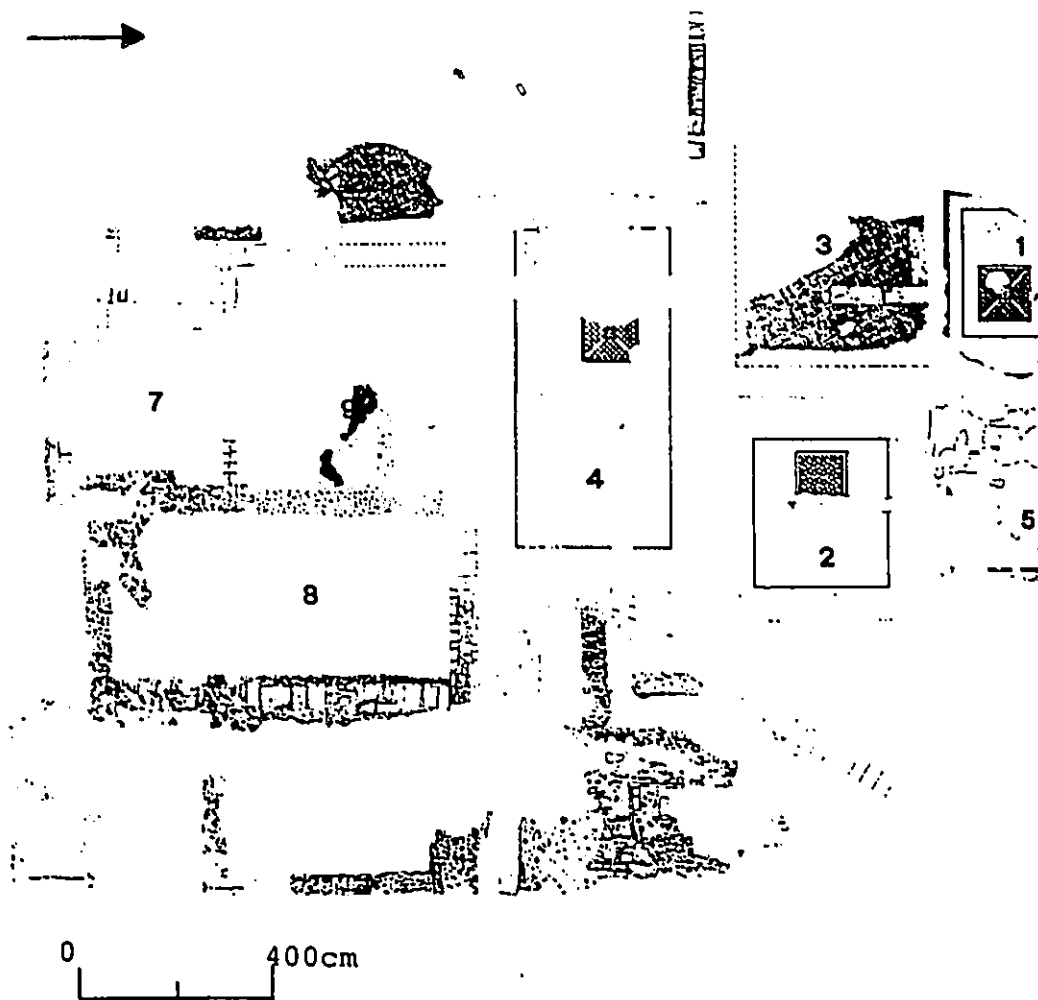


Fig. 26 - Concordia 1

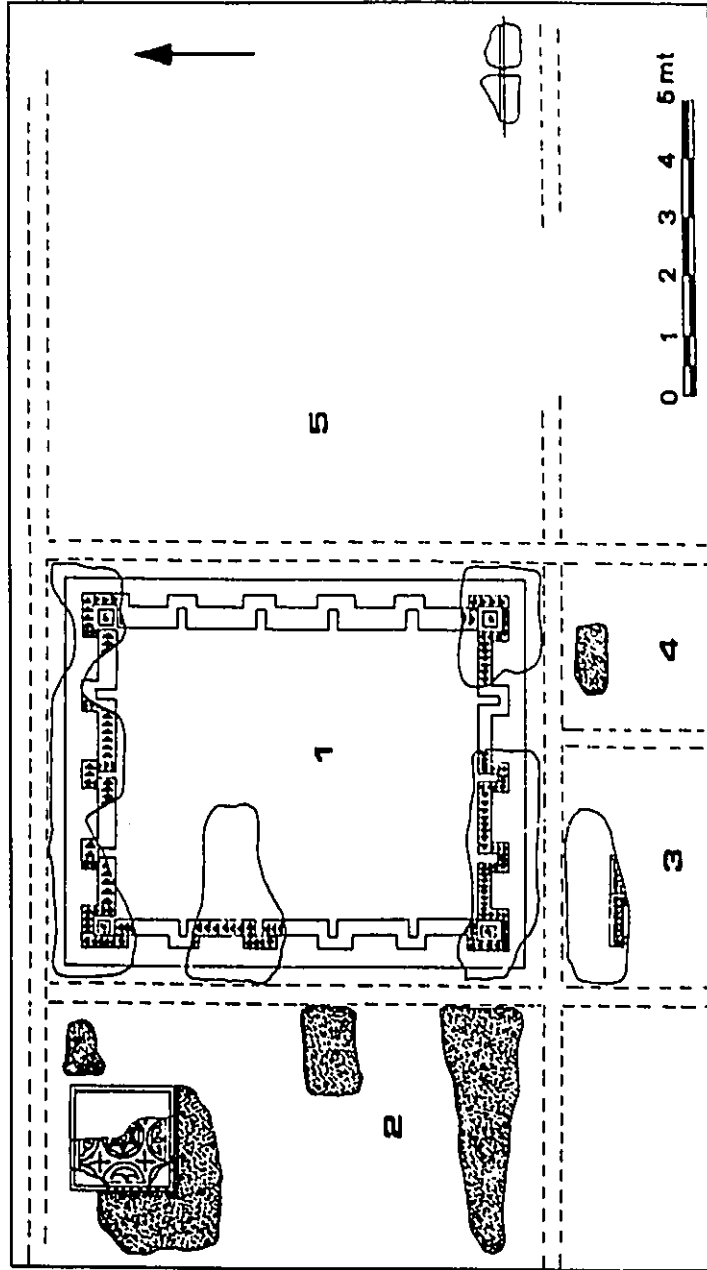


Fig. 27 - Concordia 2

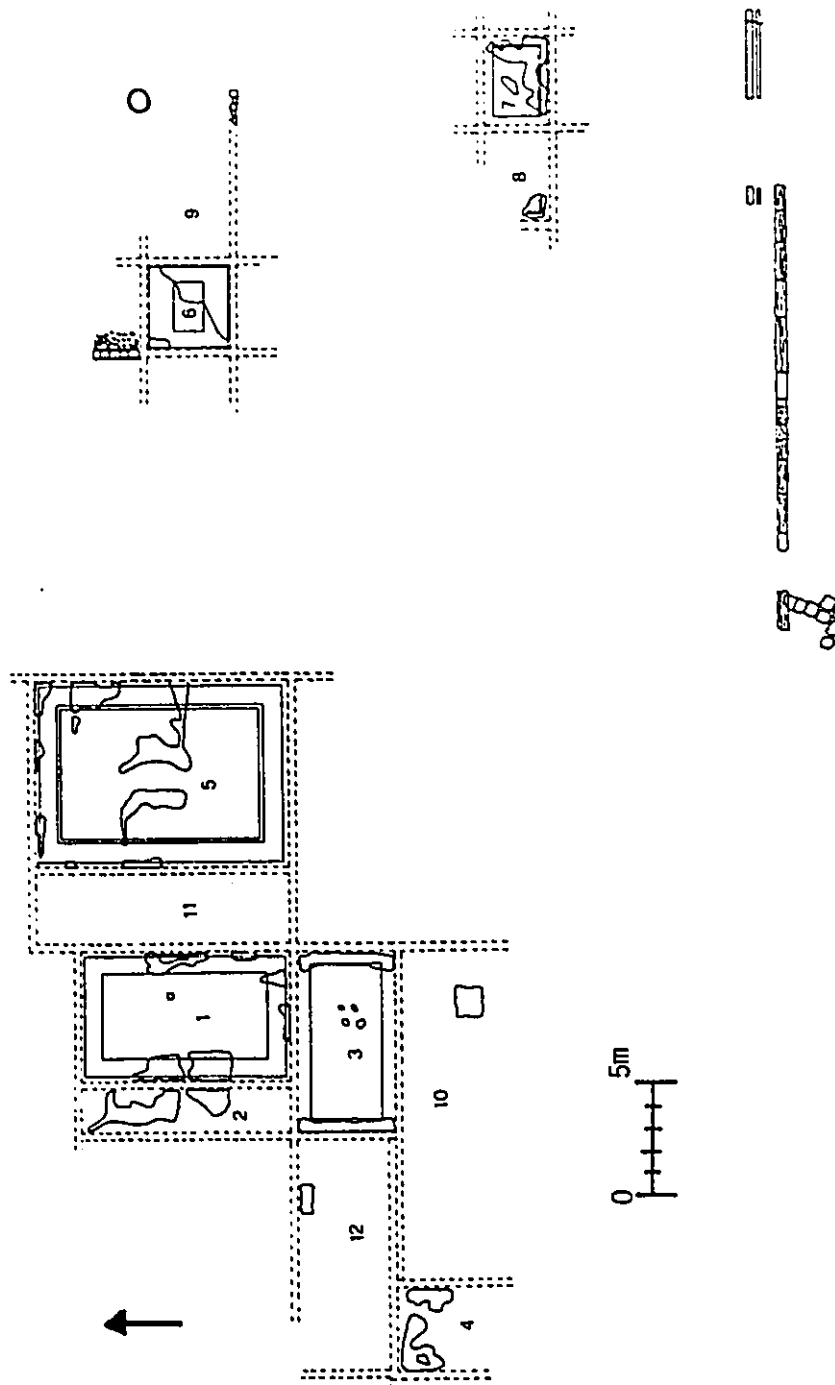


Fig. 28 - Concordia 3

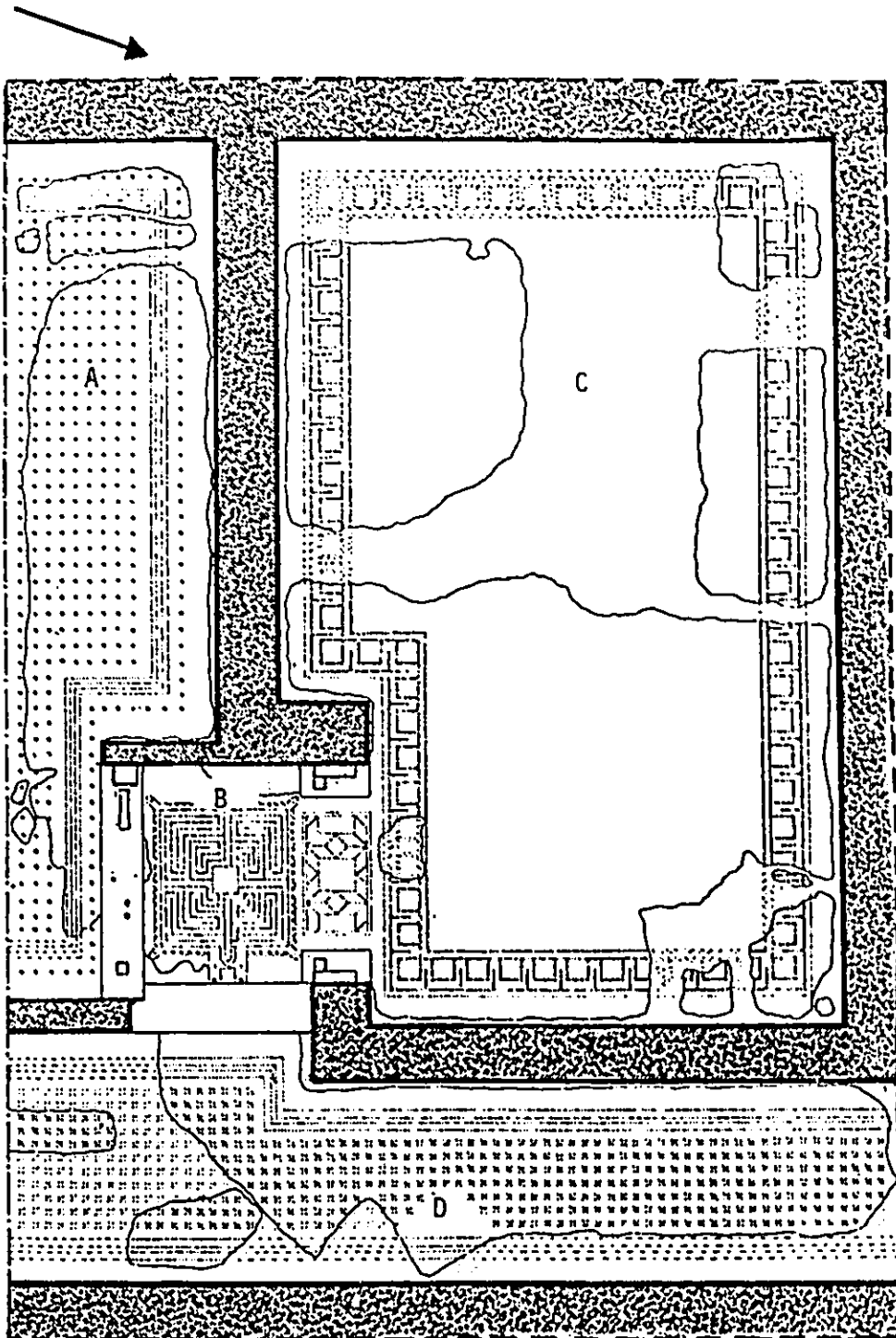


Fig. 29 - Cremona

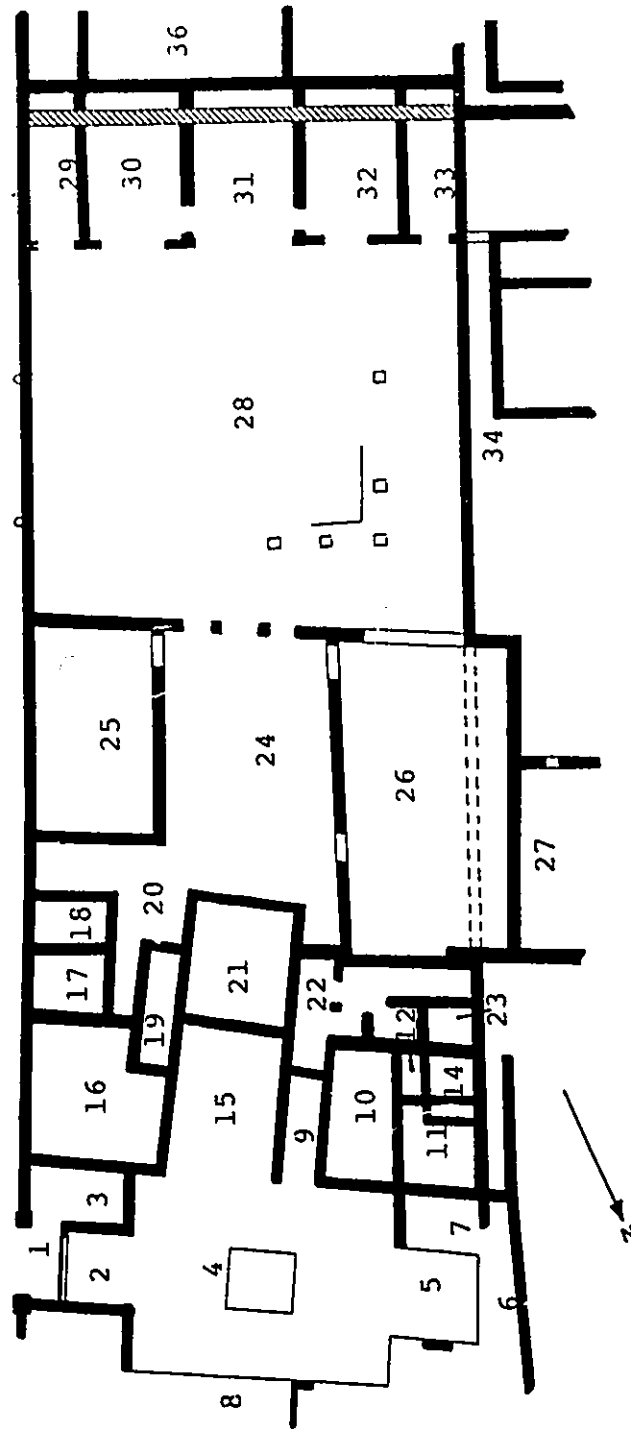


Fig. 30 - Este 1

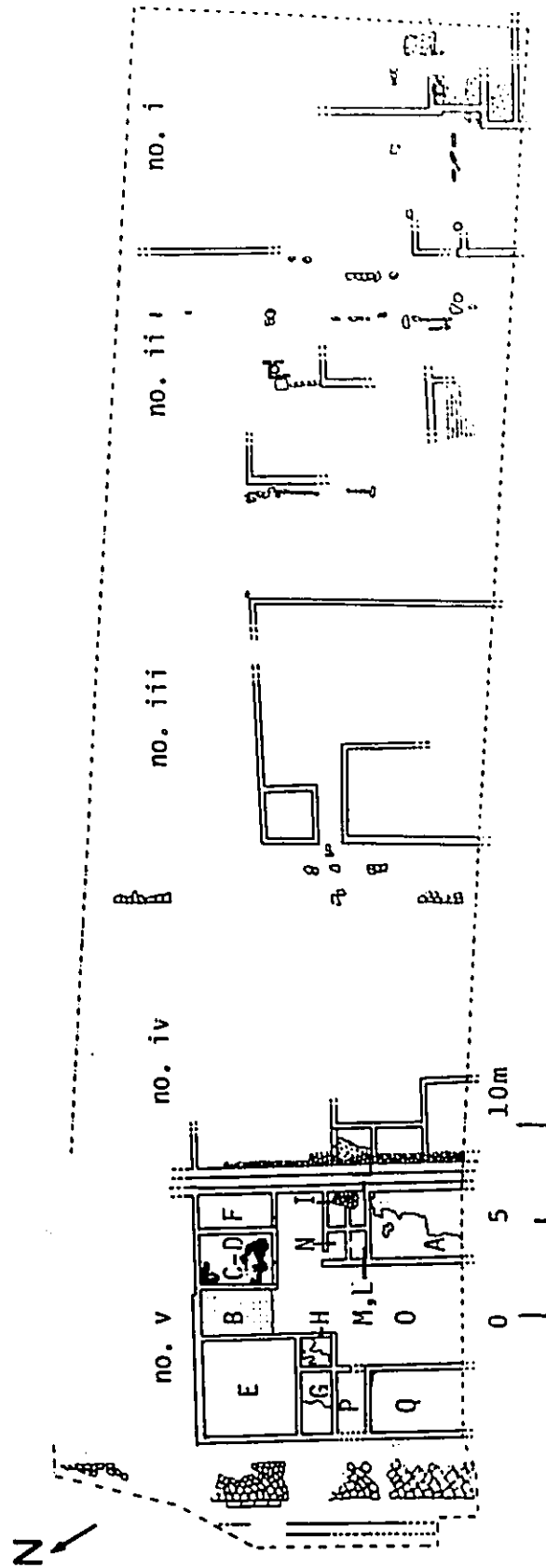


Fig. 31 - Este 2

