

Neronia IX

La villégiature dans le monde romain
de Tibère à Hadrien

Actes du IX^e congrès de la SIEN

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More *negotium* than *otium*. Social and Economic aspects of Leisure in the Villas of the Roman Province of Achaia

Sophia Zoumbaki

Standing at the byzantine monastery of Loukou, directly over the ruins of Herodes Atticus's villa in the Thyreatis, overlooking a verdant valley ending at the sparkling waters of the Argolic Gulf and facing the island of Pityoussa, today Spetses, one experiences the beauty and charm that so enhanced the area for the Roman residents of the luxurious complex that makes up Herode's villa. Herodes possessed other estates in Greece and abroad and the ruins of some of them have been located¹. Apart from Herodes Atticus's villas, however, archaeological remains of similar settlements comparable to luxurious Italian originals, are almost non existent in Greece. A certain number of building complexes which could perhaps be defined as *villae* have been located at various points in the Greek peninsula and the adjacent islands of the Aegean and of the Ionian Sea. Yet, even the most luxurious of them lag behind the luxury to be seen in Herodes's villa at Loukou, in the villas around the Bay of Naples or in descriptions of villas in Latin literary sources².

In the present study, we use the term "villa"³ to define the most opulent of the private settlements in the Roman province of Achaia. These are complexes of a considerable size, which, in addition to possessing equipment and fittings required in a agricultural production center, such as store-rooms, wine-vats, pottery-kilns, also display central residences that feature some degree of luxury. This includes baths and the use of marble, mosaic and painted decoration, whilst some villas even possess private cemeteries. In addition to the economic aspect of these complexes, which is testified by the workshop facilities and storage rooms, "villettiatura" was certainly a part of life in the elegant settings of certain settlements, as the design and decoration of the spaces imply and as literary sources attest. The lavishly decorated spaces show that the owners intended to spend here their leisure-time, possibly often in the company of guests. These sites display the characteristics of a place of *otium* as well as the infrastructure for economic activity. On the basis of the available evidence, we will attempt a closer definition of the societal group that enjoyed economic benefits and what we label here as "villettiatura". Our study is largely based on archaeological evidence, which we examine in parallel with literary references and epigraphic sources.

- 1 On Herodes Atticus's villa at Loukou see Spyropoulos 2006; cf. also Tobin 1997, 333-454. On his estates at Kephissia and Marathon see Tobin 1997, 211-294; on Marathon cf. Arapoyanni 1993; Dekoulakou 1999-2001; on his family's connections with Corinth, where Herodes owned an estate, see Tobin 1997, 296-302, on Herodes's property on Euboea p. 309-311, for his house in Rome p. 326-327 and on his estate on the Via Appia p. 356-370. See Mendoni & Zoumbaki 2008, CE 1, for possible property of Atticus on Ceos.
- 2 Cf. e.g. Pliny's letters to Gallus (*Ep.*, 2.17) and to Appolinaris (*Ep.*, 5.6); Seneca's letter to Lucilius describing Scipio's villa (*Ep.*, 86); see also Col., *Rust.*, 1.6.1-3 and Cat., *Agr.*, 1.4.1 and especially on the early villas discussed by Cato see Terrenato 2012.
- 3 The crucial and difficult question concerning how a villa is to be defined, is posed several times in the bibliography. For a discussion of this question see Greene 1986, 89, who wonders at what point a rural settlement becomes a villa, rather than just a romanized farmhouse; he sets (on p. 134) the four criteria for the identification of sites as villas: presence of baths, use of marble, size and location, i.e. relation to land, water and communications, but also cites the exhortation at Potter 1980 to "avoid being side-tracked into problems of definition which can obscure their real interest for the study of the economy". See also Rothaus 1994, 391-392; Marzano 2007, 2-5 and 85-101, for the *villa rustica* in ancient literary sources.

