

Birgit Tang

DELOS CARTHAGE AMPURIAS



The Housing of Three Mediterranean
Trading Centres

«L'ERMA» di BRETSCHNEIDER

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED IN TABLES

A	= atrium
av	= average
ba	= bathroom
beg	= beginning
bi	= bicolour (black-and-white)
C	= courtyard
ch	= chip pavement
cor	= corridor
cu	= cult room
di	= dining room
E	= east
ff	= figurative frieze
gf	= ground floor
ki	= kitchen
l	= litre(s)
la	= latrine
LP	= late Punic
m	= metre(s)
ma	= marble
mc	= monochrome
mip	= mortar pavement with inset pieces
mo	= mortar pavement
mot	= mortar pavement with tessera design
MP	= middle Punic
mr	= main room
N	= north
of	= <i>opus figlinum</i>
os	= <i>opus sectile</i>
ot	= <i>opus tessellatum</i>
otip	= <i>opus tessellatum</i> with inset pieces
ov	= <i>opus vermiculatum</i>
P	= peristyle
pc	= polychrome
pe	= pebble mosaic
po	= portico/porticoes
rect	= rectangular
S	= south
SE	= south-east
sh	= shop
st	= storeroom
tc	= terracotta
us	= upper storey
W	= west
wo	= workroom/workshop

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“Una casa è come un organismo vivo.
Suo principio vitale è l'uomo che l'abita e che l'ama”.

(Pesce 1957, 23)

1. INTRODUCTION

AIM AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This monograph investigates the urban housing of the three Mediterranean trading centres of Delos, Carthage and Ampurias, from the 4th century BC to the 1st century AD, focusing on the period from the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. These trading centres were all multicultural; the aim is to elucidate the reflection of different cultural influences in their housing.

The influence of culture on housing is particularly relevant during the period under investigation. The 4th to 1st centuries BC was a period of intense interaction, mobility and movement of peoples in the Mediterranean area, primarily as a result of war, conquest and trade. Alexander the Great's conquest of the East was followed by the spread and reception of Hellenistic culture. Further to the west Rome gradually extended its territory, first on the Italian Peninsula and then overseas in the West (218 BC onwards) and the East (168 BC onwards). Migration and cultural exchange were intensified in the 2nd century BC with the need for slave labour and demands for luxury goods from the East in Italy. Greeks and subsequently Romans, however, were not the only expanding powers of the Mediterranean area. Carthage, another superpower, influenced a vast area in the West including North Africa, western Sicily, Sardinia and the Iberian Peninsula.

The interaction and internationalization sometimes took very complex forms. For example, according to Livy, the citizens of the Hellenized Sikel city of Morgantina in Sicily had slaughtered the Roman garrison, and the city was subsequently conquered by Rome in 211 BC and given over to Spanish mercenaries by Rome as a reward for their betrayal of Syracuse to the Romans in 212 BC.¹ The presence of Hispani is evidenced by coinage of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC inscribed HISPANORUM. Another case is the banker Philostratos Philostratou who resided on Delos. He originated from Phoenician Askelon, but was also a citizen of Naples. On Delos he made dedications to a number of Greek gods and financed a sanctuary to the gods of Askelon and part of the Agora of the Italians. He himself was honoured both by the *Ιταλικοί* of Delos and by the Egnatii brothers designated as Romans.²

THE TRADING CENTRES

Numerous trading centres existed in the Mediterranean area in the Hellenistic/Republican and early Imperial periods, for instance Alexandria and Pozzuoli (the Roman Puteoli). The criteria applied to the selection of Delos, Carthage and Ampurias are:

¹ Büttrey *et al.* 1989, 34-67; Tsakirgis 1995.

² For the activities and documentation of Philostratos on Delos, see Mancinetti Santamaria 1983; Tréheux 1992, 85.

- 1) substantial and accessible remains of urban housing from the period under investigation.
- 2) epigraphical and textual evidence for a multicultural population.
- 3) proximity to the sea.
- 4) position as leading trading centre of the region.

Thus one should expect a high degree of interaction between peoples of different cultural background.