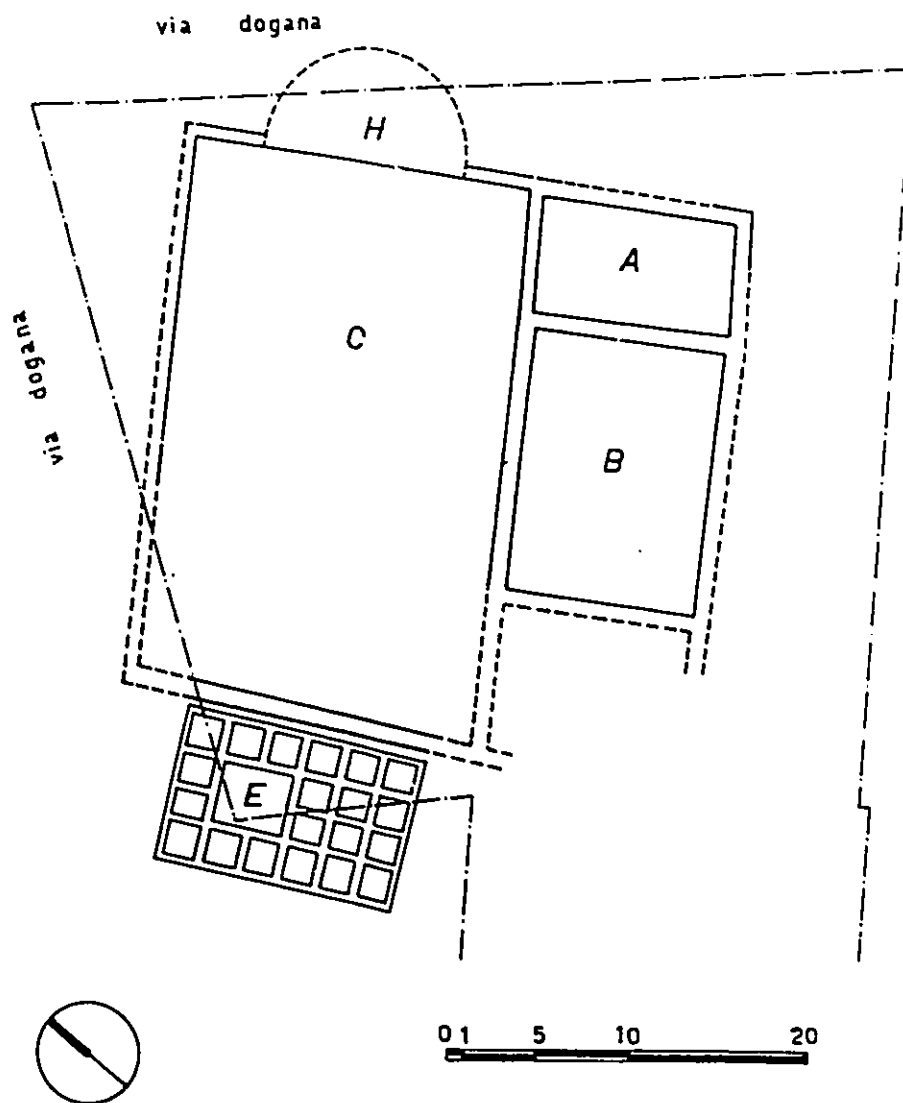


Fig. 32 - Faenza 1

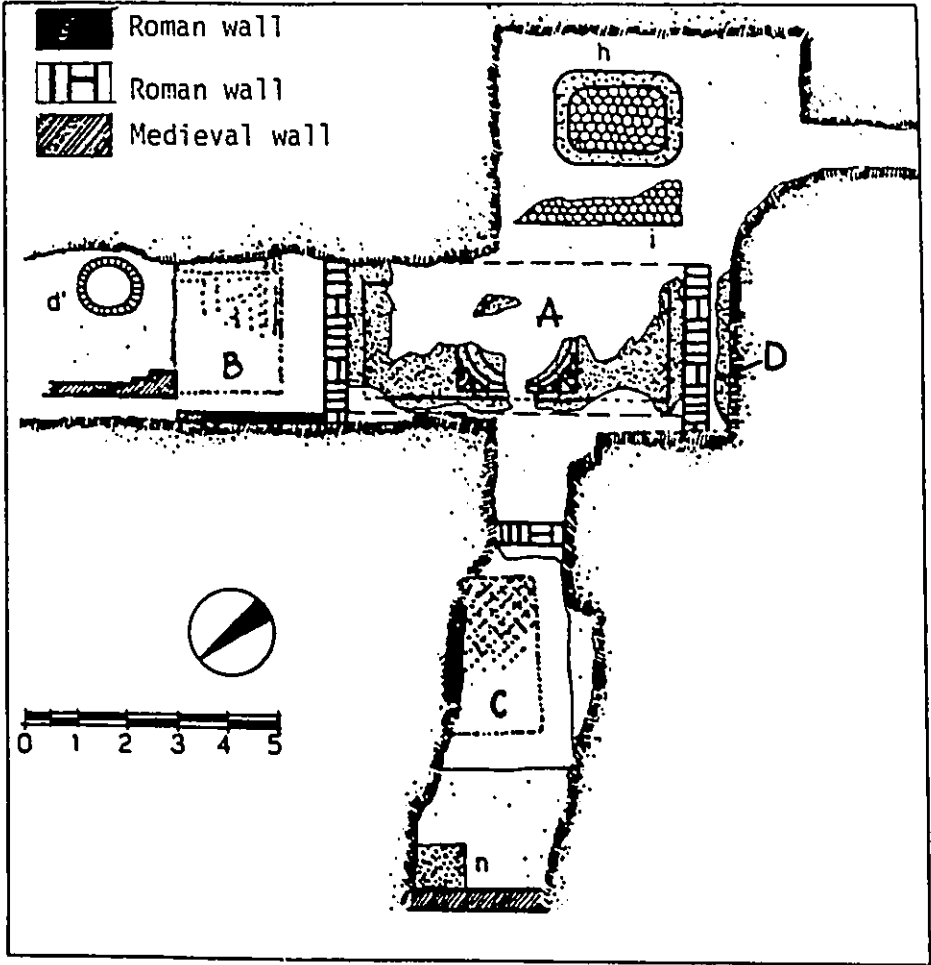


Fig. 33 - Faenza 2

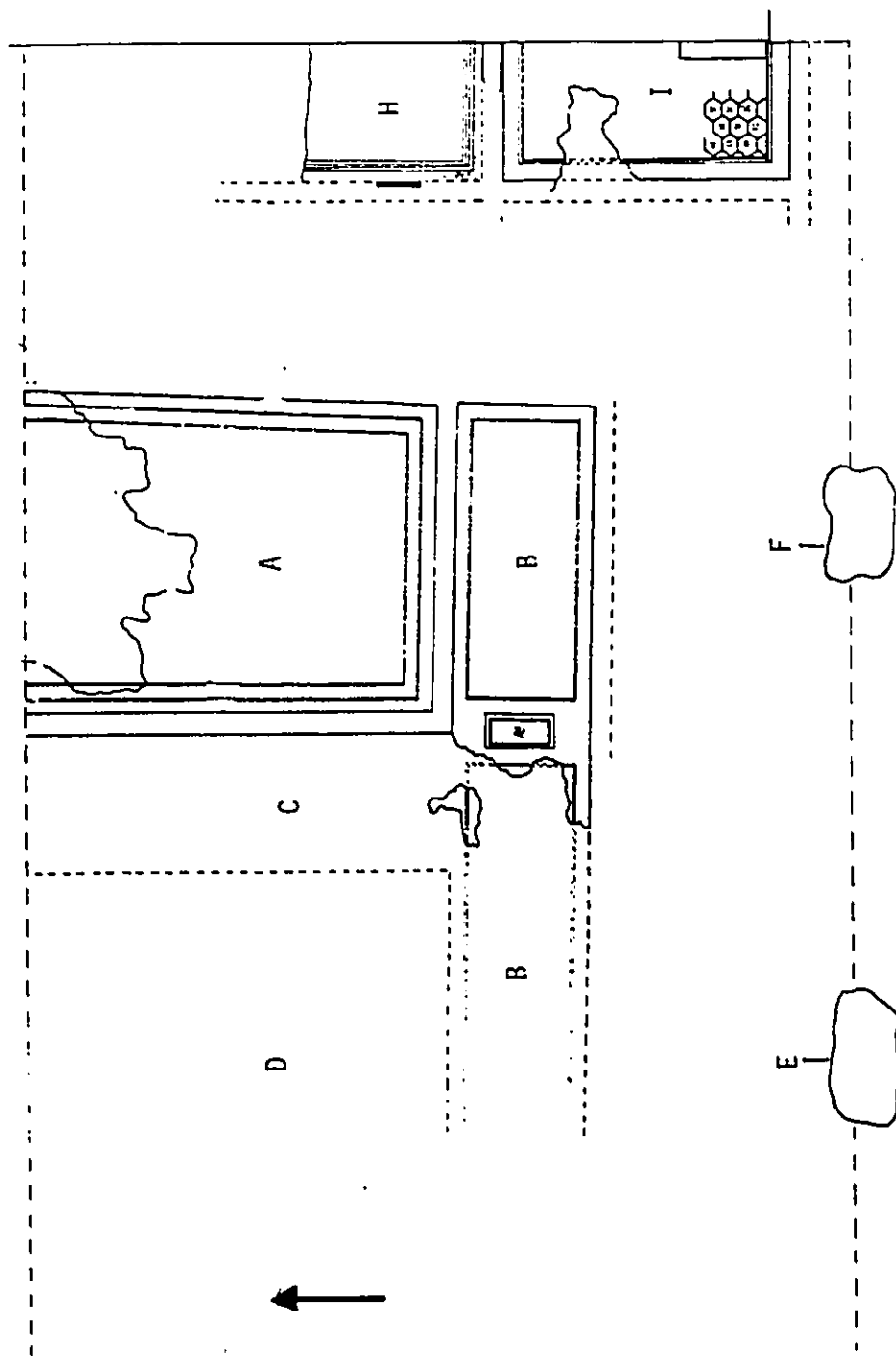


Fig. 34 - Imola 2

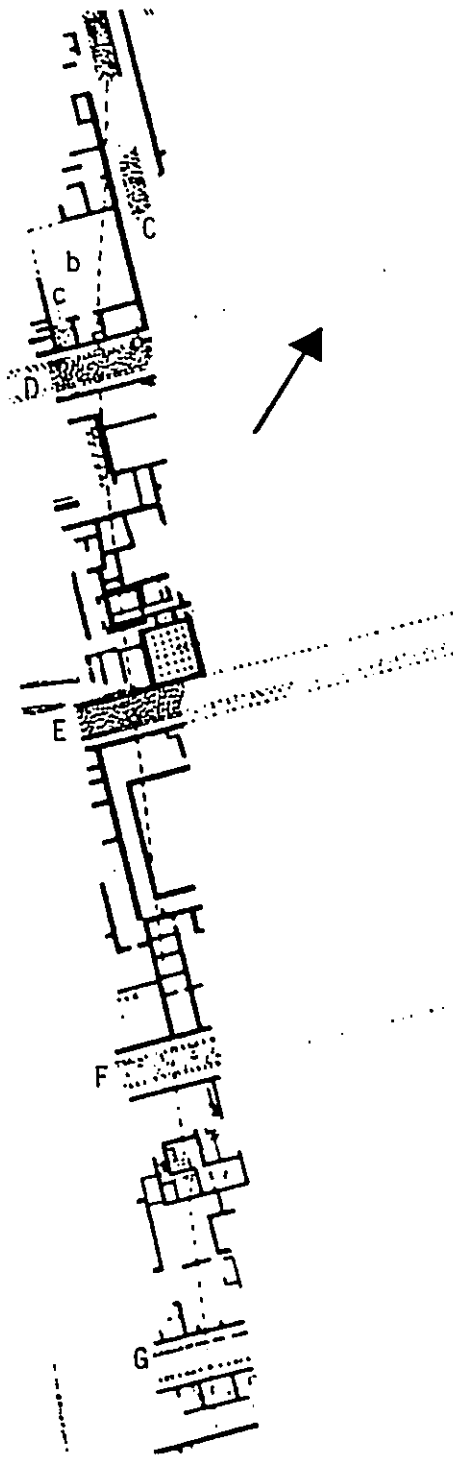


Fig. 35 - Libarna

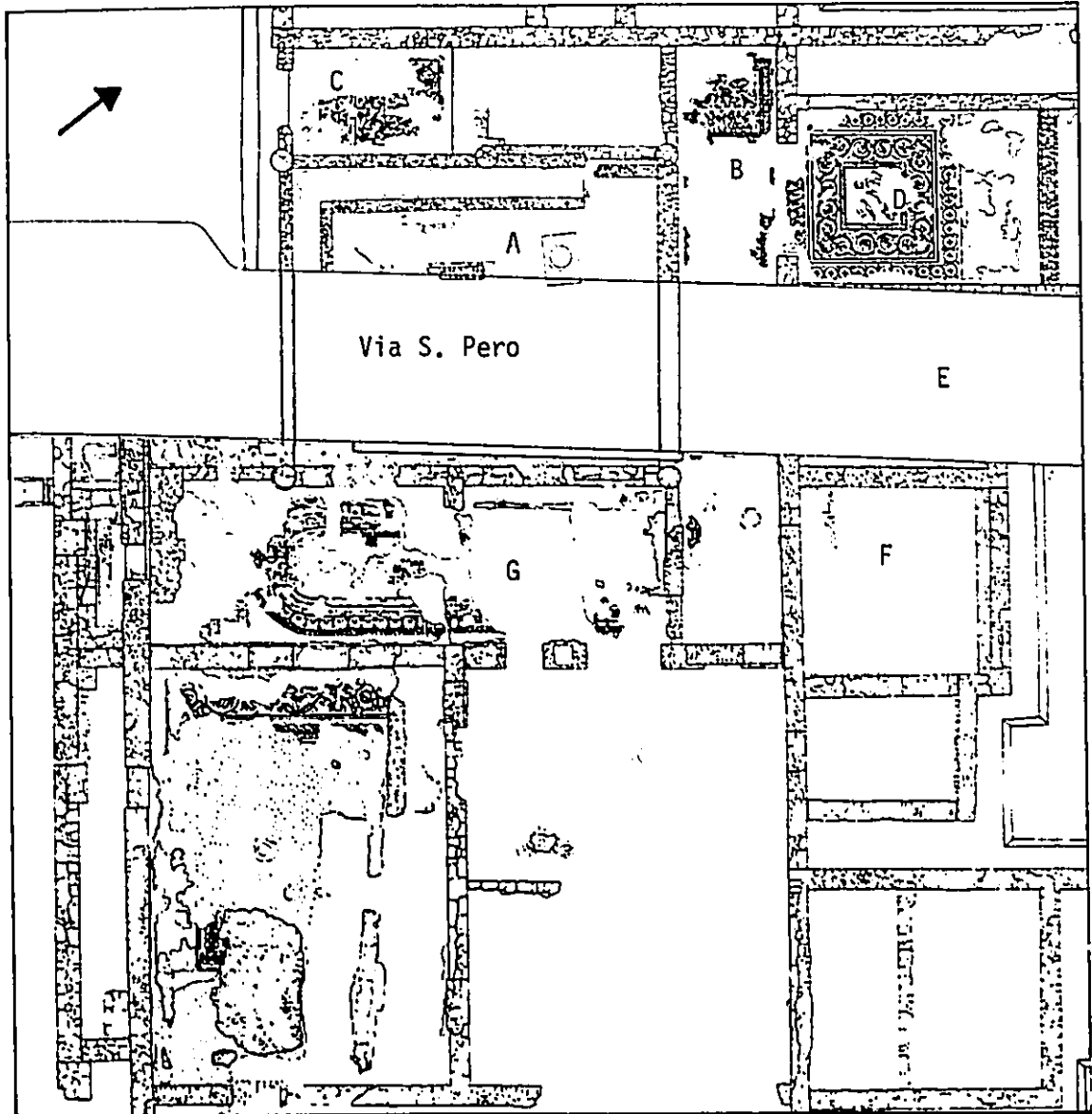


Fig. 36 - Luni 1

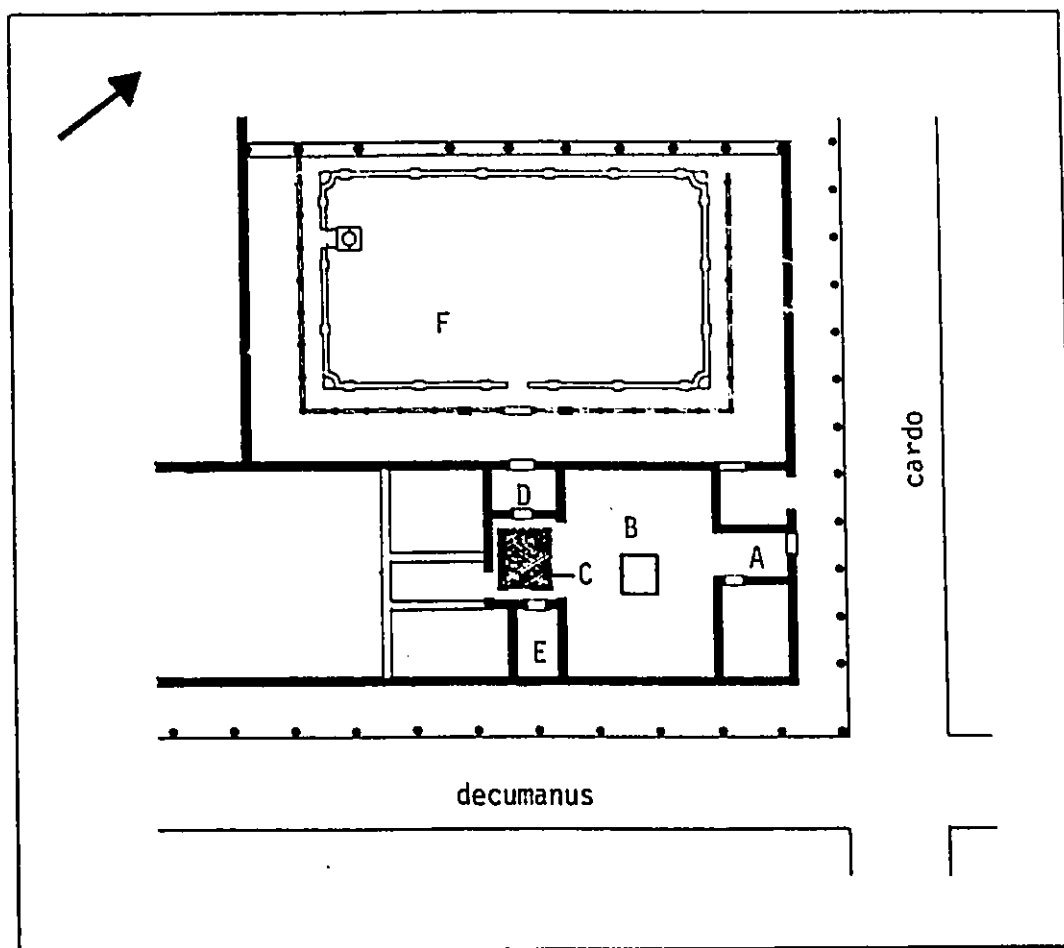


Fig. 37a - Luni 2 - Phase I

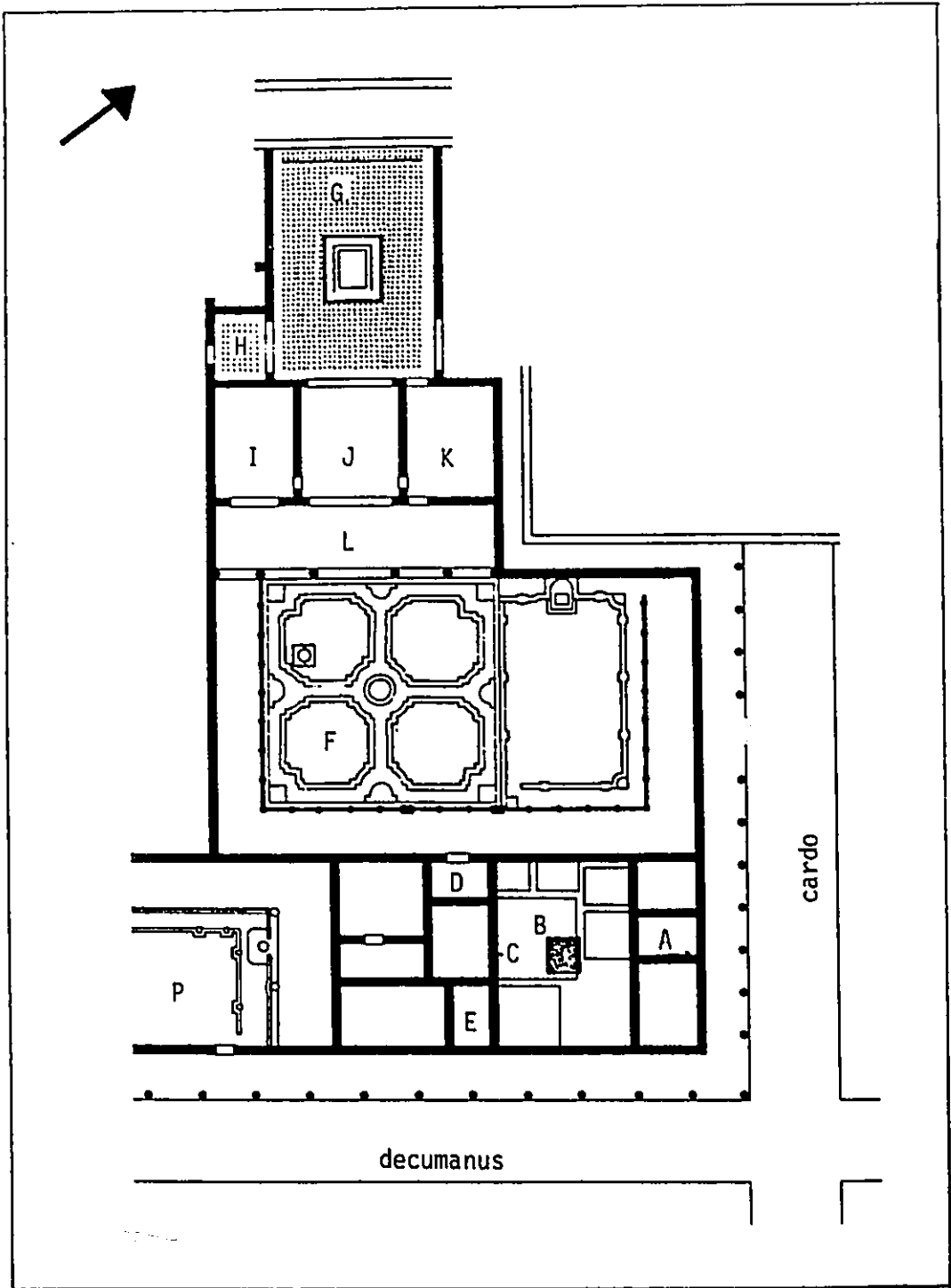