The concept of “leisure time” is not an invention of Roman thought. *Scholé* in contrast to *archolia*, as *otium* stands in contrast to *negotium*, already existed as a value in Greek mentality and culture. It is enough here to mention Aristotle’s and Epicurus’s ideas on the topic⁴. However, leisure-time spent in a private picturesque and luxurious space especially constructed in order to offer an escape from hectic public life, is a new concept, not totally congruent with the Aristotelian concept of leisure, which was regarded as a necessary practice for the development of virtue and for the performance of political duty (*Pol.*, 1328b). Further crucial points show that the Greek conception of leisure was transformed into a completely new way of life by Romans: the new type of domestic architecture that emerged as a result of this development is influenced by Greek public architecture rather than by Greek private dwellings⁵. Furthermore, leisure activities of the owners of such luxurious complexes are inspired by Greek-style recreational habits, which however took place mainly in a public sphere, in gymnasia, palestrae and public gardens. Although there are stray references to rich country houses of ancient Greeks⁶, there are no literary descriptions of any luxurious details, not apparently because of any lack of such luxury, but because private luxury was not the focus of the Greek texts that mention such houses. Moreover, any depiction of details from a private setting on a grave monument is totally at odds with the classical Greek spirit, as is the case with the grave monument of Vestorius Priscus, aedile of 75/76 p.C.⁷, on which the entrance of his house or his silver table service are shown, so betraying his extravagant taste. Besides, the old Roman virtue of simplicity⁸ contrasted with the concept of leisure when placed in conjunction with luxury. This luxury is usually regarded as a result of the influx of wealth into Roman society after Roman expansion⁹.

The architectural type of villa and the way of life that it involves, rather than being derived from a Greek way of living, reflected Roman originals. Therefore, archaeologically investigated structures in Greece that can be defined as *villae* are clearly distinct from Greek farmhouses which always made up the majority of residences in the countryside and which continue to exist, since in most cases no gap is to be seen and the Greek model of rural organization was not totally abandoned. This raises the question, of whether the earliest villa structures in the province of Achaia are to be associated with Greeks who were aware of new trends and in a great

4 Cf. Solmsen 1964; Hemingway 1988; Sylvester 1999.

5 Mielsch 1987, 44-45. Cf. Varr., *R.*, 2.7.2: *quod dum seruauerunt institutum, utrumque sunt consecuti, ut et cultura agros fecundissimos haberent et ipsi ualeitudine firmiores essent, ac ne Graecorum urbana desiderarent gymnasia. Quae nunc uix satis singula sunt, nec putant se habere uillam, si non multis uocabulis retiniant Graecis, quom uocent particulatum loca, procoetona, palaestram, apodyterion, peristylon, ornithona, peripteron, oporothecen*, “So long as they kept up this practice they attained both objects – keeping their lands most productive by cultivation, and themselves enjoying better health and not requiring the citified gymnasia of the Greeks. In these days one such gymnasium is hardly enough, and they do not think they have a real villa unless it rings with many resounding Greek names, places severally called *procoetion* (ante-room), *palaestra* (exercise-room), *apodyterion* (dressing-room), *peristylon* (colonnade), *ornithon* (aviary), *peripteros* (pergola), *oporotheca* (fruit-room)”.

6 See several examples cited and commented by Schmidt [1899] 1990, 14-15.

7 Zanker [1979] 1990, 162-163; Mols & Moormann 1993-1994; Clarke 2003, 203.

8 Romans initially criticized this Greek practice: Mielsch 1987, 39 on Cato’s attitude. The first Romans to be attracted by the concept of “villeggiatura” were apparently aristocrats who had already acknowledged with Greek education and culture; see Schmidt [1899] 1990, 17; Zanker [1979] 1990, 166; Mielsch 1987, 37 sq. Cf. also Gatzke 2008, esp. 45-53.

9 However, early outstanding complexes of a debated function, conventionally called indeed “palaces”, dated to the late vith/early vth c. a.C have been localized, cf. Terrenato 2012, esp. 71-73.

degree influenced by them, or are to be considered as a type transplanted here from Italy by Westerners. It is therefore important to focus on the early appearance of this architectural type in Achaia.

EARLY VILLAS IN THE PROVINCE OF ACHAIA (IST C. P.C.-EARLY IIND C. P.C.)