Delos: The chronological framework for Delos, situated in the centre of the Cyclades, is the period from 167/166 to 69 BC, also known as the Second Athenian Domination. In this period the island played a key role in the trade between the eastern Mediterranean and the Italian Peninsula, especially with regard to the slave trade.³ As the birthplace of Apollo, Delos was a sacred island and a famous Pan-Hellenic Sanctuary of Apollo was situated here. Delos' period of independence (314 – 167/166 BC) ended after the Third Macedonian War when Rome ceded the island to Athens in 167/166 BC.⁴ The Delians were expelled, and an Athenian cleruchy was established.⁵ At the same time Delos was given the status of a free port and together with the destruction of Corinth in 146 BC this benefited the commercial activities on the island. As a result of the Mithridatic Wars, Delos was attacked twice in the 1st century BC, in 88 and 69 BC, and this put a definitive end to its role as trading centre.⁶ The island continued to be inhabited after 69 BC although to a much lesser extent.⁷

Judging from the epigraphical source material, three main groups lived on the island in the period 167/166 – 69 BC: Greeks (Athenians in particular), Italians/Romans and Syrians/Phoenicians.⁸ Moreover, the abundant material facilitates the tracing of families through generations.⁹ From ancient Italy came not only Romans and Italians, but also Italiote Greeks.¹⁰ The Delian inscriptions employ the following designations in Greek: *Ρωμαιος/Ρωμαιοι, Ιταλικοι*. In Latin the term *Italicei* occurs. The question is whether the Greeks on Delos distinguished between Romans and Italians and Italiote Greeks, meaning that the terms were specific, or whether the *Ρωμαιος* term was used for anyone coming from Italy as advocated by some scholars.¹¹

³ Strab. 14.5.2.

⁴ Vial 1984, 3.

⁵ Epigraphical material documents the presence of Delians after 166 BC (Couilloud 1974, 247).

⁶ 88 BC: App. Mithr. 5.28; Paus. 3.23.3-4; Strab. 10.5.4. 69 BC: Phlegon of Tralles, quoted by Photius, *FGH* II B, no. 257, 1164, no. 12.

⁷ Bruneau 1968, 691-709.

⁸ Foreigners are also known before the period of the Second Athenian Domination (Laidlaw, W.A. 1933, 201-202; Zalesskij 1983, 27-29 and 34-35). Although modern, the term 'Italians' is used here to designate all indigenous peoples of ancient Italy. 'Romans' are Roman citizens. The epigraphical material has been collected by J. Hatzfeld (1912).

⁹ Wilson 1966, 112-113; Zalesskij 1983, 33.

¹⁰ 'Italiote Greeks' are from the Greek colonies of Italy. For Italiote Greeks on Delos, see Appendix in Lomas 1993, 191-194.

¹¹ Hatzfeld 1912, 6 and 132; Zalesskij 1983, 30, note 51.

However, Solin rightly suggests that the term Roman when used in inscriptions was reserved for people with Roman citizenship or from Rome.¹² In any case, it is a complex situation, as some of these Rhomaiοi were freedmen of Greek or Oriental origin working on Delos for Italic/Roman patron families.¹³ The term *Ιταλικοί* appears to be a collective term for peoples from the Italian Peninsula and its islands.¹⁴

Carthage: At Carthage the late Punic period, from the mid-3rd century BC until 146 BC, provides the richest material.¹⁵ Literary sources state that Carthage, situated to the north-east of the Lake of Tunis in North Africa, was founded by Tyre in 814/813 BC.¹⁶ As a Punic metropolis, it was a superpower of the western Mediterranean from the mid-6th century BC onwards. Its area of influence overseas comprised North Africa, Malta, western Sicily, Sardinia, Ibiza and parts of the Iberian Peninsula where a 'New Carthage' (modern Cartagena) was founded by Hasdrubal, the son-in-law of Hamilcar Barca, in 221 BC.¹⁷ The last confrontation with Rome (the Third Punic War, 149-146 BC) was fatal to Carthage which was conquered and destroyed.

The epigraphical material from the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC documents the presence of Libyans, Egyptians, people from ancient Sardinia and a group of Sidonians.¹⁸ Several Etruscan inscriptions have been found at Carthage and its environs. One is particularly interesting, as it shows that a Marco Unata resided in the vicinity of the city. The inscription probably dates from the period 295-264 BC.¹⁹ Furthermore, literary sources of different periods mention the presence of Italiote Greeks, other Greeks, Etruscans and Italians/Romans.²⁰

Ampurias (ancient Emporion/Emporiae): At Ampurias the chronological framework covers the period from the 2nd century BC to the 3rd century AD, with particular emphasis on the 2nd century BC to the late 1st century AD. The two excavated nuclei of the city are Neapolis and the Roman city.²¹ The houses of the former can be dated within a broad chronological period from the 2nd century BC until its abandonment in the Flavian age. In the Roman city, the development of the houses can be traced from around 100 BC to the 3rd century AD.