Fig. 37b - Luni 2 - Phase II

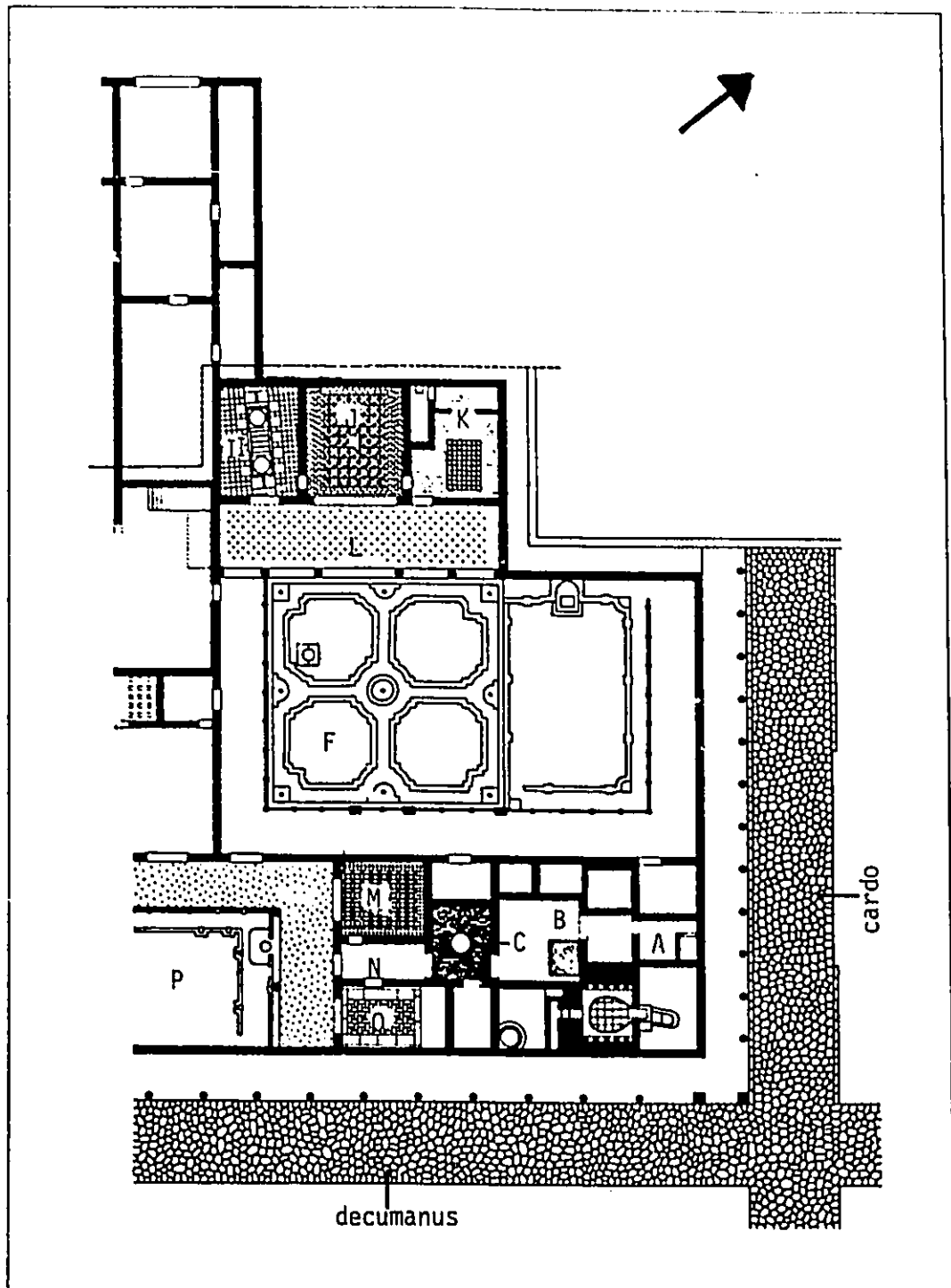


Fig. 37c - Luni 2 - Phase III

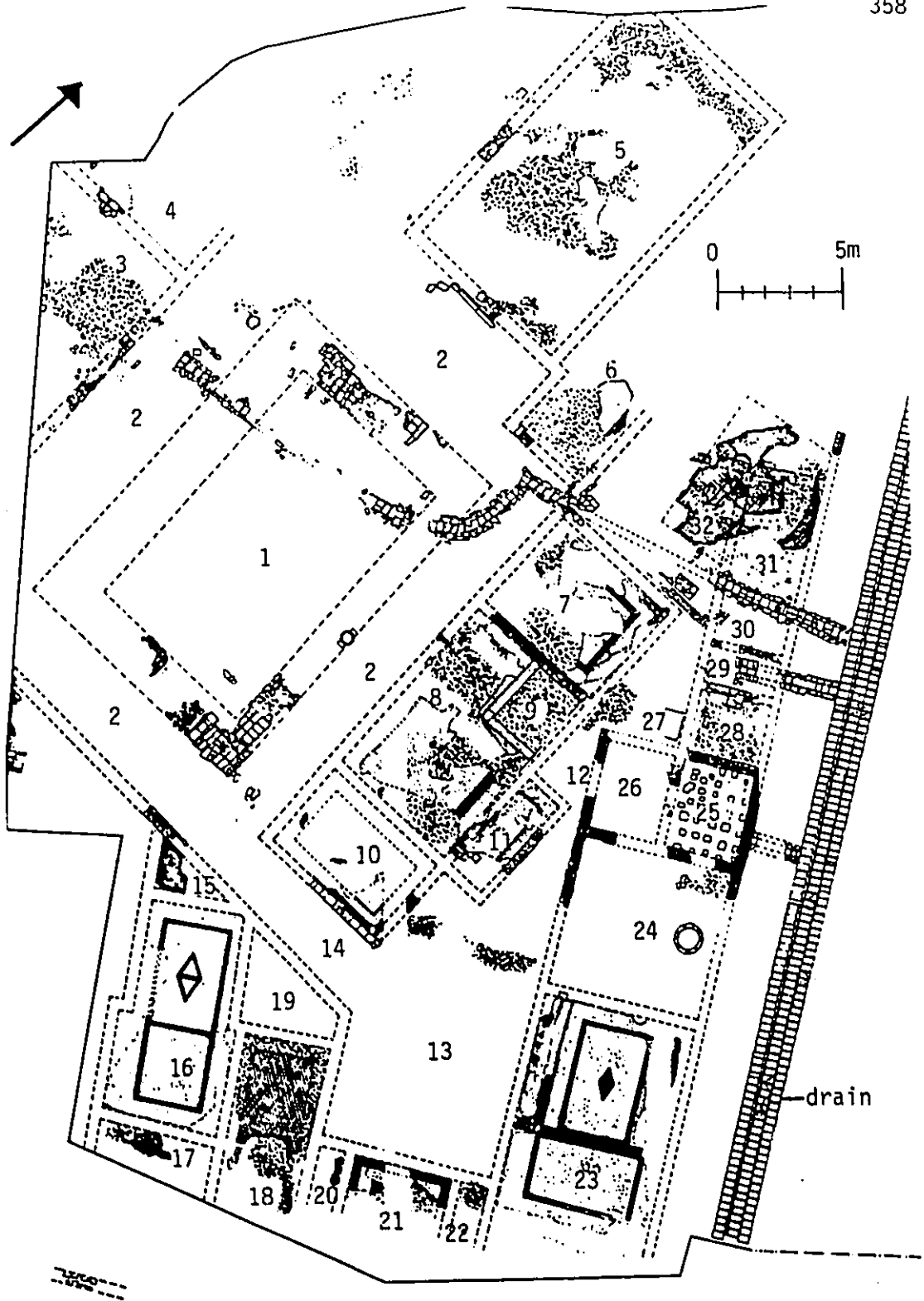


Fig. 38 - Oderzo 1

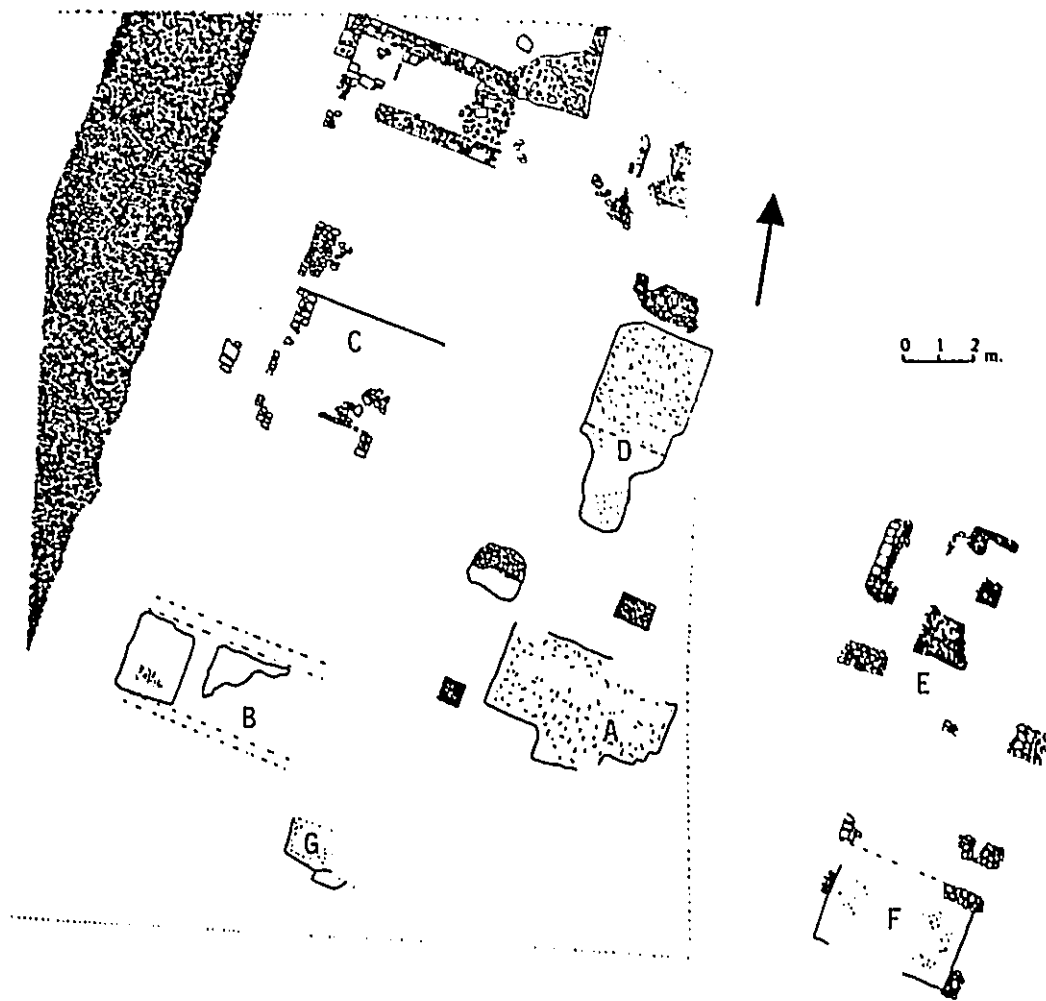


Fig. 39a - Oderzo 2 - Phase I

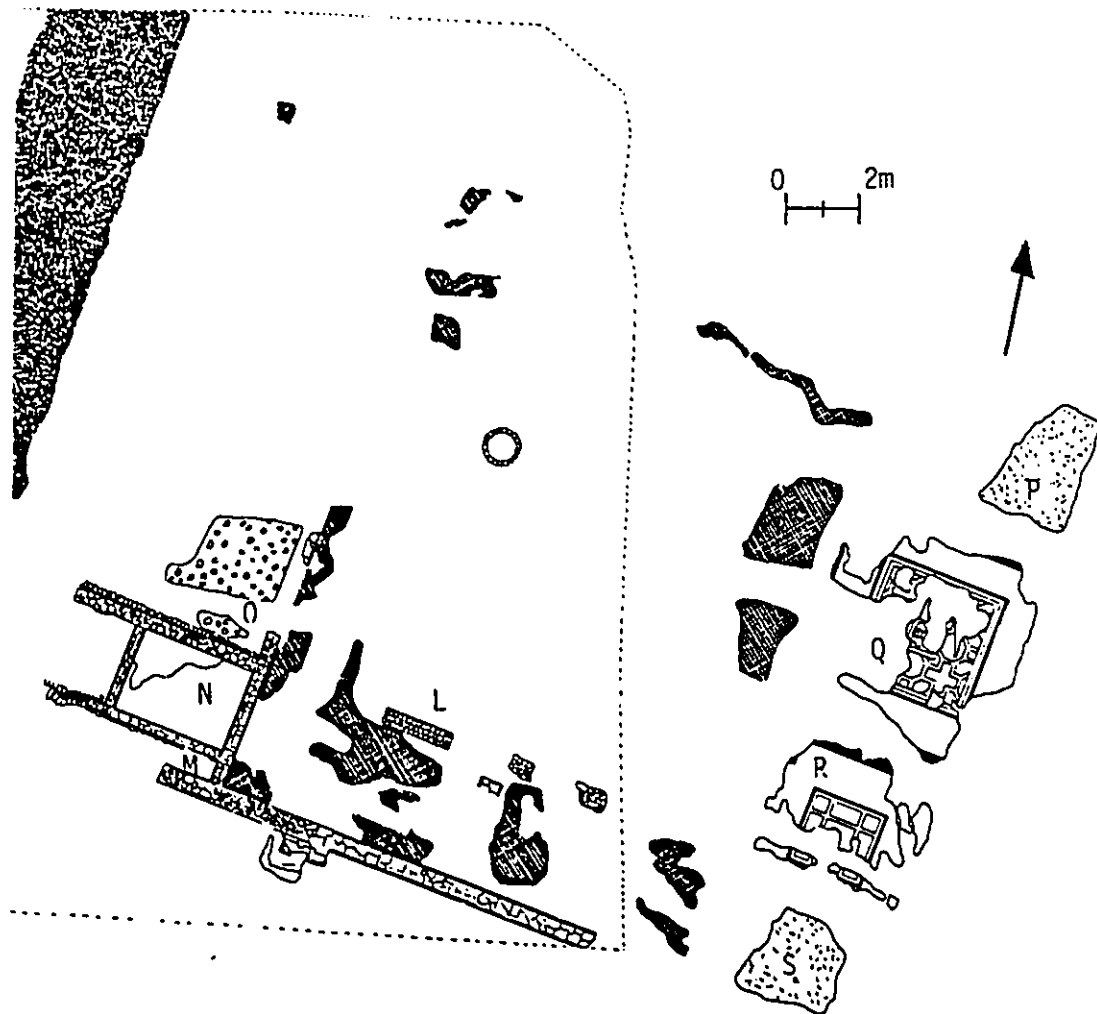


Fig. 39b - Oderzo 2 - Phase II

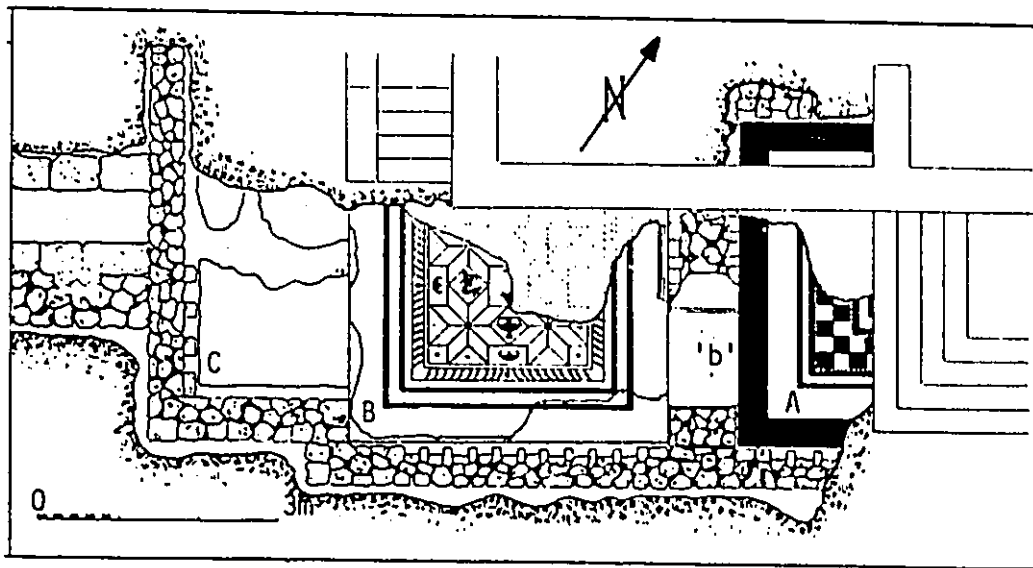


Fig. 40 - Pieve di Cadore