The earliest structures that can be defined as *villae* in the province of Achaia are to be found in the surroundings of Patras about the end of the Ist c. a.C.¹⁰. The appearance of villa in Patras coincides with the introduction of a new concept in the organization of the countryside, even of a new rural strategy, and is apparently to be associated with the inhabitants of the colony. The large number of villas – about 200, according to the recent assessment of M. Petropoulos¹¹ – indicates the presence of a new model in the agrarian economy and settlement patterns in the area. We are now dealing with completely new structures, which use hardly any foundations of pre-existing buildings. They lie in a different pattern of dense diffusion around the town and reach its limits, in contrast to Hellenistic farmsteads, which were built in a considerable distance from urban centers¹². Villas are situated close to roads and the sea, a fact which may imply that, when a site was being selected, serious consideration was given to the accessibility of facilities for the disposal of any surplus produced in the villa. The western oriented port of Patras was extremely important for transport and communication with Italy, in particular. The Roman atmosphere that typifies the structures in and around Patras is evident in the presence of Arretine pottery and the use of Roman building techniques, such as *opus testaceum*, *reticulatum*, *mixtum* and *opus signinum*¹³. Certain settlements display outstandingly luxurious spaces decorated with mosaics and wall-paintings. Yet even these structures can be defined primarily as units of the agricultural economy, above all of wine production, as the presence of numerous wine-vats, either movable or fixed, shows. Certain complexes are to be interpreted as *villae maritimae*¹⁴ which most certainly took advantage of maritime transport available, but also exploited marine resources. Marine produce was apparently a very important economic factor given the fact that the inhabitants of Patras were allowed to exploit the lagoon of Kalydon, whilst the presence of Patraeans is attested on the opposite coast of the Corinthian Gulf (Str. 10.2.21; Paus. 10.38.9)¹⁵.

Remarkably, however, only a small number of similar settlements have been found in the surroundings of Corinth, although this small number may be a result of the randomness of the sites that have been excavated. An even smaller number of settlements in the area is to be dated to the Ist c. p.C. Land-plots were certainly given to the veterans and freedmen, who constituted

10 For farmsteads and *villae* in Patras see Petropoulos 1994; Staoupolou-Gatsi & Alexopoulou in press, and for installation for agricultural production and related implements see Petropoulos in press.

11 Petropoulos in press.

12 Petropoulos 1994, 408, 410.

13 Petropoulos 1994, 409, 412; Bressan & Bonini 2008, 17-18.

14 *Villae maritimae* have been localized at Vrachneika (Kotsaki 1989, 131; Petropoulos 1994, catalogue n° 108) and at Akte Dymaion (Alexopoulou 1995, 205).

15 Cf. Rizakis 1996a, 274-287.

respectively the core of the colonists at Patras and Corinth¹⁶. Furthermore, both colonies, as has been shown, incorporated *negotiatores* who had already settled in the region earlier¹⁷.

Whilst a number of villas dating from the late IInd/IIIrd c. p.C. onwards have been located on the outskirts of Corinth and in the Corinthian countryside¹⁸, only two early Imperial complexes have been discovered. This is perhaps to be expected, as generally only the forum at Corinth has been excavated and no systematic exploration has been undertaken of the surroundings and the countryside. R. Rothaus has stated that the location of late antique Corinthian villas was dictated by both the access to agricultural land and a desire to remain close to civic centers¹⁹. This seems to apply also to the early villas that have survived. These settlements can thus be defined neither as urban nor as rural *villae*, since their owners wished to be present on their estates and to take part in the life of the city. Both villas of the Ist c. p.C., the villa at Kokkinovrysi, the so-called "Shear villa", and the villa at Anaploga, are situated very close to the civic centre. The villa at Kokkinovrysi, however, has an agricultural component in the shape of an installation for the production of olive-oil²⁰. The villa at Anaploga, a lavish complex built in the early Ist c. p.C., is situated less than 1 km SW of the Odeion, near the road leading from Corinth to Phlius and Cleonai, with easy access to flat arable land around the Longopotamos river and to the slopes of Acrocorinth. The villa was decorated with mosaics, in which a western influence is evident, and in particular an influence deriving from Campanian still-life motifs. It is, however, remarkable that the Corinthian mosaics copy Campanian originals of a century earlier, as S. Grobel Miller²¹ has observed, who suggests that the mosaicist was Greek and was working on the basis of sketches and notes, since an Italian would have been aware of current art trends in Italy, the main center of influence on mosaic art. Certain scholars have indeed considered that this building was a typical Ist c. house church²², but given the limited evidence, it is not possible to interpret the villa Anaploga as such, given moreover that a colossal marble Athena-head was found there, which did not belong to a temple²³.