Ampurias is situated in the north-east zone of Catalonia in Spain, on the south-west side of the Gulf of Rosas (Fig. 1). It is the only documented Graeco-Roman city on the Iberian Peninsula and thus represents a unique oppor-

¹² Solin 1983, 114-116.

¹³ *ID* 2346: The freedman Lucius Spurius is a Rhomaios.

¹⁴ Poccetti 1984, 647.

¹⁵ The Roman period of the city is beyond the scope of the present work.

¹⁶ According to the 'early' textual tradition, the city was founded in 1215 BC. For the 'early' and 'late' textual traditions, see Lancel 1995, 20-23, and for the foundation myth, Lancel 1995, 23-25.

¹⁷ For the Barcids in Spain, see for example Lancel 1995, 376-380; Richardson 1996, 16-24.

¹⁸ Half 1965, 82. Sidonians: Grainger 1991, 203-205. Only one inscription is complete.

¹⁹ Pittau 1996, 1666-1672.

²⁰ For instance Diod. 14.77.4-5; Polyb. 36.7. For references, see Lassère 1977, 37-42.

²¹ Palaiaopolis, the initial settlement, is the third nucleus, but it is situated below the village of Sant Martí d'Empúries.

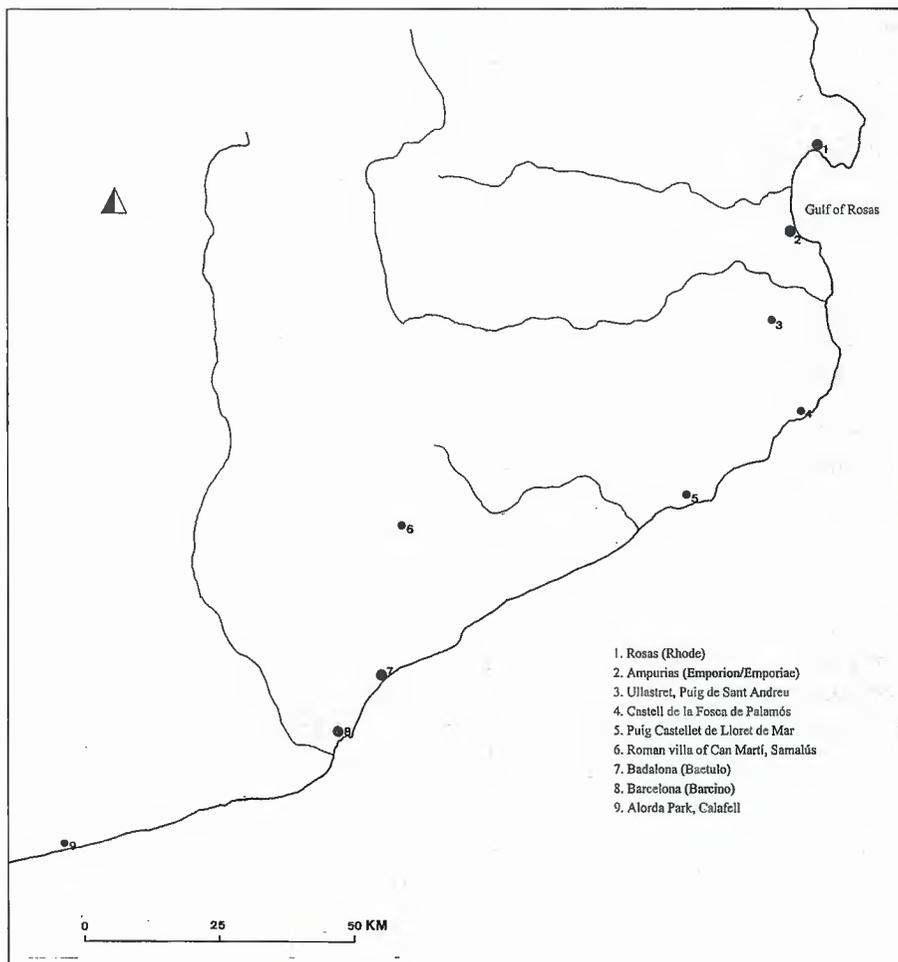


Fig. 1. Map of north-eastern Spain.

tunity to study the interaction of Hellenistic and Italic/Roman traditions in the West. The city was founded at the beginning of the 6th century BC by Phocæans who came either directly from Phocæa in Asia Minor or from Marseilles (ancient Massilia).²² The earliest evidence for the name of Emporion consists of inscriptions on lead tablets from the late 6th/early 5th century BC and silver coinage from the last quarter of the 5th century BC onwards.²³ In 218 BC, at the beginning of the Second Punic War, the Roman army disembarked at Ampurias, marking the beginning of the Roman period of the peninsula. The war ended with the expulsion of the Carthaginians from Spain in 206 BC. In 197 BC the provinces of Hispania Citerior and Hispania Ulterior

²² Strabo refers to the city as a Massiliote colony (3.4.8). Santiago, taking all source materials into consideration, advocates a Phocæan founding (1994, 63-64). Marseilles was also a Phocæan colony.