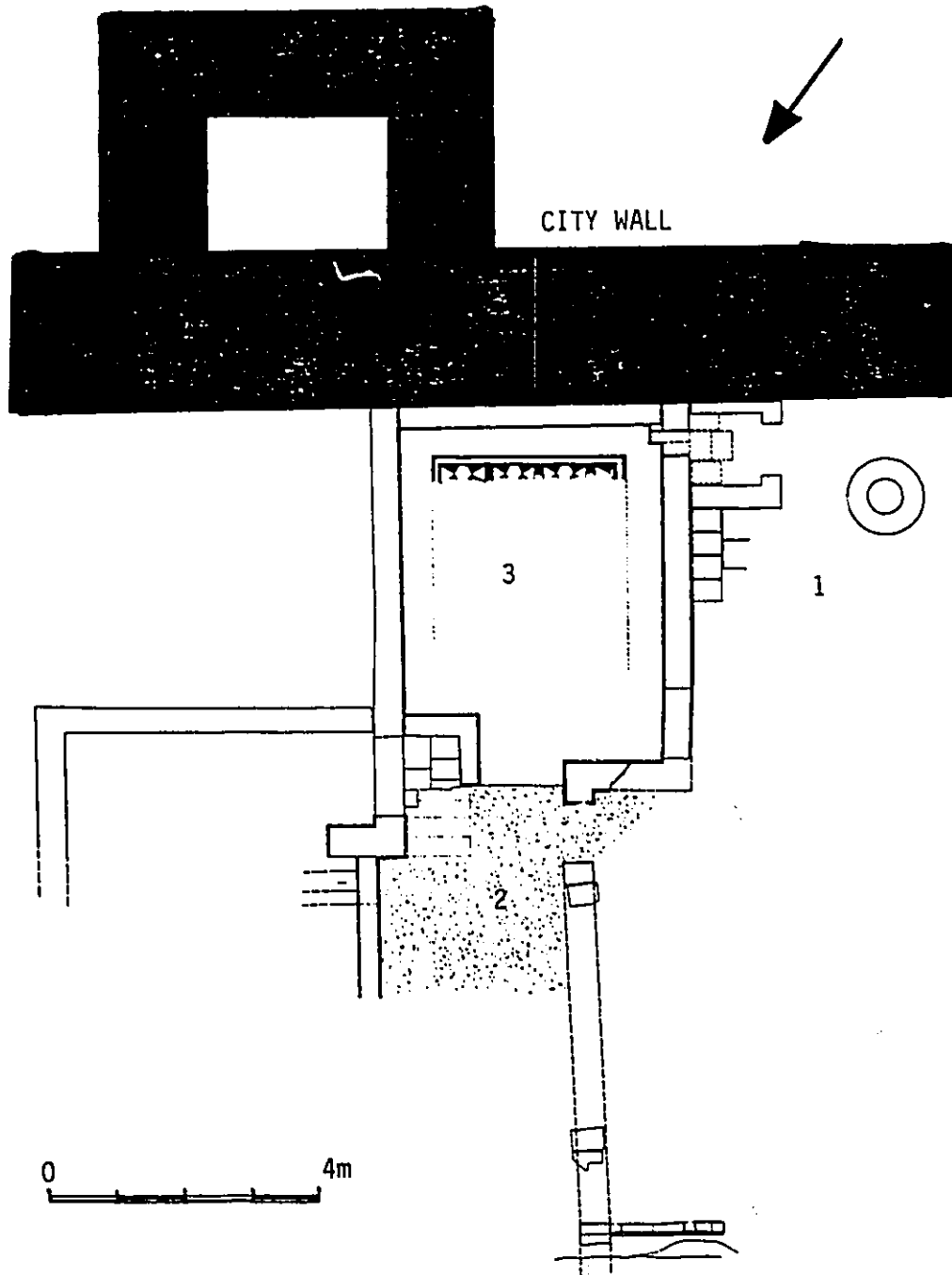


Fig. 41a. - Ravenna 1 - Phase I

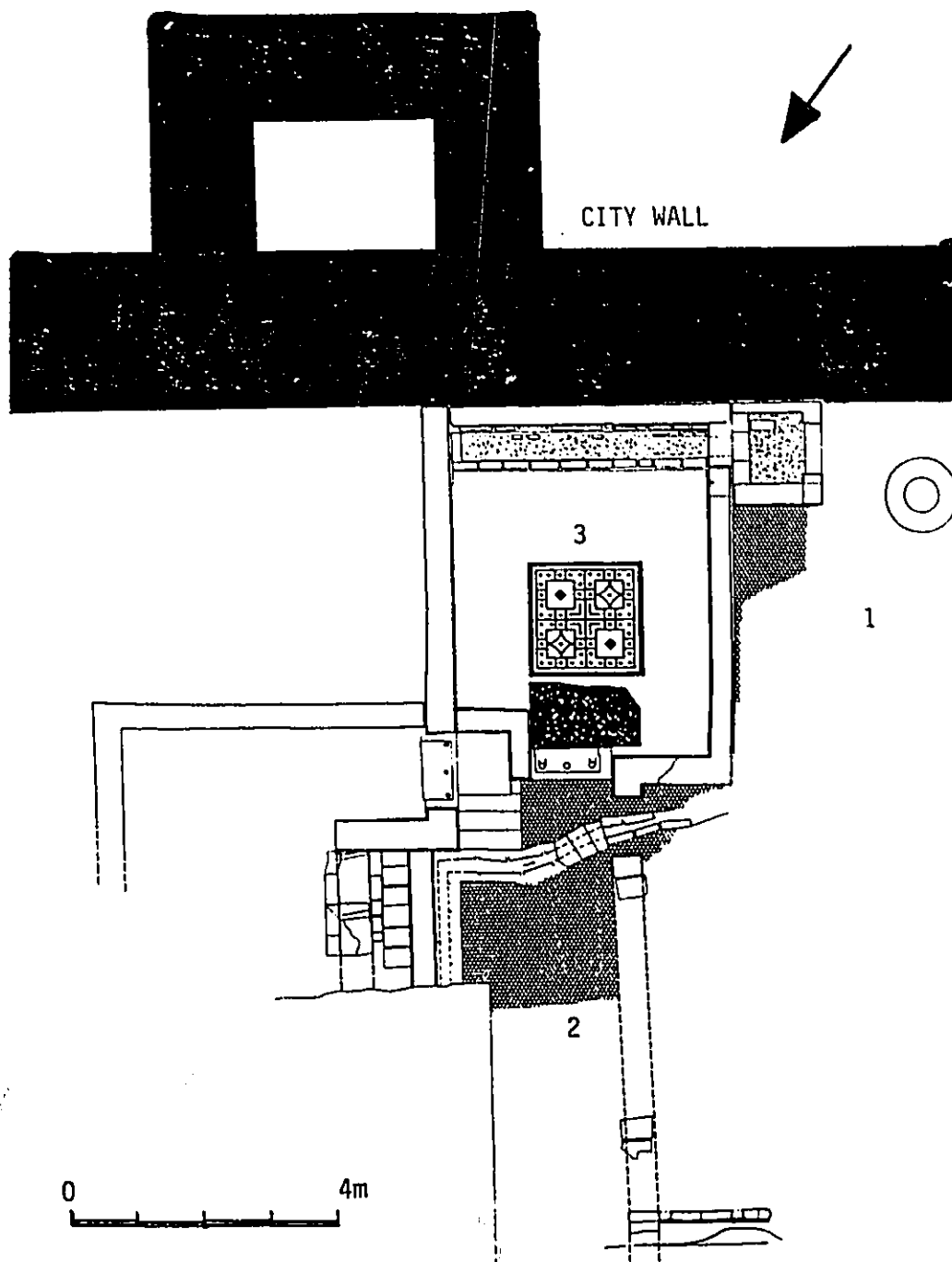


Fig. 41b - Ravenna 1 - Phase II

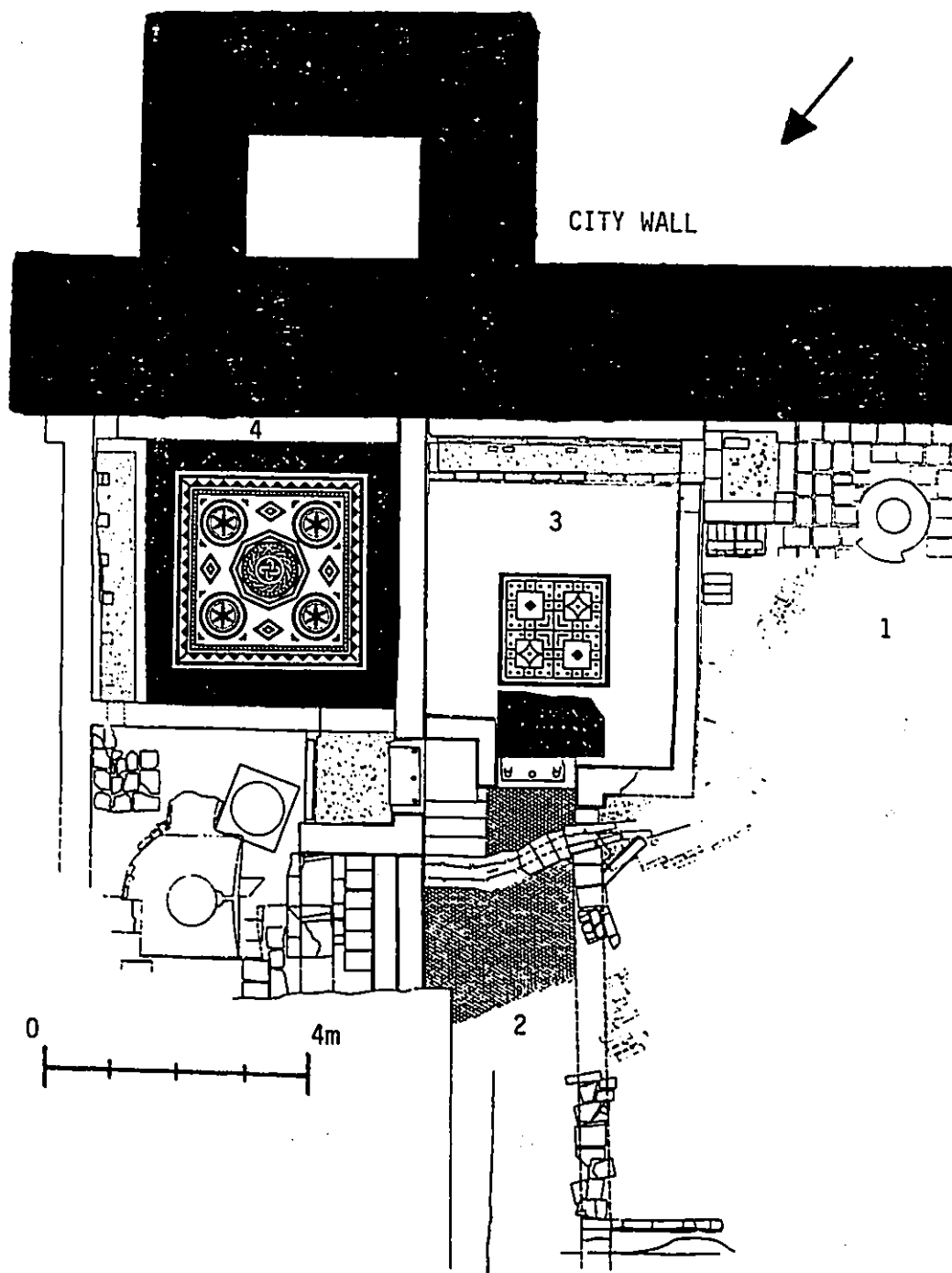


Fig. 41c - Ravenna I - Phase III

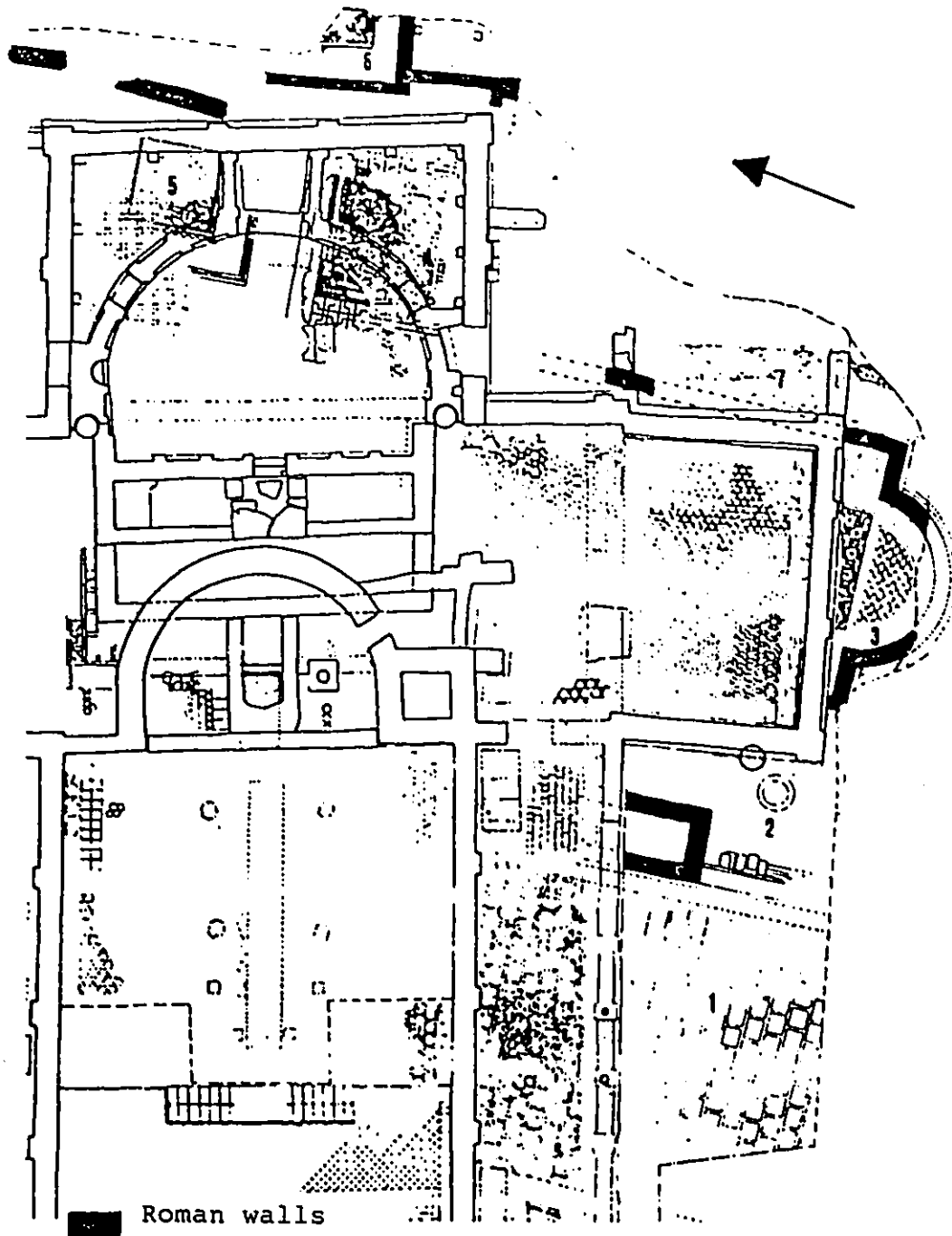


Fig. 42 - Ravenna 2

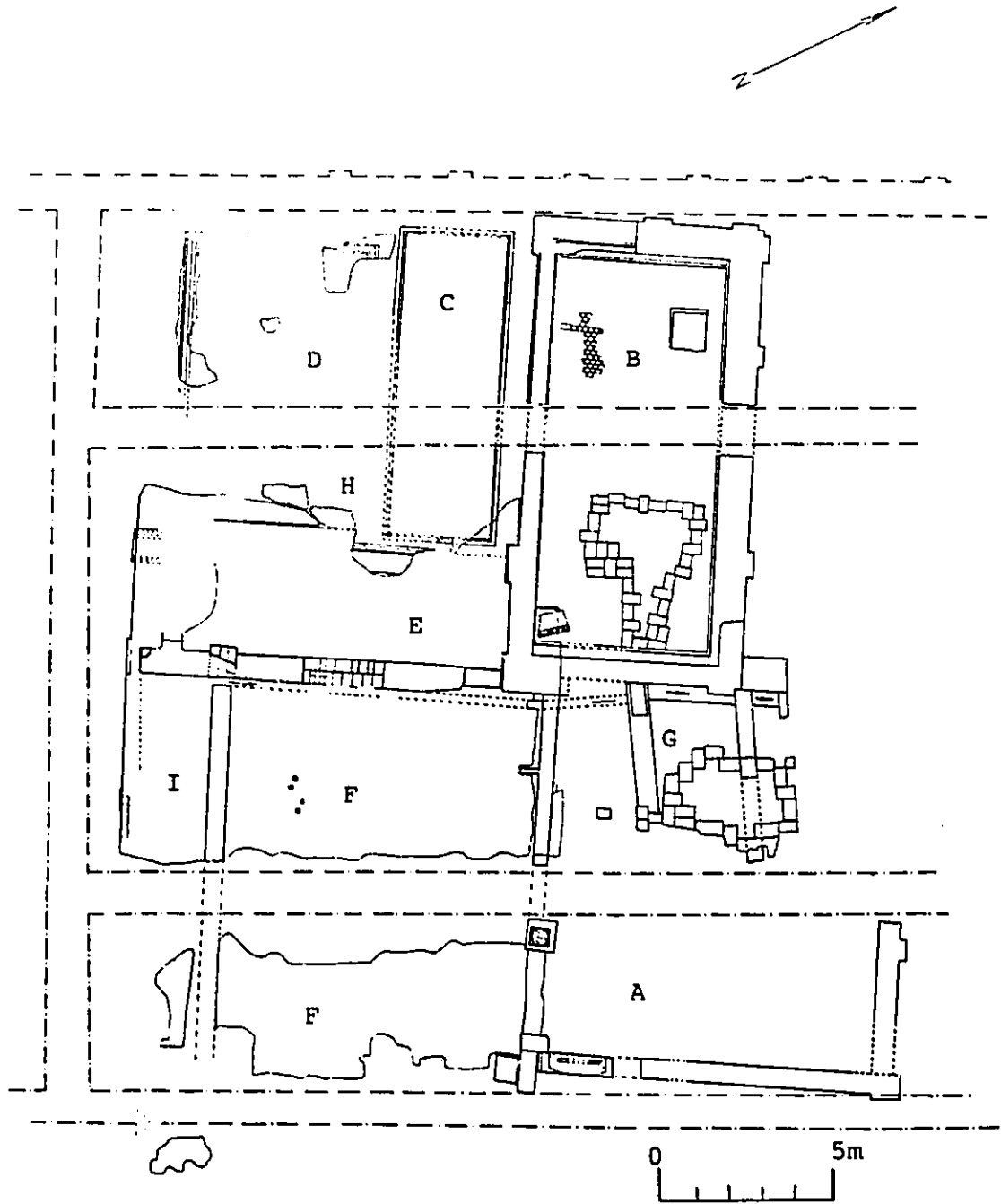


Fig. 43 - Ravenna 3

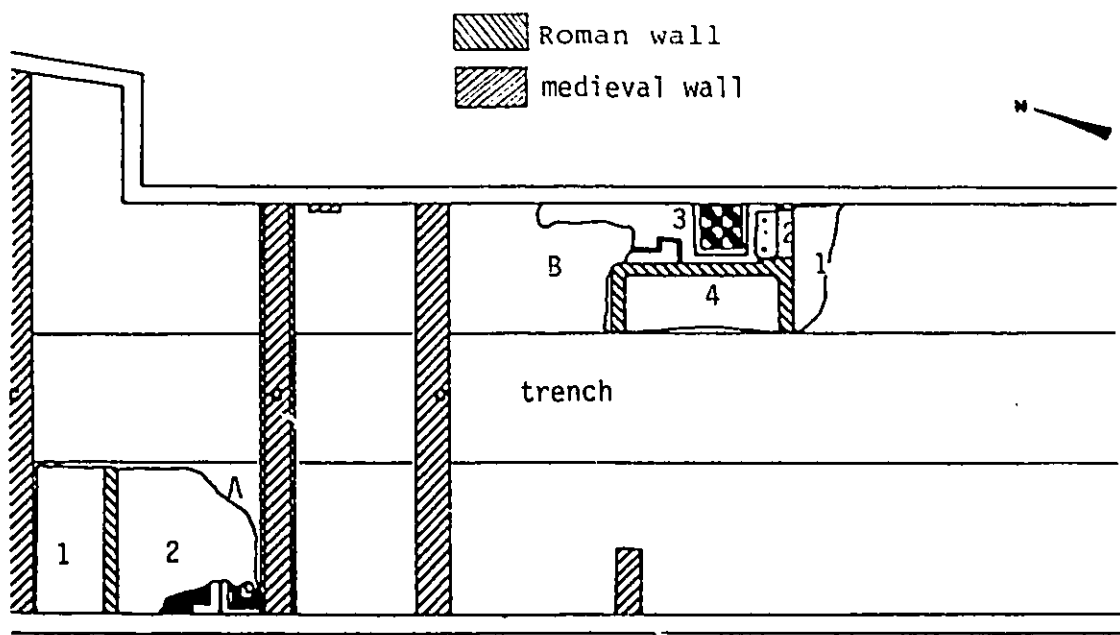