A considerable number of rural settlements with clear Roman features have been found in Western Greece, in Aitolia, Acarnania and in the area around the Ambracian Gulf. This is a vitally important region, located at the crossroads of communication between the East and Italy. It was the entrance for Romans and Italiote Greeks to Greece, where the first attestations of a western presence are to be observed from the IIIrd c. a.C. onwards. The influence of Romans on the landscape of the region is very strong. It can be seen in the foundation of Nikopolis, the

16 Rothaus 1994.

17 There were *negotiatores* in Patras before the foundation of the colony, as Cicero's letters witness, see Rizakis 1990a; the town took advantage of the ruin of Corinth in 146 a.C. and its economic collapse and attracted Roman businessmen. Corinth after its foundation as a Roman colony also absorbed *negotiatores* who were earlier settled in neighbouring regions; see Spawforth 1996, esp. 169.

18 Rothaus 2000, 26-30, for a discussion of late antique villas of Corinth that have been localized so far. Cf. Bressan & Bonini 2008, 16-17. For a lavish new villa discovered at Loutraki, whose first phase is to be dated to the mid. IInd c. p.C. or a little earlier, see Aslamatzidou, in press.

19 Rothaus 1994, 391-394; 2000, 27.

20 Shear 1930; cf. Rothaus 1994, 392-393.

21 Grobel Miller 1972, 353-354; Dunbabin 2006, 210 on Anaploga.

22 Several house-churches have been identified as such in Corinth; cf. Gill & Gempf 1994, 153 sq. for bibliography on Corinthian villas and house-churches. Schowalter 2010, 329-333, examines earlier interpretations of the Villa Anaploga as a typical house church of the Ist c. p.C. and stresses both the risk involved in drawing conclusions from fragmentary and partially published architectural remains, but the need, too, to make use of them.

23 Robinson 1963, 78; Daux 1963, 725.

synoecism of Ambracia, in the centuriation of the surrounding areas and in the granting of a part of Aitolia and of the exploitation rights to the lagoon of Kalydon to the colonists of Patras²⁴. All this brought out a complete rearrangement of the agricultural and settlement patterns. Stray Latin or bilingual inscriptions found in the countryside from Aitolia and Acarnania are probably to be connected with rural settlements containing an element of Italian origin²⁵. The presence of fertile areas, especially in the region of Trichonis, was responsible for the appearance of several villas in the area²⁶. At several sites around Nikopolis ruins of *villae rusticae* or remains of walls constructed in Roman building techniques have been found, and any systematic exploration in the future will certainly add to our knowledge²⁷. Villas have been located around the Ambracian Gulf, where the proximity to the sea allowed the exploitation of marine resources and facilitated transport²⁸. Remains of villas have been found on the peninsula of Ayios Thomas²⁹, in the inlet Pogonitsa, where pottery production also took place, as the presence of the amphora waster indicates, whilst the amphoras found in the sea imply that some goods, at least, were transported by ship³⁰. Other architectural remains, including baths, walls executed in *opus testaceum* and typical Roman black and white mosaics in this coastal area, as for example at Lake Gavogiannis and Ormos Vathy³¹, belonged to *villae* which were occupied by circles that display clear Roman characteristics.

Villas of the type that is known to have been possessed by wealthy Roman landowners *Synepeirotaī* have also been traced on Leukas, where Romans present from early on³². They are large complexes that include store-rooms and plant for producing wine, olive-oil and purple-dye³³.

Further villas displaying clearly Roman features have been found scattered in several other areas of the province of Achaia. They are, however, isolated cases of a slightly later date. The majority of these structures has not been systematically explored and cannot be dated accurately. Remarkably, in the Attic countryside there are hardly any complexes that display the features of a Roman villa and that can be dated to the Ist or the early IInd c. p.C.³⁴. One noteworthy exception is a villa in the

24 On centuriation of the region of Nicopolis and Ambracia see respectively Doukellis 1988 and 1992; on the concession of a part of Aitolia and of the exploitation of the lagoon of Kalydon to the colonists of Patras see Str. 10.2.21; Paus. 10.38.9; cf. Rizakis 1996a, 274-287.