²³ Santiago 1988; Santiago 1994, 69.

were created. The status of the Roman city of Ampurias, established around 100 BC to the west of the Greek city, is unknown.²⁴ Shortly before, or in the early years of, the Augustan age the different nuclei of the city were politically unified in the *Municipium Emporiae* as evidenced by coinage (MUNICI EMPORIA).²⁵

The archaeological and epigraphical source materials leave no doubt that Iberians lived near and also inside the ancient city of Ampurias.²⁶ Palaiapolis (the initial settlement) was established atop a local settlement, and from the beginning of the city's existence the presence of Iberians can be documented.²⁷ From the 4th century BC onwards Iberians appear to have been living inside the walls of Neapolis (cf. section on the habitation quarter extramuros below). Thus before the arrival of the Romans, Ampurias was already a mixed community. The source material also attests that Iberians were involved in the commercial life of the city.²⁸ According to Livy, the indigenous inhabitants of Ampurias were granted Roman citizenship before the Greek population.²⁹ A bilingual inscription in Greek and Latin mentions a man named Noumas from Alexandria. He erected the temple, statues and porticoes of Sarapis and Isis. The inscription is dated to the mid-1st century BC.³⁰

In the southern sector of Neapolis structures interpreted as houses and a deposit containing domestic refuse have been linked to a indigenous habitation quarter of the 5th century BC. The quarter was destroyed in order to make room for the new city wall erected in the second quarter of the 4th century BC.³¹ The structures were situated within the Sarapieion and consisted of stone socles. A large amount of pottery was found in connection with the structures, including two fragments inscribed with Iberian graffiti bearing personal names. This enlargement of the urban area is interpreted as evidence for the integration of Iberians into the Greek city and community.³²

²⁴ Some scholars have suggested that it was a Latin colony. For the debate, see Pena Gimeno 1988.

²⁵ Probably between 36-27 BC (Fabre *et al.* 1991, 17-18). The unification is not mentioned by literary sources.

²⁶ 'Iberian' is used in a geographical sense to designate the various indigenous peoples living in the coastal area stretching from southern France to southern Spain (for example Gusi/Olaria 1984, 14-16; Richardson 1996, 9-16; Aranegui Gascó 1998). Cf. also map in *Los Iberos* 1998, 40-41. This term is, however, in dispute. Because of the variations within the Iberian culture and Iberian peoples, Domínguez Monedero considers the term too general and thus unsuitable (1983).

²⁷ *Sant Martí d'Empúries* 1998, 18-27. The presence of Iberians at Ampurias is documented by inscriptions and cremation graves (Almagro 1952, 63-83; Pena 1988, 17-19; Sanmartí-Grego, E. 1988a; Sanmartí-Grego, E. 1993a, 21-22).

²⁸ See for example Santiago Álvarez 1994.

²⁹ Liv. 34.9.3.

³⁰ Fabre *et al.* 1991, 46-48.

³¹ Habitation: Sanmartí-Grego, E. *et al.* 1986, especially 180-184; Sanmartí i Grego, E. *et al.* 1991, 325-326; Sanmartí-Grego, E. 1992a, 32; Sanmartí-Grego, E. 1992b, 186; Sanmartí-Grego, E. 1993b, 88-89. City wall: Sanmartí, E. 1988; Sanmartí, E. *et al.* 1988; Sanmartí-Grego, E. 1988b; Sanmartí i Grego, E. *et al.* 1991; Sanmartí-Grego, E. *et al.* 1992.

³² For instance Sanmartí i Grego, E. *et al.* 1991, 327; Sanmartí-Grego, E. 1993b, 89; Sanmartí-Grego, E. *et al.* 1994.