Fig. 44a - Ravenna 4

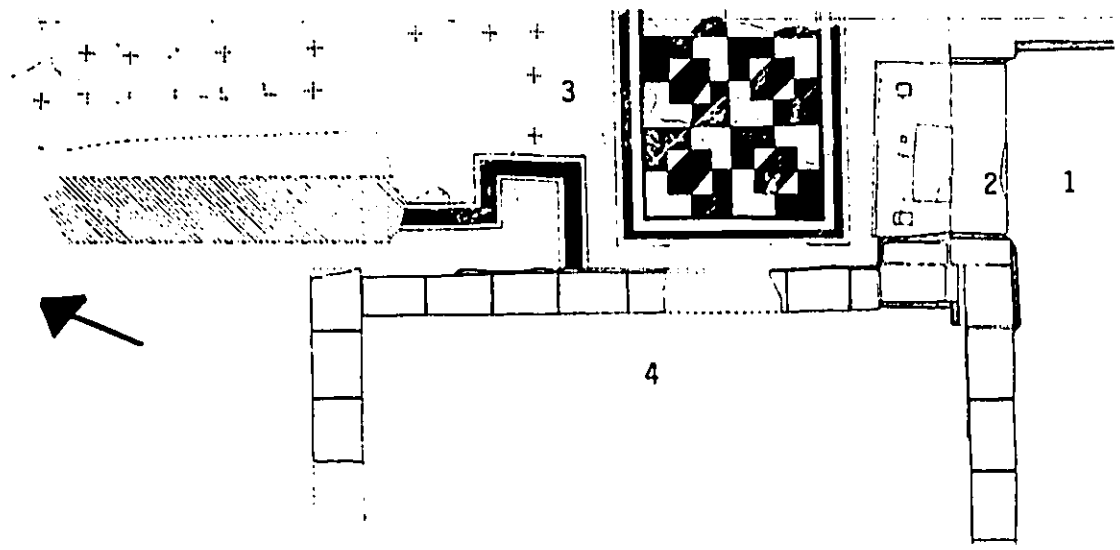


Fig. 44b - Ravenna 4 - Detail, East side

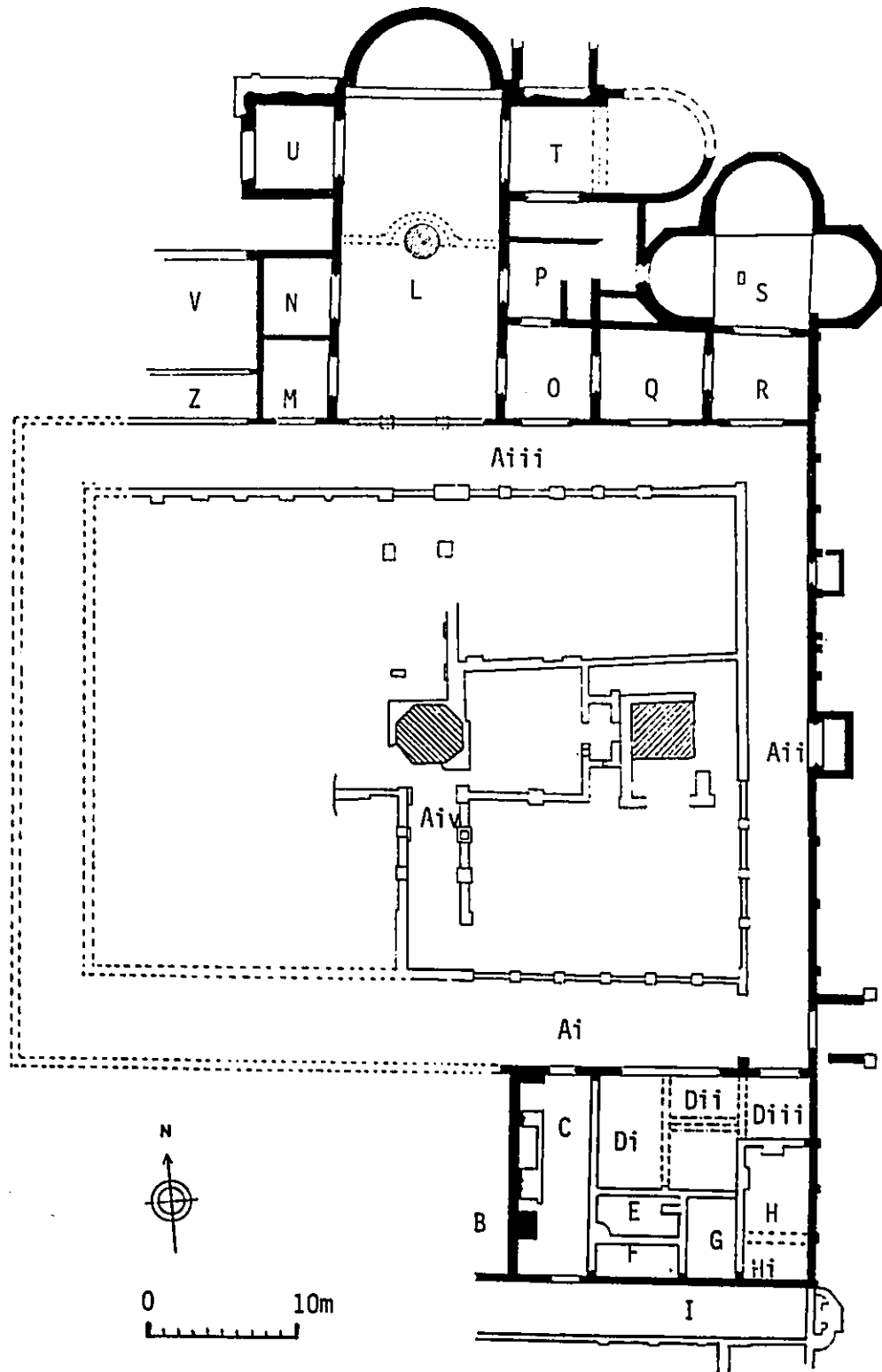


Fig. 45 - Ravenna 5

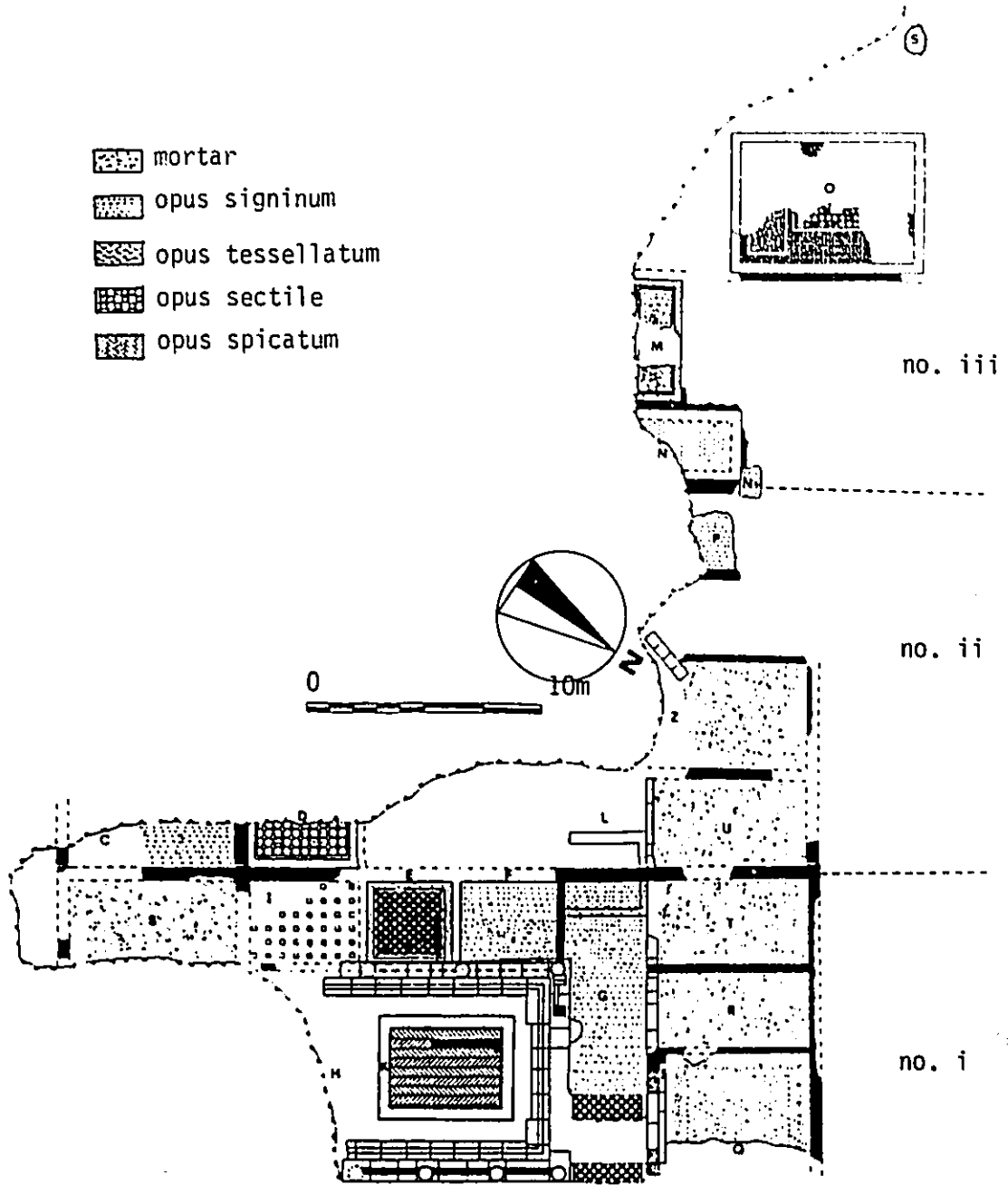


Fig. 46 - Rimini 1

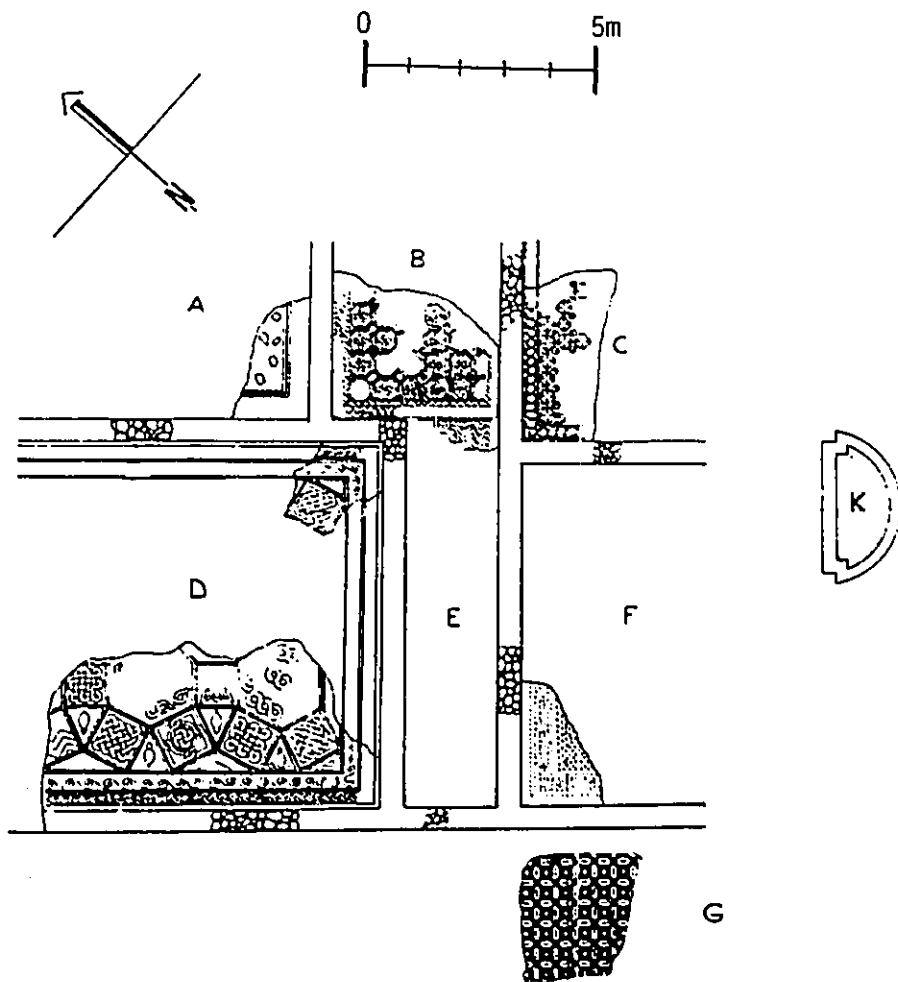


Fig. 47 - Rimini 2

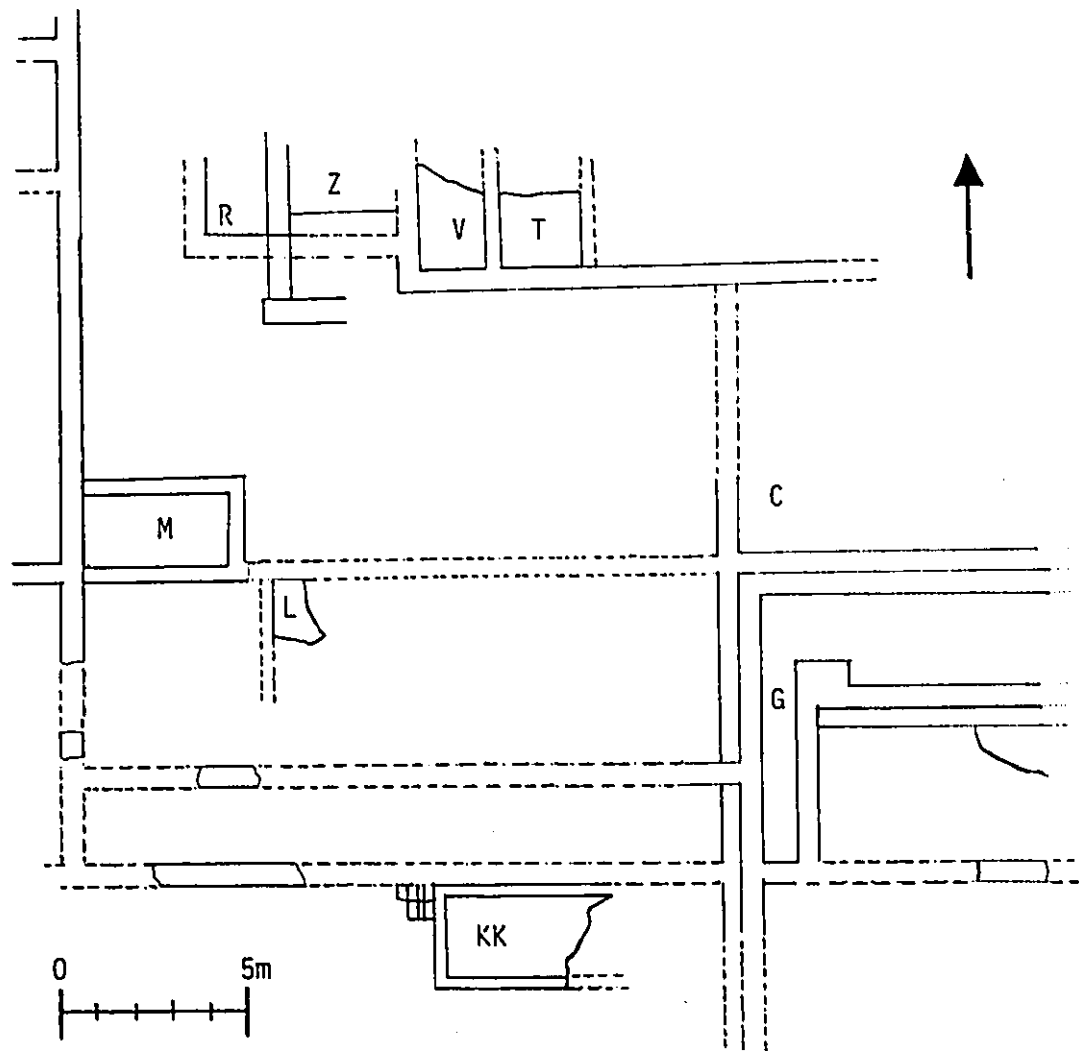


Fig. 48a - Rimini 3 - Phase I

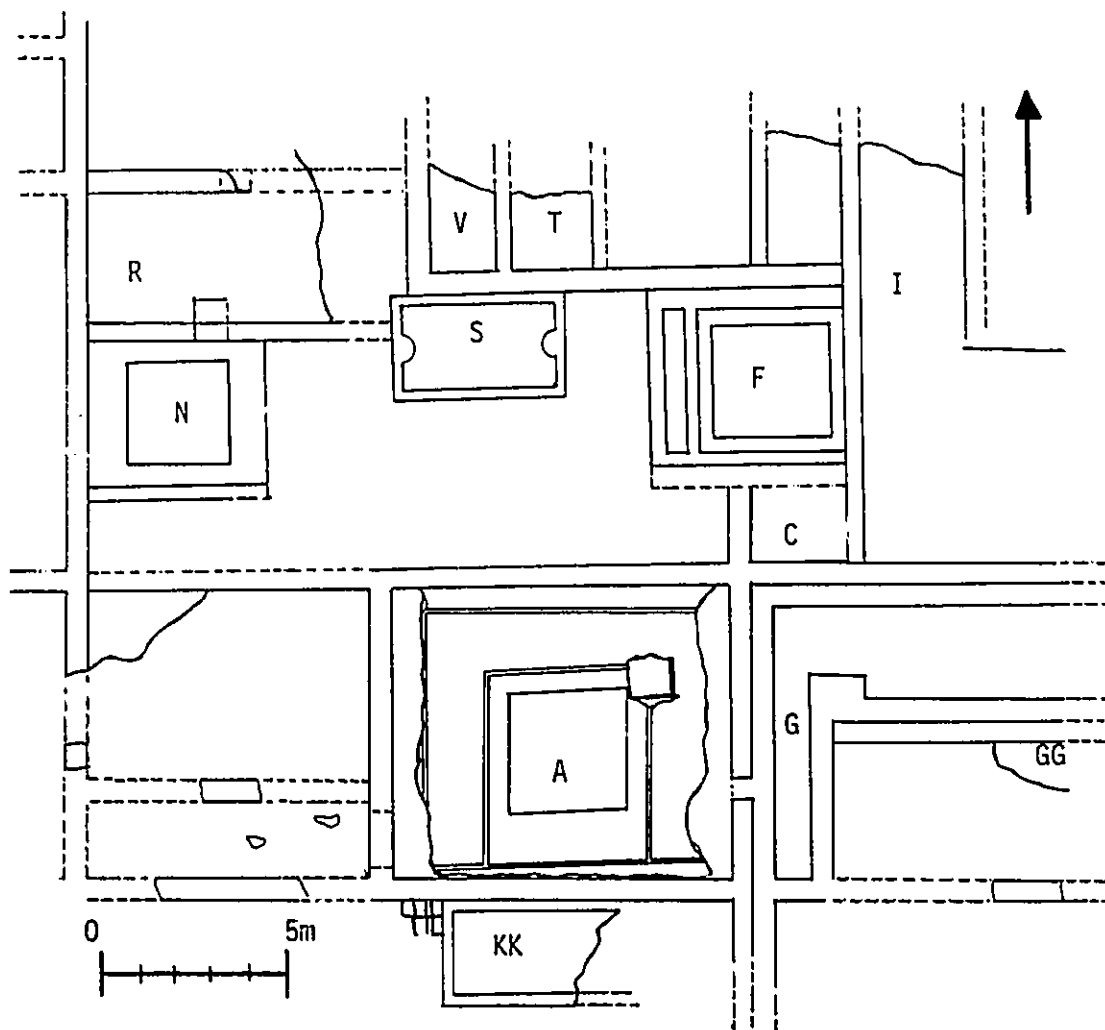