25 Cf. Drymos, Vonitsa: Mastrokostas 1971, 191, n° 3. Gouria: Mastrokostas 1963, 211; 1964, B 2 Chron., 299. Naupaktos: *CIL*, III, 570; Molisani 1973, 395. Amphissa, Locri: *CIL*, III, 568.

26 On farmsteads and villas in Aitolia see Staikou & Leontariti in press. On the ruins of a settlement that can be defined as a villa in the area of Trichonion see Gerolymou in press. The earliest structures in this area are to be dated to the early IInd c. p.C. However epigraphic evidence indicates the presence of private Roman individuals in the area of Trichonion as early as in the IIIrd c. a.C. and in the wider region in the IIIrd c. a.C., see Zoumbaki 2011, 528. For the fertility of Trichonion cf. Str. 10.2.3: ...τὸ Τριχώνιον, ἀρίστην ἔχον γῆν. Cf. Strauch 1996, 283-285; Staupoulou-Gatsi 2004, 345-368, 348, 350, for the prosperity that the town enjoyed, which is shown by the rich finds made during recent excavations and 352 and 354 for finds of the Roman period.

27 See Papaioannou 2002, Appendix 371-377, where sites in the region of Nikopolis as well as of Epeiros are registered and pl. 96, where sites with Roman remains are depicted.

28 Zoumbaki 2012, 85-88.

29 Ayios Thomas peninsula, Stein 2001, 67 and table I.

30 Archaeological finds testify that vessels and their cargos found a safe anchorage in the inlets where certain rural settlements have been located, cf. Ormos Vathy, Stein 2001, 67; inlet Pogonitsa Stein 2001, 71-72.

31 Stein 2001, 70 (Ormos Vathy), 70-71 (Lake Gavogiannis). For black and white mosaic decorations see Clarke 1979; Hellenkemper Salies 1986. Stein 2001, 72, generally on settlements in the coastal area.

32 Zoumbaki 2011, 530-531; 2012, 84.

33 Pliakou 2001, 154-155; 2004, 49.

34 D'Aco in press.

area of Acharnai. This is a large complex apparently constructed in the 1st/2nd c. p.C., refurbished at a later date and abandoned in the 3rd c.; it includes storage rooms, pottery kiln and a bath which was supplied with water from the Hadrianeian aqueduct³⁵. A further prominent building, possibly a *villa maritima*, has been located at the coast of Zea in Piraeus and is apparently to be dated to the 1st c. p.C.³⁶. Private dwellings with clearly Roman features are to be found mainly in the center of Athens, where however typical Roman elements, such as apses, fountains, gardens, *atria* as well as a relatively limited use of bricks appear only from the age of Hadrian onwards³⁷. The Roman residents of Athens may have increased in numbers and power after the destruction of part of the town by Sulla's troops and the migration of Romans from Delos to Athens after their massacre by Mithridatic forces and pirates in 88 and 69 a.C. respectively. Despite this, local architectural traditions remained strong. The new elements introduced in the 2nd c. p.C. are apparently not to be necessarily associated with a presence of Westerners, but with the flourishing economy of the period. The domestic architecture of urban space in Roman Sparta also features certain Roman elements, such as the *atrium/impluvium*, whereas structures that can be defined as *villae* in the region of Laconia are isolated and relatively late cases³⁸. As far as the present state of the publications allows one to draw any conclusions, complexes that can be dated to the 1st or the early 2nd c. p.C. include, for example, a villa built in the 1st c. p.C. at Kalliani in Arcadia³⁹ and villas in Messenia, especially in the Five-River-area, Dialiskari and Petalidi⁴⁰. Furthermore, the villas in the area of Chaeronea deserve mention, especially one case which seems to be a site in continuous use from the Hellenistic period and another, whose construction is apparently to be dated to the middle of the 1st c. p.C.⁴¹. The question arises as to whether the notable villa settings described, and sometimes criticized by Plutarch (*De Cupiditate diuitiarum*, 523C; *De uitando Aere alieno*, 830E), are to be found in these preserved ruins. In one of his treatises, Plutarch directs his comments against prominent individuals at Aidepsos on Euboea who competed with each other in the display of wealth by means of their villas, which included baths, colonnades, banquet-halls, aqueducts (*De fraterno Amore*, 487E).