The location of this residential quarter is particularly interesting in the light of descriptions of the city provided by literary sources.³³ Livy and Strabo give the most detailed information.³⁴ Livy speaks of *duo oppida* separated by a wall, one inhabited by the Greeks and the other by the indigenous people. Strabo describes Ampurias as a dipolis divided into two parts by a wall with the Greeks living in one part and the indigenous people in the other. In time the two parts were united.³⁵ It is important to remember that almost from the beginning Ampurias formed a dipolis consisting of two urban nuclei, Palaiapolis and Neapolis. By the first half of the 1st century BC the city consisted of two dipoleis: Palaiapolis and Neapolis on the one hand, and the two parts of the Roman city on the other.³⁶ A hypothesis is that the Romans lived in the southern part and the indigenous people in the northern.³⁷

HISTORY OF RESEARCH

The study of the Greek and the Roman house continues to be characterized by the problem of the relationship between archaeological and textual evidence, especially in relation to the *De Architectura* written by the Roman architect Vitruvius.³⁸ This work has been considered almost a lexicon by some scholars. Accordingly, his descriptions and terminology have been applied to the excavated houses in identifying room types and room functions. The uncritical application of the Vitruvian terminology is still upheld, but in recent research it has been increasingly questioned.

In early scholarship purely hypothetical ground plans of houses were reconstructed, and as houses were beginning to be excavated from the mid-18th century (the Vesuvian cities) and the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Greek cities: for instance Delos and Priene), the remains were fitted into the Vitruvian model.³⁹ The best and the worst example regarding the Greek house is Rumpf's interpretation of the *insula* of the House of the Masks on Delos.⁴⁰ He identified Vitruvius' *gynaikonitis*, or the women's quarter, in House C (DelM5), the *andronitis*, or the men's quarter, in House B (DelM4), and the *hospitalia* (rooms for guests) in Houses A and D (DelM3 and DelM6).⁴¹ Generally, scholars have been obsessed with the identification of

³³ Texts referring to Ampurias are listed and commented on in Almagro 1951. See also Mar/Ruiz de Arbulo 1993, 461-479.

³⁴ Liv. 34.9; Strab. 3.4.8.

³⁵ The texts have been studied by Pena especially (1985; 1988). Cf. also Domínguez Monedero 1986, 6-7.

³⁶ Ruiz de Arbulo Bayona 1991, 476-477. The Roman city is divided into two parts by a transverse wall.

³⁷ Cf. Aquilué 1997, 47-48.

³⁸ In ten books and written during the reign of Augustus. The sections referring to layouts and rooms in particular are: the Greek house: 6.7; the Roman house: 6.3.

³⁹ For an overview of the Roman house, i.e. the Pompeian house, and Vitruvius, see Allison 1993, 1-2 and 6-7. For the Greek house, see Nevett 1999, 21-29.

⁴⁰ Rumpf 1935.

⁴¹ Kreeb 1985a, 95-106; Raeder 1988, especially 346-368.

gender separation in the archaeological material. Apart from the dining room, the *andron*, female and male quarters cannot be positively identified in the archaeological record. It was not architecture, but behavioural and conceptual barriers, that separated male visitors from women.⁴²

The use of ancient terms to designate rooms and room functions has been questioned by both Trümper (Delos) and Dickmann (Pompeii) because it is a modern concept that a room can have only one function.⁴³ The use of computer programs which provide concordances of specific terms employed by ancient authors has proved that these were not used as standard terms in antiquity. Leach has shown that several words related to the *atrium* house are only used by Vitruvius.⁴⁴ This makes it even more important to study the material in its own context. Rooms were multifunctional and were used in different ways at different times. In houses of modest size it is clear that rooms must have had several functions for both daily use and social occasions. This changeable character of rooms is also attested by textual evidence for the Greek house.⁴⁵

On the basis of Vitruvius, the traditional typology of the Greek house was established: *prostas* houses (Priene), *pastas* houses (Olynthos) and *pastas*-peristyle houses (Olynthos).⁴⁶ The *prostas* is the open-fronted anteroom or porch located in front of the main range of rooms. The *pastas* is normally defined as the corridor or portico located in front of the main range of rooms. It may run across the whole width of the house. This topology has been developed further in strictly architectural studies characterized by an evolutionary approach. Bulla established links between “Innenhofhäuser” from pre-historic times to the Hellenistic period.⁴⁷ According to Krause, the *pastas* house developed from the three-room complex comprising a transverse front room with two adjacent rooms at the back, while in Hellenistic times the *pastas* developed into the main room of the house or into the portico of the peristyle located in front of the main room.⁴⁸

The role of the Greek house in a wider context, i.e. within society, was treated in the study of Hoepfner and Schwandner, according to whom the orthogonal layout with standard blocks and plots reflects the democratic political institution.⁴⁹ The orthogonal layout, however, appears to have been determined more by practical reasons than by ideology. The same authors, moreover, used reconstructions without archaeological foundation.⁵⁰ Jameson in an article on domestic space in the Greek city-state regarded architectural history as social history.⁵¹ Thus the house of the Classical period repre-

⁴² For example Jameson 1990, 93 and 104; Nevett 1994; Nevett 1995.