Fig. 48b - Rimini 3 - Phase II

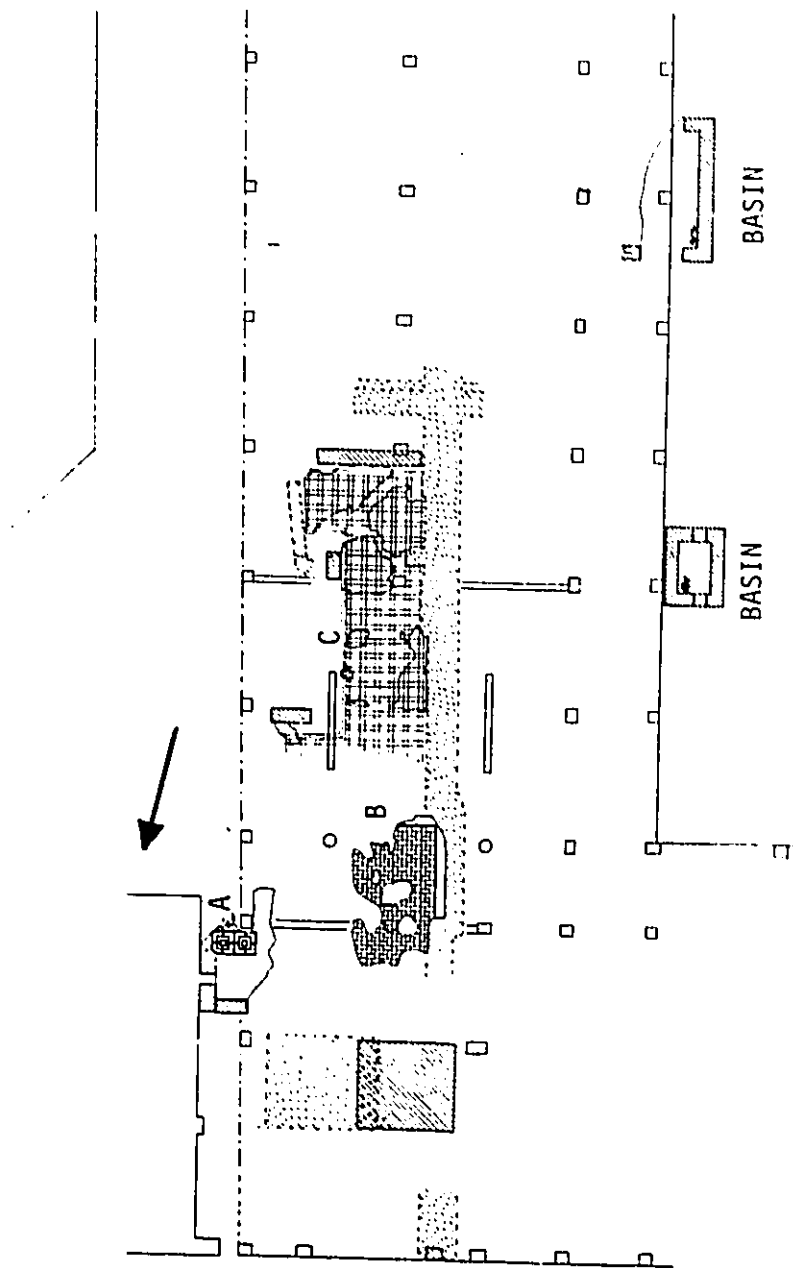


Fig. 49 - Rimini 4

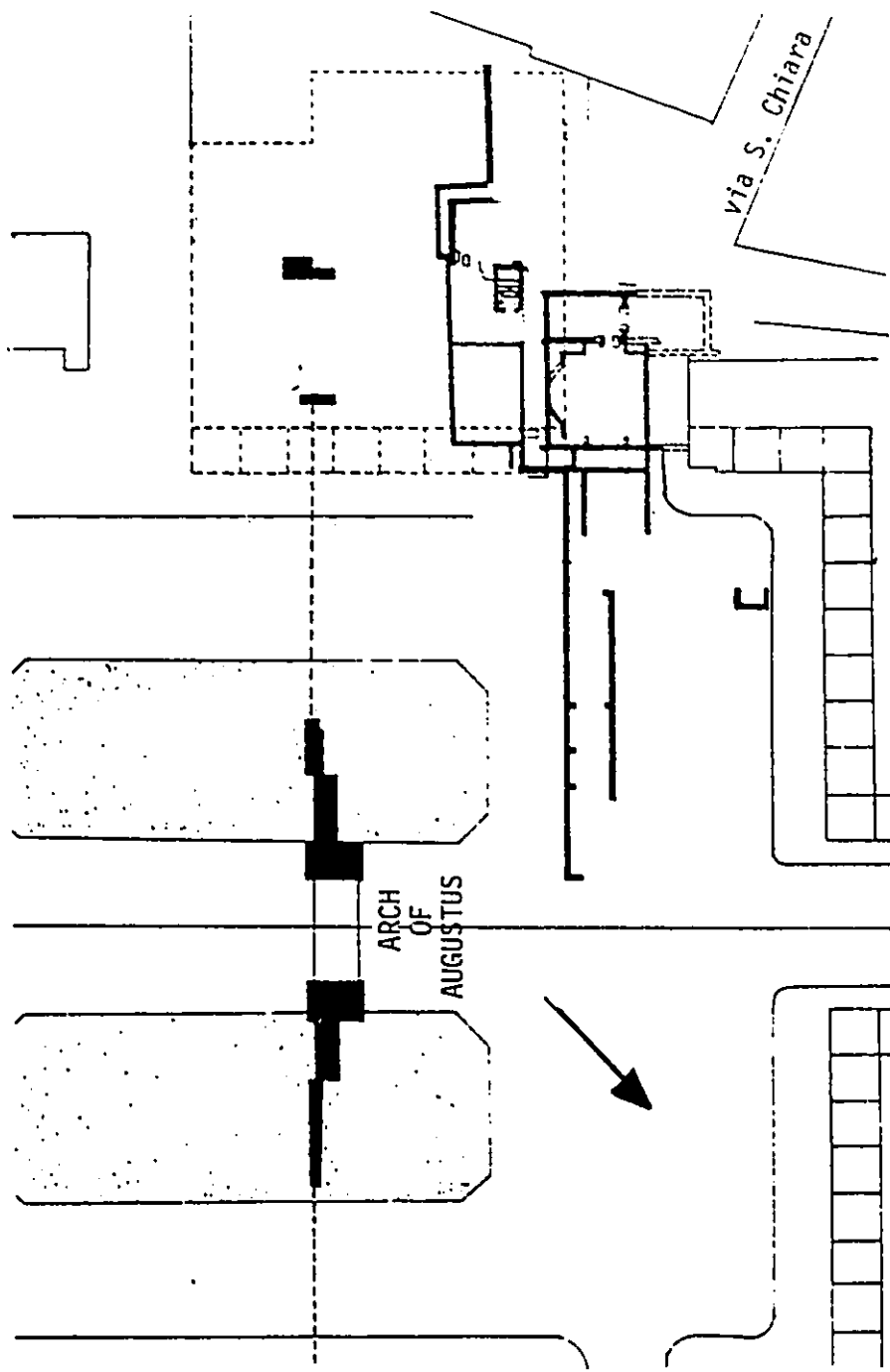


Fig. 50 - Rimini 5

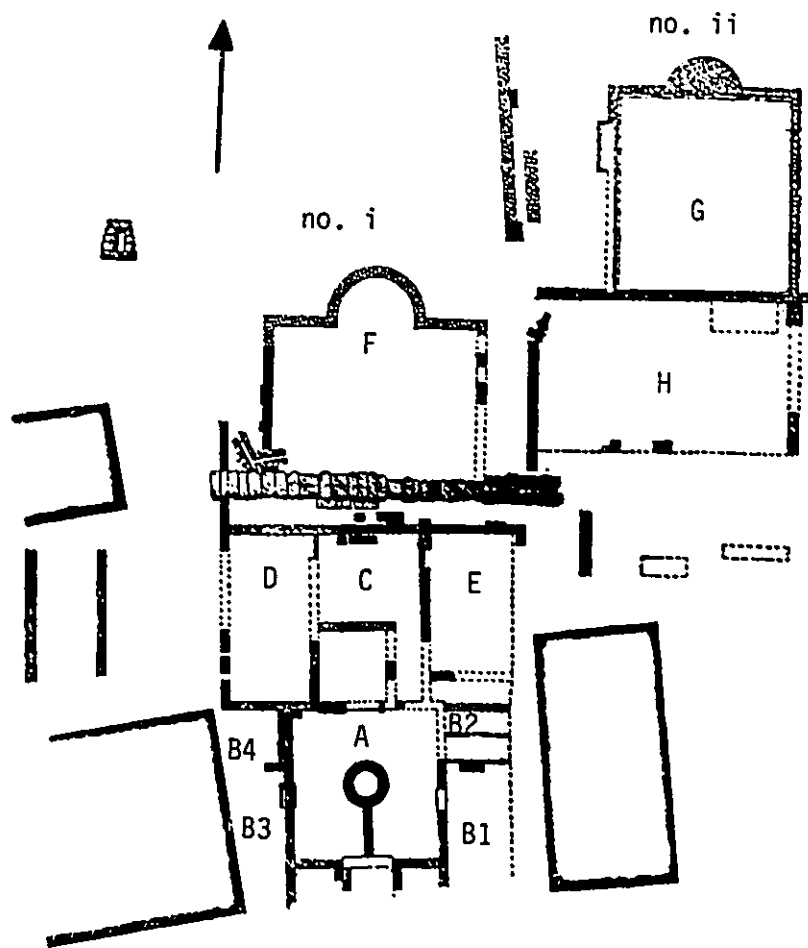


Fig. 51 - Sarsina 1

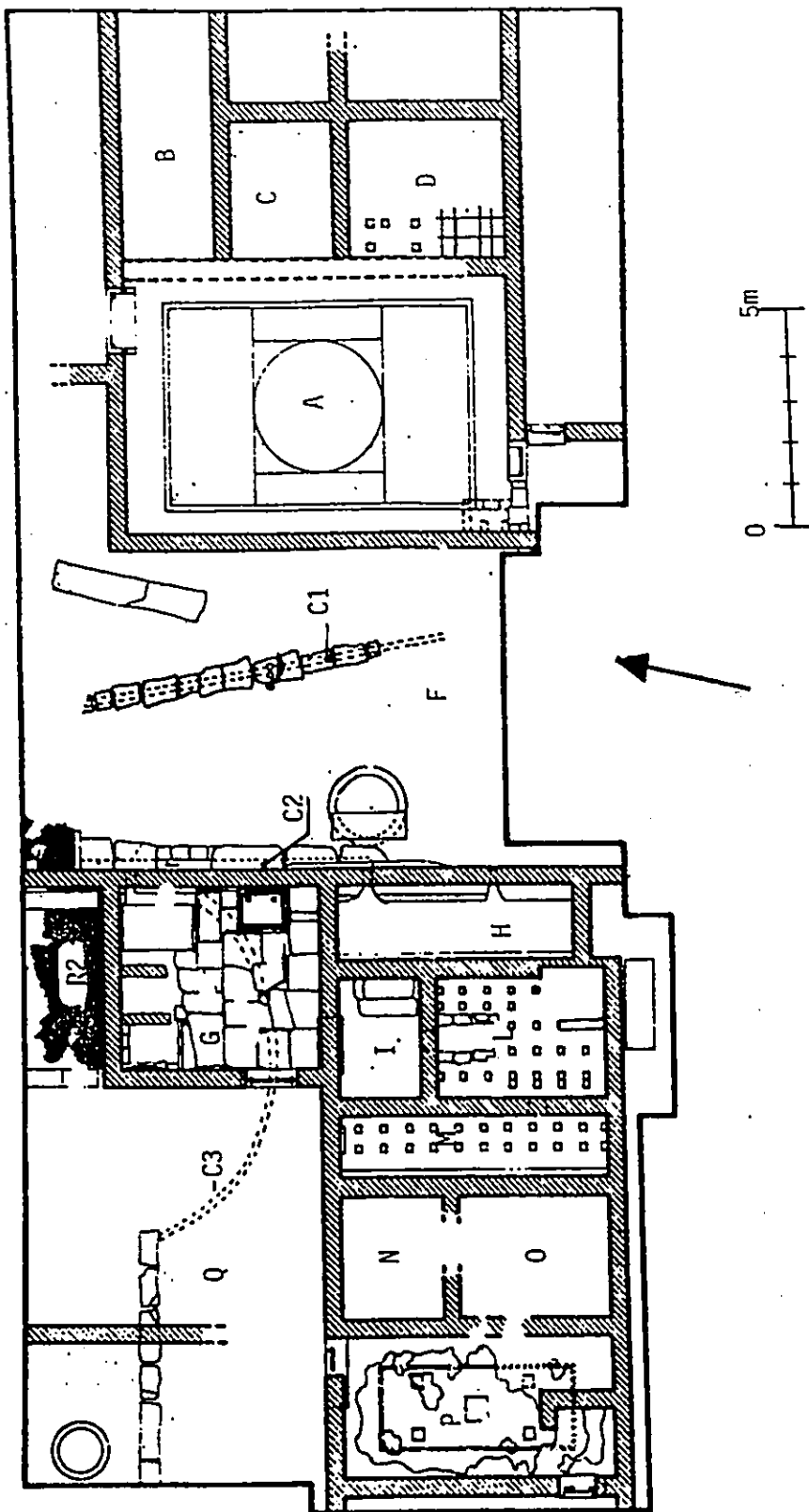


Fig. 52 - Trento

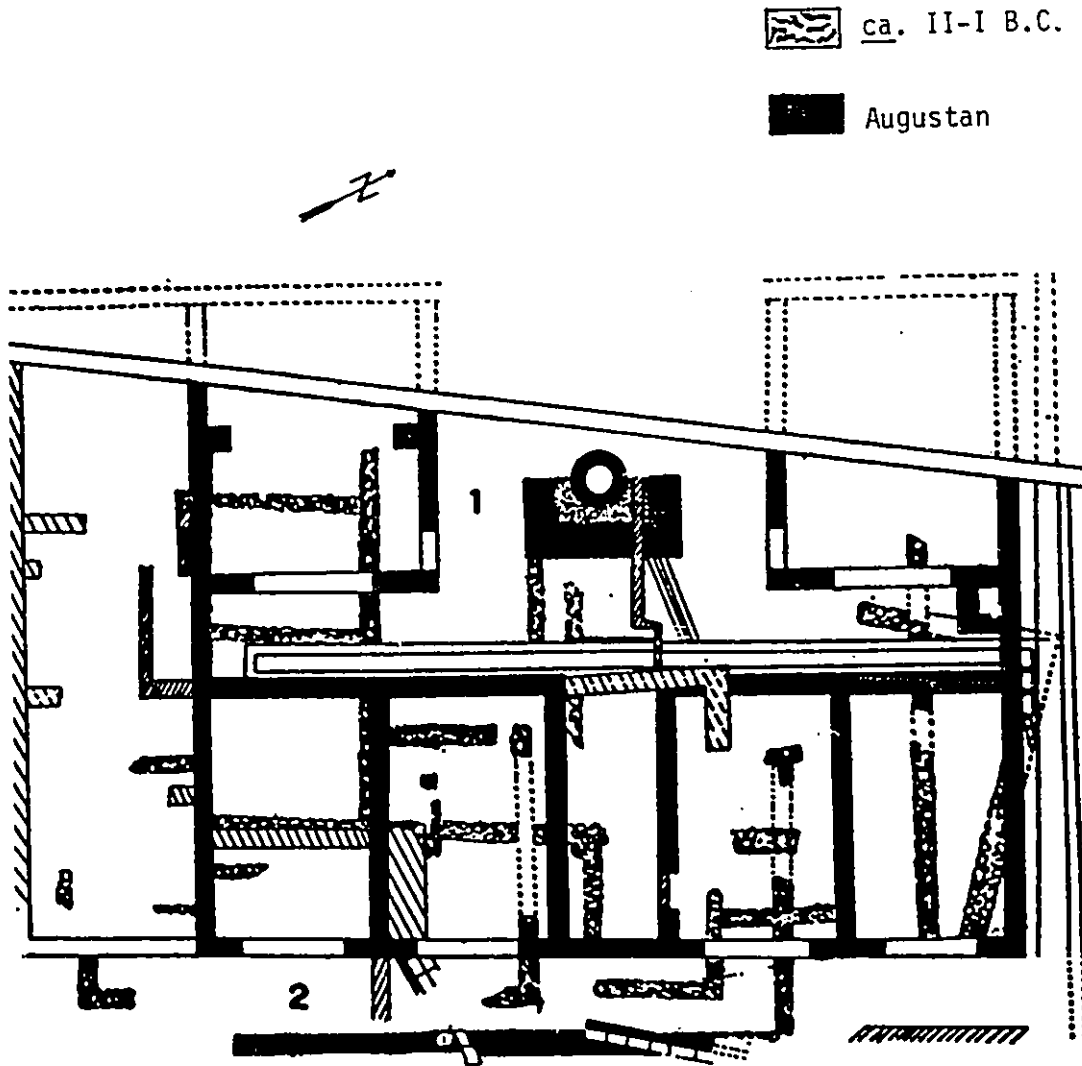


Fig. 53 - Vado Ligure

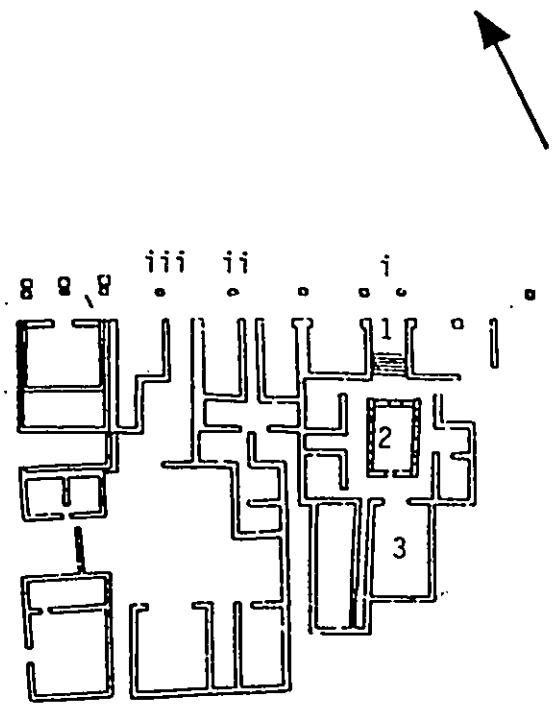