It would seem that the architectural type of villa and the way of life it expresses, which are to be observed in embryonic form in Patras especially and in various Roman nuclei in Greece in the 1st c. p.C., have already become fashionable among upper levels of local societies by Plutarch's time. Villas proliferate in Late Roman period in the Greek countryside⁴².

35 Platonos-Giota 2004, 438-440.

36 Dragatsis 1892.

37 Papaioannou 2002, 14-92.

38 On the architectural types and the reasons for their relatively strong Romanized features see Papaioannou 2002, 228-282, esp. on large villas p. 241-245. For other sites of possible villas in Laconia see Zavvou in press.

39 Eckstein & Meyer 1960.

40 Luckermann & Moody 1978, 97-112, for villas in the "Five-River-Area"; Alcock *et al.* 2005, 183-188 for Messenian *villae* and esp. on the Roman and Late Roman site Dialiskari; Vikatou 1996, 191; 1997, 259-260; 1998, 236, for Petalidi. Generally on Messenia see also Kosmopoulos in press.

41 On villas in the area of Chaeronea see Charami 1993, 181-182 (dated to late 2nd/early 3rd c. p.C.); Petrochilos & Kountouri in press.

42 Cf. Rothaus 1994, 391 and n. 1-2, who discusses the phenomenon and refers to the earlier bibliography and earlier views (e.g. M. I. Rostovtzeff and A. H. M. Jones) that wealthy individuals abandoned the towns and established large villas resembling independent principalities; this view is rejected by Rothaus in regard to Corinthia.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF EARLY VILLAS IN THE PROVINCE OF ACHAIA

The cases we have just looked at, of typical villas within an urban network, on its borders or in the countryside of the province of Achaia, do not, however, form any complete list of such settlements. Our intention here has been to offer a general overview of private architecture, whose design, decoration and furnishings are ideal as a place of *otium* and to observe the patterns of their diffusion and the social connotations involved. The earliest villa structures of the province of Achaia located in the area of the colonies and in western Greece, namely in the region where the early presence of a western social element is attested in epigraphic and literary terms and where the hand of the Roman ruling power in the landscape is obvious. Such early complexes are rare or appear at a later date in other areas where these two factors, Roman organization of the countryside and presence of Roman residents, were not so intense. Thus the earliest complexes that yield a more precise echo of a Roman conception of private space and recreation habits, rather than being associated with Greeks, are to be linked with elements of a western origin. It is remarkable how the earliest examples of this architectural type are located near urban centers and ports, or at least in areas with good communications to the sea. Over the course of time individuals who belonged to a social circle in close contact with Romans, local elites which also obtain Roman citizenship, adopt the villa type or certain features of its design, its decoration, its amenities or the new materials and techniques it employs.

Studies on archaeological material from various provinces of the Roman Empire have shown that a similar pattern prevails in other Roman provinces, such as Dalmatia, Pannonia, Gallia Narbonensis. In Dalmatia and Gallia Narbonensis villas have been located on coasts where there is a significant Roman presence⁴³. As is the case with our Greek examples, these structures were not notably luxurious and spacious settlements, as certain Italian originals indeed were. However, such villas, or at least the better preserved of such villas, had baths, marble panels, mosaics and painting decorations and facilities for agricultural production, for processing and storage of the goods. As a rule these villas are located on good farming land, not far from the sea or from urban centers. The evidence suggests that this architectural type was introduced ready-made from outside and the early date of the villas, the Italian imports of manufactured goods and of building materials indicate that at least the original owners were Roman immigrants⁴⁴. Structures of this type appear in the hinterland at a later date, IIIrd/IVth c. p.C., when it was apparently adopted by local peoples⁴⁵. The same pattern appears in Pannonia, where villas appear first in areas which were the primary targets of Roman settlement, spreading more widely only from about 200 p.C.⁴⁶. As for the Roman East, the pattern there seems to be similar to that of Greece. Even the most luxurious complexes cannot compare with aristocratic villas in Italy, whilst the number of such structures increases significantly from the IInd c. p.C. onwards⁴⁷.