⁴³ Trümper 1998, 15-16; Dickmann 1999, 23-39.

⁴⁴ Leach 1997.

⁴⁵ Goldberg 1999. She gives an example from Plato's *Protagoras* where a storeroom is converted into a bedroom for visitors (1999, 150).

⁴⁶ Priene: Wiegand/Schrader 1904, 289. Olynthos: Robinson/Graham 1938, 141-151.

⁴⁷ Bulla 1970.

⁴⁸ Krause 1977.

⁴⁹ Hoepfner/Schwandner 1994, XIII.

⁵⁰ Knell 1988.

⁵¹ Jameson 1990.

sents the private life of the family and is a closed unit. The absence of pronounced variation in size of the houses and the presence of only limited luxury suggested a relative equality. Moreover, Jameson questioned the usefulness of the traditional *pastas* and *prostas* designations.⁵²

The nature of social relationships in Greek households, i.e. between men and women, household members and outsiders, is the subject for the latest comprehensive study of Greek houses during the Classical and Hellenistic periods by Nevett. She also reassesses the traditional typology.⁵³ Instead of focusing on one particular architectural element, such as the *pastas*, *prostas* or peristyle, she makes the overall organization of space serve as a criterion for classification.⁵⁴ Thus her “single-entrance, courtyard house” encompasses both the *pastas*, *prostas* and peristyle houses, as these share the following characteristics: a centripetal plan, a single entrance, a central open space occupying the majority of the plot and often with a portico (or a full peristyle), and also often a dining room identified by its raised borders and decoration (the *andron*). This reassessment of the typology is most welcome, as the problem of distinguishing between a *pastas* and a *prostas* is illustrated by the houses from Halieis.⁵⁵

The study of the Roman house is inevitably linked to the Vesuvian houses and especially the Pompeian ones. Owing to Vitruvius’ description, the *atrium* house is regarded as the Roman house *per se*. Like the Greek house, research has concentrated on typology and again an evolutionary approach has predominated.⁵⁶ This approach is also reflected in the studies on the relation between the Greek house and the Roman house, i.e. whether the influence was from the West to the East or vice versa.⁵⁷

In Vitruvius’ ideal *atrium* house several roof systems were employed, both with openings (Tuscan, tetrastyle, Corinthian, displuviate) and without openings (testudinate).⁵⁸ Moreover, he reports that the *atrium* is spatially related to a number of rooms (*fauces*, *alae*, *tablinum*, and peristyle). All these elements combined are considered to constitute the typical Roman *atrium* house. In relation to the archaeological material this has meant, as Wallace-Hadrill has shown, that when a central circulation space without an *impluvium* is found, for example in the so-called row houses, it is automatically interpreted as a testudinate *atrium*.⁵⁹ Wallace-Hadrill has argued that these spaces might as well have been unroofed, thus being open courtyards, and he

⁵² Jameson 1990, 110, note 5.

⁵³ Nevett 1999. Her work includes material from Greece and Sicily, mainly from the 4th and 3rd centuries BC.

⁵⁴ Nevett 1995; Nevett 1999.

⁵⁵ Nevett 1999, 98-101.

⁵⁶ For an overview of classifications and typologies established by various scholars, see De Kind 1998, 185-187. For the evolutionary approach, see Wallace-Hadrill 1997, 219 and note 2.

⁵⁷ Tamm 1963; Graham 1966.

⁵⁸ Vitr. 6.3.1.

⁵⁹ Wallace-Hadrill 1997, especially 221-231. This covered space may also be called *atrium* (Ling 1997, 25). For the row houses, see Nappo 1997, especially 99-100 (roofed or unroofed circulation space).

uses the term “open *atrium*” to designate them. This term, however only adds to the terminological confusion. If they were open courtyards, then they should be classified as courtyards and called such. Irrespective of the terminology, it is important to recognize the variations within the Roman house. This variety is also documented by the analyses of houses from Herculaneum made by De Kind, which show that the Vitruvian *atrium* house was not the standard.⁶⁰

Leaving the textual evidence aside, detailed analyses of architectural design and interior decoration, wall-painting in particular, have been employed in order to define room functions and the use of space in general, including social relationships within the house.⁶¹ In his studies of the social structure of the Roman house, Wallace-Hadrill has stressed the role of the house as a tangible symbol of the owner’s status and social position. This was achieved by a subtle interplay of architecture and decoration differentiating between rooms and areas, for example between low status (service zones) and high status areas.