Fig. 54 - Velleia

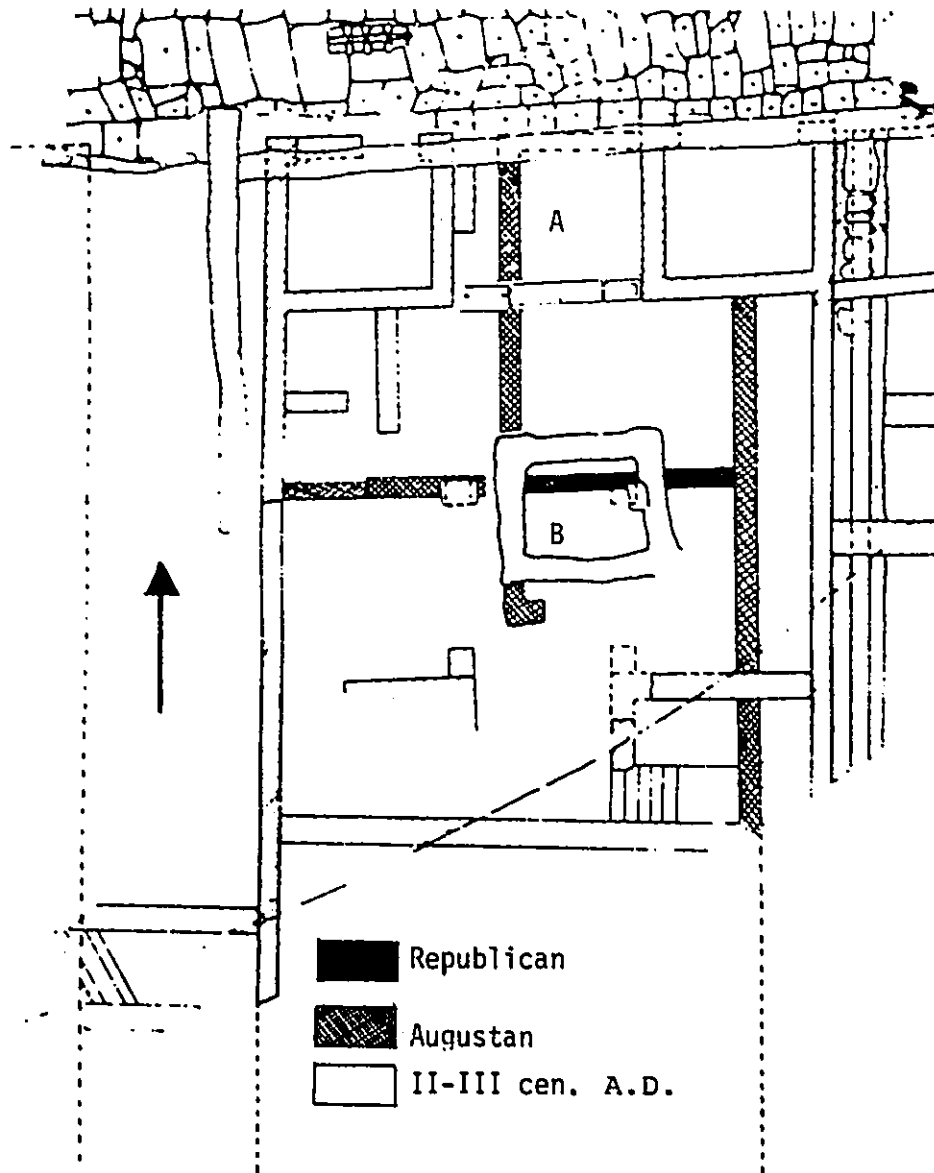


Fig. 55 - Ventimiglia 1

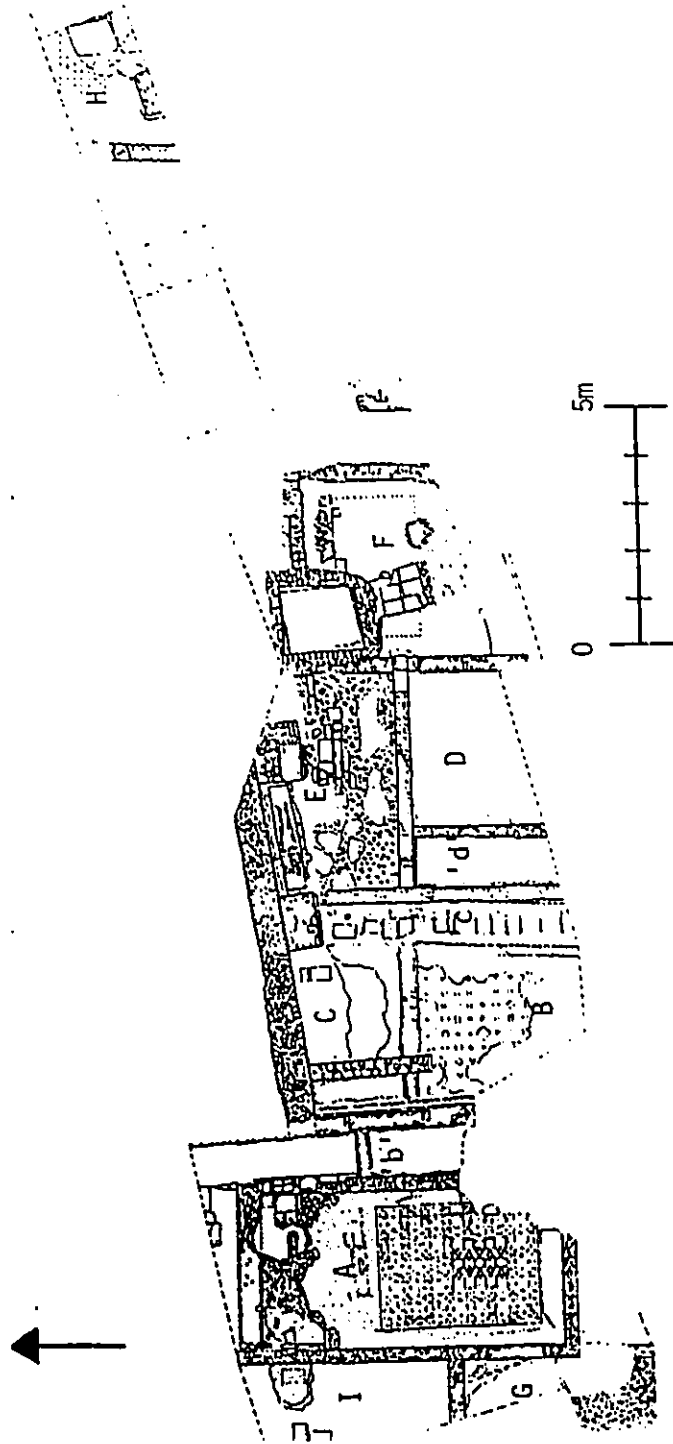


Fig. 56 - Vercelli

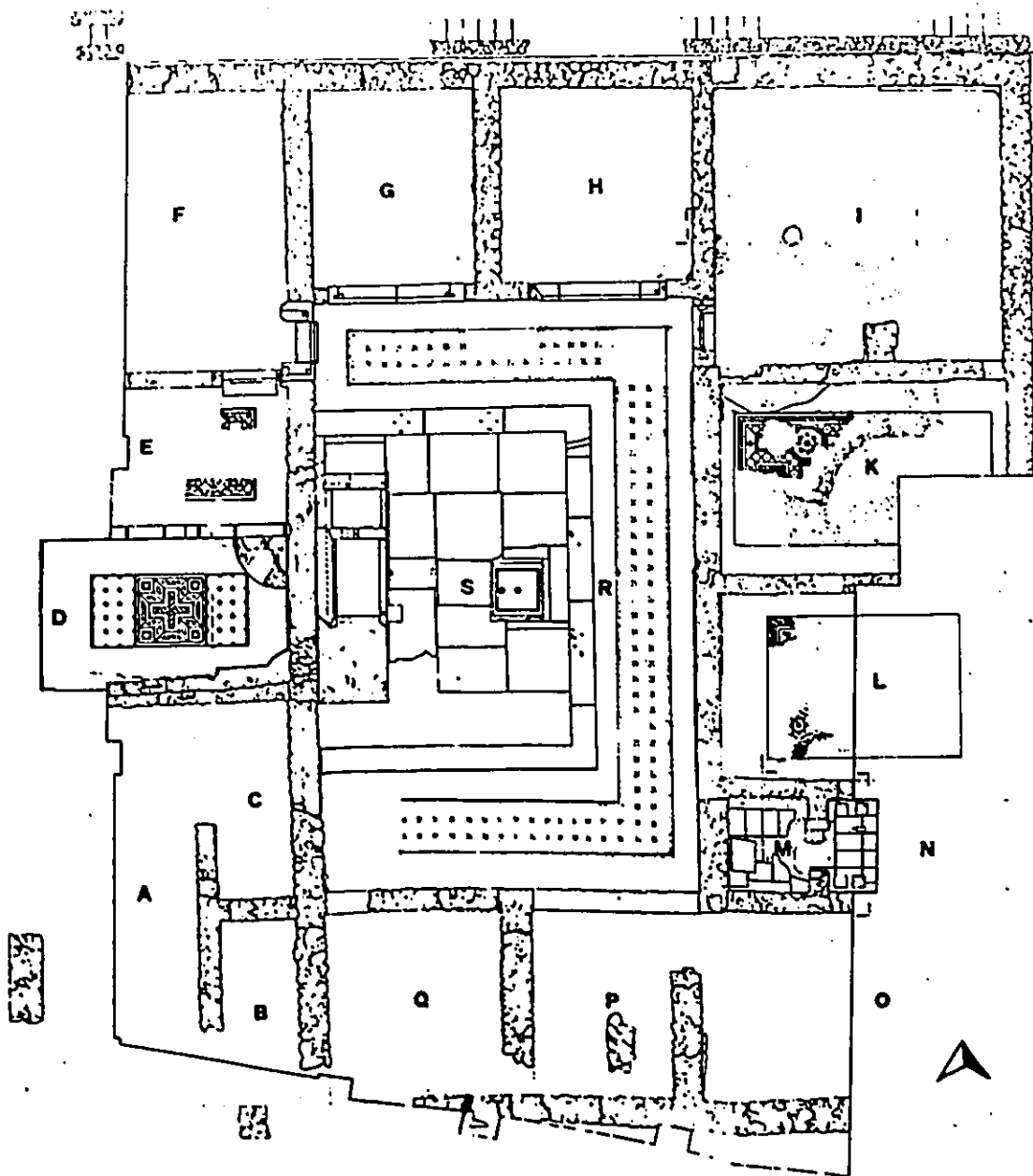


Fig. 57 - Verona 1

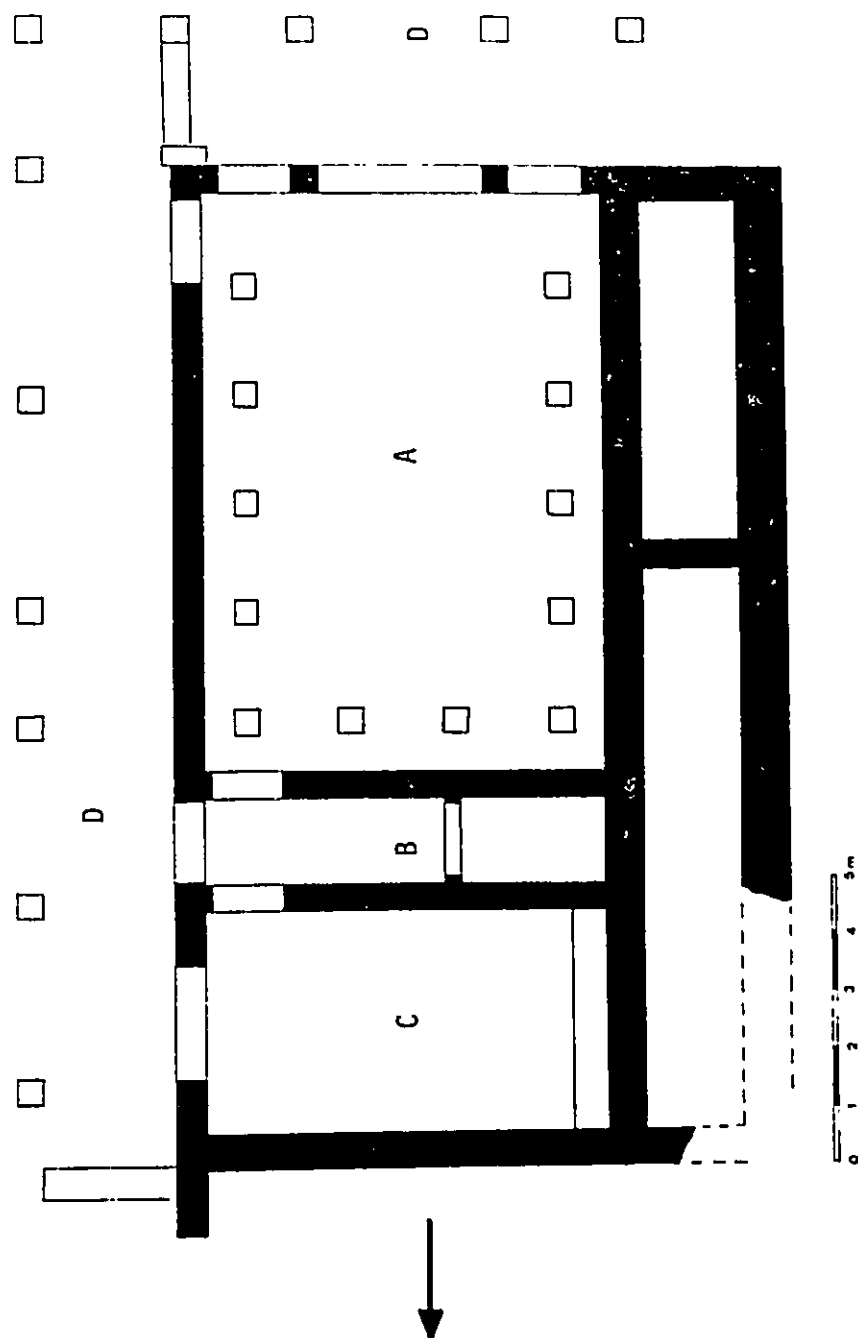


Fig. 58 - Verona 2

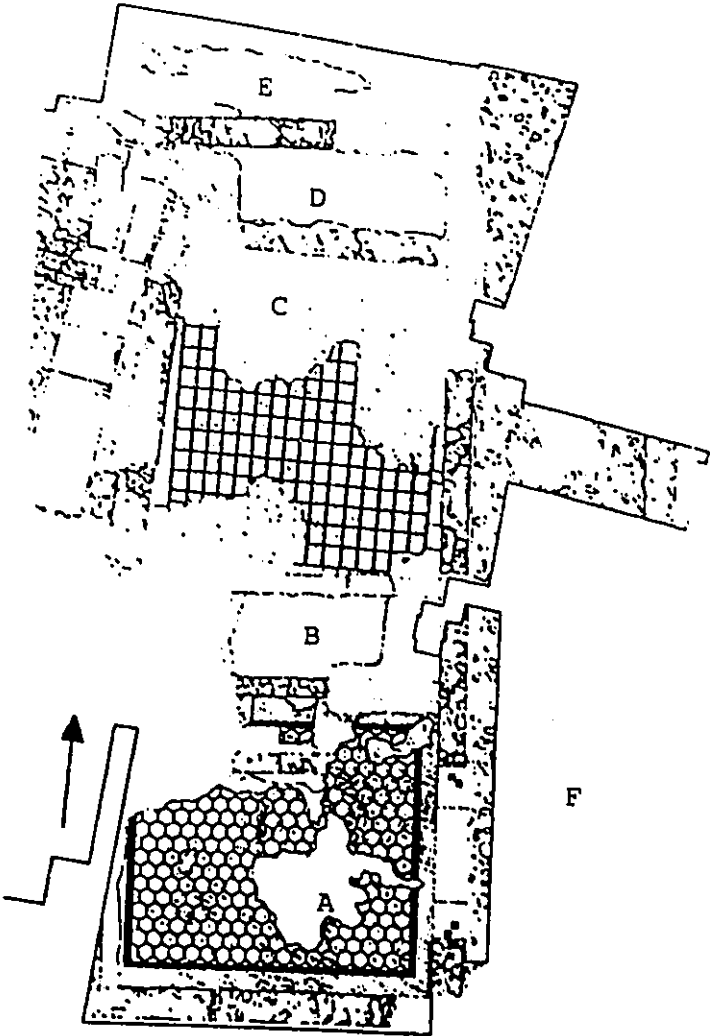


Fig. 59 - Verona 3

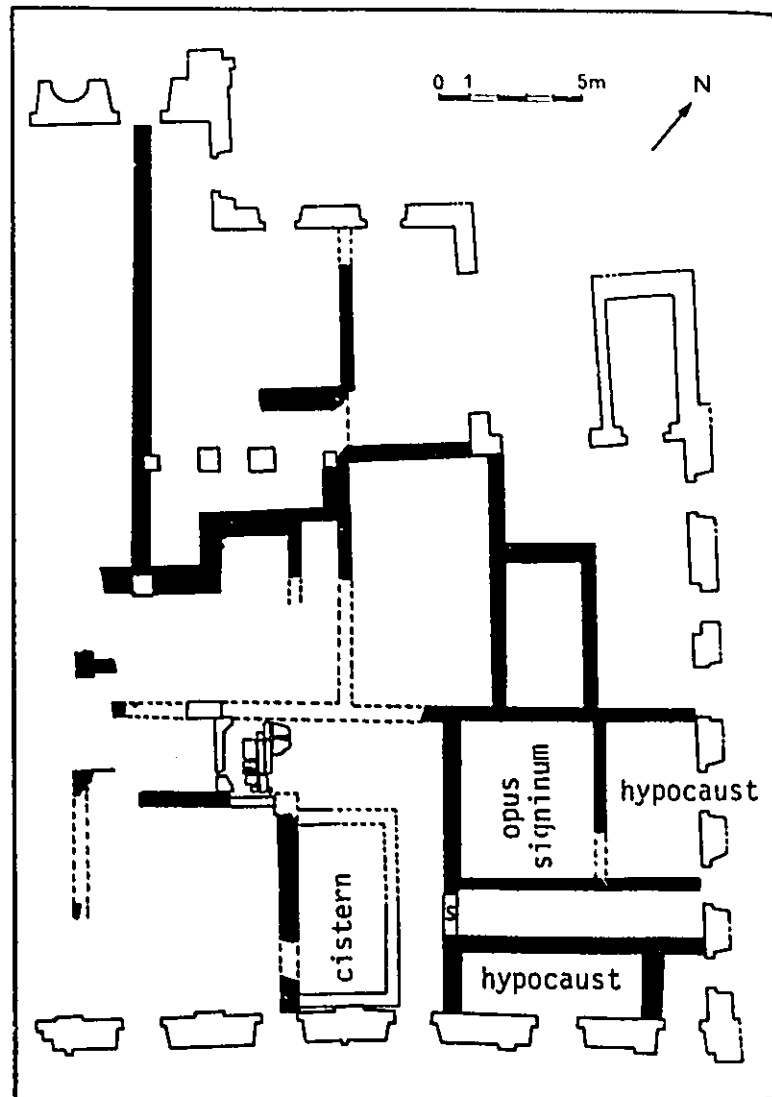