Thus, the connection of the earliest villas with westerners is a point common to Greek villas and those elsewhere. Greek examples are therefore to be associated with colonists or other residents of Italian origin who are encountered in Greek *poleis* as early as the second half of the

43 Percival 1976, 88-89.

44 Percival 1976, 88.

45 Percival 1976, 89.

46 Percival 1976, 89.

47 Rossiter 1989.

IIIrd c. a.C. and were in a large degree incorporated into nuclei of Romans which developed in the areas where they are resident, as for example, in the colonies of Patras and Corinth and the *polis* of Nikopolis. They were mainly engaged in trade, transport, banking and related enterprises, but, as literary and epigraphic sources testify, they also had an interest in landed property, as its social values was highly esteemed by Romans. Colonists and veterans received various lots of land, as the centuriations of Patras and Corinth show⁴⁸, whilst Roman businessmen were engaged in the agricultural economy, leasing or holding land, which came to their hands via various legal procedures, such as *enktesis* or mortgaging⁴⁹.

Although it is not easy to define in precise terms the social status of early villa owners, it is obvious that the vast majority did not belong to the elite that included Pomponius Atticus, who possessed enormous and especially picturesque estates in Epiros. The preserved remains of the early Imperial villas in Greece are not enormously large or especially complex in design. Rather, they are structures modest in comparison to their Italian prototypes, provided in any case with the amenities that catered to the demands of pleasant leisure time and economic benefit. Their owners, mainly colonists or *negotiatores*, did not belong to the upper ranks of Roman society. Of a lower social origin, they certainly sought both for economic profit and social advancement in the host society. The accumulation of commercial capital through international trade after the Punic wars that enabled the socioeconomic advancement of a new aristocracy in Italy also created the right conditions for the appearance of a new type of well-off businessman in the East. These earned a prosperous living from their professions, mainly trade and related activities and they were often people of freedman stock, who acted as agents of important Romans. These people of servile or otherwise low social origin felt a vital need to stress their Roman identity, often newly obtained, in the display of their Romaness through their way of life.

The acquisition of land allowed them to share the only stable value recognized by Roman society. Moreover it gave them the impetus to adopt, as far as they could, the life-style of a higher social stratum. Thus, on a smaller scale they copied luxurious originals. The whole arrangement of Greek villa settlements, their building techniques and decoration style imitate Italian aristocratic prototypes. In some cases the imitation involves a time lag, as is the case, for example, with the belated use of Campanian mosaic motifs in Corinthian villas that we have mentioned. Extravagant wealth or exaggeration in imitation of the luxurious life style of the old nobility led the Senate to enact several sumptuary laws in order to restrict luxury in Italy between 182 and 18 a.C.⁵⁰. This luxury, which is incarnated in the caricature of the nouveau riche type of Trimalchio in Petronius's *Satyricon*, was, however, not the rule, or was not to be encountered at all, among the Roman settlers in Greece. Well-to-do Romans in Greece were apparently of a more modest economic level, perhaps closer to the social stratum described by A. Wallace-Hadrill in his excellent analysis of the society of Pompey and Herculaeum as a group which sought "rebirth through imitation"⁵¹.

However, imitation of the Roman aristocratic class and the advertising of one's Romaness through adoption of Roman architectural fashion and recreational habits must not have been

48 Achaia: Rizakis 1990b, 259-280; Corinth: Romano 2010, 156-157 for the interim period (146-44 a.C.) land division and 163-171 for the Caesarian and the Flavian centuriations.

49 Zoumbaki in press.

50 Dari-Mattiacci & Plisecka 2012.

51 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 173.

enough for the individuals who lived in a Greek *polis*, where the public behavior and civic virtue had developed over time. The gradual integration of the Roman residents into Greek *poleis*, which is obvious in epigraphic sources, demanded that the Romans imitate the local elite and its public activity, that is participation in the *ephebia*, evergetism and the holding of various civic magistracies. Their estates, where they spent at least a part of their time, as their residential elements show, were as a rule situated near urban centers, where the residents of these estates could play a public role. The estates were also located near markets or communication routes which facilitated the disposal of the surpluses that they produced.