Another way of identifying room functions is by analysing artefact distribution, and the conclusion reached by both Allison and Berry is that many rooms were multifunctional, including *atria*.⁶² For example, common household objects have been found in *atria*, which calls into question the purely ceremonial function of the room. The problem with this method is, however, that portable objects may have ended up in any given room by coincidence.

Research on the Carthaginian house is relatively new. Prior to the international campaign to save Carthage, hardly anything of the habitation was known, and if this initiative had not been taken, we might still have been ignorant. There is a tendency in classical archaeology to focus on the Greek and Roman world, forgetting the other actors on the Mediterranean scene, such as the Carthaginians and indigenous peoples.⁶³

In recent years the interrelation between houses and people, between the built environment and behavioural conventions, has been the focus, especially within interdisciplinary studies encompassing a number of disciplines.⁶⁴

The collection of articles *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space* bridges the disciplines of prehistoric and classical archaeology, ethnography and architecture.⁶⁵ It focuses on the interaction between domestic structures and spatial organization, and especially the role of culture in this interaction. Many ways of viewing architecture and houses were presented in the book. Wilk saw the house as a consumer good. In this way the human actors themselves and the processes by which people balance various options are in fo-

⁶⁰ De Kind 1998, 188-193. Examples of his eight types are shown in fig. 11.

⁶¹ For example Wallace-Hadrill 1988; *Roman art* 1991; *Functional and Spatial Analysis of Wall Painting* 1993 (Part I); Wallace-Hadrill 1994.

⁶² Allison 1993; Berry 1997.

⁶³ Studies on indigenous houses of southern Italy (Apulia and Lucania) have been done by Russo Tagliente (1992).

⁶⁴ For example *Housing* 1989; *Domestic Architecture* 1990; *About the house* 1995.

⁶⁵ *Domestic Architecture* 1990.

cus, as people shape houses.⁶⁶ Sanders regarded architecture as one of the most valuable artefacts. In order to get beyond description and assumption in archaeology, he advocated the use of the mutual relationship between behavioural conventions and the built environment.⁶⁷

Anthropologists too advocate a close link between houses and people.⁶⁸ While architectural analyses are abundant within classical archaeology (cf. above), they have been neglected in the anthropological analyses. However, recent anthropological studies stress the importance of the architectural significance of houses, along with their social and symbolic significance.⁶⁹

In recent years the study of ancient houses has shown a readiness to move away from the literary tradition. The next step ought to be the abandonment of some of the terms from the literary sources, since they cause more confusion than clarification. Scholarship has benefited from the dialogue with other disciplines, and this dialogue must be maintained. However, it should be remembered that some scholars of classical archaeology, even in the early period of research, were critical regarding the literary sources, and already in 1957 the archaeologist Pesce recognized the role played by the inhabitant (see epigraph at the beginning of the chapter).⁷⁰

THEORETICAL APPROACH

The importance of viewing a house as a living structure closely linked to its inhabitant(s) is perfectly expressed in the epigraph at the beginning of the chapter. Housing as an essential human need constitutes a key component of any given society. Consequently, houses must to some extent reflect the preferences and behavioural patterns of the people living in them. These preferences and patterns are determined by cultural traditions, for example relating to climate, building techniques and materials, the functioning of the house (for instance fashions of dining, drinking and bathing), and decoration. The cultural make-up of the inhabitants is not the only thing to be revealed, but also the names and looks of inhabitants may be known due to finds of inscriptions and/or portraits. However, factors such as available space and economic resources together with possible building regulations of which we are ignorant may reduce the choice of the individual and its possibility to put its fingerprint on the house. The diachronic perspective must also be taken into consideration, as the change of inhabitants and the successive foreign influences that occurred over time, creating new and mixed traditions, make it problematic to detect cultural origin.

The use of the word 'house' is considered by some scholars so problematic that they prefer to avoid it and instead employ a neutral term as "unità abita-

⁶⁶ Wilk 1990, 35.

⁶⁷ Sanders 1990.

⁶⁸ "The house is an extension of the person" (Carsten/Hugh-Jones in *About the house* 1995, 2).