Fig. 60 - Verona 4 - ca. first century A.D.

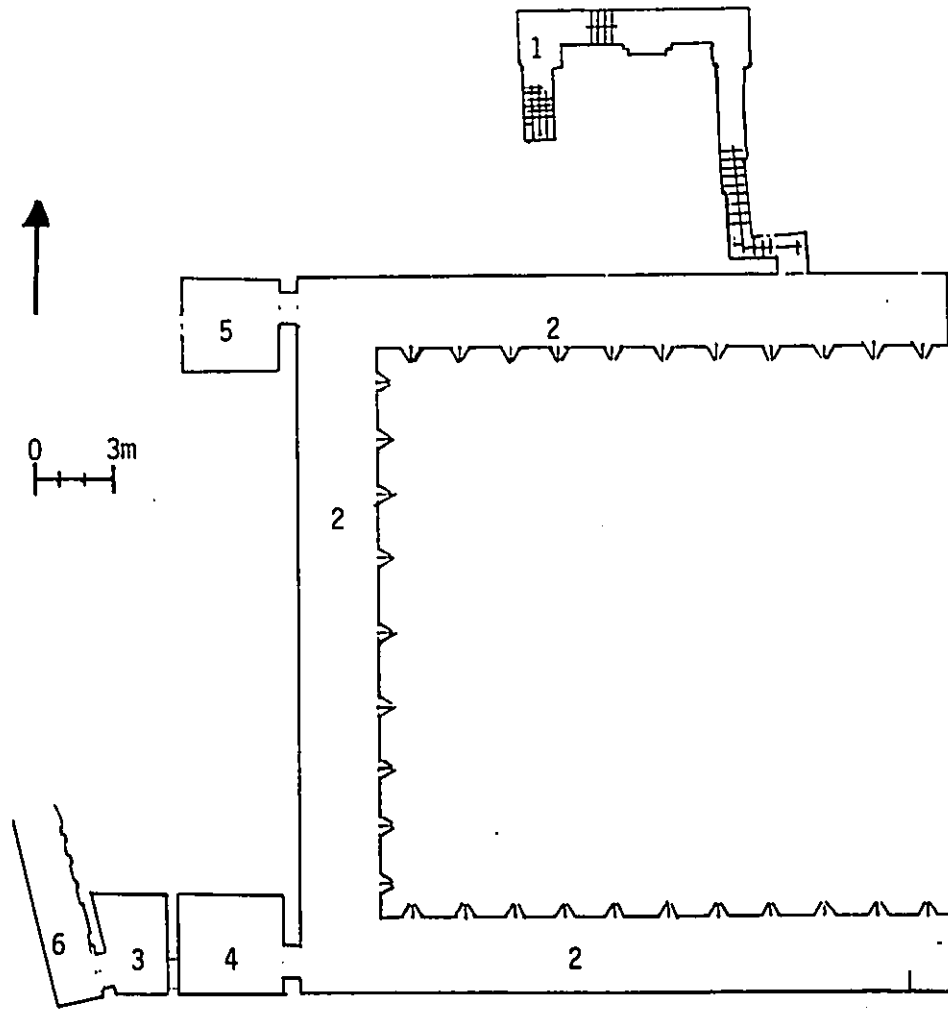


Fig. 61 - Vicenza

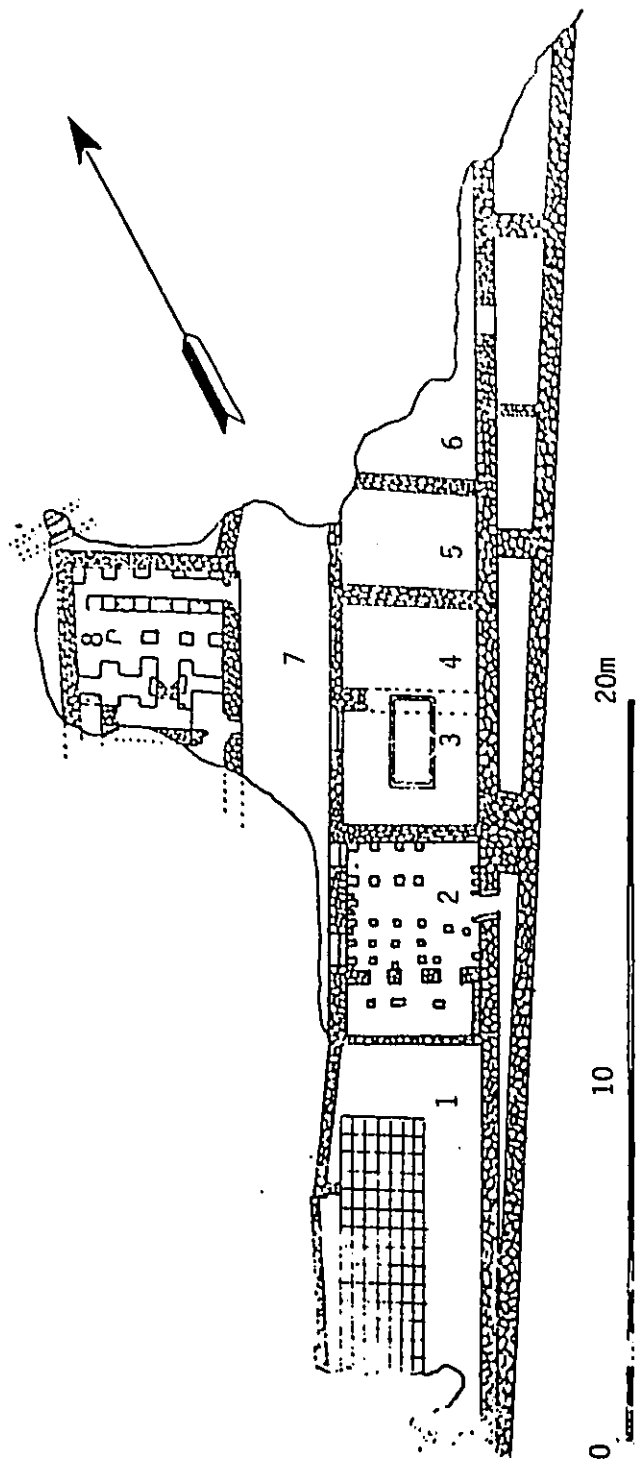


Fig. 62 - Zuglio

Abbreviations

With the following exceptions, abbreviations used follow those given in AJA 95 (1991) 1-16. Periodicals not listed there follow the abbreviations in L'Année Philologique.

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