As one reads Gellius's *Attic nights* or Plutarch's *Table-talks*⁵², which depict witty conversation during dinner-parties, one gets the impression that philosophy, intellectuality, art, entertainment, splendid banquets and "grande cuisine" were the components of every-day-life in large lavish domains of wealthy villa owners. Gellius gives vivid details regarding the relaxing days and nights at Herodes's estate in Kephissia and the comforts that were available there (Gell. 1.2):

"… And there at that time, while we were with him at the villa called Cephisia, both in the heat of summer and under the burning autumnal sun, we protected ourselves against the trying temperature by the shade of its spacious groves, its long, soft promenades, the cool location of the house, its elegant baths with their abundance of sparkling water, and the charm of the villa as a whole, which was everywhere melodious with flashing waters and tuneful birds [...] In the course of the conversations which are commonly carried on at table after dinner,...".

Leisure activities of Herodes Atticus's *trophimoi*, mainly hunting, are depicted in sculptures and in Philostratus's narration⁵³ and are testified by the surviving inscriptions of Herodes's dedications in commemoration of his beloved *trophimoi*⁵⁴. These descriptions remind us of Xenophon's and his sons' relaxing hours in the landscape of his estate at Skillous (*Anab.*, 5.3.7-23). In addition to the sanctuary of Artemis and the related festivities that absorbed part of his time, his everyday life included hunting and taking care of the fertile land, the gardens and the rich meadows for raising cattle, pigs and horses, the river with abundance of fish and shellfish.

Recreation and the enjoyment the nature were apparently intertwined with villa life at the lofty socio-economic level of Herodes or the educated circle of Plutarch. Immensely rich villas, just as was the case with small farms, were, however, also units of economic exploitation and production. Even the most opulent villas include an economically-oriented area, a unit dedicated to production, which is included even in urban houses of this type, as we noted in regard to Corinth. Complexes defined as *villae* are units that concentrated on agricultural economy, on the exploitation of some arable land, on storage and procession of the raw product.

52 On certain aspects concerning these symposia see the papers edited by Ribeiro Ferreira *et al.* 2009 and by Klotz & Oikonomopoulou 2011.

53 VS, 2.558-559: ἀλλ᾽ Αθηναίοις ἀπάνθρωπα ἐδόκει ταῦτα, οὐκ ἐνθυμουμένοις τὸν Ἀχιλλέα καὶ τὸν Πολυδεύκην καὶ τὸν Μέμνονα, οὓς ἵσα γνησίοις ἐπένθησε τροφίμους δόντας, ἐπειδὴ καλοὶ καὶ μάλιστα ἀγαθοὶ ἦσαν, γενναῖοι τε καὶ φιλομαθεῖς καὶ τῇ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν τροφῇ πρέποντες. Εἰκόνας γούν ἀνετίθει σφῶν θηρώντων καὶ τεθηρωκότων καὶ θηρασόντων, τὰς μὲν ἐν δρυμοῖς, τὰς δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἄγροις, τὰς δὲ πρὸς πηγαῖς, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ σκιαῖς πλατάνων, οὐκ ἀφανῶς, ἀλλὰ ἔνι ἀραῖς τού τε περικόψοντος ἢ κινήσοντος, ...

54 Cf. for example *IG*, II², 3970: (ll. 5-8)... Ἡρώδης <ἀν>ιέθηκεν ὅτι ἐνιθάδε καὶ περὶ | θήραν εἶχον; 3971: Πολυδεύκιστα | ἥρω καὶ τοῖσδε] | τοῖς λουτροῖς πο||[οσ]<ο>μειλή<ο>[αντα] | [έαυτῷ Ἡρώδης] | [άνεθηκεν].

They possess olive- and wine-presses and sometimes also include facilities such as pottery-kilns or purple-dying installations, depending on their location. Even extremely wealthy landowners, such as Herodes Atticus, regarded their estates not merely as pleasant residences, but also as centers of economic activity. It has been even suggested that the villa at Loukou was used as a management center for trade in marble from the region of Doliana⁵⁵. It seems therefore that *negotium* was not totally neglected in private settings suitable for *otium*, especially for a social group which did not belonged to the most privileged elite, which felt the need to exhibit in its wealth, its Romaness, its constructed social status and which had to earn its living from businesses of various types.

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