⁶⁹ Carsten/Hugh-Jones in *About the house* 1995, 1-6.

⁷⁰ Allison 1993, 1-2.

tiva” or “Wohneinheit” because these terms are not associated with a certain physical appearance (i.e. size, number of rooms, materials etc.).⁷¹ Moreover, such neutral terms allow shops that also served as habitations to be included. Since the present work is in particular concerned with the occurrence of the combination of different architectural designs, shops or workshops consisting of only one or two rooms are not included in the material.

According to the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, one meaning of ‘house’ is a building for human habitation, and this broad definition is employed in the present work.⁷² A house fulfils some basic needs for shelter, including a place to dwell, sleep and eat, but other functions may also be attached to the house, such as commercial activities. Moreover, a house is often more than just a physical structure; it can also be a symbol of status and social position.

A house may be identified in the archaeological record by looking at a number of criteria: typological criteria such as ground plans; functional criteria including evidence of domestic activities (for instance finds of pottery, hearths/braziers, spinning and weaving implements); furniture; location within the urban setting. It is obvious that a minimum of elements have to be present, but it is unrealistic to believe that it is possible to establish a definitive check-list perfectly applicable to any ancient material of which we have only fragments. Each case has to be viewed within its own context, and cases of doubt will occur. Accordingly, the present work includes both fully and partially excavated houses, houses with commercial purposes attached, but not shops or workshops of one or two rooms with residential function attached. Although the exact function of partially excavated houses is unknown, they are included because of their location within residential areas.

METHOD

In order to elucidate cultural influences on housing, it is necessary to study as many groups of material from houses as possible. However, the variable state of preservation, the different circumstances regarding excavation and publication of the material from the three trading centres, and the time available for the present research set a limit to what is realizable. Since all three trading centres provide substantial and accessible remains of architecture and interior architectural decoration (wall decoration and pavements), these two groups of material are treated more exhaustively than the rest of the groups which are: sculptural and religious finds, and epigraphical material (personal names occurring in inscriptions).⁷³ These latter groups may overlap. On the one hand, the groups of material are considered equal as cultural indicators, meaning that a specific internal layout, room type, pavement type or an apotropaion may indicate the origin of the inhabitant. On the other hand, it is also clear that the culturally indicative capacity of individual ele-

⁷¹ Famà 1987, 73-74; Trümper 1998, 10-12.

⁷² Eighth edition 1990, 572.

⁷³ Anonymous altars are not included.

ments within the various groups of material may differentiate or be of no value at all. This is for instance the case with decorative motifs being transformed into widespread fashions and with Jews and Phoenicians taking Greek names.⁷⁴

The groups of material analysed are specified in the catalogue comprising 202 entries and compiled in tables. Finds from within the houses are listed in the catalogue. In the case of Delos, detailed catalogues of sculptural finds already exist, and consequently only the numbers are recorded. Regarding the finds from the Carthaginian houses, only a selection is presented in the publications. Therefore, complete documentation is impossible. For Ampurias, the excavation diaries are so extensive that it was impossible to go through them all. Judging from the sections read, the objects found within the houses were mostly of utilitarian character.

The houses are then analysed within their urban, regional and Mediterranean context.

Houses and remains situated in quarters are denoted by a code referring to city and quarter, and by consecutive numbering within each quarter.⁷⁵ Houses and remains from various locations at Carthage are denoted only by city and consecutive numbering. The codes are:

- DelN = Delos, Northern Quarter
- DelST = Delos, Stadium Quarter
- DelP = Delos, Peribolos Street
- DelI = Delos, Inopos Quarter
- DelM = Delos, House of the Masks' Quarter
- DelT = Delos, Theatre Quarter
- DelA = Delos, Area of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite
- DelS = Delos, Southern Zone

- CarH = Carthage, 'Hannibal Quarter'
- CarM = Carthage, 'Mago Quarter'
- CarDM = Carthage, Quarter of *Decumanus Maximus* and *Cardo X*
- Car = Carthage, various locations

- AmpN = Ampurias, Neapolis
- AmpR = Ampurias, Roman city

To facilitate comparative studies the houses are registered according to their appearance in the last phase, but the diachronic aspect is not ignored. In fact, it is crucial to be aware of the changes over time, their character and date because they constitute the history of the house. However, consistency is difficult, especially as the chronology of the alterations is often unknown.

⁷⁴ Bruneau 1982a, 481; Grainger 1991, 81 and 108-109.

⁷⁵ The quarters are all modern.